

“RACISM LIVES HERE”:
RACIAL IDEOLOGIES IN
LOCAL NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE
OF STUDENT UNIVERSITY PROTESTS

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
MASTER OF ARTS

BY

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MAY 2018

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

“Racism Lives Here”: Racial Ideologies in Local News Media Coverage of Student University Protests

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DEDICATIONS

My friend Mary Oliver says the following in her poem, "How I Go to the Woods:"

Ordinarily, I go to the woods alone, with not a single friend, for they are all smilers and talkers and therefore unsuitable.

...

If you have ever gone to the woods with me, I must love you very much.

Here's to the people who have gone to the woods with me:

To Emma, Abby, Beatriz and Catherine.
To Erin, Lauren, Rachel, Rebecca and Johanna.
To my thirty, flirty and thriving Calvary folks.
To Sara, Becky and the entire KBIA team.
To Rachel, Ayleen, T.J. and my wise, wondrous PhD friends.
To Brett, for listening first.
To Amalia, for helping me find my voice.
To Yong, for encouragement along the way.
To Cristina, for making a space for me.

Finally, to Juan-Carlos, Michele and Efrain, who are the source of my joy, and who always show up, even if they're ten minutes late. Mil abrazos, mis Riveras.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I applied to the University of Missouri in fall of 2015, I remember reading about the student protests at the university. It was remarkable how similar my undergraduate collegiate experience was to theirs. When I was accepted into the graduate program, I knew I wanted to study the protests and local journalists' coverage of events happening in their community. I had learned so much as a younger student about the balance between journalism and activism, and wanted to explore that space in my thesis.

I would like to thank Dr. Cristina Mislán, my thesis chair, for her tireless guidance of both my research and my graduate career. I am grateful for her leadership, dynamite feedback and dedication. I also would like to thank the other members of my committee, Dr. Yong Volz, Dr. Amalia Dache-Gerbino and Dr. Brett Johnson, for their support during this process. I appreciate each and every coffee, midday meeting and mini pep-talk along the way. Y'all are truly the dream team.

In addition, I would like to thank my fearless, incredibly exhausted fellow graduate students, as well as the faculty and staff at the Missouri School of Journalism. I couldn't imagine the past two years without all of you. Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family, who encouraged me along the way. This research is a small token of my love for you, and my faith, as *la paperson* says, that a third university is possible.

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“RACISM LIVES HERE”:
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Abstract

During fall of 2015, a group of students at the University of Missouri called Concerned Student 1950 protested racial inequity on campus. Their collective action led to structural shakeups in the university's leadership. News about the protests were broadcast to a national and even international audience, but started with coverage by local media organizations in Columbia, Missouri. This qualitative research examines local media coverage of the Concerned Student 1950 protests using a textual analysis to uncover ideologies of race. Local coverage from a three-month period in 2015 was examined from the following outlets: *KBIA*, a Mid-Missouri NPR affiliate; *KOMU*, an NBC affiliate; and the *Columbia Missourian*, a print and digital newspaper. This research argues that while local news outlets have moved away from simplistic constructions of whiteness as good and blackness as bad, their coverage still reinforces these characterizations. This study illuminates the discursive elements that constructed protesters as deviant and resistant, while university leaders were constructed as normal and compliant. Ultimately, this research provides a possible template for local journalists to improve the equity and balance of their coverage of social movements.

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Introduction

In 2014, Michael Brown was murdered by police officers in Ferguson, Missouri, a city in St. Louis county. This event sparked protests around police brutality and the criminalization of black bodies. Supporters came from all over the country, and included students from the University of Missouri, a two hour drive away in Columbia. Kay Beck, Ashley Bland and Naomi Daugherty, three black queer women at the University of Missouri, created the group MU4MikeBrown, and along with faculty, staff and allies from the university, protested in Ferguson and on campus. MU4MikeBrown urged university leaders to issue statements about the systematic killings of black and brown bodies, and to truly reflect on the impact this had on students' lives and studies. They proposed a list of demands to the chancellor of the university, similar to those issued by the Legion of Black Collegians in the 1960's, that focused on improving campus life for minority students. While MU4MikeBrown was founded in response to Michael Brown's death in 2014, the group illuminated harmful practices and structures that affected students of color on campus. They set the framework for activists on campus and continued the legacy passed down from LBC.

Later, in fall of 2015, Missouri Students Association (MSA) president Payton Head was called the n-word when walking home on campus (Davis, 2015). A group of students were frustrated with the slow response from University of Missouri administrators in the aftermath of this event. This frustration compounded in October, as members of LBC were called the same racial slurs on campus, with almost no response

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from the university (Davis, 2015). One of the students' first protest happened at the homecoming parade in October of 2015. Members of stood in a line, arms linked, in front of UM System President Tim Wolfe's car. The group wanted Wolfe to know he needed to do more to protect people of color on campus. Soon after they started chanting, Columbia police officers pushed them out of the parade path and onto the sidewalk. The group continued to protest for the next few months. The group then wrote the university a list of demands, including the resignation of Wolfe.

Their protests were the beginning of the formation of Concerned Student 1950, a coalition of students from various departments working towards a more equitable campus for minority students, especially black students (Pollock, 2016). Concerned Student 1950 soon became the flagship example for current social movements in higher education, spurring on similar protests in schools in New York, Massachusetts and California. Concerned Student 1950 echoed MU4MikeBrown, in addition to Civil Rights protests that occurred at the university almost seventy years prior, and drew an important parallel between all three groups' struggles for racial equity (Pollock, 2016). As Garner and Tenuto (1997) stated, "movements often are merely the organized and visible tip of an iceberg of alienation, disaffiliation, and opposition that is expressed in interactions, organizations, habits and practices, and cultural forms" (p. 44). Concerned Student 1950 illuminated the racial inequalities that were still present at the University of Missouri. Media coverage of the event on the local level, and then eventually the national and international level, helped tell this story of systemic inequality in higher education.

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The protests at the University of Missouri in fall of 2015 present the opportunity to analyze ideologies of race in media coverage of social movements. Racial injustice and inequality were the central guiding forces in the events leading up to the protests and the growing frustrations of students of color on campus. While there is a robust history of scholarship focused on social movement coverage, recent scholarship has neglected to discuss the way that media ideologies around race shape the coverage of protests around race-related issues. The guiding questions of this research are what racial ideologies are present in media coverage of student university protests, and what discursive elements do local media use in their coverage of student university protests to convey these ideologies.

Historical coverage and background of student protests is helpful to compare and contrast student tactics and positions across the decades (Altbach, 1989; Broadhurst, 2014; Heineman, 1993; Novak, 1977). It also helps to establish patterns and frameworks from which journalists work when covering the events. Media coverage of protests across the world have turned activists struggles into spectacles and minimized the causes they fight for (Cammaerts, 2013; Smith, McCarthy, McPhail & Augustyn, 2001). One dominant framework used when covering protests is that protests are a nuisance that interrupt the daily flow of life (Di Cicco, 2010). Other ways journalists cover protests include focusing on binaries and opposition, questioning motives of protesters as a form of delegitimizing their cause, and supporting the status quo (Cuşnir, 2015; Lin & Zhao, 2016; Detenber & McLeod, 1999). Literature studying the coverage of protests has also

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focused on the causes students are protesting about, like peace during wartime, sexism and racism (Schreiber, 1973; Vaccaro, 2009; White, 2016).

While there is extensive literature on national coverage of student protests, there has not been a major study on local media coverage of student protests. Studies have been conducted about student protests abroad, but very little related to university protests in the last fifteen years. Much of the scholarship is focused on historical analyses of coverage from the 1960's and earlier. There is also a lack of scholarship focusing on ideologies of race forwarded by local media outlets. Current university student protests are focused around issues of race, like the protests at the University of Missouri, and the students carrying out these protests are primarily students of color. While some scholarship addresses race in protests, especially scholarship focusing on the Civil Rights Movement, recent scholarship has neglected to introduce the way that media ideologies around race shape the coverage of protests around race-related issues. In addition, national conversations about race and protesting have evolved since the Civil Rights era, and journalists have incorporated new language and characterizations to discuss protesters. This research argues that local journalists still use an ideological framework that paints blackness as bad and whiteness as good. Local journalists describe black protesters as deviant and resistant to communication, while white officials' behaviors are normalized and characterized as compliant. All in all, this research provides examples as to how local journalists engage with coverage of student university protests, reinforcing hegemonic ideologies around race.

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Literature Review

University Student Movements

While the protests at the University of Missouri and other universities around the country have captured media attention, they are not a new facet of university life. Student protests at colleges and universities date back to the Colonial period in the United States, where students protested unfair British practices before the Revolutionary War (Broadhurst, 2014). Social movements do not exist in a vacuum; they are part of a longstanding history of activism. Collective action by students has changed the course of the history of the United States, from the Civil Rights Movement to the Vietnam War to current protests around racism on campus (Humrighouse, 2014; Sumner, 1995; White, 2016). There is a lack of scholarship solely focused on coverage of student university protests, despite their prevalence in the United States since the early 1700's.

Student university protests, since the 1940's onward, have "centered on issues of identity; thus prompting the proliferation of equity movements throughout the country" (Hoffman & Mitchell, 2016, p. 278). College students have always played a key role in civil rights movements, as higher education "access was seen as a key step in ending racial discrimination" (Hutcheson, Gasman, & Sanders-McMurtry, 2011, p. 145). While college students advocated for better campuses, their tactics often went beyond the boundaries of their university, as they participated in sit-ins and advocated broadly for social change and equity (Barnhardt, 2014; Hutcheson, Gasman, & Sanders-McMurtry, 2011; Rhoads, 2016; Sumner, 1995). Black students from a university in North Carolina

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who organized a sit in at a Woolworth in 1960 "helped to launch what many believe to be the most important period of student activism...as college students assumed center stage in protesting segregated facilities" (Rhoads, 2016, p. 190). The Black Panther Party was "originally organized in 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, two students at Merritt College in Oakland" (Rhoads, 2016, p. 191). "Students were citizens practicing and claiming rights both outside and inside the university. There are examples of these protests from around the world, ranging from France to the United States, Germany to Mexico, Australia to Japan" (Rodriguez-Amat & Jeffery, 2017, p. 530). For example, "in Germany, the killing of a student protestor by police in 1967 also raised intensive resistance," as university students protested police brutality much like the students at Kent State (Rodriguez-Amat & Jeffery, 2017, p. 531). Overall, student organizing has been essential to movements throughout the 20th century, and students in the 21st century have continued "the struggle for racial equality and opposition to difficult-to-extinguish racism" (Rhoads, 2016, p. 195).

Students from various eras of history have engaged in protests and collective action to change the systems in which they find themselves (Barnhardt, 2014; Broadhurst, 2014; Lantz et al., 2016). Recently, graduate students from Louisiana Tech University, Cleveland State University and others formed a multi-institutional organization to create a space to discuss and organize around social justice issues on their campuses and in the wider community (Lantz et al., 2016). In publishing a study around their formation, the students discovered consistent ideas around why people joined the group, including their personal identity and the importance of creating a space for others (Lantz et al., 2016).

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For students of color who were part of the group, they found that their racial and academic identities rarely had a space to integrate, and the group provided that space (Lantz et al., 2016, p. 297). Social movements, at least with university students, encompass both the macro and the micro. Collective action addresses large societal issues like racism, sexism or wartime political choices, as well as the way those societal issues affect students on a personal level, oftentimes in their places of higher education.

Collective action by students can be broken down into three categories: conventional, disruptive or violent (Barnhardt, 2014). Conventional tactics include harnessing the resources already existing; disruptive tactics include breaking up day-to-day routines, like sit-ins or protests; and violent tactics include damages to people or property, like looting (Barnhardt, 2014). University students throughout history have used these three collective action tactics to affect change and bring attention to issues that they are protesting. University students in the twenty-first century have added contemporary technology to these tactics, using social media to organize and share their platform with communities all over the world (Broadhurst, 2014; Lantz et al., 2016). Although social media is a new facet of social movements, traditional tactics like sit-ins, petitioning, handing out pamphlets and holding political theatre are still the main vehicles through which students engaged in collective action on their college campuses (Barnhardt, 2014; Broadhurst, 2014; Lantz et al., 2016). Even new waves of university student protests in the twenty-first century echo the student protests during the Civil Rights Movement, as students of color still fight for a place in higher education (Broadhurst, 2014). Students are "continuing battles that have existed for generations" (Broadhurst, 2014, p. 12).

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University student movements are essential to historical civil rights movements in the United States, none more so than at the University of Missouri. Members of Concerned Student 1950 chose the name of the organization to reference the year the first black students started at the university (Wines, 2015). Although 1950 was the first year black students attended the University of Missouri, black students were petitioning for admittance decades earlier. The Supreme Court case in 1938, *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, involved black student Lloyd Gaines admittance into the law school (Edmondson & Perry, 2010, pp. 105-106). The following year, black student Lucile Bluford applied to be admitted into the journalism school (Shahriari & Smith, 2016). In both cases the solution was to create separate schools for black students inside these departments, as the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision had not been passed (Edmondson & Perry, 2010; Shahriari & Smith, 2016). These students, along with the formation of the Legion of Black Collegians in the 1960's, created a legacy of resistance at the University of Missouri. The organizing efforts of Concerned Student 1950, just like MU4MikeBrown, created a link back to the history of black student activism on campus, and called for many of the same changes from the 1960's and 1970's (Shahriari & Smith, 2016).

Social Movements and Media Coverage

While social movements, especially involving college students, have been constant in the history of the United States, coverage of these social movements by media has shifted. Scholars have organized coverage of social movements into various categories, including social movement theory, the public nuisance paradigm, and the

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protest paradigm. These categories highlight different aspects of how social movements are covered by news outlets, including how favorable or unfavorable the coverage is to social movement actors as well as episodic or thematic coverage of events. The history of the coverage of social movements and the ideologies behind coverage are essential to understand the social reality being shaped by media organizations. Coverage of social movements in general is helpful to understand the ways in which student university protests are covered as a branch of social movements, but there little scholarship focusing specifically on university student social movement coverage.

Classically, social movement theory has been the overarching theory through which scholars analyze media coverage of social movements. Social movement theory addresses the interactivity of social movements and media, and how coverage affects movements through media bias and media attention (Seguin, 2016, p. 999). Scholars have used social movement theory to recognize the "why" behind coverage of social movements. A study by Amenta, Caren, Olasky & Stobaugh (2009) found that media coverage of social movements in the *New York Times* throughout the 20th century was highly connected with disruption and size. If the disruption and/or size of the group was large, so too would be the coverage. They also determined that daily coverage usually occurs when groups have disruption, an organized presence and an enforced policy. Critics of social movement theory argue it does not stress the importance of media's role in shaping social movements, and simply focuses on reasons behind coverage (Mattoni & Tere, 2014). These critics argued that a new conceptual framework is needed, one that measures media's impact on social movements over time, including addressing "patterns

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of participation, organizational structures, forms of protest, and visibility of protesters" (Mattoni & Trere, 2014, p. 252).

Other scholars have used the protest paradigm to explain media coverage of social movement events and actors. The protest paradigm refers to protest coverage that reinforces the status quo, upholding societal norms and values (Detenber & McLeod, 1999; Di Cicco, 2010; Shahin, Zheng, Sturm & Fadnis, 2016). Media coverage that falls into the protest paradigm often includes an over-reliance on government and official sources instead of protest actors and leaders, as well as "other techniques of delegitimization, marginalization, and demonization" (Detenber & McLeod, 1999, p. 5). Overall, the protest paradigm shows that "news coverage will marginalize challenging groups, especially those that are viewed as radical in their beliefs and strategies" (Detenber & McLeod, 1999, p. 6).

The protest paradigm has been used in media effects studies, linking television news coverage of protests that upheld the status quo with audience's positive attitudes towards police and negative attitudes towards protesters (Detenber & McLeod, 1999). An extension of the protest paradigm can be seen in the public nuisance paradigm, which categorizes media coverage of social movements as interrupting daily life functions (Di Cicco, 2010). Media coverage that uses the public nuisance paradigm has been prevalent since 1975 because of increasingly conservative political values (Di Cicco, 2010). These conservative values painted social movements as unpatriotic and ineffective, therefore increasing media coverage of protests as nuisances to people in the United States (Di Cicco, 2010).

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The protest paradigm has mostly been applied to social movements and media organizations in the United States. It is a paradigm that is defined by the United States political systems and divisions of power between media organizations, governmental agencies and social movement groups (Di Cicco, 2010; Shahin, Zheng, Sturm & Fadnis, 2016). Protest paradigm is somewhat applicable in social movements across the globe; similarities in coverage include a lack of focus on the causes of the protest and a lack of unofficial sources (Shahin, Zheng, Sturm & Fadnis, 2016). Global scholars argue the protest paradigm should be applied in the context of individual countries' political system differences and historic relationships with media, as these factors influence the relevance of the paradigm outside of the United States (Shahin, Zheng, Sturm & Fadnis, 2016).

When discussing the complex relationship between the media and social movements, most scholars reference newsworthiness, a concept that describes the way that news media organizations decide on what is worth covering (Amenta, Caren, Olasky & Stobaugh, 2009; Myers & Caniglia, 2004; Smith, McCarthy, McPhail & Augustyn, 2001). The more newsworthy an event, the more likely it is to be covered. Social movements intersect with common ideas of what media consider "newsworthy," like large disruptions, the critical mass of people participating, and the "spectacle" aspect of a social movement event that differentiates it from common daily occurrences (Amenta, Caren, Olasky & Stobaugh, 2009; Cuşnir, 2015). Scholars address the way that media consider these events newsworthy, but fail to note the ideologies that influenced media organizations to create and define "newsworthiness" as a metric to judge event coverage in the first place. "Newsworthiness" as a concept has inherent dominant ideologies that

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stem from culture, politics and the history of a country or region (Shahin, Zheng, Sturm & Fadnis, 2016).

In the broader landscape of media organizations, the *New York Times* is often considered the newspaper of historical record in the United States, and the arbiter of journalism for other media organizations around the country (Myers & Caniglia, 2004). The *New York Times* also contributes to how media organizations view "newsworthiness," as the newspaper's slogan "all the news fit to print" signals the inherent importance of the stories the newspaper covers (Myers & Caniglia, 2004). Selection and description bias affected the way the *New York Times* covers events, and an analysis of social movement events in the 1960's revealed that less than half of the events that happened in that time period were covered by the *New York Times* (Myers & Caniglia, 2004). Social movements the newspaper was more likely to cover included "disruptive activity, a large number of organizations, a favorable political regime and an enforced policy in favor of the [social movement's] constituency" (Amenta, Caren, Olasky & Stobaugh, 2009, p. 653).

In addition, the newspaper was more likely to cover social movement events it had already covered, introducing the idea of a positive feedback model: that previous coverage could signal the strong likelihood of future coverage (Seguin, 2016). Coverage of the Black Panther movement, for example, exemplified the positive feedback model as it was a small group that rose to prominence in media coverage in the *New York Times* very quickly (Seguin, 2016). The tactics and events that the Black Panther movement used to further their cause also exemplified what the media considers newsworthy,

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especially acts of violence (Amenta, Caren, Olasky & Stobaugh, 2009; Seguin, 2016).

More scholarship is needed to investigate the prevalence of the positive feedback model for media coverage, as coverage of the Black Panther movement alone is not enough.

Finally, apart from choosing coverage based on "newsworthiness," journalists and media organizations can be seen as storytellers (Bird & Dardenne, 2009). They engage with narrative and mythological constructions of news events, formatting coverage around prominent central characters and compelling stories that fit into previously established frameworks (Bird & Dardenne, 2009; Cuşnir, 2015; Sumner, 1995). For social movements, this coverage usually relates to an oversimplification or misunderstanding of their goals (Smith, McCarthy, McPhail & Augustyn, 2001). One of these story frameworks involves opposition: police against protesters, bystanders against protesters, the government against protesters (Cuşnir, 2015). This story framework focused on opposition leads to episodic coverage, focusing on a specific event, rather than thematically exploring the issues behind the collective action of the social movement (Smith, McCarthy, McPhail & Augustyn, 2001).

While the *New York Times* may be the newspaper of historical record in the United States, social movement coverage often begins in local news media, as people in those specific towns will be most affected by social movement actions like protests (Di Cicco, 2010). Specifically, the public nuisance paradigm in social movement coverage has a stronger hold in local media rather than national media, as day-to-day events like commuting home from work could be hindered by protests on specific highways (Di Cicco, 2010). Local news media are often the "first responders" to a social movement,

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and their coverage often alert national newspapers to the events, or even the way the events tie into a national social movement. Local news media coverage also often sets the stage for the way the event will be covered throughout the duration of social movement action and in future social movements (Mattoni & Trere, 2014).

For example, social movement coverage of the Universitatii Square protests in media organizations in Bucharest took both political and personal tones. Journalists were "acting simultaneously, in and out, as witnesses and participants, in ethnographers and sense producers, in heroes and judges of the event" (as cited in Cuşnir, 2015, p. 86). Journalists covered the Universitatii Square protests through mythological and binary constructions, placing protesters in opposition to outside forces like weather and the police (Cuşnir, 2015). As the protests continued, these binaries became normative: almost all coverage was done through these lenses (Cuşnir, 2015). Comparing the 1990 coverage of the protests to the 2012 coverage, these binaries were still prevalent, signaling that media coverage of previous social movements dictated, in some way, the coverage of future events, much like the positive feedback model on a national level with the *New York Times*.

While not specific to social movements, it is important to note the way that journalists cover events that are outside their normal routine. Salient events like collective action by social movement actors can lead to binary framing, but can also lead to more inclusive coverage (Cuşnir, 2015; Rohlinger, Pederson & Valle, 2015). One salient media case was the Terri Schiavo case, which dealt with the end-of-life wishes of a woman in a permanent vegetative state in Florida. The case involved polarizing issues,

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much like social movements and the causes with which they engage. The Schiavo case was also a widespread news story in the early 2000's, leading to coverage in national newspapers. Coverage of this case varied greatly based on geography: media organizations in Florida did a larger percentage of stories about this case than newspapers outside of Florida (Rohlinger, Pederson & Valle, 2015). "In fact, there were almost five and one-half times more stories about the Schiavo case in Southern states than there were in Western states" (Rohlinger, Pederson & Valle, 2015, p. 15). Coverage of this case also showed that local media outlets were more inclusive of perspectives, but did avoid some perspectives that would upset their audience (Rohlinger, Pederson & Valle, 2015, p. 15).

The closest scholarship that addresses dominant ideologies around race, coverage of social movements and local media showcases a comparative analysis between two newspapers covering a pre-Civil Rights movement in Dallas in the 1950's (Kraeplin, 2008). One newspaper was predominantly filled with white journalists, and the other with black journalists. In the end, the white-dominant and black-dominant media organizations covered the events differently: white-dominant media upheld values and norms of their white audience, while black-dominant media focused on advocacy and preserving the safety of the community (Kraeplin, 2008). This study showcases the complexity of local media coverage: on the one hand, black-dominant media was rooted in community, which is a byproduct of locality to the event. The social movement actors were primarily black, and the black-dominant media covered them as actors and the social movement as a whole with more accuracy. White-dominant media, on the other hand, was equally as close in a physical sense, but far from the cultural and social understandings of the black-

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dominant media (Kraeplin, 2008). White-dominant media upheld ideologies of whiteness in their coverage, missing a key part of the story that the black-dominant media added (Kraeplin, 2008). While this study is from an event from over sixty years ago, scholarship of social movements overall show that there is inequality in coverage of movements.

Ideologies

Williams (1983) describes the history of the scholarly conception of ideology, starting with Napoleon Bonaparte's use of ideology as a critique of Enlightenment thinking (p. 154). The definition moved from "ideology as illusion, false consciousness" and expanded to a "sense of ideology as the set of ideas which arise from a given set of material interests, or more broadly, from a definite class or group" (Williams, 1983, p. 156). While ideology may still take on a popular definition of illusion, scholars have grounded the illusory by showcasing the way ideologies affect the tangible, material world. Hall (2006) states that ideology became "'real' because it was real in its effects" (p. 78).

Ideologies shape social reality, as they are the supports for the way society functions, "featuring fundamental norms and values (such as those of freedom, justice, equality, etc.)" that are shared by a group (Van Dijk, 2009, p. 193). These shared group values and norms help to form the identity of a group and the group's relationship with other groups (Van Dijk, 2009, p. 193). Ideologies form thought patterns and mental models, which form attitudes, which eventually form discourse and action (Van Dijk, 2009, pp. 193-194). News is one way that ideological discourse is forwarded, as media organizations help to shape and define social reality (Van Dijk, 2009; Hall, 1982, p. 60).

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Media organizations are involved in "the active work of selecting and presenting, of structuring and shaping: not merely transmitting of an already-existing meaning, but the more active labour of making things mean" (Hall, 2006, p. 60). As Hall (2006) states, "meaning is a social production, a practice. The world has to be made to mean. Language and symbolization is the means by which meaning is produced" (p. 63).

Media organizations do this "meaning-making" through coverage or lack of coverage; choice of sources, topics and beats; style, rhetoric and event description (Van Dijk, 2009, pp. 199-200). Behind these behaviors and guiding principles in media organizations are ideologies that have been reinforced by society and culture. News is "first and foremost a social institution," and "news is the product of a social institution and it is embedded in relationships with other institutions" (as cited in Sumner, 1995, p. 111). Media organizations are "a product of social reality," and also work to create that social reality through coverage (Sumner, 1995, p. 111).

Ideologies of race. Media organizations are actors in forwarding ideologies through the tool of news discourse, while they themselves are also entrenched and influenced by those ideologies, especially ideologies involving race (van Dijk, 2009). "Despite considerable variation among countries, periods and newspapers, the press continues to be part of the problem of racism, rather than its solution" and does so through hiring, choosing topics, perspectives, formatting and many other methods (van Dijk, 2009, p. 199).

These ideologies of race come into play when media organizations are covering issues of race, like social movements addressing racial inequality. Scholarship discusses

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media bias when covering social movements like the Civil Rights Movement and more current movements like Black Lives Matter, but does not engage with long-standing racial ideologies that are often perpetuated by this coverage. These ideologies of race affect the way journalists cover events, people and news as a whole, serving to divide the United States into two groups: "us" and "them" (van Dijk, 2009, p. 200). Ideologies of race in the United States revolve around whiteness and blackness, measured in opposition to one another. In essence, whiteness is goodness, is "us," whereas blackness is badness, is "them" (Cresshaw, 1997). These ideologies of race focus on:

Our good things and Their bad things, and de-emphasizes (mitigates, hides) Our bad things and Their good things. This general 'ideological' square not only applies to racist domination but in general to ingroup-outgroup polarization in social practices, discourse, and thought (van Dijk, 2002, pp. 147-148).

These ideas are reinforced in a multitude of different kinds of media coverage, from sports to crime news to protest events by social movements (De B'éri & Hogarth, 2009; Dixon, 2015; Kraeplin, 2008; Noble, 2014). These images and stereotypes are perpetuated in popular culture today, contributing to a system that places whiteness in a place of power and privilege (Carney, Hernandez & Wallace, 2016; Collins, 2004; Dache-Gerbino & White, 2015; Durham, 2015; Fuller, 2001; Griffin, 2004; hooks, 1992; Noble, 2014).

These ideologies of race are rooted in the foundation of the United States as a nation. Slavery deeply influenced the way that people in the United States have interacted with issues of race and gender. Oppressive images and stereotypes of black people were

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created to justify slavery during the colonial period (Collins, 2004; Crenshaw, 1997; Davis, 1983; De B'éri & Hogarth, 2009; hooks, 1992). This process involved "reducing the black human to a body and then reducing the body to a thing, ultimately dehumanizing the slave and making him a...commodity" (De B'éri & Hogarth, 2009, p. 93). Dillard (2016) writes "the legacy of black women in the Americas is fraught with stories of black women's bodies under siege" (p. 204). The interlocking systems of oppression that black men and women experienced still resonate today, as characteristics that emerged to justify slavery are still used to justify and reinforce the idea of social classes stratified by race (Crenshaw, 1997). Within these ideas of stratified social classes, the treatment of black women and black men differs, but is ultimately centered on ideas of white superiority and black inferiority (hooks, 1992). Scholars have analyzed the way that these ideas have been passed down through generations and affect the current way that society is categorized by race and racial dominance.

Ideologies of whiteness manifest both "consciously [and] unconsciously, as a framework to categorize people and understand their social locations" (Crenshaw, 1997, p. 255). They serve to categorize what physical and metaphysical "spaces" are appropriate for different groups, from college campuses to city geography (Dache-Gerbino & White, 2015). These ideologies contribute to the "judicial, legislative and executive decisions that protect the material interests of white people at the expense of people of color" (Crenshaw, 1997, p. 256). These decisions based in ideological ideas around whiteness then serve to reinforce the idea of social classes stratified by race, and

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under representation or misrepresentation of people of color in almost all areas of society (Crenshaw, 1997).

While not all ideologies of whiteness involve racism, it is inherently problematic that ideologies of whiteness serve to further white people at the detriment of others. These ideologies of whiteness also appear to most people as normalized and simply the way society works. "Since (like gender), race appears to be 'given' by Nature, racism is one of the most profoundly 'naturalised' of existing ideologies" (Hall, 1995, p. 19). This naturalization, coupled with the dynamics that ideologies of whiteness produce in society, lead to an invisibility or silencing of the power of whiteness at work. One of the harmful tools of whiteness is "othering," the "rhetorical practice of depicting people of color as having the characteristic of race while simultaneously assuming that white people are somehow not "raced"" (Crenshaw, 1997, p. 264). Whiteness, then, is normalized while people of different races are put into a separate "other" category. This normalization serves to further the privilege those who are white experience in the United States, and "the ideology of white privilege maintains its invisibility through rhetorical silence" (Crenshaw, 1997, p. 268). Part of the invisibility of whiteness is tied into the inherent visibility of blackness. The ideological construction of blackness is created in opposition to whiteness: whiteness is normalized while blackness is made "other." This process in the United States began during slavery, and continued on throughout history, and for men, included "animalistic representations" of black masculinity and a "paradoxical epistemology of fear and reverence" (De B'éri & Hogarth, 2009, p. 93).

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Images of black women as mammies and jezebels, two prevailing stereotypes, have been passed down from slavery. Black women were desexualized or hypersexualized by white slave owners (Collins, 2004). Mammies are stereotypically characterized as overweight women who primarily care for children and perform domestic chores (Collins, 2004; Fuller, 2001). Mammies are "the motherly type, but not the type to marry; matronly; desexualized; bossy; stern, yet somewhat comical; broad featured or fat with huge breasts; and nonthreatening and warm" (Fuller, 2001, p. 123). Images of black women as mammies are prevalent because "mammy is the one role white America is still most comfortable with in black women" (Fuller, 2001, p. 123). Images of black women also include the jezebel stereotype, "a hypersexual and promiscuous black female who invites sexual attention and even sexual violence" (Durham, 2015, p. 514). This characterization even extends to black children, as the "tropes of innocence and purity" that are often associated with white girlhood are not extended to black girls, "thus reasserting racist stereotypes and upholding racial hierarchies" (Durham, 2015, p. 508). These constructions have harmful and tangible effects on black women's personal, professional and social lives, as these images help to justify violence and oppression (Dillard, 2016; Durham, 2015; Gay, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 2009).

Images and stereotypes are powerful ways that these ideologies are perpetuated. "White supremacists have recognized that control over images is central to the maintenance of any system of racial domination" (hooks, 1992, p. 2). These images are prevalent in all forms of culture, from magazines to pop music to movies and television (Carney, Hernandez & Wallace, 2016; Collins, 2004). Overall, ideological constructions

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of black people described them as "naturally deviant, unproductive, irresponsible, uncivilized, promiscuous"; in sum, the opposite of whiteness (De B'éri & Hogarth, 2009, p. 94). The repetition of these stereotypes for decades continues to reinforce black inferiority and white superiority. So much of media is owned, created and operated by white people, and so this "white gaze" is rooted in the oppression and subjugation of people of color through controlled images (Collins, 2004; Griffin, 2004; hooks, 1992). "In this context, "Whites become the gazers, those who controlled what was seen and how it was seen," while people of color, "became the 'looked at,' not 'the lookers'" (as cited in Griffin, 2004, p. 183). There is resistance to the "white gaze," through the black press and other alternative forms of media (Kraepelin, 2008; Mislán, 2014). The Black Panther movement created their own newspaper to inform "black Americans about racial oppression while connecting their struggle to "Third World" socialist and anti-imperialist revolutions," in direct opposition to mainstream media outlets (Mislán, 2014, pp. 215-216). While alternative and resistance media do exist, they do not exist on the scale of white-controlled media in the United States, and so the "white gaze" is the prevalent media lens through which race is understood in the United States.

Media organizations are complicit in creating and reinforcing ideologies of both whiteness and blackness, and often seem to deny the importance of race in salient events where race is a main factor (De B'éri & Hogarth, 2009, p. 95). Media organizations often only positively portray blackness in social fields that reinforce dominant ideologies around blackness, like sports or entertainment (De B'éri & Hogarth, 2009). Negative representations are rampant, none more so than coverage on crime in both local and

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national news (De B'éri & Hogarth, 2009; Dixon, 2015; Dixon, 2008). Negative representations are also present in coverage of social movements, especially social movements revolving around issues of race, but a majority of studies around social movement coverage fail to address ideological constructions of race in the United States. Issues brought up in coverage are also entrenched in racial ideologies of superiority and inferiority. If the protesters are people of color, "newsworthiness," discrediting of protesters and a reliance on official sources take on new dimensions intersecting with racial ideologies. While the invisibility of whiteness and the hypervisibility of blackness are constructed, enhanced and perpetuated by media organizations, scholarship does not address these factors when categorizing social movement coverage.

More recent scholarship has focused on media portrayals of the systematic killings of black people across the United States and social movements that have arisen in response to these events. Coverage of Trayvon Martin's death in 2012 turned his black body into a spectacle for mass consumption, reinforcing ideas of black criminality (Noble, 2014). "Black social death is enacted upon Trayvon as he is stripped of his identity in the spectacle and reframed as criminal when he is not, in fact, on trial" (Noble, 2014, p. 14). The construction of Martin's death is far from the only contemporary example of this, as the stories of the "brutal killings of Sandra Bland in Texas, Tanisha Anderson and Mallis Williams in Cleveland, Yvette Smith and Shelly Frey in Texas, Miriam Carey in our nation's capital, and countless others whose names are not called here" reify black criminality (Dillard, 2016). Harney and Moten (2015) discuss the dangers of these portrayals if believed, as they create ahistorical and separate incidents

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that do not tie together systems of oppression in the United States. Martin, Bland and Michael Brown's death, among many, serve "to remind us not that black lives matter but that black life matters; the absolute and undeniable blackness of life matters" (Harney & Moten, 2015, p. 85).

Research Questions

Scholarship on coverage of student university movements is neither comprehensive nor complete. Most scholarship is folded into the broader category of coverage of social movements in the United States, with a heavy emphasis on the Civil Rights Movement. Scholarship that analyzes coverage of social movements has found that media organization coverage of movements and events is incomplete, favoring a picture of the social movement that aligns with societal norms and ideals. Recent scholarship has introduced new models to analyze social movement coverage, including giving more agency to social movement actors and explaining the protest and public nuisance paradigms that media organizations often use. Lacking in scholarship of social movement coverage overall is a focus on ideologies of race, especially when social movements are centered on issues of race and mainly contain people of color as social movement actors. Local media's importance in covering social movements is also downplayed in favor of national coverage by newspapers like the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, despite the importance of local media's role in the lives of people directly affected by the social movement events in specific cities.

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This study proposes to fill the gaps left by previous research, by focusing directly on student university protests, the ideologies of race forwarded by local media, and the way these ideologies appear in coverage.

RQ 1: What ideologies of race are present in local media coverage of student university protests?

RQ 1a: What ideologies around blackness and whiteness are conveyed in local media coverage of student university protests?

RQ 2: What discursive elements do local media use in their coverage of student university protests to convey these ideologies?

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Methodology

The Concerned Student 1950 protests present the opportunity to analyze ideologies of race in media coverage of social movements. Issues of racial inequality were the central guiding forces in the events leading up to the protests and the growing frustrations of minority students. While there is a robust history of scholarship focused on social movement coverage, recent scholarship has neglected to discuss the way that media ideologies around race shape the coverage of protests around race-related issues. A textual analysis was used to illuminate racial ideologies in media coverage of social movements. Textual analyses help uncover the ways that specific cultures and societies understand the world (McKee, 2003). Textual analyses from the post-structural school of thought discuss texts as products of meaning, and textual analyses are then the process of gathering "information about sense-making practices" by examining what is "left behind," i.e. the text (McKee, 2003, p. 14). Textual analyses take into consideration the factors that can influence a text, like society, gender and race in a specific time period and specific cultural context (McKee, 2003). One text artifact can convey multiple refracted realities, and scholars seek to uncover the most likely interpretations due to the specific circumstances of the text's creation (McKee, 2003). "Because there is no simple, single, correct interpretation of reality, it becomes very important to understand how media texts might be used in order to make sense of the world we live in" (McKee, 2001, p. 143).

Media texts are rich artifacts from which to understand the way that cultural ideologies are formed, as struggles for definition, identity and legitimacy often occur

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within them (Bell-Jordan, 2008). A textual analysis of media coverage of the 2015 protests revealed the way that ideologies around race are formed. The media coverage was examined using the previously outlined ideological frameworks for race, attempting to reveal “a pattern of beliefs that determine a group's interpretation of some aspect(s) of the world” (Foss, 1989, p. 209). Journalists acted as “metacommunicators” with their audience through the texts they produced, conveying ideological meaning not “merely by the concrete information” contained in their stories “but also by implicit information between the lines” (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 65). “Ethnic prejudices and ideologies are not innate, and do not develop spontaneously in ethnic interaction. They are acquired and learned, and this usually happens through communication, that is, through text and talk” (van Dijk, 2002, p. 146). Van Dijk (2002) illustrates ways that ideologies of race permeate discourse and journalistic texts, from “selecting or emphasizing positive topics (like aid and tolerance) for Us, and negative ones (such as crime, deviance, or violence) for Them” leading to “the overall tendency of ingroup favoritism or positive self-presentation, on the one hand, and outgroup derogation or negative Other-presentation, on the other” (p. 147).

It is important to note that this study does not attempt to assess the ideological intent of the journalists who produced the texts analyzed in this study, as ideology forms thoughts and ideas that are oftentimes transmitted subconsciously (van Dijk, 2009). This textual analysis does aim to understand the ideological implications of the journalists’ media coverage in the larger context of ideologies of race in the United States. The textual analysis was coded to look for racial constructions and stereotypes common in

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news coverage of minorities, as well as already-established frameworks for social movement coverage (Appendix A).

Data Collection

Data for the textual analysis was confined to news articles covering the Concerned Student 1950 protests. Commentary and opinion pieces from community members was not counted, as this study aims to find out the racial ideologies in media coverage from journalists. In all, 216 articles were analyzed, published by three major news outlets in Columbia, Missouri: *KBLA*, the *Columbia Missourian* and *KOMU*. The news articles were gathered from the time periods between September 12, 2015 and November 20, 2015. This period was chosen as it mirrors the important events that began the Concerned Student 1950 protests, beginning with the discrimination against former MSA president Payton Head in September and ending with the last major action involving Concerned Student 1950 and the UM System in the fall, a listening session with the UM System Board of Curators and MU students. From a preliminary search of news coverage by the *Columbia Missourian* between September and December 2015, the news coverage of Concerned Student 1950 drops off dramatically after November 20, 2015. The coverage also begins to shift to student enrollment predictions for the fall, and the firing of Melissa Click, events that are related to Concerned Student 1950 but not a part of the protests in fall 2015. The shift in subject in late November to the consequences of faculty involvement and university enrollment is out of the scope of this research, and thus for feasibility and focus this was chosen as the cut-off period.

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Local news sources were chosen as they have the most complete picture of coverage, as they broke the story first and continued to cover the story long after other national news organizations had left. As previously stated, local news media coverage can also often set the stage for the way the event will be covered throughout the duration of social movement action (Mattoni & Trere, 2014). Local coverage from *KBIA*, *KOMU* and the *Columbia Missourian* also provides a historical template for the way the movement was covered over the course of 2015. The news organizations are both inside and outside of the events at the University of Missouri, as they are organizations affiliated with the journalism program and involved in the instruction and employment of student journalists. Many of the journalists who covered the protests were students who were experiencing the same events or personal friends with protesters and allies. This allowed them closer access to protest events than *ESPN* or the *Washington Post*, who began covering the story in November primarily after graduate student Jonathan Butler declared his hunger strike.

The articles analyzed from each news source were found by reading the online archives between September 12 and November 20, 2015. Articles from each day were skimmed for their relevance to the protests of fall 2015. Key words like “Concerned Student 1950,” “race/racism,” “discrimination” and “protest,” “diversity,” “inclusion” and headlines with UM System president Tim Wolfe, MU chancellor R. Bowen Loftin and protesters were used to choose relevant articles. While this study aimed to analyze a total of 100 articles, 216 articles were gathered, collected and analyzed. While *KOMU* is a television station and *KBIA* is a radio station, only the web stories from both of these

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outlets were analyzed alongside the texts from the *Columbia Missourian*. This ensured that similar products (i.e. texts) from all outlets were compared and analyzed in this study. The articles were coded for their alignment with ideologies of whiteness and blackness, namely the alignment between whiteness as goodness and badness as blackness. From there, articles were then coded again to categorize the discursive elements, ways in which journalists conveyed these ideologies, and the alignment with previous research on social movement coverage. An example of coding tools and categories can be found in Appendix A.

Triangulation

This study used informal, in-depth interviews to explore media coverage and ideologies to triangulate findings. "Triangulation is the display of multiple, refracted realities simultaneously" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2007, p. 8). In this case, in-depth interviews helped historicize and contextualize local media coverage of the protests at the University of Missouri, showcasing another perspective alongside the text. These interviews took place with 3 local news editors who covered the protests during the fall of 2015. They all were involved with university-affiliated local news organizations that worked alongside student reporters and professional staff who covered the protests in 2015. For the purpose of this study, they will be called Aramita, Héctor and Araceli. Using in-depth interviews alongside a textual analysis helps "to go deep, to uncover new guidelines, open novel problem dimensions and provide...a clear, accurate and inclusive opinion based on a personal experience" (Poler Kovačič & Erjavec, 2011, p. 332). These interviews illuminated journalists' perceptions of coverage and their role in coverage. These

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interviews also provided a talk-back forum where both researcher and journalist engaged in conversations about ideologies of race in news coverage. Taking a decolonizing approach to interviewing, which has "transformation, mobilization, and healing" as its aims, in-depth interviews strengthened the analysis of racial ideologies by including perspectives from the journalists who participated in media coverage throughout the following analysis (Roulston, 2010, p. 222). Interview questions included participants' reflections of covering the events, self-reflexivity of their media organization's coverage, and suggestions or changes for future coverage of social movements (Appendix B).

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Findings

In analyzing 216 articles from three local news sources, the way journalists wrote about student university protests was consistent with previous literature on social movement theory, the public nuisance paradigm, the concept of newsworthiness and the overall ideological assumptions related to whiteness and blackness in the United States (Amenta, Caren, Olasky & Stobaugh, 2009; Crenshaw, 1997; Di Cicco, 2010). Over the course of three months in 2015, news sources described a campus filled with “tension” and “turmoil,” where a group of black students were singularly focused on imposing their agenda on the rest of the University of Missouri campus. The protesters and their actions were routinely described as aggressive or inappropriate. This description was especially relevant when those actions disrupted regular university routines or placed them in opposition to white university leaders. Even when describing events before the official formation of Concerned Student 1950, journalists reported on protesters in antagonistic terms, as people who disrupted and resisted the order of university life.

Student university protest coverage served to reinforce ideologies about whiteness and blackness, mainly that whiteness is equated with goodness and blackness is equated with badness (Crenshaw, 1997). Ideologies of blackness in the United States stereotype black people, and black men specifically, as animalistic and objects of fear, ideas and images passed down from slavery (De B'éri & Hogarth, 2009). The coverage routinely focused on black male protesters, despite the prominent role black women and other women of color on campus played in protest actions from 2014 to the present day. Local

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news coverage perpetuated these ideologies associated with black men by using language that coded black male protesters as deviant and resistant. They routinely used words like “pressed,” “pushed,” and “demanded” when describing protesters, words that are associated with discord. This characterization was made even more apparent when comparing the phrases used to describe the actions of white campus leaders, primarily actions taken by University of Missouri System President Tim Wolfe and University of Missouri Chancellor R. Bowen Loftin.

News coverage placed Wolfe and Loftin’s actions in direct opposition to Concerned Student 1950, as reporters used language that described the white campus leaders as calm and reasonable. Rarely were Loftin and Wolfe’s actions or statements described as “angry;” in fact, the only time Loftin was described as “angry” was in relation to a video he posted in early October condemning racial hatred on campus. He was out of the country when the event, a man yelling racial slurs at the Legion of Black Collegians, took place. The article stated that “an angry Loftin posted a video message on his website Monday afternoon” (McDowell, 2015). Otherwise, words and phrases like “announced,” “communicated,” “talked,” “reached out,” “addressed,” “responded” and “requested” were used to describe Loftin and Wolfe, illustrating the coding of white university leaders as “good.”

While characterizations of white campus leaders as good and black protesters as bad is a well-documented iteration of ideologies of whiteness and blackness, two central themes emerged in coverage that reinforced these categories. Coverage of the black protesters focused heavily on the topic of deviancy—bystanders and community leaders

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questioned the tactics, motivations, organization and principles of Concerned Student 1950, reinforcing their “otherness.” A subset of protest actions involved coverage of one student’s hunger strike as deviant, where he was categorized as a “radical” for his actions. Media organizations filed stories that explored both the health implications and the personal implications of a hunger strike, seemingly attempting to explain this choice to their audience. Protesters’ deviancy was placed in opposition to university leaders’ normalcy, where university leaders responded and engaged in ways that media both understood and were familiar with.

A second theme revolved around resistance, as news outlets over time characterized protesters as dismissive and hostile to both university leaders and journalists covering the events. Journalists focused on students’ creation of a “no media zone,” prompting journalists to interrogate protesters’ choices to resist engaging. A salient event between a university professor and a student journalist in the “no media zone” led journalists to critique protesters’ tactics of resistance. After this event, journalists shifted coverage from social justice to their First Amendment rights and perceived victimhood. White university leaders, in contrast, were routinely compliant with media requests, even involving stories that were critical of their leadership. Overall, these two themes illustrate Hall’s (1985) idea that “people who work in the media are producing, reproducing and transforming the field of ideological representation itself” (p. 104), as journalists reproduced and transformed ideologies of race in their coverage of the 2015 protests at the University of Missouri.

Deviancy and Normalcy

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One major theme that emerged from coverage was that of deviancy and normalcy. As ideologies of race place whiteness in line with normality or conformity, blackness is then relegated to deviancy (Crenshaw, 1997). News coverage often places blackness and whiteness in direct opposition to one another, where there are few stories about white “intolerance, everyday racism, or discrimination” and instead a focus on black deviancy (Van Dijk, 2002, p. 153). This association with deviancy can be seen in multiple avenues of society, none more apparent than the conflation of young black men with violence and criminality (Noble, 2014). These stereotypes of violence and criminality are then further justified in society as black youth are not given the same “tropes of innocence and purity” as afforded to white children (Durham, 2015, p. 508). From more recent images of the welfare queen—a black single mother who is taking advantage of the system—to images of animalistic black men used to justify slavery and lynchings, deviancy permeates the images of black people in popular culture (Collins, 2004; De B'éri & Hogarth, 2009).

The trope of deviancy continues with news coverage of social movement actors, as protest actions like blocking highways, marching down city streets and organizing outside of municipal buildings are considered a public nuisance and harmful to the common good, i.e. deviant (Di Cicco, 2010). In local coverage of the University of Missouri protests, these same ideas of deviancy appeared to describe the actions of Concerned Student 1950. Coverage of protest events like boycotts, marches and hunger strikes discussed them as disruptions to the daily flow of university life, highlighting their deviancy. Media texts also used words coded as aggressive to describe protesters' actions and statements, like “pushed” and “pressed,” in addition to highlighting protest actions

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that could have put children in danger. All of these actions were often placed in direct opposition to white community members, bystanders and university officials, whose actions were deemed normal and conformed to appropriate social behaviors.

Parade coverage. Concerned Student 1950's first public action covered by local news was in October of 2015 at the University of Missouri homecoming parade. The homecoming parade was significant because it was a public event celebrating the unity and history of the university, where university officials would be more accessible and visible than normal. Members of Concerned Student 1950 stood in a line, arms linked, in front of University of Missouri System President Tim Wolfe's car in the parade path. The group wanted to publicly address Wolfe, and let him know he needed to do more to protect people of color on campus. Soon after the group started chanting, Columbia police officers pushed them out of the parade path and onto the sidewalk. A video from the *Columbia Missourian* showcased the protesters and the aftermath of their direct action, as members of the group were visibly upset and holding on to each other for support (Serven & Reese, 2015). In local coverage, reporters referred to this as the beginning of the Concerned Student 1950 movement, and reference this moment when contextualizing future actions by the group. In interviews, Aramita and Héctor both noted that their news outlets did not cover the homecoming parade due to student availability. It was not a comment on the importance of the event (personal communication, March 14, 2018). Both editors discussed that student reporters had to take a certain amount of classes and be "cleared" to work at the outlet, and thus they may not have covered the event because they didn't have any students who were working at that time. Héctor

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discussed the events at homecoming, expressing his regret the news outlet didn't cover more "on the front end" despite limitations with staff and student reporters (personal communication, March 14, 2018). He also discussed his organization's role, as they are "not a local news, breaking news leader," but rather following other coverage due to size and availability (personal communication, March 14, 2018).

The coverage of this action by the *Columbia Missourian* illustrates the idea of black deviance through the juxtaposition of two groups at the homecoming parade. The title of the article, "In homecoming parade, racial justice advocates take different paths," referred to Concerned Student 1950 and a group of faculty and community members gathered together by Carl Kenney. The article opened with Kenney's group who marched in the parade and held banners with messages of support for students of color at the university (Serven & Reese, 2015). Kenney was a black adjunct faculty member at the university, and the group he formed consisted of both white people and people of color from local advocacy groups and area churches. In the article, Kenney described their actions as "marching in support of students, particularly students who are black, rather than marching against something" (Serven & Reese, 2015, para. 4). This phrase is the article's key differentiation between Kenney's group and Concerned Student 1950: the community group is marching in support of something, or for something, which can be seen as positive and appropriate. The article described their actions as peaceful and calm. They were a sanctioned part of the parade, and simply held banners and chanted as they marched in line with the rest of the participants.

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Concerned Student 1950, on the other hand, can be seen as disruptive and deviant through the article's description and comparison with Kenney's group. The reporters described Concerned Student 1950 as "a group of students wearing black shirts and wielding bullhorns" who "brought the parade to a halt while they denounced what they considered the administration's lackluster efforts to combat racism at MU" (Serven & Reese, 2015, para. 5). Two phrases stand out from this description: "wielding bullhorns" and "brought the parade to a halt," as both indicate some form of violence, deviancy and inappropriate action. "Wielding" is commonly a phrase used with weaponry, like "wielding a sword," instead of more neutral language like "holding" or "carrying;" in addition, "brought the parade to a halt" signals that the group is single-handedly stopping the regular routines of homecoming from occurring, which can be seen as a negative event in comparison to the participatory and inclusive actions of Kenney's group.

To further cement the difference between these two groups, and showcase what group's behavior is appropriate, the article featured a conversation between university student bystanders who witnessed Concerned Student 1950's actions at the parade.

Serven and Reese (2015) stated:

[MU junior] Snethen said she wasn't sure if blocking the parade was the right way to get the protesters' message across.

'I don't like that they were being so aggressive with children around,' she said. 'I mean, I understand where they're coming from and I like their point, but I just

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feel like the kids don't need to see that yet. Especially such little kids and they're so like angry. I feel like there are other ways.'

LoPresti disagreed. 'No one's noticing them,' she said. 'They have to do something to be noticed.'

During the protest, multiple bystanders yelled that the protesters shouldn't use racial slurs in front of their children (paras. 13-16).

This commentary, in addition to the juxtaposition with Kenney's group, reinforces the deviancy of Concerned Student 1950's actions at the homecoming parade. One bystander discussed their aggression and anger, and how inappropriate these emotions were because there were children present with their families. Other bystanders during the parade did not want protesters to use racial slurs in front of their children. These comparisons project a need to protect and care for the children in the audience of the parade, wherein the same protection was not shown to young people at the university who were the subject of racial slurs. Many of the protesters were young students at the university, themselves still teenagers, but they were considered agitators of the parade, denied tropes of protection and innocence (Durham, 2015). There were no such bystander commentaries for Kenney's group and their actions during the parade.

The idea of protesters being inappropriate and harmful to children is a perspective that continued to populate local coverage. During a prospective student day, members of Concerned Student 1950 discussed racist events that had occurred on campus while new students were touring. While the article highlighted the size of the disruption, it also

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pointed out that Girl Scouts were present for the protests as they were participating in a chemistry program on campus (Sawey & Schrader, 2015). The article quoted a student who stated, “Most parents I know of thought it was inappropriate at the time, but I’m pretty sure (the protesters) didn’t know the kids were going to be there” (Sawey & Schrader, 2015, para. 17). Finally, this mention of children and the protesters’ actions appears during coverage of the resignation of Tim Wolfe. In early November, protesters created an encampment at Carnahan Quadrangle, a patch of green space at the university in the south of campus. The protesters set up tents, saying they would not leave “until UM System President Tim Wolfe [was] removed from his position” (Kovacs, 2015c, para. 1). An article that covered Wolfe’s resignation mentioned a student’s reaction to seeing children at the encampment: “Several yards away, a group of three white students stopped to watch the dancing with incredulous looks on their faces. One looked down at several small children sitting nearby. ‘You brought your children to this?’ he said to himself” (Nelson, 2015, para. 9). Media coverage of protest events invoked the presence of children during multiple protest actions, which served to underline how inappropriate and far from the “norm” the protesters were. This contributed to forwarding the ideology that blackness is deviant, bad and dangerous.

Hunger strike coverage. Media coverage outlining the deviancy of protesters’ actions was not only in relation to the parade or their proximity to children, but also to the hunger strike of one member of Concerned Student 1950. Graduate student Jonathan Butler announced that he was going on a hunger strike after he saw that requests made by Concerned Student 1950 were being brushed aside. Butler said he would go on a hunger strike until UM System President Tim Wolfe was removed from office or he died. The

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hunger strike was surprising initially to both students and administrators; an interview with Butler reported he didn't tell anyone in Concerned Student 1950 until the night before he was going to start his hunger strike (Kovacs, 2015f). This surprise and confusion is noted in the way news outlets discussed Butler's hunger strike and placed his actions in the same context as Wolfe's responses. In an interview, Aramita said her newsroom covered campus events since the beginning of the fall semester, but it kept snowballing and "things never settled" (personal communication, March 14, 2018). Butler's hunger strike was a part of that relentless coverage for her newsroom, but added an intensity because someone's life was in the balance, and stakes were high (Aramita, personal communication, March 14, 2018).

An interview with Butler discussed his choice to embark on a hunger strike as "radical," and described his "radicalization" throughout the article (Kovacs, 2015f). The author was quick to note that "this isn't to say he's a political extremist," but used the phrase "radical" to describe Butler's political actions like protesting in Ferguson (Kovacs, 2015f, section 1, para. 4). Frequent use of the word "radical" illustrates the deviancy of both Butler as a protester and his hunger strike; it is used over seven times to describe different points of his development, including his reading of influential texts from authors like Paulo Freire (Kovacs, 2015f). Nowhere is Butler described as an activist, or as someone working towards justice, both equivalent phrases that could have described Butler's role in Concerned Student 1950 and his hunger strike. The article focused on his radicalization and extreme choices rather than the reasoning behind these choices. Ideological constructions of blackness, and black men specifically, highlight them as

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“naturally deviant,” and repeated use of the word “radical” serves to distance Butler from normalcy (De B'éri & Hogarth, 2009, p. 94).

After Butler announced his hunger strike, news organizations continued to “other” Butler’s decision through their reporting. One article provided an in-depth analysis of why someone would engage in a hunger strike, entitled “Answered: Common questions about Jonathan Butler's hunger strike” (Kovacs, 2015e). It answered questions about Butler’s hunger strike not through interviewing him about his reasoning, but by taking previous interviews he had given and splicing together the answers in the body of the text. Even though the article was about Butler’s actions, the hunger strike was seemingly divorced from his physical body. Other articles focused on the health implications for a hunger strike, outlining interviews with medical professionals and discussing ways to “break a hunger strike in a healthy way” (Alamdari, 2015). Those focused solely on the physical body, ignoring the person and the reasoning behind his actions. There was an intense fascination with Butler’s hunger strike from news organizations, whose articles did not explain or contextualize it as a form of protest. This coverage served to reconstruct Butler as a media spectacle for mass consumption. A media spectacle, as Noble (2014) describes, is an easily digestible image for mass consumption that strips away identity and reframes a person in the shape of the media’s required narrative. In coverage in fall of 2015, Butler became devoid of identity and personality in service of a larger narrative on black deviancy (Noble, 2014).

Butler’s hunger strike and refusal to communicate with university leaders was often placed side-by-side with Wolfe’s pleas for open dialogue, reinforcing Wolfe’s normalcy

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and role as a mediator. After Butler announced his hunger strike, reporters noted that Wolfe reached out to Butler through email to set up a meeting personally, but Butler declined because he wanted all communication to go through the collective Concerned Student 1950 email (Kovacs, 2015c). This pattern of Wolfe reaching out and Butler rejecting his offers was replicated throughout coverage of Butler's hunger strike. On the second day of Butler's hunger strike, students met with Wolfe and MU Chancellor R. Bowen Loftin to voice their concerns in an open forum. Wolfe said "he hoped to continue dialogue about racism with Butler and other students," but reporters wrote that the meeting became "contentious" when members of Concerned Student 1950 addressed Wolfe (Kovacs, Wynn, Molner & Stewart, 2015, para. 3). Students questioned Wolfe's sincerity until he was led away by a university spokesperson (Kovacs, Wynn, Molner & Stewart, 2015). Students' criticism was characterized as aggressive enough to need to remove Wolfe from the situation. While the article gave space for students to criticize Wolfe's actions, the majority of the article was dedicated to the "explosiveness" of the interaction. The article finished with some highlights of positive actions taken by university administrators.

When Wolfe resigned and Butler stopped his hunger strike, media organizations still insisted on questioning Butler about his hunger strike and his health. During a press conference held by Concerned Student 1950 after Wolfe's resignation, one outlet reported "after some goading from the press, Jonathan Butler the student who had been on hunger strike for a week, finally addressed his health, though reluctantly" (Sable-Smith, 2015a). Other media organizations reported on Butler's completion of his hunger strike as an

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entirely separate news article than the press conference and Wolfe's resignation, despite the connection between all of the events. One article even characterized the end of Butler's hunger strike as "the football team's moment," as the University of Missouri football team joined in the protests with Concerned Student 1950 in early November (Bogage, 2015, para. 16). This description completely erased Butler's agency and choice to engage in a hunger strike as a form of protest. One article stated, "A man was hungry and the Missouri football team wanted him to eat. On Monday, he ate. It appears the football team's influence made it happen" (Bogage, 2015, para. 1). This article and others like it erase the context and meaning of Butler's hunger strike, describing it as situation involving food instead of the reason behind the activism. In the end, coverage of Butler's hunger strike ending eclipsed the reason behind the hunger strike in the first place, and was crafted into a media spectacle by news organizations. Butler as media spectacle was transformed from a person into a "radical deviant" who put his own life in danger instead of communicating openly with university administrators.

Coverage reinforcing aggression. Local coverage also characterized Concerned Student 1950's actions as deviant through the use of words that detonated aggression and discord. On October 20, 2015, Concerned Student 1950 penned a letter to university leaders calling for the resignation of Wolfe as university system president, as well as increased hiring of faculty of color and other requests (Packard & Sierra, 2015). News outlets described these requests as controversial, and most coverage focused in on their request to remove Wolfe from office (Pollock, 2016). The list of requests involved almost ten demands, including original requests from the University of Missouri's Legion of

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Black Collegians in 1969, but most media coverage centered on the demands for Wolfe's removal (Pollock, 2016). During interviews with journalists who covered the protests, they discussed the frustration they felt over lack of clarity with Concerned Student 1950's demands. Before the letter from Concerned Student 1950, editors expressed the fact they didn't understand what Concerned Student 1950 was trying to accomplish (Aramita, Héctor, Araceli, personal communication, March 14, 2018). Aramita said her newsroom spent time trying to figure out what the message was, and tried to be purposeful and careful in the language they used in articles. Both Aramita and Héctor expressed confusion at the leadership in Concerned Student 1950, as they said membership in the group fluctuated and there was no clear leader (personal communication, March 14, 2018). Héctor said that he was happy with his organization's coverage "once the stakes were clear," because before the letter the group hadn't expressed clear aims to the press (personal communication, March 14, 2018). Araceli said that her newsroom ended up publishing Concerned Student 1950's statements on Twitter and the list of demands as stand-alone stories on their website, because that was the only place Concerned Student 1950 expressed their views clearly (personal communication, March 14, 2018).

One salient event involved the protesters traveling to Kansas City to talk to Wolfe outside of a fundraiser, a video of which gained traction online and went viral soon after it was filmed (Packard & Sierra, 2015). The video showed members of Concerned Student 1950 asking Wolfe what "systematic oppression" was, and the president mumbled an unsure answer that frustrated the group (Holmon, 2015). Later, coverage described that interaction as an aggressive ambush, where Wolfe was unprepared to meet with students, despite members of Concerned Student 1950 arguing this was the only way

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to reach Wolfe (Holmon, 2015). In addition to meeting Wolfe outside a fundraiser in Kansas City, protestors marched inside of university buildings, during meetings and in other public and visible spaces on campus, which was reported as causing a public nuisance. Reporters wrote articles that drew from social media and alumni groups to discuss critiques of Concerned Student 1950's tactics.

In an interview, Aramita discussed her own experience covering various protests over her journalistic career, and how these protests differed from others she experienced (personal communication, March 14, 2018). She discussed the interplay she previously experienced with protestors as a journalist, and the interactions between police and protestors she recorded. Previously, her concern at these protests had been safety, as the interactions between police and protestors had ended in violence and physical harm for both protestors and journalists. She was still concerned with safety, especially as she led a team of student journalists in her organization, but also critiqued protestors' tactics (personal communication, March 14, 2018). She mentioned her confusion at protestors' eventual goals and refusal to talk to media. She and Héctor both discussed different kinds of protests, mentioning "the right kinds of protests," and Concerned Student 1950 "not being that kind of protest" (personal communication, March 14, 2018). Both Héctor and Aramita expressed an idea of "the right kind of protests," using Concerned Student 1950 as an example of what not to do. In addition, other critiques came from an alumni group called Unity MU. One article noted the members "believe the movement has been counterproductive" because "protestors are calling for tolerance and acceptance, but... their tactics do not communicate those values" (Finley, 2015, paras. 1-2).

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Often when describing interactions between Wolfe and the protesters, journalists used words like “pushed” and “pressed” to describe the behaviors of Concerned Student 1950. In the same articles, Wolfe and other leaders would be described using words such as “said,” “questioned” and “stated.” For example, in an earlier meeting between protesters, Wolfe and UM Chancellor R. Bowen Loftin, media coverage noted Wolfe’s insistence for “conversation and dialogue,” as they “were key to making a change throughout the entire UM System,” but then stated “his comments were received harshly” while students “pushed” for more specifics on how he would make these changes (Terrell, 2015a, paras. 3-5, 14-15). The words “pushed” and “pressed,” are both words that signify discord and aggression, especially in contrast to Wolfe’s request for conversation (Terrell, 2015a). Concerned Student 1950 were described as being consistently dissatisfied with university actions, from announcements of new diversity trainings to meetings with Loftin and Wolfe, and often this dissatisfaction is linked with university pleas for dialogue and conversation, two “civil” methods of solving conflict. Devoid of context, words like “pushed” and “pressed” may not be considered overtly deviant, aggressive or negative. It is in the context of the words used to describe white university leaders, and the lack of neutral words like “questioned” and “stated” used to describe protesters’ requests, that these words represent deviancy. These articles contributed to “the overall tendency of ingroup favoritism...and outgroup derogation” by positively portraying white university leaders as normal and negatively portraying black protesters as deviant (van Dijk, 2002, p. 147). Concerned Student 1950’s dissatisfaction

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became deviancy and discord when compared to the calm and “normal” way that university actions and officials were described.

Resistance and Compliance

A second theme that emerged in local coverage was the dichotomy between white university official’s compliance and protesters’ resistance to the media. From early on in coverage of university events during fall of 2015, the communication styles of both these groups formed the way media coverage would evolve over the course of the next few months. University officials primarily went through professional channels, like media spokespeople and press offices, often illustrating an openness and willingness to talk to reporters about events. Campus leaders’ willingness to talk with journalists even applied to situations like the university’s homecoming parade, where Concerned Student 1950 blocked Wolfe’s car in an attempt to talk with him about the racial injustice on campus. Wolfe gave an interview to *KOMU* even before he released a public statement, saying he was gathering information about the issues Concerned Student 1950 were protesting (Holt, 2015).

University leaders like Wolfe and Loftin made statements, held press conferences, and discussed the importance of collective dialogue whenever they were asked about the protests during the fall of 2015. Overall, university leaders like Wolfe and Loftin were described as people who “asked” for open dialogue to understand the issues happening around them on campus. During interviews, both Aramita and Araceli discussed similar ideas around journalistic access. Aramita noted that Concerned Student 1950 was “not a seasoned team of crisis communicators” like the public relations team the University of

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Missouri had for Wolfe and Loftin (personal communication, March 14, 2018). Araceli expressed the fact that “the university wasn’t always forthcoming” with information, but they would release statements and were more accessible to student journalists than members of Concerned Student 1950 (personal communication, March 14, 2018).

Conversely, Concerned Student 1950 was described as a group that was resistant to communicating with the media, and refused to engage in open dialogue with white university leaders. Protesters resisted engaging with media to varying degrees throughout the fall of 2015, concerned about the way media would portray them in news articles. In September 2015, before the formation of Concerned Student 1950, students organized a Racism Lives Here rally to discuss the ways the university had failed to address racist incidents on campus with Payton Head (Johnson, 2015). Coverage of the event pointed out “organizers declined to speak to reporters” and thus the subsequent articles and quotes came from “public addresses during the rally” (Johnson, 2015, para. 2). In an interview, Héctor told a story about sending a student to cover this event, as he found out about it on Twitter as it was happening in real time (personal communication, March 14, 2018). Héctor said the student “came back with nothing” as students had refused to talk to reporters (personal communication, March 14, 2018). He said he thought, “Well, that’s a dumb strategy. We can’t cover this” (Héctor, personal communication, March 14, 2018). He expressed frustration in trying to “get the story” out of protesters (Héctor, personal communication, March 14, 2018). Protesters often did not provide their names or identities to reporters and declined to comment or be photographed. Protesters did not allow media access to their spaces or primary members of Concerned Student 1950 after

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its formation, preferring to release prepared statements and information through social media platforms. In an interview, Araceli said because they often couldn't interview members of Concerned Student 1950, "we would use what they would say on Twitter. Their side was what they were putting out on social media" (personal communication, March 14, 2018).

As Concerned Student 1950 gained more national visibility, University of Missouri's campus was invaded by national journalists from organizations like CNN and ESPN. After this invasion, protesters and allies were reported as being less and less willing to speak to media. This confused media personnel who described themselves as simply wanting to engage in dialogue with protesters to understand their side of the story. These approaches to media engagement influenced the way that local media covered these two groups, highlighting quotes and statements from university officials more easily and readily than those of protesters. Black protesters' repeated resistance, in context with white university officials' compliance with media requests served to reinforce the ideologies of whiteness and goodness and blackness as badness.

Policy change coverage. These characterizations were present with stories involving policy changes or announcements by Wolfe and Loftin, which leaders described as positive responses to help foster inclusivity. One of the early solutions MU Chancellor Loftin proposed to address racism on campus was new mandatory diversity and inclusion training (Amedin, 2015; Kovacks, 2015a; Vaidya, 2015). Loftin's October announcement of this training came almost a month after MSA President Payton Head was called racial slurs, and four days after the Legion of Black Collegians were called the

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same racial slurs on campus. When covering this event, reporters often included quotes from Loftin that described the urgency of this training, and its implementation as “the first step towards a more inclusive campus at MU” (Vaidya, 2015, para. 2). Quotes from faculty and staff praised the training, discussing the impact it would have on future groups of students (Amedin, 2015). Faculty involved in a race relations group on campus said the “approach complements the long-term work” the committee had been engaged with over the last months (Kovacs, 2015a, para. 23). Another faculty member said Loftin showed “strong leadership in coming up with a decision” that could “address the critical concerns” on campus (Kovacs, 2015a, para. 13).

One article did ask students who had been protesting about their opinions of Loftin’s announcement, and introduced these opinions with the phrase “but not everyone is celebrating the chancellor’s announcement,” placing the protesters in direct contrast seemingly to the rest of campus who was overjoyed with this news (Kovacs, 2015a, para. 14). The article then reported the protesters saying Loftin’s decision was short-sighted and a “knee-jerk reaction to recent incidents on campus, rather than a thought-out decision with a strategic plan” (Kovacs, 2015a, para. 16). In coverage of this event, the protesters were the only sources used to express dissent and resistance to the idea of mandatory diversity training, further singling them out as agents of resistance in direct contrast to the rest of the community.

Local coverage also highlighted compliant ways to communicate: official channels, votes, discussions with key stakeholders, and other more structural forms of engagement. Oftentimes, journalists reported on these communications as normal

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occurrences at the university, despite the fact that the communications were around protesters, protest actions and growing frustration from people at the university. For example, some faculty were unhappy with the way Loftin had handled events with Head and the Legion of Black Collegians, and in early November the English department casted a vote of no confidence in him (Famuliner, Adkisson & Hambrick, 2015). This vote of no confidence in Loftin was a public declaration from faculty that they neither supported nor believed in Loftin's leadership. The article did not describe the faculty members who signed the letter describing the vote of no confidence as hostile, and described faculty members' letter as something that "informed" the chancellor, rather than "demanded" him to resign or change his behavior. The article also quoted the source's encouragement of similar participation from other faculty and staff on campus, signaling the positive action this form of communication took (Famuliner, Adkisson & Hambrick, 2015). The end of the article stated Loftin was open to meeting with the faculty members to address their concerns and eventually lead to an amenable outcome for both parties. The coverage of these compliant communication avenues in context with protesters' resistance further reinforced the differences between the two groups, leading to "the overall tendency of...positive self-presentation" for white leaders and "negative Other-presentation" for black protesters (van Dijk, 2002, p. 147).

Communication issue coverage. As university leaders and protesters communication styles continued to deviate from one another, local news coverage often presented reports that forwarded university officials' ideas of the importance of open dialogue. Some media coverage distilled the issues between protesters and university

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officials as simply “a communication issue,” minimizing the structural and systemic inequality at the university. One outlet summarized these “communication issues” during the protests in fall of 2015 as the following:

Students and administrators admit that even those who understand many of the issues don't understand all of them.

Activists on the front lines can't understand what other students are feeling.

Students on the outside who want to help can't put themselves in activists' shoes.

Administrators don't understand their own shortcomings, while students don't understand administrative limits. Even community members who dedicate their time have to spend hours trying to wrap their minds around the problem (Foley, 2015, paras. 2-4).

These issues, as news outlets continued to report, could simply be solved by both parties coming together and agreeing to open dialogue. It was protesters' resistance and “what they perceive[d] as denial and lack of administrative leadership,” that led to the continuation of this conflict, and perhaps even events like Butler's hunger strike (Kovacs, 2015b, para. 8). For example, during a meeting between Wolfe, Loftin and protesters, a member of Concerned Student 1950 was quoted as saying to Wolfe, “I don't want to talk to anybody. I want you resigned, I need for you to leave” (Terrell, 2015b, para. 9). The article then said Wolfe told the student he wanted to speak with members of Concerned Student 1950 to understand their point of view (Terrell, 2015b, para. 10). In this case, Wolfe was characterized as hospitable and encouraging open dialogue, whereas protesters were characterized as resistant and hostile to his suggestions. The media coverage often

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reduced both parties to these roles, favoring a narrative that pitted protesters and university officials against each other. While media outlets continued to report on stories like these as communication issues between university leaders and protesters, journalists also began to experience more widespread resistance from protesters to engage with them on stories.

Social movement scholarship often describes the complex relationships between media and protesters, as protesters often need media to cover events to bring more attention to causes, but are also wary of the incomplete picture media create of their movements (Mattoni & Trere, 2014; Seguin, 2016). They function together in a precarious space, but there is an assumption that they do function together. It was one thing to report on the resistance of protesters in relation to university officials, but it was a separate thing to experience personal resistance, which some journalists said influenced the way they reported on events. One journalist conveyed the following story about their experiences:

When I got back to my desk, yesterday, a reporter in St. Louis tweeted at me about a photo I had posted showing demonstrators blocking out the media.

‘What’s the rationale for blocking out the media?’ he asked.

‘I asked,’ I replied, ‘was told, no comment.’

‘This appears to be a concern,’ he said, quoting a tweet that read, ‘White media loves to make things about them. It’s disgusting.’

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I understand the sentiment. Here I am writing this story, after all (Sable-Smith, 2015b, paras. 20-23).

Articles often described multiple ways in which protesters resisted engaging, oftentimes involving completely shutting out media. One article stated, “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’” (Brannan, 2015, para. 2). The same article also made sure to note a meeting held after the demonstration “was closed to the media, and students were asked not to talk with the media after the meeting” (Brannan, 2015, para. 16). Even when the journalist attempted to discuss the meeting with a member of Concerned Student 1950, the article reported she “declined to comment about the meeting” and “had no comment because ‘students need to process emotionally’” (Brannan, 2015, para. 17). This repeated characterization served to further cement protesters’ resistance, especially in contrast to the accessibility of university leaders and the prevalence of their communication on protest events.

During an interview, Héctor discussed the fact that this resistance went against the regular method of journalistic instruction he had previously given to students (personal communication, March 14, 2018). The outlet had rules about anonymity, and when it was appropriate to allow sources to have anonymity, but protesters’ refusals to name themselves or comment about the events did not fall under those rules. Students needed to have named sources to publish their stories, but protesters did not comply. “The established rules didn’t work,” said Héctor (personal communication, March 14, 2018). The protesters’ tactics were in direct opposition to how he trained students to do

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journalism, and he was not sure how to help students when covering protesters (Héctor, personal communication, March 14, 2018). All of these descriptions are in alignment with the ideologies around blackness and whiteness. Blackness in these local news stories was related to hostility and an almost “uncivilized” refusal to communicate, whereas whiteness was agreeable and engaged fully with media requests (De B'éri & Hogarth, 2009).

In local media coverage of the protesters, the most salient portrait of media resistance from protesters was during their actions at Carnahan Quadrangle. These events were so powerful that they ended up shifting the media narrative entirely, from the conflicts between university leaders and protesters to the conflicts between journalists covering the movement and protesters. Coverage turned quickly to First Amendment violations and the rights of journalists in public spaces. In a matter of days, media coverage erased the reasons protesters were organizing in the first place in favor of a narrative that centered journalists' victimhood in relation to the hostility and aggression of protesters.

When protesters eventually set up an encampment at Carnahan Quadrangle, they declared it a “no media zone,” which prompted the larger question of the overall First Amendment validity of the media safe zone (Smith & Gordon, 2015). Students and allies formed a human circle around the encampment to stop media personnel from entering and intruding upon the space, creating a “no media zone.” When Wolfe finally resigned from his position at the university on November 9, media swarmed the encampment to interview protesters, but this human circle stopped people from entering. The day of

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Wolfe's resignation ended in a viral video where Melissa Click, a communication professor at the university, attempted to remove Tim Tai, a photojournalism student at the university who was taking photographs of the protesters celebrating Wolfe's ousting for ESPN (Sable-Smith, 2015b). Media coverage characterized Click's actions in a wide range, from the more benign description of her blocking Tai from taking photographs to a violent description of her assaulting him. In conversation, Aramita and Héctor even referred to this day as "Click Day" or "The Click Event," showcasing the largess this moment had in the minds of journalists (personal communication, March 14, 2018).

One journalist who was in the middle of the meeting between the professor and the student photographer ran a story about his reflections (Sable-Smith, 2015b). He discussed his confusion about the situation, stating "I also had to wonder, 'what's the point of shutting me out?'" and admitted he did not have a good answer for why protesters were being so resistant to media (Sable-Smith, 2015b, para. 18). He ended by stating, "I'm writing this because I really don't know what to make of the whole day, and it sure would help to have a conversation" (Sable-Smith, 2015b, para. 24). Despite Click not being a part of Concerned Student 1950, her behavior was conflated with protesters' resistance, and seen as the ultimate "shutting out" of media by protesters and allies. This event seemed to confirm to previously held ideas about protesters' resistance, conflated with a focus on black male protesters: that it would ultimately lead to physical violence and harm. These ideas of physical violence and black criminality, specifically focused on black men, are ideas passed down from the enslavement of black people in the United States used to uphold a "system of racial dominance" (hooks, 1992, p. 2).

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The salient event involving Click also went against previous ideologies of whiteness that university leaders' actions embodied. Throughout the protests in fall of 2015, white university leaders followed the same patterns of engagement with protesters: they released written statements, they gave interviews with media outlets commenting on protest events, and they petitioned protesters to engage in open dialogue with them at formal meetings. These patterns of engagement were coded as normal and compliant. These patterns were placed in direct opposition with black protesters' tactics, like informal meetings and marches throughout campus, which were coded as resistant, deviant and potentially even physically violent. Click was a white communication professor at the university, and on the surface would seemingly be aligned with ideas around normalcy and compliance, similarly to white university leadership. Ideologies of whiteness, especially with themes of compliance and normalcy, often act "as a framework to categorize people and understand their social locations" (Crenshaw, 1997, p. 255). Click's actions were outside of this ideological framework of whiteness, and thus her behavior was categorized as "other," as she transgressed whiteness and authority. Media characterizations and critiques of her actions were more closely aligned with aggression and physical violence than normalcy and compliance. This transgression could also be a reason the media narrative so quickly shifted from protesters to an obsession with physical safety and journalists' roles in upholding the First Amendment.

When interviewing Aramita, she repeatedly discussed the importance of student safety in this moment, and the harried conversations that happened over text with both professional staff and student journalists to ensure everyone's safety (personal

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communication, March 14, 2018). Safety was such a concern for Aramita that when asked if she would guide students differently during reporting on future social movements, she said she wanted to help students learn basic personal safety training and practicing safe distances for coverage (personal communication, March 14, 2018). Similarly, Héctor discussed the volatile nature of the event, saying there was “a possibility for things to be unsafe,” and both agreed to the importance of pairing students to professional reporters (personal communication, March 14, 2018). During an interview, Araceli said she also recognized the way that coverage of Melissa Click served to divert the story away from the protesters and their accomplishments (personal communication, March 14, 2018). Araceli said Click was important, and she didn’t think the organization should have avoided covering her, but wondered “if our protest coverage suffered because of it” (personal communication, March 14, 2018). Click seemed to be aware of this narrative hijacking, and tried to bring it to light when being interviewed. In one of the first stories where Click discussed the events, she was quoted as saying she “apologized for the way her actions ‘have shifted attention away from the students’ campaign for justice” (Middaugh & Sosby, 2015, para. 2). Despite the inclusion of quotes like these in stories about Click and Tai, journalists did not shift their attention back to protesters, but instead began coverage of the importance of journalistic freedom.

From the date of the event between Click and Tai onwards, coverage shifted to stories on the importance of journalism and reinforced the idea of compliance with media organizations. Articles with titles like “In rights of activists and media, no clear answer;” “Title IX complaint filed against Click,” “White House press secretary, Lt. Gov. Peter

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Kinder offer support for journalists” began appearing. Journalists had exclusive interviews with Tai and Click where they explained their sides of the story. Protesters seemed to take note of the negativity associated with their previous communication strategy, and the overwhelming support journalists found with organizations like the ACLU and national news outlets. Local journalists reported that protesters took down the “no media zone” signs in their encampment, and actively welcomed journalists into their space a few days after the event between Click and Tai (Salonikas, 2015). Protesters handed out PSAs to journalists, which read “The media is important to tell our story and experiences at Mizzou to the world. Let's welcome and thank them” (Salonikas, 2015, para. 4). It appears as if when members of Concerned Student 1950 saw the public backlash from Click’s actions, and the media’s conflation of her actions with the group’s, they then allowed media into their encampment and were more compliant with media requests than before. Unfortunately, the damage had been done, as journalists’ lasting coverage left an imprint of a movement that was hostile, deviant, resistant and ultimately questionably successful because of the vitriol over Click’s actions. While Concerned Student 1950 continued to organize after November 2015, the event with Click served to divert local coverage from protesters entirely, until they were brought up in subsequent years as scapegoats for university ills.

Examining over 200 articles from local news sources that covered the 2015 protests at the University of Missouri revealed the damaging ideologies of race that were forwarded through coverage. Whiteness was held up as compliant and normal, while blackness was deviant and resistant. Salient protest events, from the homecoming parade

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to the encampment at Carnahan Quadrangle, were used as examples of protesters' "otherness" and aggression. Journalists used discursive elements like inclusion or exclusion of source quotes; phrases and words that denoted aggression and discord; and elements like children's innocence and confusion over a hunger strike to express these ideologies. While local journalists expressed pride in their coverage during interviews, the coverage as a whole served to reinforce the superiority of whiteness and inferiority of blackness in almost all situations.

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Conclusion

It is essential to understand how current student protests at universities, specifically protesting racist ideologies and structural inequalities in higher education, are covered by local media. This understanding will help to contextualize this coverage's place in the wider landscape of news coverage of social movements in the United States. Student protests have long and storied histories at institutions of higher learning across the globe, and have contributed to both local and national changes (Humrighouse, 2014; Sumner, 1995; White, 2016). Embedded in both student university protests and the media that cover them are ideologies about race (Van Dijk, 2009). These ideologies help to contribute to a journalistic system that reinforces the power and prestige of whiteness while vilifying and dehumanizing blackness (Collins, 2004; Davis, 1983; Durham, 2015; Fuller, 2001; Griffin, 2004; hooks, 1992; Noble, 2014).

Analyzing coverage from *KBIA*, *KOMU* and the *Columbia Missourian* revealed the ways that local media organizations have updated and transformed ideologies of race in coverage. While coverage was characterized by the dichotomy of whiteness as good and blackness as bad, it also took on more complex dimensions as it expanded these ideologies to incorporate ideas of deviancy, normalcy, compliance and resistance. This was done through discursive elements like choice of sources, words and phrases used to describe protesters, and critiques leveled at protesters by both journalists and event bystanders. Despite local media's proximity to the events, and despite many of the reporters being university students themselves, local coverage still reinforced dominant

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ideologies of race in the United States. This analysis helped to uncover the discursive ways in which media continue to oppress and subjugate people of color, especially those working toward justice in their communities. Continuing to uncover these ideologies and their perpetuation is essential in understanding how media organizations not just transmit meaning, but are actively involved in create meaning (Hall, 2006, p. 60).

One possible limitation for this research was the time frame chosen to analyze. Social media scholars discuss the necessity of looking at “historical processes and outcomes over much longer time frames” (Garner & Tenuto, 1997, p. 43), as “history tells us that political struggles against more powerful forces in society require endless vigilance and commitment on the part of many people, often over generations” (Pickard & Yang, 2017, p. XIV). The cut-off date chosen, November 20, 2015, was chosen because of the shift in coverage from the protesters to other university officials affiliated with the protests and punitive action against them. There are other events that occurred with Concerned Student 1950 past the cut-off date, and analyzing coverage of those events from 2016 could have added helpful insights to this research. It could also aid in observing new patterns or themes of coverage that emerged as journalists reflected on the impact of the movement. Scholars could argue for a different cut-off date for the textual analysis, as it is challenging to note when exactly a social movement “ends,” but this research argues that the change in focus to Melissa Click’s firing could be considered the end of the immediate coverage of the fall 2015 protests.

The final limitation involves discussions with journalists who produced and worked on the texts analyzed. Earlier proposals for this research involved a mixed

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methods study with in-depth interviews with journalists from *KBIA*, the *Columbia Missourian* and *KOMU*. These in-depth interviews would have been utilized to understand racial ideologies in journalists' work. Interviews would have supplemented the ideological criticism lens used to analyze media coverage, as well as add depth and insight to the analysis. While examining texts provides a viewpoint as to how the world is interpreted, using in-depth interviews could have helped "to go deep, to uncover new guidelines, open novel problem dimensions and provide...a clear, accurate and inclusive opinion based on a personal experience" (Polar Kovačič & Erjavec, 2011, p. 332). Due to time limitations, only three editors from local news organizations were interviewed to supplement the analyzed texts.

Local coverage of the protests of fall of 2015 are an incredibly rich source of information, and there are multiple avenues future researchers could explore. The coverage of the university football team's solidarity with Concerned Student 1950 and Jonathan Butler, for example, could be an illuminating analysis of the role of athletes in social movements, especially in the current context of protests by professional athletes. Scholars could also observe the prevalence of black male speakers in coverage, and the constructed invisibility of women of color in articles on the protests. Researchers could engage with the historical implications of the protests in 2015, linking them back to a long and storied history of protests at the University of Missouri. Finally, scholars in the field could analyze the way the university re-contextualized the protests and Concerned Student 1950 in the face of budget cuts, a mass exodus of university leaders after Loftin and Wolfe, and low enrollment numbers.

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In addition, this research focused on journalists and their transmission of dominant ideologies around race, but future research should incorporate reflections and perspectives from members of Concerned Student 1950 and others who protested during the fall of 2015. Their perspectives are essential to corroborate, challenge and complicate media coverage of the events in 2015. Future scholarship could compare their experiences with local and national coverage, discuss their organizing and movement tactics, and draw comparisons between student movement actors in Ferguson.

Finally, uncovering racial ideologies in local media coverage of student university protests serves to illuminate these ideologies for journalists covering similar movements. This understanding could lead to a change in the way local journalists cover university student protests and social movements in the future, as their mindfulness could create more balanced and equitable coverage for social movement actors. During interviews with Araceli, Héctor and Aramita, all three journalists expressed some regrets for the way their organization covered the events. While Héctor, Aramita and Araceli said they were overall happy with their coverage, or as one editor put it, “our coverage kicked ass,” they did express a need to historicize the protests for a wider audience (personal communication, March 14, 2018). Araceli blamed this on student turnover, as students in her department rotated in and out of the newsroom over the course of the semester depending on their class requirements. All three journalists discussed not having enough time to cover everything, but wanting to include more analysis and history into articles in the future. Araceli mentioned it opened her eyes to the experiences her students of color were having on campus, and led to more open conversations in the newsroom about the

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trauma of covering these events (personal communication, March 14, 2018). Aramita discussed how it helped her to be more conscientious of the challenges students of color were facing, and to implement more structured trainings to have conversations around race and inequity on the university's campus with students (personal communication, March 14, 2018). Héctor wanted to help students with their knowledge of the First Amendment, but coverage of the protests also helped him think about the dimensions of race in coverage more than he did previously (personal communication, March 14, 2018).

Beyond extending the scholarship of social movements into more recent student university protests, this research aimed to transform the local media landscape by engaging with editors who covered the events. Local media organizations should "help us reframe our ability to talk about race, power, and privilege in the long view" (Noble, 2014, p. 25). This transformation is not fast, but rather "requires time and space to explore the traditions from which racial incidents emerge and to locate them in sociohistorical context" (Noble, 2014, p. 25). As Anzaldúa (2012) writes,

The struggle has always been inner and is played out in the outer terrains.

Awareness of our situation must come before inner changes, which in turn come before changes in society. Nothing happens in the "real" world unless it first happens in the images in our heads (p. 109).

When editors were confronted with the ideological assumptions outlined in local coverage, they did not associate these issues with their own coverage of the protests. They often blamed students' inexperience or turnover for problems in coverage, despite the fact that many texts analyzed were edited and guided by professional staff (Aramita,

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Héctor, Araceli, personal communication, March 14, 2018). While journalists did not express clear ways to engage with social movements more equitably in the future, they did stress the importance of treating their students of color more equitably, and the overall need for a more diverse staff to cover issues of racial inequality (Aramita, Héctor, Araceli, personal communication, March 14, 2018). Hopefully, these conversations and ideas will serve as a starting point for transformation, so everyone can begin working towards "el día cuando aceptamos tal y como somos y para donde vamos y porque" (Anzaldúa, 2012, p. 109).

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Appendix A: Textual Analysis Coding Sheet

Discourse Around Blackness in the United States	White gaze	Inferiority and laziness	Violence and aggression
Key Words/Phrases	“Us (whiteness) vs. Them (blackness)”, divisive/division/divisions, “Complaints vs. concerns,” ruined/ruining/ruin, “Address vs. fix vs. solve,” “Incidents vs. events vs. facts”	entitled/entitlement, “hurt feelings,” unproductive, futile, irresponsible, uncivilized, “Request vs. demand”	Riot, broke out, violent/violence, aggressive, mean, damage/damaging/damaged, animalistic/animal, broken/broke/breaking, war/battle/fight, scream/screaming/screeching

Discourse Around Social Movements and Race in the United States	Public Nuisance Paradigm (Interrupting daily, normal life functions; protests as unpatriotic and ineffective)	Protest Paradigm (Over-reliance on government and official sources instead of protest actors and leaders)
Key Words/Phrases	Dramatic, tension, nuisance, frustrated/frustrating/aggravating/disruptive/disrupting, inconvenient, extreme	View sources and quote placement in articles

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Appendix B: Interview Questions

When did you first start covering the protests? Why?

What were newsroom discussions like about the protests and their coverage? Did you discuss race as a factor in the protests or in your coverage?

How did you guide reporters as they covered the protests? If you had discussions, what did those discussions look like or contain?

What do you think of your newsroom's overall coverage of the protests now? Is there anything you wish you could change?

What would ideal coverage of the protests look like to you? Is there an example of great coverage of the protests you can think of?

Do you think there is a place for discussions about race and reporting in your newsroom? Why or why not? What would be the benefit of those conversations?

(Show results from textual analysis, and discuss thoughts and findings)

Would you guide reporters differently covering future social movements at the university or in Missouri? Why or why not?