

MEDIA COVERAGE AND THE FERGUSON UNREST

by

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## **ABSTRACT**

The media aids in bringing to light many social issues across the nation each and every day. Historically, police force on African Americans can be seen amongst many media outlets. However, with technological advances the media has flourished which makes it possible for the media to supply coverage of police force on African Americans more now than ever before. This exploratory analysis aimed to uncover ways in which the media has framed the individuals involved in the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri on August 9, 2014. Articles from four media outlets were used in this analysis. Data was collected from the articles that specifically focused on terms and phrases used to describe the deceased and the officer involved as well as the altercation between the two individuals involved. Results of the analysis show that specific words to identify and describe the deceased and officer involved were used at a much higher rate in national news outlets as opposed to a local news outlet from Missouri. These results are specifically discussed as well as limitations and ideas for further research on the data that was collected and use.

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Public unrest in the wake of police force on African Americans is a topic people from every generation can say they have witnessed or have been a part of throughout history. From the Watts riots in 1965, the Rodney King riots that erupted in 1992, and the 2014 Ferguson unrest, public outcry over the treatment of African Americans by police officers is nothing new. Also, the news media has played a huge role in the framing of such events, and participation in these historical riots and/or protests can be largely attributed to the incredible circulation and power of mass media (Oberschall 1968). Over the years, media attention has fluctuated in its coverage of the unrest that has proceeded events involving police force against African Americans. Because of the huge influence the media plays in shaping public opinion, the purpose of this thesis is to explore the coverage of the shooting of an unarmed black teen, Michael Brown, by a police officer on August 9, 2014 in Ferguson, Missouri. More specifically, articles from four major news sources will be explored and evaluated to determine how the event and people involved were framed by each news source specifically.

The media has played a role in the transpiring of events and public opinion in the aftermath of the initial incidents that led to the Watts riots, the Rodney King riots, and the more recent Ferguson unrest. In 1965, the riots that broke out in Watts, Los Angeles following an altercation between an African American male and police officer were televised. Immediately following this original incident, word spread like wildfire and news sources were reporting on it (Oberschall 1968). This news coverage, although limited to the few major news outlets that existed at the time, was said to be the fuel that ignited such a huge outpour of individuals to participate in the riots that occurred in the following days (Oberschall 1968). In the 1960's communities were extremely segregated by race and with the migration of African Americans out of the deep south and into areas like Los Angeles, neighborhoods were changing. With the formation of

different areas heavily populated by specifically white or black individuals, the white community was mostly informed of opinions and events within the black community via mass media. In 1971 Johnson, Sears, and McConahay believed that the circulation of mass media reports could result positively because it may relay “the attitudes, feelings, lifestyles, and even the very existence of black people” to the white community (Johnson, Sears, McConahay 1971; pp. 702). Although the media did play an important role in the spread of information regarding the Watts Riots and the altercation that ultimately ignited the riots, it is important to note that media at that time was nowhere near as advanced as it was during the Rodney King Riots or today.

The media also played a large part in the coverage and circulation of the videotaped beating of African American male, Rodney King, by multiple police officers in 1991 (Maurantonio 2014). The police force used against King in an altercation in Los Angeles was deemed “excessive,” and the recording of the incident sparked another huge outpouring of individuals in the form of riots and protests (Maurantonio 2014; pp. 751). The news media circulated the video of King’s beating so frequently, that it was deemed “one of the most watched pieces of amateur video in history” (Maurantonio 2014; pp. 742). This incident took media coverage to a different level than previously seen or reported during the Watts Riots. For instance, the altercation that ignited the Watts Riots was not videotaped. With the advancement of technology and media as a whole, the recording of Rodney King’s beating by police officers brought about a completely new type of media coverage.

Riots and protests occurred in great numbers following the acquittal of all four officers that were charged in the beating of Rodney King and tensions were higher than ever in an area with an already high rate of racial conflict (Marks, Barreto, Woods 2004). While it is extremely important to keep the public informed of events such as these that show a huge conflict between different groups of individuals, the



media may not always portray things exactly how or why they occurred. Many scholars conclude that during the unrest that took place after the acquittal of the police officers involved in the beating of Rodney King, the media pushed the message of racial conflict to an extreme and that it was overstated (Marks, Barreto, Woods 2004; Valle and Torres 2000; Hunt 1997). This is evidence of the great power the media holds in shaping public opinion.

According to Nancy Berns, the media shapes and portrays events in ways that will best sell their product. In this case the products are newspapers, magazines, and even televised content (Berns 2004; p. 3). Although Berns focuses more so on domestic violence and the framing of victims by the media, her sociological theory can very well be used as a lens to look at the framing of all victims by the media (Berns 2004). Since the media was involved in the aftermath of each of these historic events, this exploratory content analysis has examined four media outlets and their portrayals of the incident in Ferguson, Missouri. Along with this, I have examined the media coverage of the actual event that sparked such an uproar regarding excessive police force and African American males. Before doing so, however, it is important to begin with a historical platform to support the claim that this is nothing new in the United States.

## **CHAPTER TWO: THE WATTS RIOTS**

On August 11, 1965 Marquette Frye, an African American male, was pulled over by a police officer for driving over the speed limit. The officer noticed that Frye was drunk and notified him that he was under arrest for driving while intoxicated. As this situation was transpiring, a passerby and acquaintance of Frye, ran to Frye's home just a short distance away to notify Frye's family of what was happening. Not long after that, Marquette Frye's mother, Lena Frye, arrived at the scene, which now included back-up police officers, and began to argue with them. Chaos erupted when Marquette, who had originally been cooperative with the police officer, began to resist arrest. It was reported that Marquette became uncooperative due to embarrassment after his mother arrived (Matei & Ball-Rokeach 2005). Marquette grew increasingly uncooperative when the police officer attempted to put him in the patrol car. At this point a crowd began to form around Marquette, Lena Frye and the police officers. It was reported that the force used to restrain Marquette Frye by the police officers was excessive in nature (Matei & Ball-Rokeach 2005).

In 1965, Watts, a small neighborhood in Los Angeles, was a predominately black community. The crowd that formed around the Fryes and the police officers were, thus, predominately black individuals. Soon after a crowd of roughly 1,000 black individuals had formed, even more chaos erupted, but now it was between the crowd and the officers. The bystanders began throwing things at the officers and their patrol cars before some of the police began to retreat. However, even as they tried to retreat, the uproar grew even more intense. Before retreating completely, some officers tried to arrest individuals who spit on and threatened them but as the crowd grew in extreme number, the police were outnumbered and decided to retreat completely. While the police were retreating, people began throwing rocks and other objects at patrol cars which then led to the destruction of vehicles driving by on the streets. For the 5 days

that followed the initial incident, a riot ensued which ended in the death of 34 individuals, 1,032 injuries, and millions of dollars in property damage of buildings burned and looted (Pfeffer 1967; Matei & Ball-Rokeach 2005). The riot that occurred in Watts over the span of roughly 5 days was so intense that Los Angeles police were completely thrown on how to handle it. As the number of rioters grew, the police realized that they were not equipped or prepared to handle that kind of situation (Miller 2001). After the Watts riots, the mayor of Los Angeles at the time, Mayor Sam Yorty, did little to nothing to mend the underlying issues of poverty and despair that led to the outrage and ensuing riot (Dreier 2003).

The underlying causes of the riot that erupted have been speculated and examined by many scholars since the historic event occurred over those 5 days. The excessive force used on Marquette Frye, and his arrest that followed, brought to the surface years of discrimination, unemployment, poverty, and all around frustration by the black community (Pfeffer 1967). As this was a relatively new phenomenon in the world of mass media, it was the first time riots of this kind were aired on television. This media coverage, in the form of print media and television broadcasts, brought extreme amounts of attention to the neighborhood of Watts and Los Angeles in general, and immediately following the riot, hundreds of studies were conducted by researchers across the country with a focus on the Watts riot.

### **CHAPTER THREE: THE RODNEY KING RIOT (1992)**

On March 3, 1991 in Los Angeles, California, Rodney King, an African American male, was involved in a high speed police chase on a Los Angeles freeway. After running multiple lights over the course of the police chase, King, who was intoxicated, stopped his vehicle. The two passengers in his car were arrested but King continued to resist the officer's advances to arrest him. With the arrival of back-up officers, they successfully got King on his knees, but still continued to beat him while he was on the ground. The police officers struck King with batons over fifty times during the beating (Miller 2001).

Everything that transpired outside of the car on the Los Angeles freeway was videotaped and the photographer behind the camera sold the footage a news station in the area. The televised news media played a more influential role at the time than broadcasting. When the amateur footage was aired multiple times and circulated throughout the greater Los Angeles area via televised broadcast, the public was outraged and the incident was deemed to be a definite use of excessive force by police officers. Even more than police brutality alone, this event sparked racial outrage as the four police officers videotaped in the beating were all white. The incident was deemed by the Black community as being racially motivated.

All four police officers involved in the beating were indicted on felony assault charges and were tried in the predominately white area of the Simi Valley in Los Angeles. On April 29, 1992 an all-white jury found three of the police officers not guilty and failed to reach a verdict on the fourth police officer (Miller 2001). Total chaos erupted all over Los Angeles immediately following the announcement that the police officers were found not guilty. The riots that followed the public announcement of the verdict lasted several days, and the inability to get a handle on the situation led many to believe that the police officers had not learned anything from the Watts riot that occurred decades prior (Miller 2001). The riots

that ensued resulted in 50 deaths, thousands of injuries, and roughly \$1 billion in damage to property throughout the Los Angeles area (Dreier 2003; Miller 2001).

In the wake of the aftermath of the 1992 Los Angeles riots, politicians and businessmen hoped to create a plan to tackle the social and economic problems of the impoverished neighborhoods within Los Angeles (Dreier 2003). With a topdown approach, Mayor Tom Bradley who was voted into office after Sam Yorty in 1973, hoped to fix the problem of extreme joblessness by creating The Rebuild LA program. However, the program failed to reach its goal of over \$4 billion needed to begin to fix the joblessness by only raising and investing \$400 million over its five year long run (Dreier 2003; pp. 40). Today work is still being done to tackle the social and economic problems that have plagued mostly black and hispanic neighborhoods in Los Angeles.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: FERGUSON UNREST**

According to the latest census information, in 2010 the population in Ferguson, Missouri was 21,203. This makes up a small amount of the state as a whole with the state population in 2010 at 5,988,927 (Census 2010). The racial make-up of Ferguson, Missouri at that time was far from equally dispersed. Whites (not Hispanic or Latino) made up 28.7% of the Ferguson, Missouri population and Black or African American made up 67.4%. Roughly the remaining 3.3% of the population, in terms of race are American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, two or more races, and Hispanic or Latino. The median household income as documented in the 2010 census was \$38,685. This was lower than the Missouri state median income which was \$47,380. The percentage of individuals below the poverty level in Ferguson, Missouri was 24.9% which is higher than the state of Missouri's total percentage of individuals below the poverty level at 15.5% (Census 2010).

Decades after the Watts riot of 1965 and the Rodney King riots of 1992, use of excessive police force by white officers is still an issue. On August 9, 2014, an unarmed African American teenager, Michael Brown, was fatally shot by a white police officer in Ferguson, Missouri. The killing of Michael Brown has led to riots, protests, and vigils in not just Ferguson, Missouri but across the nation. There was a presence of mass media during the Watts riot of 1965 and Rodney King riots of 1992, but decades later media is far more advanced. The advancements in media and communication over the years has greatly impacted the coverage of the Ferguson unrest and the event that ultimately sparked it. The extremely broad media coverage of the events in Ferguson are far and above the media coverage at the time of the Watts and Rodney King altercations and riots that followed. During the first week of protests after the killing of Michael Brown, police were in full force shooting rubber bullets and using tear gas on groups of protesters. It is evident that the police are handling the riots and protests that have ensued after the killing

of Michael Brown in very different ways than the Los Angeles police did during the Watts and King riots (Hahn 2014).

Although the police retaliation towards rioters and protesters of the Watts riots of 1965, Rodney King riots of 1992, and Ferguson unrest of 2014 may be different, connections can still be drawn from all three events. For instance, each event involved white police officers using excessive force on African American males. After each event, the excessive force was noted by the general public which sparked outrage among the Black communities in Los Angeles and Ferguson, Missouri. Through mass media, descriptions of each event spread like wildfire to the local communities as well as across the nation. It is with media circulation that the public is made aware of such events.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY & MEDIA FRAMING OF VICTIMS**

As the media has expanded over recent decades, more and more people rely on it to learn about social problems and world events. The media has become an outlet people turn to in order to learn about what is going on in the world around them. It is now easy to simply browse a newspaper's website to see the top stories of the day or even the top stories of the hour. With such easy accessibility, the media holds great power on its shoulders. Nancy Berns, a sociologist who focuses much of her work on how victims are framed by the media, explains that each media outlet frames their content to better appeal to certain audiences (Berns 2004). This means that different newspapers may frame individuals involved in news stories in ways that better appeal to their target audiences. Since most people obtain their knowledge of social problems and world events through the media, this can become a problem if they are not accurately portrayed. Opinions and ideas are shaped based on the content of news stories. If victims are not accurately portrayed in the media, readers are getting a skewed image of them and are then taking this frame of the victim and possibly sharing it with others. This can create a cycle of inaccurate victim framing (Berns 2004).

Because the media plays a large role in relaying information to the public, the purpose of this thesis is to examine how the fatal shooting of Michael Brown and the social unrest that followed was depicted in major media outlets. Within three major online news sources, I have examined multiple articles published by each to discover how the individual news outlets framed the initial shooting and the events that transpired afterwards.

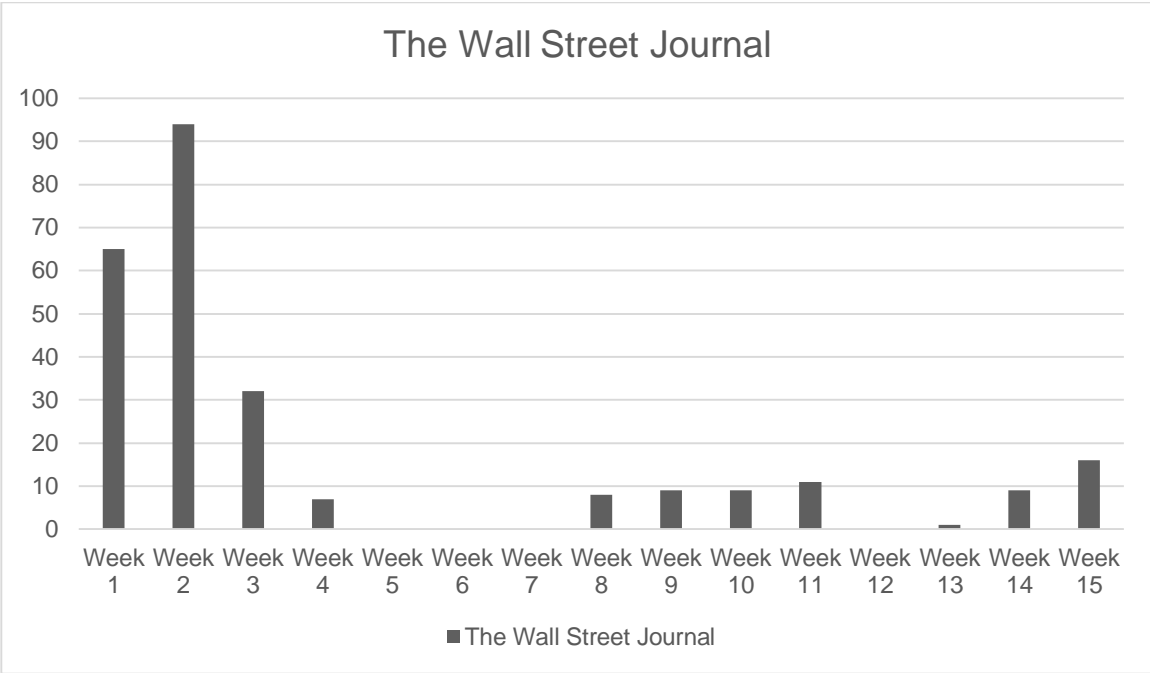


## CHAPTER SIX: DATA

In this exploratory content analysis I have examined four major media outlets and their portrayal of the Ferguson unrest as well as the event that led to that unrest. The four media outlets examined are *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Huffington Post*, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. All four sources have been heralded as prestigious news sources all while reporting on an array of topics from national to international news. I chose national news sources as well as a local Missouri news sources so that I could obtain a larger number of articles to examine in a broader scope along with more magnified news stories coming directly from Missouri.

*The Wall Street Journal*, known as a prestigious media source with a great following of readers and supporters, has been known as a leader in conservative journalism (Beddingfield 2012). Although the journalistic news stories are said to follow a non-bias approach, the editorial sections of the publication have been conservative leaning in nature (Beddingfield 2012). On the other side of the spectrum, *The New York Times* was chosen for this exploratory analysis because it has been heralded as a more liberal media news source (Senior 2009). With these two news sources known for having different political outlooks in their styles of journalism, there is variety in the articles gathered and there may be differences in the way in which articles from each source are written. As *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times* are veterans in print media, I wanted to add another media source to give even more variety with the articles gathered. For this reason, I chose to include articles from *The Huffington Post*. I chose *The Huffington Post* because, unlike *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times*, it is a digital-only media source and is relatively new to the world of journalism since it has only been around since 2005 (Manafy 2012). Lastly, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* was chosen as the fourth media outlet because it is a local news source

straight from Missouri. This was done in hopes of gathering articles from not just national media outlets but a local media source closer to the event that occurred on August 9, 2014.



*Figure 1: Graph representing total number of articles accumulated by The Wall Street Journal online search engine after inputting keywords “Michael Brown” in all weeks between August 10, 2014 and November 20, 2014*

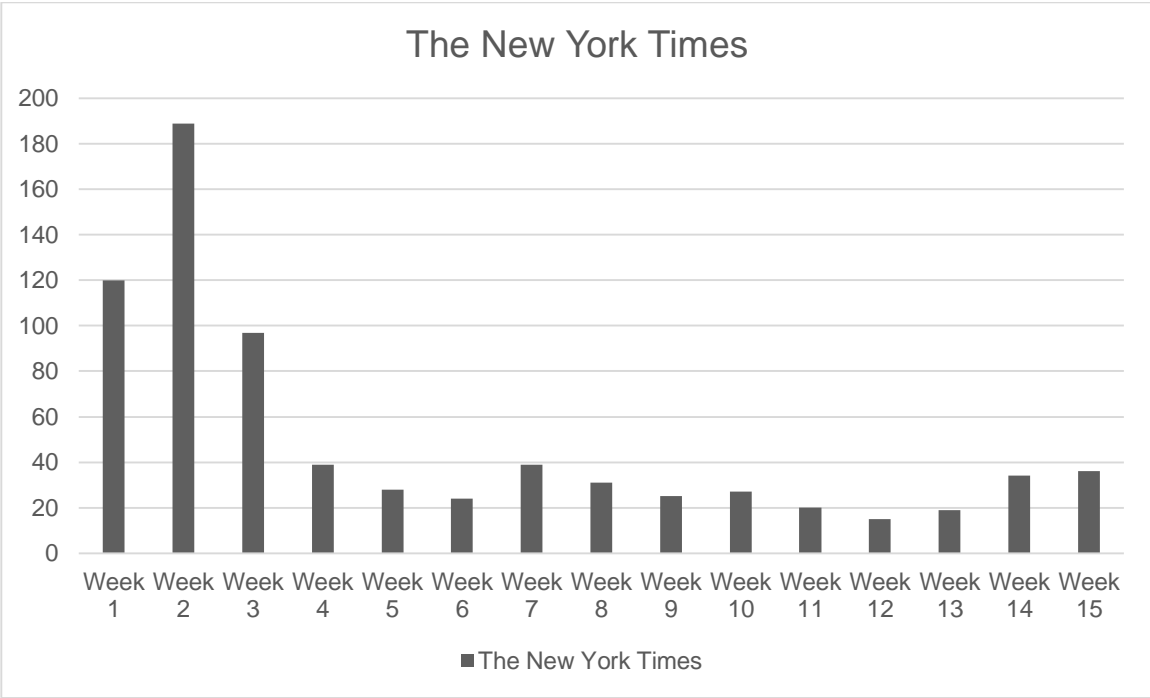
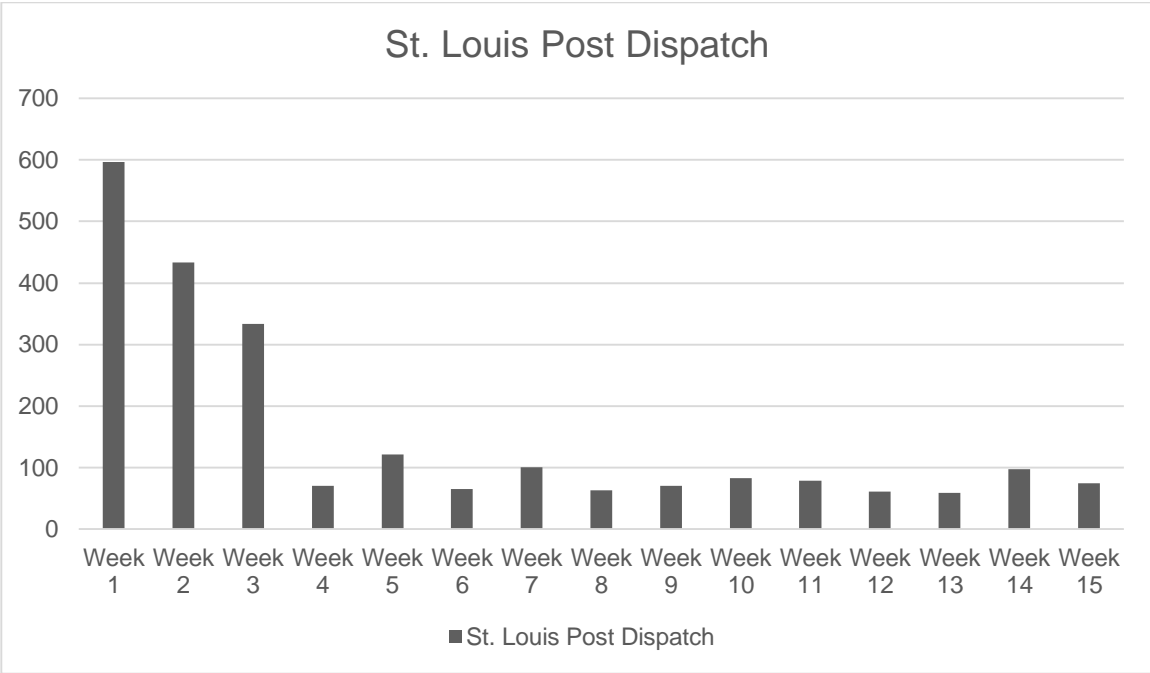


Figure 2: Graph representing total number of articles accumulated by The New York Times online search engine after inputting keywords “Michael Brown” in all weeks between August 10, 2014 and November 20, 2014



*Figure 3: Graph representing total number of articles accumulated by The St. Louis Post Dispatch online search engine after inputting keywords "Michael Brown" in all weeks between August 10, 2014 and November 20, 2014*

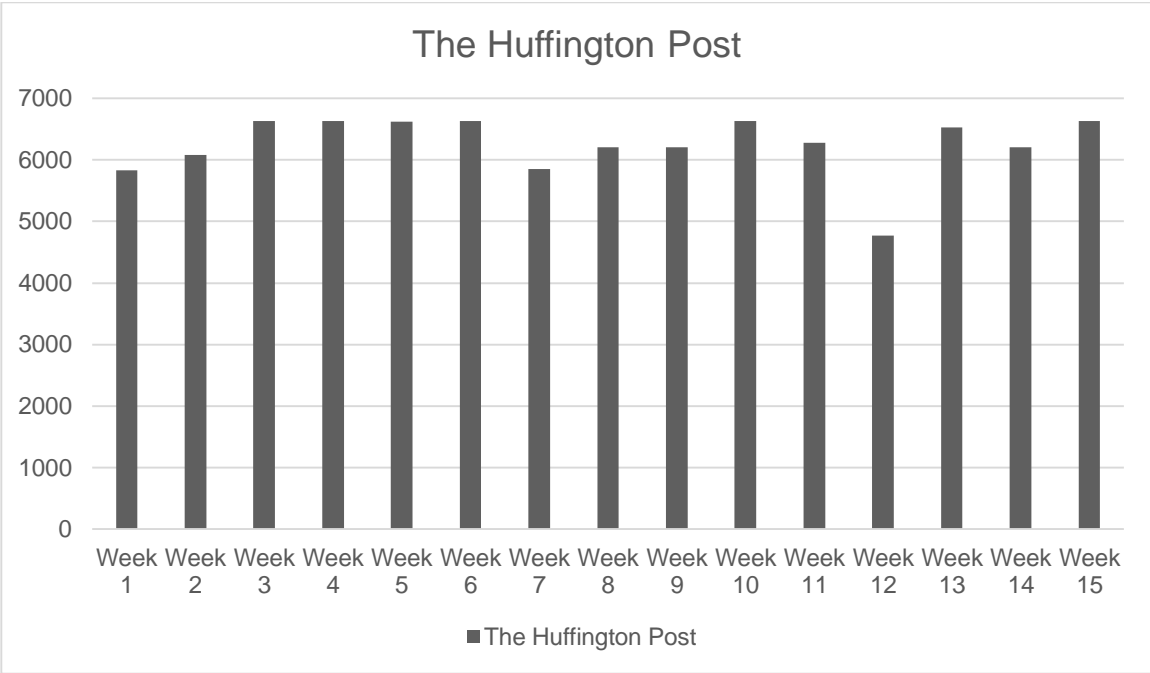


Figure 4: Graph representing total number of articles accumulated by The Huffington Post online search engine after inputting keywords “Michael Brown” in all weeks between August 10, 2014 and November 20, 2014

## CHAPTER SEVEN: METHODS

This examination is exploratory in nature and will not be hypothesis driven. Using *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and *The Huffington Post* as my four online media sources I have examined how the events in Ferguson, Missouri were been framed as well as the two individuals involved in the altercation. The altercation and killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri occurred on August 9, 2014, and media attention grew strong even on the first day after the incident occurred (Loury 2015). Therefore, I began examining articles from August 10, 2014. On November 24, 2014, a grand jury came to the final decision to not indict the officer, Darren Wilson, who had fatally shot Michael Brown. As the grand jury decision was one that gained a great deal of attention, I believed that the media coverage I examined in the week prior to the announcement of their decision was heavily focused on the indictment. For that reason I decided to end the examination of articles on November 21, 2014, three days before the announcement of the grand jury's decision. When it came to the selection of articles to examine, I chose two articles focused on the events in Ferguson written from each news source every week within my timeframe, which is August 10, 2014 through November 2, 2014. In doing so, I wished to gain a sample that would allow me to examine the four news sources equally while still providing myself with enough data.

For this content analysis I created a spreadsheet that organized themes found in the wording of how the deceased individual and officer were portrayed. As a whole I wanted to organize the spreadsheet into deceased and officer portrayal, but even more specifically, I wished to explore how each media source characterizes the event as a whole. Therefore, there are four spreadsheets in total and three sections in each spreadsheet: deceased, officer, and event. Search engines were used on the websites of all four media outlets. The key words used to search for articles were "Michael Brown." These keywords were

put inside quotation marks so that each search produced articles with the words “Michael” and “Brown” together. This style of search was used to better find articles specifically including the name of the deceased individual. Throughout history, it can be seen that these events of police brutality on black males are not new. Also, the riots and overall public unrest have occurred after each of these previously discussed events in similar fashion. Due to this being a repetitive form of unrest throughout history, with the media at the center of the circulation of the events that transpire, I will uncover the themes that emerge in the media’s portrayal of the killing of Michael Brown.



## CHAPTER EIGHT: FINDINGS

Tables generated from the findings can be found at the end of this chapter. The tables represent the number of times specific terms were used to describe the deceased and the officer from all four media sources. Since the event as a whole was described in greater length and detail throughout all of the articles analyzed, summaries of the event from all four media sources are provided in this section.

### The Wall Street Journal

This exploratory research of the news articles from August 10, 2014 to November 21, 2014 in *The Wall Street Journal* has shown that many terms were used to describe the deceased, Michael Brown, after the altercation between him and a police officer, Darren Wilson, on August 9, 2014. The names that were used to identify the deceased by name were Michael Brown, Mike Brown, and Mr. Brown. In the *Wall Street Journal* articles explored, the name Michael Brown was used 17 times, Mike Brown was used 1 time, and Mr. Brown was used 10 times when describing the deceased by name.

Once the deceased was identified in the articles, many other terms were used to describe him. In *The Wall Street Journal* articles, the various authors used the term “unarmed” to describe the deceased as he was unarmed at the time of the altercation with Darren Wilson. This term was used 20 times within the combined total *The Wall Street Journal* articles analyzed. The term “unarmed” was used in conjunction with many other descriptions of the deceased as well. For example, the deceased was described as an “unarmed 18-year-old,” an “unarmed African American teenager,” an “unarmed black teen/teenager,” an “unarmed black man,” an “unarmed teen/teenager,” and lastly, an “unarmed local teen/teenager.”

Throughout *The Wall Street Journal* articles analyzed, the majority of the authors included the age of the deceased. The deceased was identified as 18-years-old 11 times throughout *The Wall Street*

*Journal* articles analyzed. A variation of this was “18-year-old man,” which was used to describe the deceased twice in total throughout the articles analyzed. The deceased was identified more as a teen/teenager (15 times) than a man (2 times) throughout *The Wall Street Journal* articles.

When describing the race of the deceased, “black” and “African American” were used. The term “black” was used more to describe the deceased as it was used 11 times throughout the articles analyzed. “African American” as a racial descriptor was used a total of 2 times when describing the deceased. Both times “African American” was used to describe the deceased, it was followed by the term “teen” or “teenager.” “African American teen/teenager” was used a total of 2 times to describe the deceased.

In *The Wall Street Journal* articles analyzed from August 10, 2014 to November 21, 2014, the officer, Darren Wilson, was also identified and described. His full name, Darren Wilson, was used 14 times to identify him within the articles. The name “Mr. Wilson” was also used to identify him by name and it was used a total of 6 times. The term “officer” was used to identify Darren Wilson 23 times throughout *The Wall Street Journal* articles analyzed. This term was the most used to identify him. The term “officer” was used in conjunction with other terms to describe him as well. For example, he was described as a “white police officer” 7 times throughout *The Wall Street Journal* articles and a “Ferguson, MO police officer” 2 times throughout the articles. When it came to racial descriptors, the term “white” was used to describe Darren Wilson 8 times throughout the articles analyzed. The age of Darren Wilson was used to describe him in the articles as well. He was described as 28-years-old 1 time throughout *The Wall Street Journal* articles.

In *The Wall Street Journal* articles analyzed, the event as a whole was described and detailed. The altercation that occurred on August 9, 2014 was described throughout *The Wall Street Journal* articles outright as a “police shooting,” a “fatal shooting,” and a “police involved shooting.” These were immediate descriptors used to explain the event as a whole. Descriptive accounts of the event were also given by the authors of *The Wall Street Journal* articles analyzed. According to *The Wall Street Journal* articles, the deceased was tied to a convenience store robbery before he was involved in the altercation with the officer, Darren Wilson. However, Brown was stopped by the officer because he was walking in the middle of the street with one other individual. Authors of the articles explained that there were varying accounts of the altercation by police and witnesses. According to police, the officer confronted the deceased for walking in the middle of the street. Shortly thereafter, the officer began to get out of his vehicle which prompted the deceased to push the door to the vehicle shut. Following this, a struggle ensued. Both the police and family of the deceased alleged that the officer and the deceased had a struggle while the officer was in the patrol car which led to the initial firing of the officer’s gun.

Police and witness accounts of what happened outside of the patrol car vary. Police have said that after the struggle in the vehicle, the deceased ran from the officer but then turned and charged the officer. This is said, by police, to have been what prompted the officer to shoot the deceased multiple times. The family of the deceased and witnesses from the scene have had differing descriptions of what occurred outside of the patrol car. According to the family of the deceased and witnesses, the deceased was approaching the officer with his hands up when he was killed. They said that he was trying to defend himself with his hands. According to the *Wall Street Journal* articles analyzed, the gunshots were fired at the front of the deceased’s body. The deceased was struck at the top of his head once, struck once in the forehead, and four times in his arm. The articles only briefly discussed that unrest was sparked after the shooting of Michael Brown.

## The New York Times

In *The New York Times* articles analyzed from August 10, 2014 to November 21, 2014, many terms and descriptors were used to describe the deceased, Michael Brown. The name identifier used to describe the deceased most often was "Michael Brown." The name "Michael Brown" was used to identify the deceased 25 times throughout *The New York Times* articles analyzed. "Mr. Brown" was also used to identify the deceased and it was used 8 times throughout the articles. The last name used to identify the deceased was "Mike Brown" and it was used just 1 time throughout *The New York Times* articles.

The term "unarmed" was used many times to describe the deceased at the time of the altercation on August 9, 2014. "Unarmed" was used 20 times to describe the deceased throughout *The New York Times* articles. This term was used in conjunction with many other descriptors as well. For example, "unarmed African American teen/teenager", "unarmed black teen/teenager," "unarmed black man," and "unarmed teen/teenager" were all used to describe the deceased in *The New York Times* articles analyzed.

The age of the deceased was used to describe him in *The New York Times* articles. He was described as an "18-year-old" 6 times, an "18-year-old black man" once, and his age of 18 was used to describe him a total of 15 times throughout *The New York Times* articles. In relation with age, the terms "man" and "teen"/"teenager" were used to describe the deceased. "Man" was used to describe the deceased 3 times while "teen"/"teenager" were used interchangeably a total of 21 times throughout *The New York Times* articles. Where race and age are both concerned, the deceased was described as a "black teen" or "black teenager" 16 times throughout the articles analyzed. Racially, the deceased was described as "black" 20 times throughout the articles.

The other individual involved in the altercation with the deceased was also identified and described throughout *The New York Times* articles analyzed. The name “Darren Wilson” was used to describe him a total of 18 times throughout the articles. No other variations of that name were used to describe him. The descriptor most commonly used to describe Darren Wilson throughout the articles was the term “officer” and it was used 29 times throughout the articles analyzed. The term “officer” was also used in conjunction with other descriptors as well. For example, he was described as a “Ferguson police officer” 4 times and a “white officer” 11 times. Racially, the term used to describe the officer was “white” and it was used 11 times throughout The New York Times articles analyzed in this exploratory analysis.

The event as a whole was also analyzed throughout *The New York Times* articles. Terms used to describe the event overall were “killing,” “shooting,” fatal shooting,” “shooting death,” “police killing,” and “black teen killing.” Lengthy descriptions detailing the event were also given by the authors of *The New York Times* articles. According to *The New York Times* articles, there have been varying accounts of the altercation between the deceased and the officer. The accounts do not just vary between police and witnesses, but somewhat also between the many witnesses as a whole. According to the articles, the officer stopped the deceased for walking down the street and blocking traffic. Following the moment when the officer approached the deceased, there was a brief struggle between the deceased and the officer. Some witnesses alleged that the officer’s gun went off inside the patrol car during the struggle between the deceased and the officer while the officer was still inside his vehicle. Once the deceased then began to flee, the officer began firing at him multiple times. At this point, accounts also vary. Some say that the deceased stopped fleeing and turned to the officer in a threatening manner which prompted the officer to fire more shots. Other witnesses say that the deceased was not moving toward

the officer but had his hands up in the air when he was killed. According to *The New York Times* articles, police said that the deceased went for the officer's gun. In sum, the witness accounts generally alleged that the deceased was not fleeing but instead, had his hands in the air in a sign of surrender.

According to *The New York Times* articles analyzed, the deceased was shot at least 6 times. He was shot twice in the head and 4 times in his right arm. All of the bullets fired were shot into the front of the deceased. Forensic tests from the autopsy of the deceased showed that the blood of the deceased was on the officer's gun. The deceased was shot to death in less than 61 seconds after the officer's call was taken by a dispatcher which said that he had stopped the deceased with another individual. Lastly, the articles stated that the altercation ignited and triggered nights of angry protests.

### St. Louis Post Dispatch

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* was also examined in this exploratory analysis. “Michael Brown” was the name used to identify the deceased and it was used 29 times throughout the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* articles analyzed. A descriptor used to describe the deceased during the altercation on August 9, 2014 was “unarmed” and it was used a total of 9 times throughout the articles. The deceased was also described as an “unarmed 18-year-old,” an “unarmed teenager,” and an “unarmed black teenager.”

The deceased was described as an “18-year-old” 6 times throughout the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* articles analyzed. His age of 18 was used to describe him a total of 15 times throughout the articles. Along with the age of the deceased, the term “teen” or “teenager” were used interchangeably to describe the deceased 3 times. He was also described as a “black teenager” once throughout the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* articles analyzed. When it came to race, the term used to describe the deceased was “black” and it was used a total of 4 times.

The other individual involved in the altercation on August 9, 2014 was also identified and described in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* articles used in this analysis. The name of the officer involved, “Darren Wilson,” was used 24 times to identify him throughout the articles. He was also identified as “Wilson” and that occurred 8 times throughout the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* articles. The term most used to describe Darren Wilson was “officer.” This term was used a total of 24 times throughout the articles. The term “officer” was also used in conjunction with other words. “Ferguson officer” was used to describe Darren Wilson 15 times and “white Ferguson officer” was used 1 time throughout the articles analyzed. In terms of race, Darren Wilson was described as “white” 3 times.

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* articles were also analyzed to identify how the altercation between the deceased and the officer on August 9, 2014 was framed as a whole. The altercation between the officer and the deceased was identified as a “shooting death,” a “police shooting,” the “shooting death,” and a “tragic death.” The altercation was also described in detail by the authors of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* articles. According to the articles, the officer encountered the deceased walking with a friend in one of the highest concentrated areas of low income housing in the state of Missouri. The articles explain that the officer’s gun was fired once inside the police car during a struggle between the officer and the deceased. According to the articles, the shot that was fired inside the vehicle did not hit anyone. During the struggle with the officer still inside his vehicle, police say that the deceased tried to take the officer’s gun. One article from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* stated that there was no evidence of a struggle on the body of the deceased but another article at a later date explained that there were abrasions on the face of the deceased. When it came to shots fired, the articles explained that the officer fired his gun at least ten times during the altercation, but a private autopsy showed only six of those shots hit the deceased. The medical examiner’s autopsy showed that the deceased was shot several times at a distance but suffered one shot to his thumb that was shot at close range.

According to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* articles analyzed, the officer involved in the altercation and sources close to the officer also had their own accounts of the event. These accounts are different than some from eye-witnesses of the altercation. The articles stated the officer explained the deceased attacked him and that a struggle ensued over the officer’s gun. The officer said that he was able to fire his weapon twice but that the deceased was only hit once during that initial struggle. According to the officer, the deceased ran away which prompted him to call for backup. The radio channel was changed during the struggle with the deceased and the call was not sent out. The officer then pursued the deceased outside of the



vehicle. The articles analyzed state that the deceased was killed less than 61 seconds after the initial call was acknowledged by the dispatcher that the officer had stopped the deceased and his friend.

Witnesses of the altercation, however, have varying stories of what occurred. The friend with the deceased at the time of the altercation said that the officer fired one shot inside the police car, one more shot when he exited the police car, and several more shots after that. More witnesses said that the officer was shooting as he chased the deceased outside of the police car. According to witnesses, the deceased turned to face the officer which prompted the officer to pause, but only for a moment. Following the pause, he continued to shoot the deceased. Witnesses said that the deceased had his hands up and surrendering when he was shot and ultimately killed. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* called the officer's action a use of deadly force.

## The Huffington Post

Throughout *The Huffington Post* there are terms used to describe the deceased individual involved in the altercation on August 9, 2014. Two variations of the name of the deceased were used when identifying him. The name “Michael Brown” was used 28 times, and “Mike Brown” was used 1 time when identifying the deceased. The most often used term to describe the deceased in *The Huffington Post* articles analyzed was “unarmed.” The term “unarmed” was used 19 times throughout the articles. “Unarmed” was also used in conjunction with other terms as well. For example, the deceased was more specifically described as an “unarmed 18-year-old,” an “unarmed African American teenager,” an “unarmed black teenager,” and an “unarmed teen/teenager.”

The age of the deceased was used to describe him within the articles analyzed. He was described as an “18-year-old” 16 times and his age of 18 was mentioned a total of 19 times throughout all of *The Huffington Post* articles examined in this analysis. A second age descriptor used to describe the deceased was “teen” or “teenager” which were used interchangeably 14 times throughout the articles.

In terms of race, the deceased was described as “black” 15 times throughout the articles. “Black” was also used along with other descriptors. For example, “black youth” was used 1 time and “black teenager” was used 8 times. “African American” was used to racially describe the deceased 1 time throughout *The Huffington Post* articles analyzed.

The officer involved in the altercation was also identified and described throughout *The Huffington Post* articles analyzed. The name most used to identify the officer was “Darren Wilson” which was used 22 times, while the name “Wilson” was used 10 times throughout the articles. The term “officer” was used to describe Darren Wilson the most as it was used a total of 35 times throughout *The Huffington Post* articles analyzed. “Officer” was used in conjunction with other terms to describe him as well. For

example, “Ferguson police officer” and “white police officer” were both used. The racial descriptor of “white” was used to describe the officer 12 times. Lastly, the officer was described as a “white policeman” 1 time throughout *The Huffington Post* articles analyzed.

Articles from the Huffington Post were also analyzed to determine how the altercation between the officer and deceased on August 9, 2014 was framed. Throughout *The Huffington Post* articles analyzed, brief descriptors were used to describe the event as a whole. The altercation that occurred was described as a “killing,” a “fatal shooting,” a “fatal police shooting,” and a “shooting death.” The altercation between the officer and the deceased was also described in detail. According to *The Huffington Post* articles analyzed, accounts of the altercation differ as to what led to the fatal shooting. Accounts also vary amongst witnesses and police in regards to what exactly happened during the entire altercation.

According to *The Huffington Post* articles analyzed, police alleged that a struggle broke out after the officer asked the deceased and his friend to move out of the middle of the street. Ferguson police also alleged that the deceased assaulted the officer. However, eye-witnesses said that the deceased was surrendering or attempting to leave the scene of the struggle when he was killed. Witnesses also said that the officer began firing unprovoked. According to *The Huffington Post* articles analyzed, the officer gave his own account of the altercation. The officer said that he tried to radio for help but there are no records of that call. The officer said this is due to his radio channel being changed during the struggle with the deceased inside his police car. After the officer called for help, he pursued the deceased on foot outside of the police car. The officer said that the deceased charged towards him which prompted him to fire multiple times. Some witnesses said that the deceased had his hands up in the air in a sign of surrender while others have given similar versions to that of the officer involved.

In terms of details about shots fired at the deceased, *The Huffington Post* articles state that the deceased was shot at least six times, including twice in the head. A bullet entered the top of the skull of the deceased, which according to the articles, suggests that the head of the deceased was bent forward when he was struck by the bullet. The remaining four shots hit the deceased in his right arm and all of the bullets fired were shot at the front of the deceased's body. Experts outside of the investigation have said that an autopsy of the deceased shows evidence of a struggle that occurred at close range. After the altercation, the articles analyzed stated that the body of the deceased was left in the street for 4 hours and 32 minutes after he was shot. *The Huffington Post* articles analyzed explained that the officer initiated the altercation with the deceased and that the justification which was provided by the local Ferguson police force did not fit the protocol to be put in place when applying deadly force. Lastly, the articles stated that the killing of the deceased sparked many days of protests.

*Table 1: Table organizing terms and number of times they were used to describe the deceased in articles*

Deceased	The Wall Street Journal	The New York Times	The St. Louis Post Dispatch	The Huffington Post
“Unarmed”	20	20	9	19
“Unarmed 18 Year Old”	7	1	3	4
“Unarmed African American Teen”	2	0	0	1
“Unarmed Black Teen”	7	13	1	4
“Unarmed Black Man”	0	1	0	0
“Unarmed Teen”	3	2	2	2
“Unarmed Local Teen”	1	0	0	0
“Michael Brown”	17	25	29	28
“Mike Brown”	1	1	0	1
“Mr. Brown”	10	8	0	0
“18 Year Old”	11	6	6	16
“18 Year Old Man”	2	1	0	0
“18”	11	15	15	19
“Man”	2	3	0	0
“Teen”	15	21	3	14
“Black”	11	20	4	15
“Black Teen”	9	16	1	8
“African American Teen”	2	0	0	1

*Table 2: Table organizing terms and number of times they were used to describe the officer in articles*

Officer	The Wall Street Journal	The New York Times	The St. Louis Post Dispatch	The Huffington Post
“Officer”	23	29	24	35
“Darren Wilson”	14	18	21	22
“Mr. Wilson”	6	0	0	0
“Wilson”	0	0	8	10
“White”	8	15	3	12
“White Police Officer”	7	11	0	4
“Ferguson Police Officer”	3	4	1	12

## DISCUSSION

This exploratory analysis aimed to examine the media coverage of the shooting of an unarmed black teen, Michael Brown, by a police officer on August 9, 2014 in Ferguson Missouri. Specifically, articles from four media sources were gathered and examined to determine how the event and individuals involved in the event were framed. Two articles each week between August 10, 2014 (the day after the shooting) and November 21, 2014 were randomly selected and examined individually. In randomly selecting two articles from each week within this time frame, I hoped to examine each news source equally.

The individuals examined in each article were the deceased and the officer involved. The deceased individual was Michael Brown and the officer, Darren Wilson. In each article words used to describe both individuals were gathered and placed into spreadsheets to organize the data and recognize patterns. Many terms were used to describe the deceased throughout the articles in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and *The Huffington Post*. The term “unarmed” was used to describe the deceased throughout all four media outlets. However, while *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, and *The Huffington Post* used the term “unarmed” 19-20 times in total, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* only used this term 9 times. As *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, and *The Huffington Post* are well-known national news outlets, it is possible that the frequent use of the term “unarmed” could point at their need to sensationalize news stories in order to reach their larger audiences. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, as a local news source from Missouri, may not need to sensationalize stories with such a frequent use of the term “unarmed” to constantly describe the deceased.

The full name of the deceased, “Michael Brown”, was used the most to specifically identify the deceased throughout the articles from all four news sources, but this was not a finding that varied dramatically throughout the articles. However, *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times* identified the

deceased as “Mr. Brown” while the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *The Huffington Post* did not. The use of “Mr. Brown” to identify the deceased by *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times* was possibly used to refer to the deceased as an adult. Michael Brown was 18-years-old when he was shot and killed and it seems that the line between identifying him as a teenager or as an adult was blurry for the authors of the articles throughout all four news sources. Since the deceased was also described as a teenager by *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*, it is unclear if there is a significance in the use of the name “Mr. Brown” throughout the articles.

The term “man” was used to describe the deceased only by *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times*. The term was used twice throughout *The Wall Street Journal* articles and three times throughout *The New York Times* articles examined. As both news outlets used the term about the same time, it does not seem significant to discuss a connection with this term and the conservative or liberal backgrounds of *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times*. The term “teenager” was used to describe the deceased in all four media outlets. It was used frequently in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, and *The Huffington Post* but was used infrequently in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. It seems significant to mention that this could also tie in again with the use of the national media outlets (*The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, and *The Huffington Post*) to grab the attention of a much larger audience. A story of a teenager being shot and killed may hit more close to home to some audience members than if he were described as a man. It appears descriptors were generally used infrequently in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* which points at less of a need to sensationalize their stories as their audience is more localized.

Racially, the deceased was described as black and African American. The deceased was described as black 11 times in *The Wall Street Journal* articles, 20 times in *The New York Times* articles, 4



times in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* articles, and 15 times in *The Huffington Post* articles. Following along with the previously stated idea of sensationalizing news stories in media outlets at a national level, it is possible this rings true with the significance of these findings as well considering the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* is a local news source out of Missouri where the event occurred. The deceased was described as “African American” twice in *The Wall Street Journal* articles and one time in *The Huffington Post* articles collected and analyzed. As this racial descriptor was used so infrequent and the most times by *The Wall Street Journal*, perhaps it can be connected with the conservative ties of that news source. However, as it was also used just once by *The Huffington Post*, it is unclear if a significance can be tied to the description being conservative. Further research could possibly look into the connection of the racial descriptor “African American” and conservative ties.

Along with examining how the deceased was framed throughout the articles in each news outlet, the officer was also analyzed. The main significance found amongst the analysis of how the officer was framed can be seen in the amount of times *The New York Times* used the term “white” to describe him. *The New York Times* was also the news outlet to use the term “black” to describe the deceased more times than any other news outlet examined in this study. Relating to the past events in history of police brutality, it is possible to see a connection here. Making distinctions about race in *The New York Times* between the deceased and the officer shows connections with that of the police beating of Rodney King by a white police officer. Although this connection was not discussed in the articles analyzed, conclusions can be drawn that the distinction of white and black when describing the race of deceased and the officer can relate back to similar events of police brutality throughout history. Constantly seeing each individual described as “white” or “black” brings to the reader’s attention the racial divide amongst the deceased and the officer involved.

The significance in the way the event was framed throughout each news source is quite similar. *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and *The Huffington Post* all described the event as being detailed differently by witnesses and police. The authors of each news source described witness accounts very similarly. For example, witnesses described in each news source alleged that the deceased had his hands in the air in a sign of surrender when he was shot and killed. All four news sources explain that the police, however, had different accounts. The police, as described throughout the four news outlets, alleged that the deceased did not have his hands up in surrender, but instead charged the officer which prompted him to fire his gun multiple times. Stories from each news source about the event and the accounts from witnesses and police did not drastically differ. If anything, the framing of the event became more detailed as more articles were released. This could be due to more information being made to the public as more time went on after the event. In this exploratory analysis, it was not common to see many authors discussing the protests that ensued after the shooting of Michael Brown. Although each news source stated that protests were ignited after his death, details of the protests were not specifically given in the articles analyzed throughout this study.

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* did seem to give more detailed information about minor details as opposed to the other three news outlets. For example, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* was the only news source to identify the friend of the deceased that was walking with him when the altercation with the officer occurred. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* was the only news source to give detailed local information and can be explained by the fact that it is a local news source aiming to reach a local audience that is familiar with the state of Missouri. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* also detailed the total number of bullets fired instead of only detailing the number of bullets that hit the deceased. That can, again, connect with a need for larger news sources to strictly give the sensational details, which in this case included only reporting on how many bullets actually hit the deceased. Lastly, the area in which the shooting occurred

was highly detailed in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. The news source explained that the shooting occurred in one of the largest concentrated areas of low income housing in all of Missouri. As a local news source, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* gave detailed accounts of the story because that is what may have seemed important to local individuals living in Ferguson, Missouri or just Missouri in general at the time. The other news outlets may have solely believed to have an obligation to give detailed accounts of what happened instead of specifically where the event occurred because their audience is not strictly the state of Missouri but the entire nation.

Theoretically, the accounts of the police and witnesses may be looked at using the media framing as described by Nancy Burns. Each news outlet gave both accounts of witnesses and police which varied quite drastically. Many of the witness accounts detailed throughout the articles examined held the deceased as a victim throughout most of the altercation with the officer. Much of the witness accounts explained in the articles detail the deceased surrendering with his hands in the air as he was shot and killed by the officer. Very different from this, police accounts of the incident tell a story in which the deceased charged at the officer prompting the officer to fire multiple shots which ended in the death of Michael Brown. These two accounts frame the victim (which in this case will be the deceased as he was the victim of the shooting) in very different lights. Although the accounts vary, each news source provided detailed descriptions from the witnesses and the police. This leads the reader to make up their mind as to how they wish to view the victim. *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and *The Huffington Post* detailed the event quite similarly from both sides (witness accounts and police accounts) which is significant in that it shows quite consistent journalism throughout all four of these news sources. This sheds a positive light on an honest portrayal of the event that occurred on August 9, 2014 between the deceased and the officer as told by witnesses and the police involved.

As incidents of police force on black individuals is nothing new, the shooting of Michael Brown by a police officer is extremely recent, and therefore has gained much more media attention than incidents in the past. This is due to the expansion of the media over time. Although *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, and *The Huffington Post* sensationalized their stories by using specific terms to describe the deceased at a significantly higher rate than the local news source, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the event in general was detailed similarly amongst all four news sources. It is with high hopes that the media will continue to detail and describe events such as the one that occurred on August 9, 2014, in a non-biased manner. In the shooting of Michael Brown by Officer Darren Wilson, many different accounts were given and each news source explained both sides of these accounts.

In this exploratory analysis of *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and *The Huffington Post*, strengths and limitations can be seen. A strength of this research is that it was done roughly one year after the shooting of Michael Brown occurred. The closeness of the research and the shooting death means that it has not been done previously to the knowledge of the researcher. This compilation of brand new data may be used to further research the shooting of Michael Brown specifically or media framing of police shootings in general. Bringing to light these findings so soon after the event can educate individuals on not only one of the most recent incidents of police brutality on a black individual but also the framing used by many different media outlets. As this was the first of its kind, this research did have limitations as well. The data in this study was not used along with any type of software which may have hindered the ability to identify even more significant findings and correlations. This research was exploratory in nature which may have been a limitation as well. Future research could use the data compiled here in a hypothesis driven analysis.

**APPENDIX A:  
THE WALL STREET JOURNAL SPREADSHEET WITH TERMS USED  
TO FRAME THE DECEASED, OFFICER, AND THE EVENT**

### The Wall Street Journal

	Deceased	Officer	Event
<b>WK1 Aug11</b>	unarmed 18-year-old; Michael Brown; Mr. Brown;	officer	police shooting of an unarmed 18-year-old in suburban St. Louis; killing of Michael Brown; police shooting happened Saturday around noon, when an officer had a confrontation with two people, including Mr. Brown, who was unarmed, was shot multiple times
<b>WK1 Aug15</b>	unarmed African American teenager; Michael Brown; Mr. Brown; allegedly assaulted the officer and the two struggled over his gun inside the officer's police car	Darren Wilson; officer who shot and killed 18-year-old Michael Brown; has been a police officer for six years, working in Ferguson for the past four (at time of article); 28 years old and has no record of disciplinary actions (at time of article); currently on leave (at time of article); described as an excellent officer who has been devastated by the shooting;	shooting death of an unarmed African American teenager; incident that has sparked a week of unrest; Mr. Brown was tied to a robbery at a convenience store shortly before he crossed paths with police; Mr. Wilson wasn't aware of the robbery when he stopped Brown; officer stopped Mr. Brown because he was walking in the road and disrupting traffic; few hours earlier report was released with police and eye-witnesses describing someone alleged to be Mr. Brown pushing a store clerk at one point before leaving a convenience store with a handful of cigars; Mr. Brown was shot by police shortly after the incident;

<b>WK2 Aug18</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed 18-year-old; struck by at least 6 bullets, including two to the head; Mr. Brown; about 6 foot 5 and weighed 285 to 290 lbs	police officer	shooting; gunshots were all fired toward the front of Mr. Brown's body; teen was struck once in the top of head, once in the forehead and 4 times in the arm;
<b>WK2 Aug22</b>	18-year-old man	officer involved in the incident; Darren Wilson;	police involved shooting; shooting that killed Michael Brown;
<b>WK3 Aug24</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed African-American teenager	Darren Wilson; police officer whose fatal shooting of Mr. Brown set off a heated discourse on race; Mr. Wilson; white;	fatal shooting;
<b>WK3 Aug24*</b>	unarmed black teen; unarmed black teenager; Michael Brown; Mr. Brown;	white police officer	Aug9 shooting by a white police officer of Michael Brown, an unarmed black teenager
<b>WK4 Sept3</b>	unarmed 18-year-old Ferguson man; Michael Brown	Darren Wilson; white police officer	unarmed 18-year-old Ferguson man was shot and killed Aug9 by Darren Wilson, a white police officer
<b>WK4 Sept4</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed 18-year-old; unarmed black teenager;	Ferguson Police Officer Darren Wilson; Mr. Wilson;	shooting of an unarmed black teenager; Aug9 shooting death of an unarmed 18-year-old, by Ferguson Police Officer Darren Wilson;
<b>WK8 Oct2</b>	unarmed black teenager; Michael Brown; unarmed 18-year-old black teen;	local police officer; Darren Wilson; Mr. Wilson;	Michael Brown shooting; ferguson police officer shot and killed Michael Brown
<b>WK8 Sept28</b>	unarmed teenager; 18-year-old Michael Brown	officer Darren Wilson	police shooting of an unarmed teenager in August; shooting of 18-year-old Michael Brown by officer Darren Wilson on Aug 9

<b>WK9 Oct5</b>	Michael Brown; Mr. Brown; unarmed black teenager	white police officer	Michael Brown shooting; white police officer shot and killed Mr. Brown, an unarmed black teenager, on Aug9; details of shooting remain unclear
<b>WK9 Oct10</b>	Unarmed black teen Michael Brown	white officer; Darren Wilson	Aug 9 police-involved shooting death of unarmed black teen Michael Brown
<b>WK10 Oct12</b>	18-year-old Michael Brown; Mr. Brown		Aug9 death in St. Louis suburb of Ferguson
<b>WK10 Oct14</b>	Michael Brown; Mr. Brown		killing of Michael Brown; Mr. Brown's body lay in the street for more than four hours after his death while police investigated the shooting; Mr. Brown's death;
<b>WK11 Oct21</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed black teen; Mr. Brown;	white police officer	Michael Brown shooting; shooting of an unarmed black teen by a white police officer in Ferguson, MO; Aug9 shooting death in Ferguson of Michael Brown, an unarmed black teenager by Darren Wilson, a white police officer;



<p><b>WK11</b> <b>Oct22</b></p>	<p>Unarmed teenager; Michael Brown; black teen</p>	<p>Ferguson, MO; police officer; Darren Wilson; white police officer</p>	<p>unarmed teenager Michael Brown allegedly charged Ferguson, MO., police officer Darren Wilson moments before he was shot dead, according to a police account in a leaked copy of an official autopsy; Aug9 shooting of the black teen by a white police officer; other witnesses and the Brown family have said that Mr. Brown was approaching the officer with his hands spread when he was killed; according to the police account, Mr. Wilson confronted the teenager for walking, along with another person, in the middle of the street; When Mr. Brown “became belligerent” the police report said, the officer tried to exit his vehicle, but Mr. Brown pushed the door shut and struggled with the officer; Mr. Wilson’s pistol discharged during the struggle”; Mr. Brown then ran and the officer chased after him. Mr. Brown then allegedly turned and charged Mr. Wilson; The officer, according to police, shot the teen multiple times; Mr. Brown was killed by a shot to the head; Mr. Brown’s family say Mr. Wilson instigated it and Mr. Brown was trying to get away from the officer. They say Mr. Wilson was using his hands to try to protect him</p>
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<b>WK13 Nov6</b>	unarmed 18-year-old; Mike Brown; Mr. Brown	police officer; Mr. Wilson; Darren Wilson;	shooting death; Aug9 fatal shooting of black teenager Michael Brown by white police officer Darren Wilson; shooting of Mr. Brown
<b>WK14 Nov11</b>	unarmed teen; 18-year-old; Michael Brown; black; Mr. Brown	police officer; Darren Wilson; white officer who shot and killed 18-year-old Michael Brown, who was black; Mr. Wilson;	fatal shooting of of an unarmed teen by a police officer; Mr. Brown's family says that after an initial struggle with the officer, Mr. Brown moved away from him before turning and putting his hands out in a nonthreatening manner; he was then shot, his family says; Ferguson police have said that after initially running away from Mr. Wilson, Mr. Brown then turned and charged the officer, before Mr. Wilson shot the teen multiple times; results of autopsy show that Mr. Brown might have ben moving toward Mr. Wilson when the officer filed his final shots;
<b>WK14 Nov15</b>	unarmed local teenager;	Officer Darren Wilson; Mr. Wilson;	shooting death; shooting death of 18-year-old Michael Brown on Aug9; Mr. Wilson allegedly stopped Mr. Brown for walking in the middle of a Ferguson street on Aug9; Brown's family and police have said the two had a physical struggle while officer was still in patrol car, resulting in the the initial discharge of the officer's weapon that pathologists say wounded Mr. Brown in hand; Mr. Brown moved away before turning to face Mr. Wilson;

			the teen put his arms out in a gesture of surrender (according to his parents); however, Police have said Mr. Brown charged the officer; When Mr. Brown moved away from the patrol care, Wilson fired multiple times, killing Mr. Brown with a shot to the head
<b>WK15 Nov17</b>	unarmed, black 18-year-old	Officer Darren Wilson;	shooting death of Michael Brown; shooting death of Mr. Brown;
<b>WK15 Nov18</b>	Michael Brown	Ferguson police officer; shot and killed Michael Brown; Darren Wilson;	Brown, an 18-year-old unarmed black teenager was killed Aug9; Brown's killing

**APPENDIX B:  
THE NEW YORK TIMES SPREADSHEET WITH TERMS USED TO  
FRAME THE DECEASED, OFFICER, AND EVENT**

**New York Times**

	<b>Deceased</b>	<b>Officer</b>	<b>Event</b>
<b>WK1 Aug10</b>	Unarmed black teenager; youth; Michael Brown; 18; just graduated from high school; planned on attending college;	police officer; on force about 6 years; shot Brown;	struggle for the officer's gun; killing; ignited protests; shooting; officer approached Brown; officer shot Brown; several shots fired;
<b>WK1 Aug13</b>	unarmed black teenager;	officer	fatal shooting; shooting death; brown was shot in a struggle with a gun
<b>WK2 Aug17</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed black teenager; Mr. Brown; big man; 6'4" 292 lbs; family described him as quiet and shy; homebody	Officer Wilson;	deceased was shot at least 6 times; shot 2 in head; deceased was shot 4 times in right arm; all bullets fired into front of deceased; confrontation between Mr. Brown and police officer; physical struggle between Mr. Brown and Officer Wilson
<b>WK2 Aug19</b>	black teenager; teenager; Michael Brown; unarmed; 18;	white police officer; Darren Wilson; sustained injury during struggle	shooting death; witnesses have given investigators conflicting accounts of the killing; some account a struggle between the officer and teenager; many witnesses agree Wilson's firearm went off inside the car and Wilson began firing toward Brown as he began to flee, then Brown stopped, turned around and faced the officer; some say Brown moved toward the officer possibly in a threatening manner when the officer shot him dead; others say Brown was not moving and had his hands up when he was killed

<b>WK3 Aug24</b>	unarmed black teenager; Michael Brown; Mr. Brown; had attended Jennings Senior High School;	white police officer;	triggered nights of protests;
<b>WK3 Aug26</b>	Michael Brown; Mr. Brown;		
<b>WK4 Sept3</b>	unarmed black teenager; teenager; Michael Brown; Mr. Brown; 18; was shot 6 times by officer; body left on street for hours	white police officer; officer Darren Wilson; 28; placed on administrative leave; not charged at time of articles publication	officer killed an unarmed black teenager; officer shot deceased 6 times after officer stopped deceased for walking down street and blocking traffic
<b>WK4 Sept3*</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed teenager; shot and killed by white police officer; had no serious felony cases filed against him as a juvenile; Mr. Brown; 18; no adult criminal record;	white police officer; Ferguson police officer; Darren Wilson; shot Mr. Brown	killing
<b>WK5 Sept8</b>	unarmed black teenager; teenager; Michael Brown; 18; killed by white Ferguson officer on August 9; Mr. Brown; killed after a brief struggle with the officer	Darren Wilson; seated in vehicle; Officer Wilson;	police killing; Mr. Brown killed after a brief struggle with the officer, Darren Wilson, who was seated in his vehicle; police say Mr. Brown went for the officer's gun, witnesses have said that the officer fired at Mr. Brown as he fled and continued shooting after he put his hands up in a sign of surrender
<b>WK5 Sept10</b>	Michael Brown; black and unarmed; killed by white police officer;	white police officer; Darren Wilson; had not been charged at time of article; placed on leave at time of article; location unknown at time of article;	fatal shooting; some witnesses have said that Mr. Brown, 18, had put his hands up in surrender

<b>WK6 Sept16</b>	black and unarmed;	Darren Wilson; police officer; killed Michael Brown; white	death of Mr. Brown
<b>WK7 Sept21</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed black teenager;		fatal police shooting
<b>WK8 Oct3</b>	black teenager; 18-year-old; Michael Brown	white policeman; Darren Wilson;	black teen killing; darren wilson shot michael brown dead on Aug9; killing;
<b>WK8 Sept28</b>	18-year-old; Michael Brown;		shooting death;
<b>WK9 Oct6</b>	Michael Brown; 18; shot by Darren Wilson	Darren Wilson; Ferguson police officer;	death; killing that prompted weeks of demonstrations
<b>WK9 Oct10</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed black teenager; Mr. Brown;	white police officer from Ferguson; shot and killed Michael Brown	
<b>WK10 Oct13</b>	Michael Brown; 18; shot dead; Mike Brown; Brown;	white police officer; Darren Wilson; charges against wilson were being considered by grand jury at time of article	shot dead; killing of brown by white police officer
<b>WK10 Oct14</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed teenager; shot by police officer in Ferguson	police officer	Killing of Michael Brown
<b>WK11 Oct21</b>	Michael Brown; 18; fatally shot by police officer	police officer	Michael Brown fatally shot by a police officer in August
<b>WK11 Oct24</b>	unarmed black teenager; Michael Brown	white police officer ; Darren Wilson; officer who shot Brown acting in self-defense	shooting death; Brown's death sparked angry protests across St. Louis

<b>WK12 Oct29</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed black teenager; Mr. Brown;	Darren Wilson; white Ferguson police officer;	fatal shooting; shooting
<b>WK12 Oct30</b>	unarmed 18-year-old black man; Michael Brown;	white Ferguson police officer; Officer Darren Wilson;	police officer shot to death unarmed 18 year old black man; killing of teenager; grand jury investigating the killing
<b>WK13 Nov2</b>	18 year old; Michael Brown; shot by a city police officer, Darren Wilson on Aug9;	Darren Wilson; the officer who shot Brown	shooting death of 18 year old Michael Brown; death of Brown
<b>WK13 Nov7</b>	Michael Brown; 18 year old; unarmed black man	police officer; Darren Wilson; shot 18 year old Michael Brown 6 times; Officer Wilson	police officer fatally shot an unarmed black man; shooting incite months of protests; forensic tests showed Mr. Browns blood on Officer Wilsons gun
<b>WK14 Nov11</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed black teenager fatally shot by a white police officer in Ferguson	white police officer; Darren Wilson;	death of Michael Brown; death of Mr. Brown;
<b>WK14 Nov14</b>	unarmed black teenager shot dead by a white police officer; 18-year-old; Brown	Darren Wilson; Wilson	shot dead; Brown was shot at least 6 times, twice in head; conflicting witness accounts of the shooting; some describe a struggle and others said Brown put his hands up; brown was shot to death in less than 61 seconds after dispatcher acknowledged radio call from Wilson saying he had stopped Brown and his friend
<b>WK15 Nov17</b>	unarmed black teenager; Michael Brown	White police officer; Ferguson officer; Darren Wilson;	shooting death of an unarmed black teenager



<b>WK15 Nov19</b>	black teenager; Michael Brown; 18	white police officer; Darren Wilson; Ferguson, MO police officer who shot Michael Brown after dispute on Aug9	fatal shooting of a black teenager
<b>WK15 Nov19</b>	black teenager; Michael Brown; 18	white police officer; Darren Wilson; Ferguson, MO police officer who shot Michael Brown after dispute on Aug9	fatal shooting of a black teenager

**APPENDIX C:  
THE ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH SPREADSHEET WITH TERMS USED  
TO FRAME THE DECEASED, OFFICER, AND EVENT**

**St. Louis Post Dispatch**

	<b>Deceased</b>	<b>Officer</b>	<b>Event</b>
<b>WK1 Aug11</b>	Michael Brown; Brown; 18; died after a Ferguson police officer shot him multiple times outside an apartment complex; graduated from high school at the predominately African-American Normandy High School; teachers described Brown as a “gentle giant”, a student loomed large and didn't cause trouble; friends described him as a quiet person with a wicked sense of humor; fought an uphill battle to graduate; died black, unarmed and from multiple gunshots	Ferguson police officer	Ferguson police officer shot Brown multiple times outside an apartment complex officers gun was fired once inside the car during a struggle with Brown, hitting no one, and the officer then fired multiple times at the 18-year-old as he ran away; police say Brown tried to take the officer’s gun
<b>WK1 Aug15</b>	Michael Brown; 18; shot multiple times; walking to grandmother’s when he was gunned down;	Darren Wilson; officer who shot and killed an unarmed teenager; Wilson; 6 year veteran of the force; placed on paid administrative leave after the shooting;	officer shot and killed an unarmed teenager;
<b>WK2 Aug17</b>	Michael Brown; 18 year-old fatally shot by a Ferguson patrolman about noon Aug9;	Ferguson patrolman; Darren Wilson; 28; of Crestwood; on administrative leave	

<b>WK2 Aug18</b>	Michael Brown; struck at least 6 times, including a fatal shot to the skull; Brown; unarmed; fatally shot by Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson 28; Brown;	Ferguson police officer	shooting death; because there was no gunshot residue on the body it appears the muzzle of the gun was at least one or two feet away; not clear if the wounds on Brown's arms were from the teen holding his arms up to surrender; witness said that is what Brown was doing when he was shot; the teen may have had his back to the shooter, or he could have been facing the shooter with his hands above his head in a defensive position across his face or chest; no evidence of a struggle on Brown's body; some abrasions on the right side of Brown's face; brown was unarmed when he was fatally shot by Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson, 28
<b>WK3 Aug26</b>	Michael Brown;	Darren Wilson	Michael Brown's death; death of Michael Brown

<b>WK3 Aug27</b>		Ferguson Police Officer Darren Wilson;	Ferguson Police Officer Darren Wilson shooting to death Michael Brown on Aug. 9; Wilson fired at least 10 times; a private autopsy said at least 6 shots struck Brown; recording captures a pause; some say the pause shows that Wilson shot, had time to think about his actions, and then shot again; Police and some witnesses have said that one shot was fired in the police vehicle; Wilson shot 3 or 4 times, then brown took steps toward Wilson, then Wilson shot 3 or 4 more times; Wilson was shooting as he chased Brown, paused as Brown turned around to face the officer, and then continued shooting until Brown fell down; Witness said Wilson fired some rounds that didn't hit Brown - she watched officers remove a bullet from a neighbors outside wall; Dorian Johnson was the friend with Brown the day of the shooting; Johnson has said that Wilson fired one shot in the car, one shot when he got out of the car, and then fired more shots
<b>WK4 Sept4</b>	Michael Brown; 18;	Ferguson Police Officer; Darren Wilson;	police shooting death of Michael Brown; Brown was killed by Ferguson Police officer Darren Wilson on Aug. 9;
<b>WK4 Sept4*</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed 18-year-old; Brown;		unarmed 18-year- old shot to death; Brown's death;

<b>WK5 Sept9</b>	Michael Brown; Brown;	officer; officer who fatally shot the unarmed teenager; Darren Wilson; Wilson;	Michael Brown's death; Brown's shooting; eyewitness accounts along with others account that Brown put up his hands before he was killed; Brown's death;
<b>WK5 Sept9*</b>	Michael Brown; Brown; unarmed 18-year-old;	Ferguson police officer;	unarmed 18-year-old shot to death by a Ferguson police officer
<b>WK6 Sept15</b>	Michael Brown; 18-year-old; Brown;	Darren Wilson; ended Brown's life Aug. 9 on a Ferguson street; Wilson;	police shooting of Michael Brown; death of 18-year-old Michael Brown; shooting death of Brown;
<b>WK6 Sept16</b>	unarmed teenager; Michael Brown; Brown; black; 18;	Ferguson police Officer Darren Wilson; Wilson; white;	shooting death of unarmed teenager Michael Brown; killing of Brown on Aug.9; Wilson's use of deadly force; Wilson struggled with Brown and during the struggle, Brown was killed by Wilson's shots; some witnesses said that Brown was surrendering when he died;
<b>WK7 Sept21</b>	Michael Brown; Brown;	Ferguson police officer;	fatal shooting Aug. 9 of Michael Brown by a Ferguson police officer;
<b>WK7 Sept22</b>	Michael Brown; 18;		death of Michael Brown, 18; Brown's death; Aug. 9 police shooting of Michael Brown
<b>WK8 Oct1</b>	Michael Brown; 18-year-old	Ferguson Officer Darren Wilson; name initially released after he killed 18-year-old Michael Brown on Aug. 9;	police shooting of Michael Brown; Officer killed 18-year-old Michael Brown on Aug. 9

<b>WK8 Sept28</b>	Michael Brown	Ferguson police officer	Aug. 9 shooting death of Michael Brown by a Ferguson police officer
<b>WK9 Oct6</b>	Michael Brown		Michael Brown's tragic death
<b>WK9 Oct10</b>	unarmed black teenager Michael Brown; Brown;	White Ferguson Officer Darren Wilson; Wilson	Aug. 9 killing by white Ferguson Officer Darren Wilson of unarmed black teenager Michael Brown; Wilson's killing of Brown;
<b>WK10 Oct12</b>	Michael Brown; Brown	Ferguson Officer Darren Wilson;	Michael Brown's shooting; Aug. 9 shooting of Brown by Ferguson Officer Darren Wilson; Brown's death
<b>WK10 Oct13</b>	Michael Brown; 18; Brown	Ferguson police officer; Darren Wilson;	Ferguson police officer shot and killed Michael Brown, 18 at the Canfield Green apartments on Aug. 9; shooting of Brown by Ferguson officer Darren Wilson
<b>WK11 Oct19</b>	Michael Brown; Brown; 18	Ferguson police; 28 year old Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson;	Michael Brown shooting; Brown's shooting by Ferguson police; Brown was shot; officer encountered Brown, 18, walking with a friend in one of the highest concentrated areas of low-income housing in the state of Missouri;
<b>WK11 Oct22</b>	Michael Brown; Brown	Ferguson police	Michael Brown shooting; Brown's death; Brown was killed by Ferguson police on Aug. 9;

<b>WK12 Oct28</b>	Michael Brown; Brown	Officer Darren Wilson; Wilson	Officer Darren Wilson fatally shot Michael Brown in a confrontation on Aug. 9; death of Brown, 18 on Canfield Drive;
<b>WK12 Oct29</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed 18-year-old; Brown;	Officer Darren Wilson;	Aug. 9 police shooting of an unarmed black 18-year-old, Michael Brown; shooting of Brown by Officer Darren Wilson
<b>WK13 Nov5</b>	unarmed teen; death of Michael Brown;	Ferguson police officer; Darren Wilson; officer who fired the fatal shots on a Ferguson street	shooting of an unarmed teen by Ferguson police officer; Aug. 9 death of Michael Brown
<b>WK13 Nov6</b>	Michael Brown; Brown; 18; unarmed;	Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson;	fatal shooting of Michael Brown; fatal shooting Aug. 9 of the unarmed Brown, 18;
<b>WK14 Nov9</b>	Michael Brown; black; Brown;	Ferguson police Officer Darren Wilson; white;	Aug. 9 fatal shooting of Michael Brown, who is black, by Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson, who is white; controversy centered on some witness claims that after Brown ran away, he stopped and tried to surrender before being shot to death; Sources close to Wilson say the officer fired after seeing Brown coming back after him;
<b>WK14 Nov11</b>	Michael Brown; Brown;		St. Louis County medical examiner's autopsy report showed that Brown was shot several times at some distance but sustained one wound - to his thumb - at close range;



<b>WK15 Nov16</b>	Michael Brown Jr.;18;	Wilson; Darren Wilson; Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson; has avoided attention since the shooting;	Aug. 9 fatal shooting; shooting of Michael Brown, 18; Brown's death; Wilson told authorities that before the radio call he had stopped to tell Brown and his friend, Dorian Johnson, 22, to quit walking down the middle of the street; they kept walking, and Wilson realized that Brown matched the description of the suspect in the stealing call; Wilson said Brown attacked him, sources said, and that they struggled over the officer's gun before Wilson was able to fire twice, hitting Brown once; Brown ran away; Wislon told authorities that he called "shots fired, send all cars" on his radio but during the struggle his radio had been jarred and the channel changed; after the call Wilson pursued Brown on foot; Brown was killed less than 61 seconds after the dispatcher acknowledged that Wilson had stopped two men;
<b>WK15 Nov17</b>	Michael Brown	Darren Wilson; Ferguson police officer involved in the Aug. 9 shooting death of unarmed teen Michael Brown;	Aug. 9 shooting death of unarmed teen Michael Brown;

**APPENDIX D:  
THE HUFFINGTON POST SPREADSHEET WITH TERMS USED TO  
FRAME THE DECEASED, OFFICER, AND EVENT**

**Huffington Post**

	<b>Deceased</b>	<b>Officer</b>	<b>Event</b>
<b>WK1 Aug12</b>	Michael Brown; 18 year old; Brown; unarmed; shot by a Ferguson police officer while walking with a friend down the center of the street; Boy(s); graduated Aug. 1 from Normandy High School; was to have started college at time of publication for a career in heating and air conditioning engineering; black youth	Ferguson police officer; white policeman	Brown, who was unarmed, was shot Saturday (at time of publication) by a Ferguson police officer while walking with a friend down the center of the street; Police said a scuffle broke out after the officer asked the boys to move to the side; witnesses say Brown's arms were in the air - in a sign of surrender - as a white policeman repeatedly shot the black youth
<b>WK1 Aug13</b>	Michael Brown; Brown; 18; shot multiple times on Saturday (at time of publication) by a police officer while he and a friend were walking down the street in Ferguson, a suburb of St. Louis; teen; was not a suspect, and did not possess a weapon;	police officer	killing; shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson; Brown, 18, was shot multiple times on Saturday by a police officer while he and a friend were walking down the street in Ferguson, a suburb of St. Louis; Accounts differ on what led to the fatal shooting - the Ferguson Police department has alleged that Brown assaulted the officer, while eyewitnesses have said Brown was either trying to surrender or leave the scene when he was killed; Brown's death; justification provided by Ferguson Police does not seem to fit the deadly force protocol; police officer initiated altercation;

<b>WK2 Aug17</b>	unarmed black teenager; killed by a white officer in Missouri; shot at least 6 times including twice in the head; Brown; 18;	officer;	unarmed black teenager killed by a white police officer in Missouri was shot at least 6 times, including twice in the head; bullet entered the top of Michael Brown's skull, suggesting that his head was bent forward when he suffered a fatal injury; involved a scuffle in which the officer was injured and Brown was shot. Witnesses say the teenager had his hands in the air as the officer fired multiple rounds; Brown was also shot four times in the right arm and that all the bullets were fired into his front; Brown would not have survived even if he had been taken to a hospital immediately
<b>WK2 Aug20</b>	black teenager;	white police officer;	shooting death of a black teenager by a white police officer; differing witness accounts;
<b>WK3 Aug24</b>	Michael Brown; Brown; unarmed African American teenager who was shot just blocks from where protests are happening;	officer Darren Wilson; Wilson has not yet been charged with a crime in the death of Brown;	Michael Brown's death at the hands of officer Darren Wilson;
<b>WK3 Aug30</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed 18-year-old who was shot and killed by a white police officer; death stoked national discourse about police tactics and race;	Ferguson Police Officer Darren Wilson; Wilson; six-year police veteran, has not been charged;	

<b>WK4 Sept4</b>	unarmed teen Michael Brown; fatally shot by officer Darren Wilson in Ferguson, Missouri on Aug. 9;	officer Darren Wilson; Wilson; yet to come forward and speak publicly;	Unarmed teen Michael Brown was fatally shot by officer Darren Wilson in Ferguson, Missouri, on Aug. 9;
<b>WK4 Sept6</b>	Michael Brown; Brown; black teenager, shot by Wilson, a white police officer around noon on Aug. 9;	Wilson; white police officer;	Brown, a black teenager, was shot by Wilson, a white police officer, around noon on Aug. 9; Witness said Wilson started firing unprovoked and that Brown was "shot like an animal";
<b>WK5 Sept8</b>	unarmed 18-year-old; Michael Brown	Darren Wilson; the police officer who shot and killed unarmed 18-year-old Michael Brown on Aug. 9;	police officer, Darren Wilson shot and killed unarmed 18-year-old Michael Brown on Aug. 9;
<b>WK5 Sept9</b>	Michael Brown;		Aug. 9 shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri;

<b>WK6 Sept16</b>	Michael Brown; Brown; 18-year-old;	Ferguson, Missouri police officer Darren Wilson; officer;	several witnesses have said that Brown was fleeing when Ferguson, Missouri police officer Darren Wilson fired several shots and that the 18-year-old had turned around and had his hands up when the officer shot several more rounds, killing him in the middle of the street; Multiple media outlets have gathered these recollections of the Aug. 9 incident; two more witnesss described what happened in a cell phone video captured shortly after the shooting; Ferguson police chief Tom Jackson has said that Wilson stopped Brown because he was walking in the middle of the street, not because of his alleged involvement in a robbery shortly before the confrontation that left Brown dead;
<b>WK6 Sept17</b>	Unarmed teen Michael Brown;	Darren Wilson; Ferguson police officer who fatally shot unarmed teen Michael Brown last month (at time of publication);	Ferguson police officer fatally shot unarmed teen Michael Brown; Aug. 9 shooting; Wilson fatally shot Brown Aug. 9
<b>WK7 Sept23</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed, black 18-year-old; Brown	White Ferguson police officer; Darren Wilson; officer who shot Brown;	shooting of unarmed, black 18-year-old by a white Ferguson police officer on Aug. 9; Brown's death;
<b>WK7 Sept24</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed, black 18-year-old;	Ferguson police officer; Darren Wilson; white officer who shot the unarmed, black 18-year-old;	fatal shooting of Michael Brown by a Ferguson police officer on Aug. 9;

<b>WK8 Oct1</b>	Michael Brown; 18-year-old; Brown; black and unarmed;	Ferguson police Officer Darren Wilson; fatally shot 18-year-old Michael Brown in August; Wilson; white; shot Brown, who was black and unarmed, on Aug. 9, setting off massive protests in Ferguson;	Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson fatally shot 18-year-old Michael Brown in August; Wilson, who is white, shot Brown, who was Black and unarmed, on Aug. 9, setting off massive protests in Ferguson;
<b>WK8 Oct2</b>	black teenager; Michael Brown; Brown;	white police officer; Darren Wilson; officer who shot Brown	white police officer fatally shot black teenager Michael Brown in early August;
<b>WK9 Oct7</b>	black teen; Michael Brown; 18;	white officer; police officer Darren Wilson; shot dead Michael Brown, 18, on Aug. 9 in Ferguson, Missouri; Wilson;	white officer killed black teen; police officer Darren Wilson shot dead Michael Brown, on Aug. 9 in Ferguson, Missouri; killing sparked days of protests in Ferguson in August
<b>WK9 Oct11</b>	Michael Brown; Brown; black and unarmed;	Darren Wilson; white Ferguson officer;	Michael Brown's death; Aug. 9 death of 18-year-old Brown, who was black and unarmed;
<b>WK10 Oct14</b>	Michael Brown; Brown; black and unarmed;	White Ferguson police officer; Darren Wilson; officer who shot Brown;	death of Michael Brown; August shooting death of Brown, who was black and unarmed, by white Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson;
<b>WK10 Oct14*</b>	unarmed black teenager; Michael Brown; 18-year-old teen;	police; Darren Wilson; white police officer who shot Brown on Aug. 9;	fatal police shooting of unarmed black teenager Michael Brown; 18-year-old teen's death; Brown's body was left in the street for four hours and 32 minutes after the teen was shot; white police officer shot Brown on Aug. 9;

<b>WK11 Oct21</b>	18-year-old Michael Brown; Mike Brown;	Darren Wilson; police officer who shot and killed 18-year-old Michael Brown in August; Wilson; killed Brown in St. Louis suburb on Aug. 9;	Darren Wilson, police officer, shot and killed 18-year-old Michael Brown in August;
<b>WK11 Oct22</b>	slain teenager; Michael Brown; 18-year-old victim; Aug. 9 death sparked massive protests in Ferguson, Missouri; Brown;	Darren Wilson; Ferguson police officer who shot the teen; gave an account of the events that described a struggle between himself and Brown;	experts not involved in the investigation say the autopsy of Michael Brown suggests a struggle at close range; shot traveled from the tip of Brown's right thumb toward his wrist; absence of stippling, powder burns around the wound that indicate a shot fired at relatively close range; tissue sample of Brown's thumb suggests shots fired at close range;
<b>WK12 Oct28</b>	18-year-old; Michael Brown; Brown;	police officer who killed 18-year-old Michael Brown; Officer Darren Wilson; Wilson;	Brown was killed by Wilson on Aug. 9;
<b>WK12 Oct30</b>	18-year-old; Michael Brown;	police officer Darren Wilson;	August shooting of 18-year-old Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri;
<b>WK13 Nov3</b>	18-year-old; Michael Brown; Brown; unarmed;	police	police killing of 18-year-old Michael Brown in August; Aug. 9 killing of Brown, who was unarmed;
<b>WK13 Nov6</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed 18-year-old who was killed in the St. Louis Suburb in August;		death of Michael Brown; Michael Brown, unarmed 18-year-old, killed in St. Louis Suburb in August;



<b>WK14 Nov11</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed 18-year-old Brown; Brown's death is one of the latest incidents in a string of shootings of unarmed black teenagers;	Ferguson, MO. police officer, Darren Wilson; 28; Wilson;	shooting death of unarmed 18-year-old by Ferguson, MO. police officer Darren Wilson; death of Brown; Brown's death;
<b>WK14 Nov14</b>	18-year-old Michael Brown; Brown; black and unarmed; death sparked months of unrest in Ferguson;	Ferguson, Missouri police officer; Officer Darren Wilson; white; Wilson;	18-year-old Michael Brown was shot to death by a Ferguson, Missouri, police officer in August; shooting of Brown; Brown's shooting; Accounts of what happened between Wilson and Brown differ; Wilson told grand jury brown attacked him; Wilson said he radioed shots fired, send all cars, but post-dispatch found no record of that call; Wilson said his radio channel was changed during the struggle; After calling for help, Wilson pursued Brown on foot; Wilson said Brown charged him, and he fired multiple times; some witnesses said Brown had his hands up when he was shot, while others have told versions that support Wilson's similar story; police chief Jackson said Wilson stopped Brown and his friend because they were walking in the street — not because of a suspected connection to the robbery;
<b>WK15 Nov17</b>	Michael Brown	local police officer; Darren Wilson;	fatal shooting of Michael Brown by local police officer Darren Wilson;

<b>WK15 Nov20</b>	Michael Brown; unarmed black teenager;	Ferguson police officer; Darren Wilson;	fatal shooting of unarmed black teenager;
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