

FROM “THE CINCINNATI EFFECT” TO “THE FERGUSON EFFECT”:  
MEDIA’S GROWING INVOLVEMENT IN POLICE BRUTALITY  
AGAINST BLACK CITIZENS

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## Introduction

On 31 August 2015, Monica Davey and Mitch Smith published an article in the *New York Times* titled “Murder Rates Rising Sharply in Many U.S. Cities”.<sup>1</sup> In this article, Davey and Smith stated that American cities are facing a startling rise in murders after years of decline, with the city of Milwaukee witnessing 104 murders halfway through 2015, an astonishing 76 percent upswing compared to the entire year of 2014. Furthermore, the cities of Washington, Baltimore and St. Louis experienced a sharp rise in murders of 44, 56 and 60 percent respectively. In contrast, homicides in cities such as Cincinnati, Los Angeles and Newark had remained at a relatively steady rate in the first half of 2014; the development did therefore not take place throughout the country, but the fact that at least 35 of the nation’s cities had reported an increase in murders was considered a worrisome trend nonetheless.

Davey and Smith searched for an explanation of this disturbing development. They spoke to law enforcement experts, but found out that no one knew for sure why the murder rates had started to climb. The experts in question believed that disparate factors were at play throughout American cities; the rivalry among organized street gangs and the availability of guns in major cities such as Chicago could be deemed as factors, along with a growing willingness among disenfranchised young men in poor neighborhoods who had a habit of using violence to settle ordinary disputes. But these experts believed that there was perhaps a fourth factor at place, one that had received a disproportionate amount of attention in the media: “the Ferguson Effect.” The term had been widely championed by Heather Mac Donald, author of *Are Cops Racist?*, who believes that the sharp rise in murders was being caused by an overly cautious form of policing -- a policy induced to prevent the outbreak of new civil unrests such as the 1992 riots in Los Angeles, California, the 2009 riots in Oakland,

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<sup>1</sup>Monica Davey and Mitch Smith, “Murder Rates Rising Sharply In Many U.S. Cities,” *New York Times*, August 31, 2015, [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/01/us/murder-rates-rising-sharply-in-many-us-cities.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/01/us/murder-rates-rising-sharply-in-many-us-cities.html?_r=0).

California, and the more recent 2014 riots in Ferguson, Missouri. Mac Donald argued that such a policy had completely backfired, that it had emboldened criminals to commit even more crimes, including murders.

Mac Donald spoke first of this so-called “Ferguson Effect” in a commentary in the *Wall Street Journal* of May 29, 2015<sup>2</sup>. She found the most plausible explanation of the surge in lawlessness in the intense agitation against American police departments in the aftermath of the Ferguson riots, an effect that had been induced by an incessant drumbeat against the police in the media. She stated that cops were disengaging from discretionary enforcement activity by speaking to anonymous police officers who claimed that “any cop who uses his gun now has to worry about being indicted and losing his job and family”.<sup>3</sup> Mac Donald strongly believed that police officers were now second-guessing themselves about the use of force, and she argued that police had to take aim at “broken windows” policing, a strategy of targeting low-level public-order offenses that would reduce the air of lawlessness in rough neighbourhoods and get criminals off the street before they started committing even more crimes, perhaps even more violent ones.

Journalists, bloggers and researchers have slammed the suggestion of this so-called “Ferguson Effect” ever since Mac Donald introduced the term to a wide audience. Radley Balko, a blogger at the *Washington Post* and author of *Rise of the Warrior Cop: The Militarization of America’s Police Forces*, admits that there had been an increase in killings of police officers in 2014, but he plays it down by looking at the year before when such killings had been at a historic low.<sup>4</sup> He therefore believes that a rise in criminality is not highly unusual. Balko also points to the fact that the bulk of killings by police officers took

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<sup>2</sup> Heather Mac Donald, “The New Nationwide Crime Wave,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 29, 2015, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/the-new-nationwide-crime-wave-1432938425>.

<sup>3</sup> Dara Lind, “The ‘Ferguson effect,’ a theory that’s warping the American crime debate, explained,” *Vox*, May 18, 2016, <http://www.vox.com/2016/5/18/11683594/ferguson-effect-crime-police>, paragraph 10.

<sup>4</sup> Radley Balko, “So much for the ‘Ferguson Effect’: killings of cops are down 25 percent for the first half of 2015,” *Washington Post*, July 23, 2015, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-watch/wp/2015/07/23/so-much-for-the-ferguson-effect-killings-of-cops-are-down-25-percent-for-the-first-half-of-2015/>.

place far before the Ferguson protests in August, 2014. He therefore claims that the increase had already been happening, something Richard Rosenfeld, a criminologist at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, stated as well in the Davey and Smith piece; he believed that the real reason for the uprise in crime was “an unrelated explosion in drug markets”.<sup>5</sup>

Brentin Mock, staff writer at *CityLab*, accuses Mac Donald of deliberately misquoting the term “the Ferguson Effect”. The phrase had originally been introduced by Sam Dotson, Chief of Police of the Metropolitan Police Department in the City of St. Louis, who described police officers getting “pulled away for specialized instruction” in protest-crowd control, some 5,000 hours of training for the force. Police officers were “tired, worn-out and stressed”.<sup>6</sup> Mac Donald, however, had written in her commentary in the *Wall Street Journal* opinion section that Dotson attributed the effect to anti-police fervor among black communities, a reference that strongly differed from what the police chief had said in November 2014. Mock also blames Mac Donald of not quoting or citing any black persons, but merely summarizing several unnamed police union representatives instead. He is joined in this criticism by Cornell University Law professor Joseph Margulies, who argues that a community must be allowed to think and speak for itself; “and if you deprive it of that opportunity, the skill will either never take hold or will wither from disuse.”<sup>7</sup>

But Mac Donald does not stand alone in her strong belief in “the Ferguson Effect”. In the Davey and Smith piece, the belief was shared by Milwaukee Police Chief Ed Flynn, who noted that officers were responding to crimes as they always had, but that they were now making fewer traffic stops and conducting fewer field interviews, a development he

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<sup>5</sup> Christine Byers, “Crime up after Ferguson and more police needed, top St. Louis area chief says,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 15, 2014, [http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/crime-up-after-ferguson-and-more-police-needed-top-st/article\\_04d9f99f-9a9a-51be-a231-1707a57b50d6.html](http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/crime-up-after-ferguson-and-more-police-needed-top-st/article_04d9f99f-9a9a-51be-a231-1707a57b50d6.html), paragraph 11.

<sup>6</sup> Byers, paragraph 3.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Margulies, “The Dangerous Notion of a Nationwide Crime Wave,” *Verdict*, June 15, 2015, <https://verdict.justia.com/2015/06/15/the-dangerous-notion-of-a-nationwide-crime-wave>, paragraph 7.

contributed to a “free-floating anxiety” among officers across the nation.<sup>8</sup> In October 2015, FBI Director James Coley stated that the additional scrutiny and criticism of police officers in the wake of highly publicized episodes of police brutality may indeed have led to an increasing amount of violent crime in some cities in which officers have become less aggressive.<sup>9</sup> The director claimed that he had been told by many police leaders that officers who would normally stop to question suspicious people were now opting to stay in their patrol cars for fear of having their encounters going viral on social media. Director Coley believed that this hesitancy had led to a decreasing police presence on the streets of the country’s most violent cities; however, he was quick to admit that there had not been any data to back up his assertion yet, and that this trend might just have been one of many factors that had contributed to the rise in crime.

While the debate still continues to this very day, this thesis will take a more rational approach towards the supposed “Ferguson Effect”. It will do so by focusing on historical crime data, provided by two sources: a report of The Sentencing Project and a database by the Uniform Crime Reporting Statistics (UCR). Furthermore, this thesis will look at comparable statistics of a similar civil unrest, in this case the 2001 riots of Cincinnati, in order to spot potential similarities and/or disparities. The findings will invalidate the hypothesis of a “Ferguson Effect”, while at the same time prove the existence of a rise in crime in the years following the 2001 riots in Cincinnati -- “the Cincinnati Effect”, if you will. This term, however, has never been introduced in the media, despite the statistics proving its very existence. But why has a similar hypothesis been introduced in the aftermath of Ferguson, a time in which crime statistics seem to contradict the existence of such an effect. What has changed in the coverage by the media on this topic since 2001?

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<sup>8</sup> Davey and Smith, paragraph 34.

<sup>9</sup> Charles Rex Arbogast, “FBI Chief Links Scrutiny of Police With Rise in Violent Crime,” *New York Times*, October 23, 2015, [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/24/us/politics/fbi-chief-links-scrutiny-of-police-with-rise-in-violent-crime.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/24/us/politics/fbi-chief-links-scrutiny-of-police-with-rise-in-violent-crime.html?_r=0), paragraph 1.

This thesis will try to answer this question by comparing the coverage of four newspapers (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*) on the Cincinnati riots in 2001 to their coverage on the Ferguson riots in 2014. While researching the reports, I will pay attention to a regional newspaper (*Cincinnati Enquirer* in the case of Cincinnati, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in the case of Ferguson), a regional newspaper from another state (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in the case of Ferguson, *Cincinnati Enquirer* in the case of Ferguson) and two national newspapers (*New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*). This will enable us to spot similarities and/or discrepancies between regional newspapers, those established in other states and national newspapers. After having analysed both the coverage on the Cincinnati riots and the one on those in Ferguson, I will conduct a cross-sectional analysis to find out the extent to which coverage has transformed, both in the case of regional and national coverage specifically as well as comprehensive coverage. Ultimately, these analyses will enable me to confirm the following thesis statement: the term “Ferguson Effect”, introduced by the media in its coverage on the 2014 riots in Ferguson, Missouri, is a result of the media’s growing involvement in police brutality against black citizens, as compared to the coverage on the 2001 riots in Cincinnati, Ohio.

I would like to emphasize here that the term "growing involvement" does not imply that the media had not yet been involved prior to 2014. On the contrary, I believe the media have always served as a watchdog, a way to inform the people *on* the people. However, as I write this, we have entered a time in which its position is being criticized more than ever, a time in which its coverage is being deemed "fake news" by those exposed by it. Meanwhile, newspapers that find themselves at the heart of this criticism are witnessing a subscription growth, both online and in print.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, the influence of the printed newspaper seems

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<sup>10</sup> Matthew J. Belvedere and Michael Newberg, "New York Times subscription growth soars tenfold, adding 132,000, after Trump's win," *CNBC*, November 29, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2016/11/29/new-york-times-subscriptions-soar-tenfold-after-donald-trump-wins-presidency.html>.

to have diminished, as internet outlets and social media have started to take over the position of primary news source -- especially in terms of public unrests, as we will find out once we start comparing the coverage on the Ferguson unrest in 2014 to that on the Cincinnati riots in 2001. A change of environment is seemingly taking place, and, as I will argue in this thesis, a change of involvement is coming along with it.

This thesis will provide a summary of the debate regarding the "Ferguson Effect" and the crime statistics surrounding the civil unrest in Missouri, 2014. In terms of the supposed effect itself, this thesis will not enter uncharted territory, a field of research where no one has not yet gone before. However, it is in the comparison with the similar events, crime statistics and media coverage regarding the Cincinnati riots in 2001 that we find the true value of this thesis. It is in that comparison that not only the changes in the *quantity* of (newspaper) coverage becomes evident, but also the changes in the *quality* of the coverage.

Research on crime statistics provides a lopsided interpretation of a changing society. It is in the changes in media coverage that we will truly find what has changed over the course of thirteen years. It is my personal belief that in order to truly find an explanation for riots such as those in Ferguson and Cincinnati, highlighting a rise in crime and putting the blame on racial inequality is insufficient; sure, they are highly important factors at play, but together they fail to provide a clear answer as to why these riots keep breaking out. Only by looking at the triangular relationship between the crime rate, racial inequality and the coverage by the media do we truly become one step closer to providing a sufficient answer -- and, as a result, one step closer to finding a solution.



## Chapter 1: Correlation analysis of media's involvement in public opinion towards police

Heather Mac Donald is a contributing editor to New York's *City Journal* and author of books such as *Are Cops Racist?*, a bundle of essays of which all but one originally appeared in *City Journal*. She is also a lawyer by training and an American political commentator described as a secular conservative. Throughout the years, Mac Donald has argued that the reduction in crime, as was seen in American cities since 1991, had been a partial result of efficient policing, high incarceration rates and a higher number of working police officers. More recently, she has written articles in which she interviews and highlights certain black officers, asking herself the question why the press had never bothered to ask these officers whether or not their colleagues are truly racist.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, Mac Donald is known as a welcome friend to police, defending them in waves of criticism after police shootings such as the one of Michael Brown in Ferguson by denying the existence of police racism, while at the same time arguing that the cops in question were "acting on good faith".<sup>12</sup> She even blames the media for their role in the civil unrests sparked by such shootings, and criticizes them for spreading false beliefs, with police racism in particular.

Still, "Mac Donald is no apologist for bad apples," writes Jonathan Kay in a commentary piece on *Are Cops Racist?* in *Commentary Magazine*. He highlights two examples: Justin Volpe, the New York City police officer who brutalized a black woman in a stationhouse bathroom in 1997, and officers of the same police department who killed Amadou Diallo, a black resident from the Bronx, after mistaking his wallet for a gun in an incident that occurred two years later. Kay notices that Mac Donald does not attribute these killings to racial motives. "As it happens, Volpe himself was engaged to a black woman (...)

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<sup>11</sup> Heather Mac Donald, "The Black Cops You Never Hear About," *City Journal*, Summer 2002, <http://www.city-journal.org/html/black-cops-you-never-hear-about-12351.html>.

<sup>12</sup> "Former officer takes on Heather Mac Donald for denying police racism," YouTube, accessed January 30, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eGuLqyoicgw>.

As for Diallo's killers, they had bungled their advance on his apartment vestibule, putting themselves in a position so exposed that they had no option but to open fire once they thought themselves under deadly threat. Despite the weeks of protest that followed Diallo's death, [Mac Donald believes] there is still not a shred of evidence that the event was anything but a tragic mistake."<sup>13</sup>

Mac Donald has also criticized the "fifteen black men!" slogan regarding the riots sparked by the shooting of Timothy Thomas in Cincinnati in 2001, a battle cry that referred to the number of African-Americans killed in the previous six years by Cincinnati police. The slogan had been cited by both regional and national media, whom Mac Donald has blamed for not taking the time to find out who those fifteen "victims" actually were. As it happens, one of those fifteen had murdered his girlfriend's adolescent daughter with an axe, while another was a parolee and armed-robbery suspect driving a stolen car when he shot a full clip of bullets at his pursuers after he had crashed following an eight-minute chase.<sup>14</sup>

It appears that Mac Donald has touched a certain nerve when blaming the media for enforcing a negative bias towards police. Studies have shown a decline in community support as well as an increase in dissatisfaction with police following negative, publicized malign behavior on part of the police.<sup>15</sup> As a result, communities where such incidents have occurred may become resentful and suspicious of local police officers, regardless of the amount and rarity of certain behaviors or incidents. This makes it hard for the police department as a whole, as those that were not involved in the incident now face public disdain as well, a disdain that eventually resolves in citizens becoming less cooperative.<sup>16</sup> According to Ronald Weitzer, incidents such as the shooting of Oscar Grant in Oakland (2009) and the beating of

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<sup>13</sup> Jonathan Kay, "Are Cops Racist?" by Heather Mac Donald," *Commentary Magazine*, April 1, 2003, <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/are-cops-racist-by-heather-mac-donald/>, paragraph 4.

<sup>14</sup> Kay, paragraph 2-3.

<sup>15</sup> Steven A. Tuch and Ronald Weitzer, "Trends: Racial Differences in Attitudes Toward the Police," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (1997): 642-663.

<sup>16</sup> Ronald Weitzer, "Incidents of police misconduct and public opinion," *Journal of Criminal Justice* 30, no.5 (2002): 406.

Rodney King in Los Angeles (1992) can potentially shape the community's perception for an extended period of time. Once a series of such incidents occur frequently in the media, communal contempt can eventually evolve in a nationwide disdain against the police.<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore, research has also shown a positive correlation between watching the news and believing that police misconduct is a frequent event.<sup>18</sup>

The media therefore play a dominant role when it comes to the public image of police officers, as a vast majority of citizens primarily encounter them indirectly through the media. However, the picture being painted is that of an ineffective police force, as violent images of crime are shown disproportionately on television, causing the public to believe police officers are not truly protecting them.<sup>19</sup> The portrayal of police by the media tends to be overly negative, which in turn induces negative attitudes towards officers. When it comes to infamous and well-publicized incidents of police brutality, for instance those in Cincinnati and in Ferguson, studies find a decline in both local and national levels for support of the police.<sup>20</sup>

These trends seem to have accelerated with the introduction of social media; in fact, scholars argue that social media has boosted rioting as a whole, especially in the case of Ferguson. Within six days after the shooting, Ferguson had been mentioned and “hashtagged” in 6 million tweets. According to Ann Collins, a political scientist at McKendree University, social media such as Twitter and Facebook, along with pervasive use of smartphones to shoot pictures and videos, contributed to the unrest by bringing in more outsiders who have likely extended the rioting and looting.<sup>21</sup> David Carr, the late media columnist for the *New York Times*, agreed that Twitter had started to act “as a kind of constantly changing kaleidoscope,

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<sup>17</sup> Weitzer, 397.

<sup>18</sup> Weitzer, 397.

<sup>19</sup> Kenneth Dowler, “Media Influence on Citizen Attitudes Toward Police Effectiveness,” *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture* 10, no. 2 (2002): 110.

<sup>20</sup> Tuch and Weitzer, 648.

<sup>21</sup> Nancy Cambria, “History repeats itself, says race riot scholar,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 22, 2014, A14.

[providing] enough visibility to show that something significant is underway (...) It is a heat map and a window, a place where sometimes the things that are 'trending' offer very real insight into the current informational needs of huge swath of news consumers, some of whom traditional outlets often miss."<sup>22</sup> Carr particularly hinted at black users, whom he believed to rely heavily on information provided by Twitter.

David Karf, assistant professor of Media and Public Affairs at The George Washington University, argues that social media put police officers even under more pressure at times of civilian unrest. He states that "because of social media, the police don't have control of this story (...) it's opened everything up, changed how the media decides what's worthy of coverage -- and who to trust".<sup>23</sup> In the case of Ferguson, the issue of trust (distrust, if you will) also ignited the other way around, as police started to act with more vengeance towards the media as well. Officials had made it clear that they had no interest in accommodating news coverage, as officers in riot gear tear-gassed a tv-crew from *Al Jazeera*,<sup>24</sup> arrested two reporters of the *Washington Post* and the *Huffington Post* at a local McDonald's restaurant<sup>25</sup> while also arresting Antonio French,<sup>26</sup> the Democratic St. Louis Alderman who through his many images posted on his Twitter account had become an icon during the civil unrest. Reports of these assaults and arrests inclined President Obama to comment, as he issued a statement that "here, in the United States of America, police should not be bullying or arresting journalists who are just trying to do their jobs and report to the American people on what they see on the ground".<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> David Carr, "The view from #Ferguson," *New York Times*, August 18, 2014, B1.

<sup>23</sup> Lindsay Deutsch and Jodie Lee, "Ferguson fuels raw feelings online," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, August 15, 2014, B3.

<sup>24</sup> Catherine Taiba, "Ferguson Police Use Tear Gas On *Al Jazeera* America Team," *Huffington Post*, August 14, 2014, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/08/14/al-jazeera-ferguson-tear-gas-journalists\\_n\\_5678081.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/08/14/al-jazeera-ferguson-tear-gas-journalists_n_5678081.html).

<sup>25</sup> Jack Mirkinson, "Huffington Post, Washington Post Reporters Arrested, Assaulted By Ferguson Police," *Huffington Post*, August 13, 2014, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/08/13/reporters-arrested-ferguson-ryan-reilly-wesley-lowery\\_n\\_5676841.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/08/13/reporters-arrested-ferguson-ryan-reilly-wesley-lowery_n_5676841.html).

<sup>26</sup> Laura Mandaro, "Alderman Antonio French arrested in Ferguson," *USA Today*, August 14, 2014, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2014/08/14/antonio-french-alderman-arrest-ferguson-missouri/14042391/>.

<sup>27</sup> "Statement by the President," The White House, August 14, 2014, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/08/14/statement-president>, paragraph 15.

There indeed seems to be a correlation between the coverage on police violence and a growing negative attitude towards the police as a whole. However, what Mac Donald argues might be a bridge too far, as she believes that such coverage leads to a certain incompetence of the police, which in turn would lead to a sharp rise in crime, including murder. In the following chapters I will study whether that has indeed been the case in the aftermaths of both the Ferguson unrest as well as the Cincinnati unrest.

## Chapter 2: Empirical study on the crime statistics

In this chapter I will focus on the crime statistics regarding the riots of Ferguson, Missouri, and Cincinnati, Ohio, in order to see if these data support the hypothesis of “the Ferguson Effect” and “the Cincinnati Effect” respectively, the idea that crime increases in the years following these civil unrests because police are too hesitant to act accordingly. This hesitancy is hard to prove, since there could be multiple factors at stake. However, what we can conclude is whether or not the crime data at the very least invite the suggestion of such a hypothesis. After all, the hypothesis is immediately proven invalid once the crime numbers show a decline in crime instead of an increase.

First I will look at the numbers regarding Ferguson, Missouri; then, in the following paragraph, I will shift my attention to the numbers concerning Cincinnati, Ohio.

### 2.1 Ferguson, Missouri

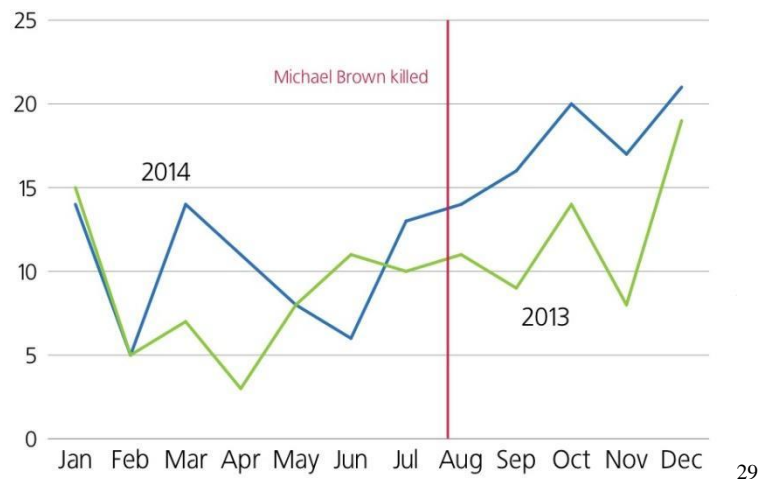
In December 2015, The Sentencing Project, a non-profit organization that aims to “change the way the Americans think about crime and punishment”, released a report in which it had analyzed the St. Louis County crime statistics in the time period during and leading up to the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson (which is a part of the St. Louis county) and the riots that followed.<sup>28</sup> By using the data compiled by this report, we can investigate the timing of this so-called “Ferguson Effect” by looking at the degree to which the hypothesis corresponds with observed crime changes in the community of St. Louis. If the rise in crime had already taken place before the shooting of Michael Brown, then the hypothesis would be proven invalid. Furthermore, if violent crime did start to rise after the riots, it would still be hard to suggest that the unrest was indeed the main contributor to this

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<sup>28</sup> “Was There a “Ferguson Effect” on Crime in St. Louis?,” The Sentencing Project, June 15, 2015, <http://sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Ferguson-Effect.pdf>, 2.

rise.

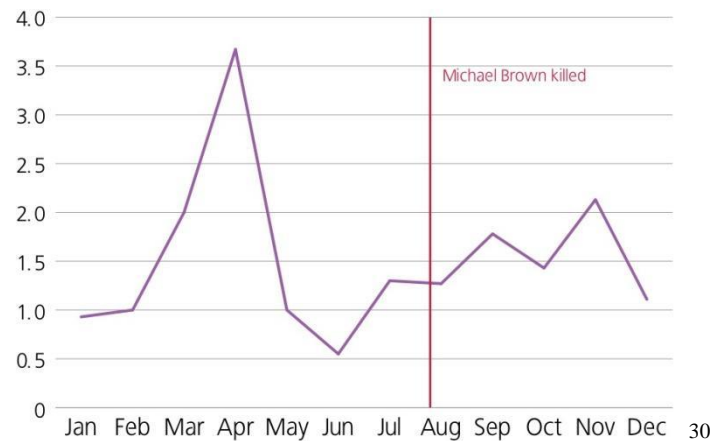
The report comes up with several charts that accurately show the amount of crime in St. Louis. The first one displays the month-by-month homicide frequencies in the city in 2013 and 2014:



According to this chart, the homicide count in 2014 was higher than in 2013 throughout most of the year. Furthermore, starting as of July 2014, the month before the shooting of Michael Brown, the monthly homicide frequency had already started to rise. The same frequencies in the second half of the year are all higher than the one in July, but it remains unclear and therefore difficult to state whether that has to do anything with the shooting of Brown and the riots sparked by the fatal incident. However, the fact that ratio kept going up for several months and remained at a higher level as compared to the same frequencies from a year before shows that the “Ferguson Effect” could indeed have taken place.

However, the following chart on month-to-month ratio of homicides in St. Louis in 2014 as compared to 2013 seems to indicate otherwise:

<sup>29</sup> The Sentencing Project, 2.



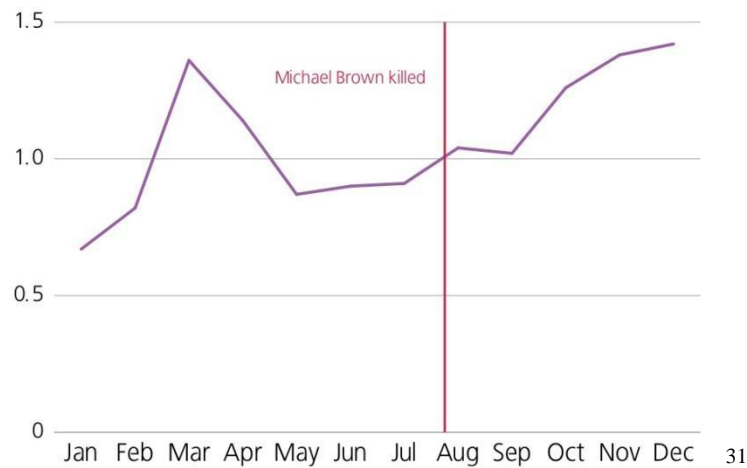
The most obvious conclusion to be drawn here is that homicides were far more frequent in the early months of 2014 as compared to the same period in 2013, especially in April. The ratio then sharply decreased but began to rise again in June, two months prior to the shooting. Nevertheless, at no point in the following months did it exceed the levels reached in the early months of the year. These results, therefore, do not seem to support the hypothesis that the homicide increase in St. Louis in the year of 2014 was caused by the civil unrest, as earlier months such as April appear to be the main contributor to the homicide count of 2014 -- simply put, the hypothesis would have made more sense if the riots had taken place in March or April.

The third and final chart shows the month-to-month ratio of violent crimes in St. Louis in 2014 as compared to 2013:

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<sup>30</sup> The Sentencing Project, 2.





As was the case with the chart of the month-to-month ratio of homicides, we see a much higher ratio of violent crimes in the early months of 2014 as compared to the year before. It then slows down for two months, but starting as of June, two months prior to the shooting and the riots, it starts to increase again, a trend that progresses throughout the rest of the year, with a slight exception in September, the month after the riots. Nevertheless, that exception is a remarkable one, since it is the only rate that would somewhat invalidate the hypothesis -- if there is one month in which the data would suggest that the police had handled accordingly, it would indeed have been September. Furthermore, the increase truly starts to pick up pace as of October. This, yet again, seems to indicate that the civilian unrest cannot be seen as a main contributor to the rise of violent crimes. It is therefore fair to conclude that the idea of “the Ferguson Effect” is hereby repealed.

## 2.2 Cincinnati, Ohio

Does the non-existence of the term “the Cincinnati Effect” suggest that the same conclusion can be drawn in terms of the 2001 riots in Cincinnati? That question will be answered by using the data from the Uniform Crime Report Statistics (UCR) database.

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<sup>31</sup> The Sentencing Project, 2.

Unfortunately, the database does not provide statistics on a monthly basis -- at least not between 1999 and 2003. However, since the riots took place in the beginning of April, and assuming that the potential rise in violent crime progressed for at least a couple of months, it is fair to expect that the yearly statistics would show such a rise well (if there indeed is one).

First I will focus on the number of offenses, reported by the Cincinnati Police Dept, Ohio, starting from 1999 to 2003. The crimes are divided into five categories: murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault and the total numbers of violent crime.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter</i>	<i>Forcible rape</i>	<i>Robbery</i>	<i>Aggravated assault</i>	<i>Total violent crime</i>
<b>1999</b>	28	249	1,209	1,005	<b>2,491</b>
<b>2000</b>	22	284	1,404	1,073	<b>2,783</b>
<b>2001</b>	56	323	2,096	1,531	<b>4,006</b>
<b>2002</b>	70	350	2,393	1,437	<b>4,250</b>
<b>2003</b>	72	319	2,184	1,081	<b>3,656</b>

According to this chart, crimes reported in the year 2000 are relatively higher as compared to those in the year before, with the exception of a slight decrease in murder and nonnegligent manslaughter. However, this increase accelerates rapidly as of 2001, the year of the riots. Most noticeable is the rise in murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, which went up by over 150 percent. In terms of the total numbers of violent crimes, Cincinnati police reported 44 percent more crimes in 2001 as compared to 2000. The reports kept on rising in 2002 (except those concerning aggravated assault), but at a slower rate as opposed to 2001 in comparison to 2000. As of 2003, the amount of reported offenses had started to decline (with the exception of the reports concerning murder and nonnegligent manslaughter). Nevertheless, the numbers still far exceeded those of 2001, the year before the riots.

The following chart slightly differs from its predecessor, as it shows the crime rate per 100,000 population during those same five years:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter rate</i>	<i>Forcible rape rate</i>	<i>Robbery rate</i>	<i>Aggravated assault rate</i>	<i>Total violent crime rate</i>
<b>1999</b>	8.3	73.7	357.9	297.5	<b>737.4</b>
<b>2000</b>	6.6	85.7	423.8	323.9	<b>840.1</b>
<b>2001</b>	16.9	97.3	631.6	461.3	<b>1,207.1</b>
<b>2002</b>	21.0	105.0	718.0	431.2	<b>1,275.2</b>
<b>2003</b>	22.2	98.4	673.5	333.3	<b>1,127.4</b>

Not too surprisingly, the trend in this chart is pretty similar to the one we saw in the previous one; in fact, the sharp rise in crime in 2001 becomes even more apparent here, especially when we look at the murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, robbery and aggravated assault rates. These statistics are the nearest evidence to be found in support of “the Ferguson Effect”, or in this case “the Cincinnati Effect”. However, one could argue that violent crime had already started to rise even before the riots took place -- a popular argument made by those opposing “the Ferguson Effect”. Still, Cincinnati experienced the sharpest rise in crime in 2001, the year of the riots. The statistics show that civil unrest could indeed have led to a sharp rise in violent crime; however, to state that civil unrest is the main contributor to such an increase, as Mac Donald would argue, remains hard to tell.

It is fair to say that crime statistics show that the existence of “the Cincinnati Effect” is more likely than the existence of “the Ferguson Effect”. So why was there no mention of such an effect at the time? Why did the media report on a nearly nonexistent effect, while it did not write on such an effect when it seemed it was indeed taking place? To what extent has media’s coverage changed in 2014 as compared to 2001? That will be the focus of the following chapters.

### **Chapter 3: Theoretical research of the coverage on the 2001 riots in Cincinnati, Ohio**

In little more than two months prior to the fatal incident on April 7, 2001, 19-year-old Timothy Thomas had gathered 14 open warrants, of which 12 were traffic citations. When an off-duty police officer finally spotted him around 2:00 am outside a local nightclub and dispatched this on the radio, Thomas started a foot chase that would come to a dramatic end twenty minutes later, as he rounded a corner in a dark alley and surprised patrolman Stephen Roach. Roach, believing the suspect was reaching for a gun in his waistband, shot Thomas in the chest at close range; the teenager would succumb to his wounds 40 minutes later in a nearby hospital. Investigation later determined that Thomas was merely trying to pull up his baggy pants.

The incident sparked an outrage throughout Cincinnati's black, urban community. Two days after the shooting, around 200 protesters were brandishing signs in front of the Cincinnati City Hall, demanding public explanation for the incident. However, their demands were not met by the council members, who were consequently trapped inside city hall for about three hours. Several hundred residents gathered outside the Cincinnati Police District 1 headquarters later that evening, smashing the station's front door, pulling the flag from its mast and re-hanging it upside down and throwing stones and bottles at a confronting line of police officers. Police in turn dispersed the mob with tear gas and rubber bullets. Ten arrests were made during the chaos.<sup>32</sup>

Cincinnati police offered no explanation of the shooting for two-and-a-half days. The unrest eventually lasted for three nights; dozens of people were injured, while more than 800 arrests were made. Officials eventually called for a state of emergency, while a city-wide curfew was imposed as well. The curfew proved to be successful: on April 16, public life had

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<sup>32</sup> David Waddington, *Policing Public Disorder* (Portland: Willan Publishing, 2007), 65.

returned almost back to normal.

The events were widely covered, both by national and international media. My focus, however, will be on a regional newspaper (*Cincinnati Enquirer*), a regional newspaper from another state (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*), and two national newspapers (*New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*). Coverage by these newspapers started on April 8, the day after Thomas had been shot, and lasted until April 23, the last day of a continuous stream of news items reported on the riots, which I believe indicates that the events (at least till then) were no longer worth publishing, that public life had practically been restored (at least according to these papers). All news items have been collected from the newspapers databases, in which I have searched on the following key terms: “Timothy Thomas”, “Cincinnati, Ohio”, “riots” and “civil unrest”. I have categorized my findings by order of appearance. Each news item includes the date of appearance, the heading of the news item, the author, the number of the page on which it was written and a short description of the news item. I have decided not to include opinions published in the papers, as these belong to independent commentators, while my thesis is rather aimed at the newspaper’s own coverage. Columns have also not been included for that matter, as I believe these reflect personal opinions, not necessarily those of the newspapers’ editorial. The comments shared by the editors are published in the editorials, which have been included in the following charts.

I will start by looking at the region’s most prominent newspaper, the *Cincinnati Enquirer*.

3.1. *Cincinnati Enquirer*

<b>Date issued</b>	<b>Heading</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Page no.</b>	<b>Short description</b>
April 8	<b>OFFICER SHOOTS, KILLS SUSPECT</b>	Susan Vela	A1, A6	Report on the shooting of Timothy Thomas, mention of fifteen black men killed by Cincinnati police since 1995
April 9	<b>HER QUESTION FOR OFFICER: 'PLAIN AND SIMPLE: WHY?'</b>	Tom O'Neill	A1, A6	Report on Thomas' parents & African-American residents wanting answers
April 9	<b>MORE ANSWERS EXPECTED TODAY</b>	Jane Prendergast	A1	News item on upcoming City Council's law and public safety committee meeting in City Hall
April 10	<b>GIVEN NO ANSWERS, CROWD TAKES OVER</b>	Jane Prendergast, Robert Anglen	A1, A8	Report on hundred protesters taking over City Hall, first riot
April 10	<b>DETAILS OF SHOOTING PUT UNDER WRAPS</b>	Jane Prendergast	A1	News item on ongoing investigation, held under a grand jury subpoena
April 10	<b>SHOOTING SPURS COUNCIL DEBATE OVER HOW CITY HIRES POLICE CHIEF</b>	Robert Anglen	A8	News item on City Council members pleading city manager to select anyone from anywhere in the country regarding the position of police chief
April 10	<b>ANSWERS MUST BE FOUND</b>	Editorial	B12	Opinion piece demanding for tolerance and patience until the questions are answered
April 11	<b>RIOTERS IGNORE PLEAS FOR CALM; DAMAGE, ARRESTS, INJURIES MOUNT</b>	Howard Wilkinson	A1, A14	Report on the chaos, confrontations between police officers/firemen and protesters
April 11	<b>INITIAL FINDINGS MAY NOT SUPPORT OFFICER'S ACTION</b>	Robert Anglen, Dan Horn	A1, A14	News item on investigators question police officer's decision to shoot Thomas
April 11	<b>RIOTING NOT THE WAY, LEADERS SAY</b>	The Cincinnati Enquirer	A12	Report on church leaders urge for 'cooling off' period
April 11	<b>POLICE TRY TO GO BY THE 'BOOK'</b>	Jane Prendergast	A13	Report on police's strategy regarding the riots
April 11	<b>RACIAL VIOLENCE HIT TWICE IN '60S</b>	Jennifer Mrozowski	A13	Analysis looking back at three similar protests in Cincinnati
April 11	<b>PUBLIC SAFETY DEPARTMENT MAY BE ABOLISHED</b>	Robert Anglen	A13	News item on lawmakers wanting to get rid of the Department, hoping it may restore public confidence
April 11	<b>CITY HALL LOCKED DOWN AS VIOLENCE ERUPTS</b>	Robert Anglen	A14	Report on the chaos surrounding City Hall
April 11	<b>RADIO STATIONS REFLECT DIVERSE OPINIONS ON UNREST</b>	Tom O'Neill	A14	News item summarizing local talk shows becoming focal forums of both white and black callers
April 11	<b>ORDER MUST BE MAINTAINED</b>	Editorial	B6	Opinion piece pleading for order, answers and leadership

April 11	<b>FROM OUTRAGE TO SYMPATHY: READERS REACT TO SHOOTING BY POLICE</b>	Reader's views	B7	Readers' responses to the shooting, riots
April 12	<b>VIOLENCE SPREADS; OFFICER SHOT</b>	Howard Wilkinson	A1, A16	Report on the shooting of a police officer, resulting in more violence
April 12	<b>GRAND JURY TO INVESTIGATE SHOOTING</b>	Dan Horn, Jane Prendergast	A1, A16	News item announcing the investigation by Hamilton County grand jury
April 12	<b>MINISTERS RALLY, THEN WALK THE STREETS</b>	Andrea Tortora	A14	Report on meeting between police chief and Cincinnati clergy, church elders
April 12	<b>'HELP US RESTORE ORDER'</b>	Kristina Goetz, Dan Horn	A14	Report narrating residents on the streets
April 12	<b>RESIDENTS TRY TO COMPREHEND DESTRUCTION</b>	Karen Samples	A14	Report narrating residents on the streets, how the chaos evokes images of Gaza and the Los Angeles riots in 1992
April 12	<b>VIOLENCE A SIGN OF UNSOLVED PROBLEMS</b>	Richelle Thompson	A15	Report on Cincinnati's race problems in recent decades
April 12	<b>NAACP MFUME, CITY LEADERS MEET TODAY</b>	The Cincinnati Enquirer	A15	News item announcing meeting between NCAAP and city leaders
April 12	<b>MOST OF ARRESTED ARE YOUNG MALES</b>	Susan Vela	A16	Report on the arrest of 66 rioters
April 12	<b>WE MUST LOOK AHEAD</b>	Editorial	B10	Opinion piece pleading for the ashamed city to show the world that it can heal itself
April 13	<b>CURFEW QUIETS CITY STREETS; STATE OF EMERGENCY BEGINS</b>	Howard Wilkinson	A1, A13	Report on the events as curfew prevented a third night of violence
April 13	<b>RESIDENTS RETIRE; BUSINESSES CLOSE</b>	Karen Samples	A1	Report on how curfew quieted city streets
April 13	<b>NAACP LEADER CALLS FOR JUSTICE</b>	Kevin Aldridge, Mark Curnutte	A1, A12	Report on Mfume's response to the riots and his plea for justice
April 13	<b>HOW PETTY TRAFFIC CITATIONS BUILT UP TO FATAL CONFRONTATION</b>	Jane Prendergast	A1, A12	Analysis of Thomas' history of traffic violations
April 13	<b>DANGERS ADD NEW FEARS FOR CHILDREN</b>	Tom O'Neill	A6	Report on parents' worries, plea for answers
April 13	<b>MOST GRUDGINGLY ACCEPT CURFEW</b>	Allen Howard	A6	Report on public responses towards curfew hitting the streets
April 13	<b>OFFICERS, HORSES, CARS MOVE ACCORDING TO THE CROWDS</b>	Kristina Goetz	A6	Report on police's tactics to restore order
April 13	<b>CLUBS, BUSINESSES VICTIMS OF CURFEW</b>	Randy Tucker	A7	Report on the financial impact of the curfew
April 13	<b>QUIET STREETS BEST REMEDY FOR TIRED COPS</b>	John Eckberg, Amy Higgins	A7	Report on police officers' and firemen's experience of the riots, curfew
April 13	<b>RIOTS EVOKE MORE DISGUST THAN ALARM</b>	Lew Moores	A7	Report on suburban reaction towards the riots
April 13	<b>ENQUIRER AUDIENCE SPEAKS OUT</b>	Reader's views	A7	Reader's views towards the riots, what needs to be done to resolve the issues

April 13	<b>ADDING COST OF DAMAGE COMES LATER</b>	Ken Alltucker	A8	Report on merchants' response to the riots' financial impact
April 13	<b>OTR PEOPLE EXPRESS DISMAY</b>	Mark Curnutte	A8	Report on Over-the-Rhine residents' responding to their neighborhood having become the epicentre of the riots, how to move on
April 13	<b>INJURED OFFICER RETURNS TO JOB</b>	Earnest Winston	A8	Report on shot officer returning to duty
April 13	<b>FIRMS OFFER AID, JOBS</b>	Cliff Peale	A8	News item announcing the providing of jobs to African-Americans come summer by corporations as a response to the riots
April 13	<b>SPECIAL GRAND JURY TO HEAR CASE</b>	Dan Horn	A9	News item announcing prosecutors convening a special grand jury
April 13	<b>STORY PLAYED UP NATIONALLY</b>	Ben L. Kaufman	A9	News item summarizing national media's coverage on the riots
April 13	<b>PRAYERS SOUGHT AS SERVICES HELD UP</b>	Richelle Thompson	A9	Report on churches shortening or cancelling services because of curfew
April 13	<b>LEADERS CALL FOR LISTENING, CHANGE</b>	Richelle Thompson	A9	Report on Cincinnati church leaders' suggestions on how the city must heal itself
April 13	<b>UNREST IN THE CITY: THE STORY IN PICTURES</b>	The Cincinnati Enquirer	A10, A11	Photo report on the riots
April 13	<b>MAYOR'S DECISION DRAWS CRITICISM</b>	Robert Anglen	A12	News item summarizing the debate regarding the curfew hitting the streets
April 13	<b>THE CITY MUST HAVE ORDER</b>	Editorial	B6	Opinion piece supporting the mayor's decision to impose the curfew
April 14	<b>'A CRUCIAL DAY' FOR CITY</b>	Howard Wilkinson	A1	Report on the events as city builds up to Thomas' funeral
April 14	<b>RACIAL DIVIDE WIDE IN REGION</b>	Ken Alltucker	A1, A6	Analysis of Cincinnati being one of nation's most segregated areas
April 14	<b>COALITION SEEKS BIG CHANGES</b>	Marie McCain	A4	Report on African-American leaders' call for new way of hiring chief
April 14	<b>ANGRY FOP LEADER RESPONDS</b>	Jane Prendergast	A4	Report on Cincinnati's police union leader defending the police, criticizing city officials for promoting an unfair national image of local officers
April 14	<b>BLACK LEADERS DISCUSS BOYCOTT TO EFFECT CHANGES</b>	Randy Tucker	A4	Report on African-American community leaders' consideration of imposing economic sanctions to improve race relations
April 14	<b>SOME BRISTLED, OTHERS SHRUGGED</b>	Mark Curnutte, Janice Morse, Jennifer Mrozowski	A5	Report on the city 'living' under curfew
April 14	<b>CITY'S RIOTS ARE COVERED WORLDWIDE</b>	John Eckberg	A5	News item summarizing international media's coverage on the riots, curfew
April 14	<b>CINCINNATI RIOTS MIRROR THOSE IN L.A., MIAMI</b>	Karen Samples, John Eckberg	A5	Analysis of lessons to be learned from previous riots in Los Angeles, Indianapolis, Miami



April 14	<b>COUNCILMAN RECOUNTS FATEFUL FOOT CHASE, DEFENDS OFFICERS</b>	Rosemary Goudreau	A7	Report on a councilman's account of the shooting in his neighborhood
April 14	<b>PRAYERS FOR PEACE</b>	Mark Curnutte, Jennifer Mrozowski	A8, A9	Report on the community's prayer for peace during Good Friday
April 14	<b>ACTION RESTORED PEACE</b>	Editorial	B14	Opinion piece expressing relief that the curfew has calmed the street, hope that prayers for continuing peace will work
April 15	<b>CITY HOPES HEALING BEGINS</b>	James Pilcher	A1, A12	Report on how a state of calmness seeks to take hold after Thomas' service
April 15	<b>LEADERS CALL FOR NEW CINCINNATI</b>	Jane Prendergast	A1, A16	Report on Thomas' funeral
April 15	<b>SHOOTING SET OFF TINDERBOX OF OLD TROUBLES</b>	Kristina Goetz	A1, A12	Analysis of how violence erupted in Over-the-Rhine neighborhood
April 15	<b>FED STUDY POLICE PRACTICES</b>	Robert Anglen	A1	News item announcing the arrival of lawyers from Justice Department
April 15	<b>SENSE OF NEEDS SENDS MANY TO SERVICE</b>	Janice Morse	A16	Report on residents paying respects to Thomas
April 15	<b>A CALL FOR CHANGE AND AN OFFER OF HELP</b>	Mark Curnutte	A17	Report on Martin Luther King III's speech at Thomas' service
April 15	<b>PROTESTER, THEN PEACEMAKER</b>	Cliff Radel	A17	Profile on Rev. Damon Lynch III after his speech at Thomas' service
April 15	<b>'FIFTEEN' BECOMES ACTIVISTS' RALLY CRY</b>	Dan Klepal	A18, A19	Analysis of fifteen African-American males shot dead by Cincinnati police
April 15	<b>FALLEN OFFICERS FORGOTTEN, SAYS WIDOW</b>	Kristina Goetz	A19	Report on a widow's frustration to neglect fallen police officers, absence of riots when they are shot
April 15	<b>IMAGES: A CRUCIAL DAY</b>	The Cincinnati Enquirer	A20	Photo report on Thomas' service
April 15	<b>CINCINNATI'S CALL TO CHANGE</b>	Editorial	D1	Opinion piece providing suggestion on how to solve racial differences
April 15	<b>CULTURE OF POLICE MUST BE CHANGED</b>	Reader's views	D3	Reader's views regarding the events
April 16	<b>PRAYERS RISE, PROTESTS PAUSE</b>	Dan Horn	A1, A8, A9	Report on how civility has turned to anarchy, narrative on the weekly events
April 16	<b>COUNCIL WILL LISTEN TO CITIZENS</b>	Howard Wilkinson	A1, A10	News item announcing a meeting arranged by City Council in which civilians can have their say on the racial violence and what lies beneath
April 16	<b>BEAN/BAG BARRAGE DWARS SCRUTINY</b>	Jane Prendergast	A1	Report on the call by civilians for an explanation of an unprovoked attack by the police during the riots
April 16	<b>CHORES, TALKS FILL DOWN TIME</b>	David Eck and Amy Higgins	A7	Report on life during curfew
April 16	<b>CONCERN EVOKED FOR PEACE IN CITY</b>	Tom O'Neill	A7	Report on Eastern Sunday services stressing out the need for peace
April 16	<b>FEDERAL INVESTIGATORS ON DUAL MISSION</b>	Marie McCain, Howard Wilkinson	A10	Report on meetings by Justice Department with black leaders, civilians

April 16	<b>HEADS OF NAACP AND POLICE UNION CLASH ON TALK SHOW</b>	The Cincinnati Enquirer	A10	Report on a debate between Mfume and Keith Fangman, president of the Queen City Chapter of the Fraternal Order of Police, on ABC
April 16	<b>POSITIVE STEPS</b>	Editorial	B12	Opinion piece supporting the four steps listed by the Cincinnati Mayor to address racial discord and rioting
April 17	<b>CURFEW ENDS; RECOVERY BEGINS</b>	Richelle Thompson	A1, A9	News item on the end of the four-day curfew which will be lead by race relations commission
April 17	<b>STREICHER DISARMS CRITICS</b>	Jane Prendergast	A1, A7	Profile on Police Chief Tom Streicher as he reflects on a week of violence, defends tactics
April 17	<b>BLACK YOUTHS SPEAK OF CHANGE</b>	Kevin Aldridge	A6	Report on a forum held at local church
April 17	<b>END OF CURFEW BRINGS RELIEF</b>	Dan Klepal, Amy Higgins	A6	Report on civilians reacting to the end of curfew
April 17	<b>REPORT PROMISED SOON ON BEANBAG FIRINGS AT CROWD</b>	Michael D. Clark	A7	Report on ongoing investigation on beanbag shooting by police during riots
April 17	<b>GRAND JURY MAY GET CASE IN A WEEK</b>	Marie McCain	A8	News item on the upcoming investigation by the Grand Jury
April 17	<b>HEIMLICH, LUKEN AT ODDS OVER HANDLING OF RIOTS</b>	Dan Klepal	A8	Report on City Council debate following riots
April 18	<b>ROP OFFICERS UNDER REVIEW</b>	Jane Prendergast and Michael D. Clark	A1, A11	Report on four named officers as they are under investigation following beanbag firing incident
April 18	<b>COUNCIL HEARS FRUSTRATION, HOPE</b>	Patrick Crowley	A1, A12	Report on special City Council meeting regarding riots
April 18	<b>ADVOCATE FOR POLICE OFTEN STANDS ALONE</b>	Robert Anglen, Patrick Crowley	A10	Report on Councilman Heimlich's stance angering African-Americans
April 18	<b>GROUP NEEDS 'A BIG STICK'</b>	Kevin Aldridge	A10	Report on Mayor Luken demanding quick answers during special City Council meeting
April 19	<b>MAYOR ISSUES ALL CLEAR FOR CITY</b>	Robert Anglen, Dan Klepal	A1, A9	Report on the ceasing of the state of emergency
April 19	<b>TAPE: AFTER CHASE, A 30-SECOND SILENCE</b>	Jane Prendergast	A1, A9	Analysis of an audio tape released by Cincinnati police regarding chasedown of Thomas
April 19	<b>A MOTHER ENDURES PAIN</b>	Shauna Scott Rhone	A8	Profile on Thomas' mother after a week of civilian unrest
April 19	<b>STATE TROOPER ALSO FIRED BEANBAG SHOTGUN</b>	Jane Prendergast	A9	Update on the investigation regarding beanbag shooting incident
April 19	<b>POVERTY CALLED FIRST LEVEL OF VIOLENCE</b>	Cindy Kranz	A9	News item summarizing sermons following a week of civilian unrest
April 19	<b>PUT UNITY FIRST</b>	Editorial	B10	Opinion piece calling for black and white members of Cincinnati's safety forces to repair their divided "houses"
April 20	<b>PROFILING REMEDY TAKES SHAPE</b>	Susan Vela	A1, A7	Analysis of the 566 arrest reports

April 20	<b>OFFICERS ON PAID LEAVE PENDING PROBE</b>	Robert Anglen, Kristina Goetz	A6	Update on the investigation regarding beanbag shooting incident
April 20	<b>PROTESTERS SUE CITY, COPS OVER HEARINGS</b>	Dan Horn, Michael C. Clark	A7	Report on five civilians suing city and police officers, claiming civil rights have been violated during protest
April 21	<b>GRAND JURY INDICTS 63 IN LOOTING, VIOLENCE</b>	Marie McCain	A1, A6	Report on Grand Jury indicting 63 civilians following riots
April 21	<b>CITY POLICE PRACTICES, THOMAS SHOOTING, BEANBAGS EXAMINED</b>	Dan Horn	A6	Update on federal investigation of Cincinnati's police division
April 22	<b>STRIFE TAKES TOLL ON POLICE</b>	Kristina Goetz, Jane Prendergast	A1, A14	Report on police officers' families being 'hammered' by critics
April 22	<b>READERS OFFER SOLUTIONS AND RESPONSES TO DOWNTOWN RIOTS</b>	Reader's views	F3	Readers offer solutions and responses to downtown riots
April 23	<b>LUKEN SAYS CRACKDOWN SHOULD HAVE COME SOONER</b>	Patrick Crowley	A1, A4	Report on how officer's shooting galvanized city into action, reflection by Mayor Luken
April 23	<b>READERS STILL CONCERNED OVER RIOTS</b>	Reader's views	B7	Readers responses to downtown riots

Within just sixteen days, the *Cincinnati Enquirer* had published 105 news items on the shooting of Thomas and the resulting riots. Coverage started on April 8, the day after the fatal incident, and started to decrease around April 23 when readers expressed their thoughts on the riots in a reader's views section for the last time. The coverage reached its peak on April 13 (22 news items), the day after the installment of the curfew and the declaration of a state of emergency. The news items varied from news reports (79) to photo reports (2) and analyses (8) to profiles of key figures during the civil unrest (8). The newspaper's editorial staff expressed their thoughts quite often (8), while readers also shared their views occasionally (5).

The first news item reported on the shooting of Thomas for the most part, but it also contained a list of fifteen black men shot by Cincinnati police officers since 1995. These casualties quickly become the subject of the protesters' 'fifteen black men!' slogan, the slogan criticized by Mac Donald in her book *Are Cops Racist?*-- it seems that the *Cincinnati Enquirer* had indeed helped set up this slogan by publishing the fifteen casualties without

providing any background information on the shooting or the victims; instead, the reporter in question merely summarized the victims by name, the name of the officer who shot him and the date on which the shooting took place. Background information was not published until April 15, indeed a week later; only then did readers find out that most of those victims were guilty of violent crimes such as murder and theft. By then, however, Cincinnati was already two days in its curfew.

After its news report on the shooting of Thomas, the newspaper quickly turned its attention to Thomas's parents, and published an interview with the mother a day later.<sup>33</sup> As of April 13, the news items started to shift their focus on the consequences of the riots, as reporters switched their attention to the impact of the unrest on the community's children<sup>34</sup> as well as its financial impact.<sup>35</sup> Services held by local church leaders continued to be covered as well. The paper's personnel showed close involvement in the civil unrest by publishing five editorials in which it asked for patience, tolerance and order, while also showing their support in the mayor's decision to impose the curfew and expressing their relief three days later when the curfew had ended a continuous streak of nightly violence. Just as the church leaders asked their followers for patience and tried to guide them through days and nights of violence, the paper's personnel did the same towards their readers. As we will see later on, this is clearly more the case with a regional newspaper as compared to a national paper -- or compared to a regional newspaper from another state, as I will show in the following chart.

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<sup>33</sup> Tom O'Neill, "Her question to officer: 'Plain and simple. Why?,'" *Cincinnati Enquirer*, April 9, 2001, A1.

<sup>34</sup> Tom O'Neill, "Dangers add new fears for children," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, April 13, 2001, A6.

<sup>35</sup> Ken Alltucker, "Adding cost of damage comes later," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, April 13, 2001, A8.

3.2 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

<b>Date issued</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Page no.</b>	<b>Short description</b>
April 11	<b>CINCINNATI SUFFERS MORE RIOTING OVER POLICE SHOOTING</b>	Associated Press	A6	Report on the riots following the police shooting of Thomas
April 12	<b>PROTESTS OVER SHOOTING CONTINUES IN CINCINNATI</b>	Associated Press	A10	Photo report on the protests in Cincinnati
April 13	<b>CINCINNATI IMPOSES CURFEW AS RACIAL VIOLENCE WORSENS</b>	Newhouse News Service	A1, A9	Report on curfew hitting the streets following riots
April 13	<b>SHATTERED TRUST AND GLASS</b>	Editorial	B6	Opinion piece pleading to St. Louis police to pay close attention to the state of emergency in Cincinnati
April 14	<b>CINCINNATI EXTENDS CURFEW AFTER THREE NIGHTS OF VIOLENCE</b>	Associated Press	A19	Report on the events in Cincinnati as curfew is extended
April 15	<b>UNREST IN CINCINNATI GOES DEEPER THAN SHOOTING</b>	Newhouse News Service	A1, A12	Analysis of the events in terms of previous riots
April 15	<b>SERVICE FOR SLAIN BLACK TEEN IN CINCINNATI DRAWS ANGRY PROTEST</b>	Associated Press	A12	Report on the protests following Thomas' service
April 16	<b>MAYOR OF CINCINNATI EASES CURFEW AFTER RELATIVELY CALM NIGHT FOLLOWING YOUTH'S FUNERAL</b>	Associated Press	A2	Update on the events in Cincinnati and its state of emergency
April 17	<b>CINCINNATI LIFTS CURFEW AS MAYOR TARGETS POLICE</b>	Newhouse News Service	A2	Report on Mayor Luken lifting the curfew
April 18	<b>CINCINNATI RESIDENTS CALL FOR CHANGE IN POLICE HIRING POLICY</b>	Associated Press	A7	Report on special City Council meeting
April 21	<b>63 HAVE BEEN INDICTED IN RIOTING OVER SHOOTING</b>	Newhouse News Services	A21	News item on the indictments following the riots

As compared to the *Cincinnati Enquirer's* total of 105 news items, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* only published 11 news items on the Cincinnati unrest. Coverage did not start until April 11 once peaceful protests had turned into riots; the shooting of Thomas had not been mentioned until then. Coverage continued until April 21 when the newspaper last reported on the civil unrest with a news item on the indictments made in the aftermath of the riots. Most of the news items were news reports on the ongoing events (8), while the newspaper also published a photo report, an analysis of the events in terms of previous riots, and an editorial

in which the paper’s personnel asked St. Louis police to pay close attention to the state of emergency, hoping that such events would never take place in Ferguson. Almost all of the news items were provided by the *Associated Press* or *Newhouse News Services*, with the exception of the editorial. It is fair to say that the newspaper’s staff was not closely involved in the civil unrest taking place in a city located a five-hour drive away -- at least not compared to the *Cincinnati Enquirer*.

Perhaps it is that same lack of involvement that lured the paper into applying a harsher tone of writing. Whereas the *Cincinnati Enquirer*’s tone was relatively mild, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* referred to Thomas as “slain teen”, while it also put relatively more emphasis on the “black” and “racial” degree underlying the violence. In other words, whereas the *Cincinnati* newspaper seemed to take a somewhat careful approach, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* did the exact opposite.

In the following paragraphs I will shift my attention to the national newspapers, starting with the *New York Times*.

### 3.3. *New York Times*

<b>Date issued</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Page no.</b>	<b>Short description</b>
April 11	<b>OHIO: CINCINNATI PROTESTS</b>	Associated Press	N/A	Report on the riots following the shooting of Thomas
April 12	<b>APPEALS FOR PEACE IN OHIO AFTER TWO DAYS OF PROTESTS</b>	Francis X. Clines	N/A	Report on the debate regarding the outbreak of the riots after two days of civilian unrest
April 13	<b>CINCINNATI MAYOR IMPOSES CURFEW TO QUELL VIOLENCE</b>	Francis X. Clines	N/A	Report on the events that resulted into the curfew imposed by Mayor Luken
April 14	<b>BLACKS IN CINCINNATI HEAR ECHOES AMID VIOLENCE</b>	Francis X. Clines	N/A	Report on residents’ responses to the riots, arguments on what needs to change
April 15	<b>GRIEF AND FURY AT FUNERAL FOR SLAIN YOUTH</b>	Francis X. Clines	N/A	Report on the events surrounding Thomas’ service

April 16	<b>DESPITE REPORT AFTER REPORT, UNREST ENDURES IN CINCINNATI</b>	Kevin Sack	N/A	Analysis of how lessons have not been learned from previous racial protests, conclusions not drawn from those reports
April 18	<b>SESSION OF CITY COUNCIL DRAWS A CROWD</b>	The New York Times	N/A	Report on special City Council meeting
April 18	<b>PATTERNS OF POLICE VIOLENCE</b>	Editorial	N/A	Opinion piece pleading for closer federal oversight of local law enforcement
April 23	<b>IN AFTERSHOCK OF UNREST, CINCINNATI SEEKS ANSWERS</b>	Francis X. Clines	N/A	Report on the aftermath of protests and vandalism in Cincinnati, where to go from here

The most obvious conclusion to be drawn here is that the Cincinnati unrest does not get as much attention in a national newspaper such as the *New York Times* as compared to the coverage in a regional newspaper (in this case the *Cincinnati Enquirer*), as only 9 news items are published on the riots as compared to 105. Most of them are news reports, with the exception of an editorial and an analysis of the lessons not learned from previous civil unrests. As was the case with the coverage by *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, coverage does not commence until April 11, four days after the shooting of Thomas. Furthermore, just like the Missouri newspaper, the *New York Times* used words such “slain” and “blacks”, hereby sensationalizing the racial component. However, compared to that same coverage of the St. Louis Post newspaper, most articles in the *New York Times* were written by its own personnel, with the first news item published on the riots being the singular exception; in other words, despite having published not as many news items on the civil unrest, the newspaper had shown closer involvement, at least in terms of authors committing themselves to writing a piece on the events. Furthermore, the *New York Times*’s coverage on the Cincinnati riots extended to the paper of April 23 in which an article on the aftermath of the civil unrest was published, whereas coverage on the events by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* ceased in the paper of two days earlier.

Lastly, I will focus on the coverage by the *Los Angeles Times*.

3.4 *Los Angeles Times*

<b>Date issued</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Page no.</b>	<b>Short description</b>
April 11	<b>VIOLENCE ERUPTS AGAIN IN CINCINNATI</b>	Associated Press	A4	Report on the riots following the shooting of Thomas
April 11	<b>POLICE SHOOTING OF BLACK MAN SPURS 2ND PROTEST IN CINCINNATI</b>	Associated Press	A12	Report on the riots following the shooting of Thomas
April 12	<b>CINCINNATI CLERGY URGE CALM--AND POLICE REFORM</b>	Associated Press	A7	Update on the events in Cincinnati, clergy's call for calm
April 13	<b>CINCINNATI IMPOSES A CURFEW AFTER 3 NIGHTS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE</b>	Stephanie Simon and Eric Slater	A1, A13	Report on the riots as curfew hits the streets
April 14	<b>FROM CINCINNATI'S MAYHEM COMES SIGNS OF A BETTER DAY</b>	Stephanie Simon	A1, A7	Analysis of the racial conditions leading up to the Cincinnati unrest
April 15	<b>IN ANGER, WITH HOPE, A BLACK MAN'S MOURNERS PRAY HE DIDN'T DIE IN VAIN</b>	Stephanie Simon	A15	Report on the events surrounding Thomas' funeral
April 16	<b>CINCINNATI CURFEW SHORTENED AFTER CALM NIGHT</b>	Associated Press	A4	Report on Mayor Luken's decision to shorten the curfew
April 18	<b>CINCINNATI RESIDENTS CALL FOR NEW POLICIES</b>	Associated Press	A16	Report on special City Council meeting
April 21	<b>63 INDICTED IN CINCINNATI PROTESTS AGAINST POLICE</b>	Associated Press	A14	News item on the indictments following the riots

Just like their colleagues in New York, the news staff of the *Los Angeles Times* published 9 news items on the Cincinnati unrest -- and just like the coverage of the *New York Times* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the issue was not covered until April 11, four days after the shooting of Thomas. However, as opposed to these newspapers, the *Los Angeles Times* did not indulge in applying sharp words such as "slain", but it did seem to accentuate the underlying racial component of the riots even further by referring to Thomas as "black man" and by indicating the riots as "racial violence". Furthermore, there is one noticeable difference between the reports by the *Los Angeles Times* and those by the *New York Times*: personnel of the latter newspaper wrote almost all of the news items, whereas coverage in the Los Angeles paper was mainly provided by the *Associated Press* (6 out of 9). Furthermore,



the *Los Angeles Times* was the only out of four papers to not have published an editorial on the events in Cincinnati. This lack of involvement can most likely be attributed to the fact that out of the four newspapers studied, the California newspaper is the only one based on the west coast, located over 2,000 miles away from the events in Cincinnati.

In terms of newspapers' involvement in civil unrests such as the one in Cincinnati, the distance between the editorial office and the scene of the riots seems to play an important factor. This results in a tone that can be regarded as more sensationalized as compared to the coverage by a regional newspaper close to the scene, a paper that tends to look relatively more at the (financial) impact of the unrest on the community. Furthermore, in the case of the Cincinnati unrest specifically, the *Cincinnati Enquirer* was the only paper that reported on the shooting of Thomas; coverage by the other papers did not start until three days later. In the next chapter we will see whether these trends also apply to the coverage on the Ferguson unrest in 2014.

#### **Chapter 4: Theoretical research of the coverage on the 2014 riots in Ferguson, Missouri**

On August 9, 2014, Ferguson police were informed about a robbery that had taken place at a local convenience store. Officer Darren Wilson (28) was the first to answer the call. Within a matter of minutes he encountered the suspects walking down the street, informing them that they matched the suspects' descriptions. The confrontation began by Wilson trying to block them with his police vehicle. One of the suspects, the 18-year old Michael Brown, tried to grab Wilson's gun through the window. The two scuffled for the weapon, until Wilson finally regained control of it and fired it. The suspects started to run, with Wilson in pursuit of Brown. Eyewitnesses have reported that the chase was brought to a halt with Wilson stopping and turning to face the officer, slowly moving towards him. Within a couple of seconds, Wilson fired a total of twelve bullets. Brown was shot at least six times: four times in his right arm and twice in the head. Only three minutes later, at 12:04 pm local time, did backup arrive at the scene to find Brown lying dead on the ground.

The shooting almost immediately led to unrest. Since eyewitnesses reported that Brown had held his hands up when walking towards officer Wilson, protesters held their hands up as well in support of Brown, chanting "Hands up, don't shoot" to express their disgust towards police brutality; only seven months later did the U.S. Department of Justice confirm the "hands up" account as inaccurate. Nevertheless, the image became widely circulated in the media, especially social media, bringing in more protesters as nightly violence progressed. Peaceful protests turned into violent ones, while vandalism and looting quickly took a hold of the city. On August 16, Gov. Nixon declared a state of emergency and imposed a sequence of nightly curfews. Confrontations between police and protesters did not seem to cease, however, which pressured the governor to call in the National Guard on August 18. As of August 21, violence had broken off and the National Guard was withdrawn.

Protests continued, albeit peaceful.

The Ferguson unrest was widely covered by regional, national and international media. Once again, my focus will be on one regional newspaper (in this case the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*), a regional newspaper from another state (the *Cincinnati Enquirer*) and two national newspapers (the *New York Times*, and the *Los Angeles Times*). Coverage on the events started on August 10, the day after Brown had been shot, and lasted until September 1 (at least for the time being). All news items have been retrieved from the newspapers' databases, which I have inspected by conducting the following search terms: "Michael Brown", "Ferguson, Missouri", "riots" and "civil unrest". Once again, the findings have been categorized in order of appearance, each item including the date of appearance, its heading, its author, the number of the page on which it was published and a short description of the item.

#### 4.1 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

<b>Date issued</b>	<b>Heading</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Page no.</b>	<b>Short description</b>
Aug 10	<b>OFFICER KILLS FERGUSON TEEN</b>	Lean Thorsen and Steve Giegerich	A1, A5	Report on the shooting of Michael Brown, outrage at the scene, investigation turned over to St. Louis County Police
Aug 11	<b>GRIEF AND OUTRAGE</b>	David Carson	A1	Photo report on residents taking the streets, first looting
Aug 11	<b>PROTEST, PUBLIC MEETING PLANNED TODAY IN WARY CITY</b>	Steve Giegerich	A1, A5	Report on the public pressure for an explanation of the shooting
Aug 11	<b>'GENTLE GIANT' WAS READY FOR NEW LIFE, FRIENDS SAY</b>	Elisa Crouch	A1, A4	Profile on Michael Brown
Aug 11	<b>DISPARITY OF DUE PROCESS</b>	Editorial	A10	Opinion piece on America's history with officer-involved-shootings in which juries give police the benefit of the doubt
Aug 12	<b>CALLS FOR JUSTICE</b>	David Carson, J.B. Forbes and Laurie Skrivan	A1	Photo report on the growing unrest

Aug 12	<b>POLICE USE TEAR GAS TO DISPERSE CROWDS AS PROTESTS CONTINUE</b>	Staff Reports	A1, A8	Report on the growing unrest, riots
Aug 12	<b>CLEANUP BEGINS FOR BUSINESSES HIT BY LOOTERS</b>	Tim Barker	A1, A7	Report on the aftermath of last weekend's looting
Aug 12	<b>FAMILY ASKS WITNESSES TO COME FORWARD</b>	Koran Addo	A1, A7	Report on Brown's parents' cry for witnesses regarding their son's shooting incident
Aug 12	<b>FAITH LEADERS SEEK UNITY</b>	Lilly Fowler	A5	News item summarizing faith leaders' call for unity
Aug 12	<b>TWO VERSIONS OF THE ENCOUNTER</b>	Jeremy Kohler	A6	News item summarizing the narratives of Dorian Johnson, who told reporters he was walking with Brown, and St. Louis County Chief Jon Belmar regarding the shooting incident
Aug 12	<b>POLICE GET A LOT OF LATITUDE</b>	Jennifer S. Mann	A6	Analysis on experts' debate surrounding the question whether or not the police officer had the right to shoot Brown
Aug 12	<b>COVERAGE ELSEWHERE</b>	Beth O'Malley	A6	News item summarizing the coverage by national newspapers, news websites
Aug 12	<b>WORRY ABOUT CITY'S REVIVAL</b>	Jim Gallagher	A7	Report on the possible setback of Ferguson as it was inching its way back after suffering in the real estate and jobs collapse
Aug 12	<b>GET IT RIGHT IN FERGUSON</b>	Editorial	A12	Opinion piece pleading for fast, accurate information regarding the upcoming federal investigation
Aug 13	<b>OUTCRY AND RESOLVE</b>	Staff reports	A1, A9	Report on the events as tense quiet returns to Ferguson, faith leaders meet to reassure residents
Aug 13	<b>WHAT ARE THE NUMBERS?</b>	Walter Moskop	A7	Analysis of the disparity index on blacks regarding police stops in Ferguson
Aug 13	<b>JUSTICE DEPT. GETS INVOLVED IN POLICE MATTERS</b>	Chuck Raasch	A7	Report on the intervention by the U.S. Justice Department
Aug 13	<b>UNDER SPOTLIGHT'S GLARE</b>	Lilly Fowler	A8	Report on Rev. Al Sharpton's speech in downtown Ferguson
Aug 13	<b>HACKER ACTIVISTS TARGET FERGUSON, POLICE CHIEF</b>	David Hunn	A8	Report on a cyber attack by Anonymous, crashing City Hall and vowing retribution if police harm protesters
Aug 13	<b>PROTESTERS PRESSING FOR PEACE STRUGGLE TO BE HEARD</b>	Elisa Crouch	A9	News item on protesters calling for peace
Aug 13	<b>WHERE BETTER BEGINS</b>	Editorial	A14	Opinion piece pleading to Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon to start planning the Ferguson Commission
Aug 13	<b>THE KILLING OF MICHAEL BROWN - ST. LOUIS REACTS</b>	Reader's views	A15	Reader's views on the shooting, riots and where to go from here

Aug 14	<b>A CITY ON EDGE</b>	David Carson and Laurie Skrivan	A1	Photo report on the riots, protests as nightly standoffs continue
Aug 14	<b>NO DETAILS COMING SOON</b>	Staff Reports	A1, A8	Report on the ongoing investigation regarding the shooting of Brown
Aug 14	<b>NAMING OFFICERS NOT ROUTINE</b>	Robert Patrick	A1, A8	Report on the debate surrounding police's reluctance to name the officer who shot Brown
Aug 14	<b>NIGHT AND DAY IN FERGUSON</b>	David Raasch	A9	Report on the ongoing events in Ferguson as peaceful daytime gives way for defiant nights
Aug 14	<b>VOLUNTEERS CLEAN UP FERGUSON AFTER PROTESTS AND LOOTING</b>	Lilly Fowler	A9	Report on the volunteers trying to clean up the city
Aug 14	<b>KEY WITNESS MEETS WITH AUTHORITIES TO DISCUSS SHOOTING</b>	Jeremy Kohler	A9	Report on Dorian Johnson meeting with authorities after three days of him telling his story to national media
Aug 14	<b>HANDS UP - A SYMBOL OF THE FERGUSON PROTESTS</b>	J.B. Forbes, Chris Lee and Robert Cohen	A10	Photo report on the "hands up, don't shoot" protest movement
Aug 14	<b>WE HAVE ISSUES</b>	Editorial	A18	Opinion piece on the underlying racial, communal issues regarding the shooting of Brown
Aug 15	<b>A UNIFYING FORCE?</b>	David Carson	A1	Photo report on protesters honoring Brown
Aug 15	<b>JOHNSON PROMISES 'DIFFERENT APPROACH'</b>	Kevin McDermott	A1, A10	Report on Gov. Nixon's decision to put Missouri Highway Patrol in charge
Aug 15	<b>LINES BLURRING BETWEEN MILITARY AND POLICE GEAR</b>	Robert Patrick and Joel Currier	A1, A8	Analysis of the debate surrounding paramilitary tactics as they may provoke violence from the crowds
Aug 15	<b>POLICE MISSTEPS AFTER SHOOTING FUELED THE CRISIS</b>	Jeremy Kohler	A1, A8	Analysis of police tactics following the shooting of Brown
Aug 15	<b>MOMENTS OF SILENCE</b>	Staff Reports	A7	Report summarizing of the daily events following the shooting of Brown
Aug 15	<b>PROTEST PUT FRENCH IN THE SPOTLIGHT</b>	David Hunn	A7	Report on Antonio French, a city politician as he becomes a national voice against the militarization of the police by posting numerous videos and photos on social media
Aug 15	<b>TWITTER SUSPENDS 'ANONYMOUS' ACCOUNT</b>	David Hunn	A7	Report on police suspending a Twitter account after tweeting the name of the officer who shot Brown
Aug 15	<b>RIOT GEAR - THE WEAPONS AND TACTICS OF CROWD CONTROL</b>	David Carson, Robert Cohen and Chris Lee	A9	Photo report on the weapons and gear used by the police during the protests, riots
Aug 15	<b>PATROL CAPTAIN 'UNDERSTANDS URBAN POLICING'</b>	Virginia Young	A10	Profile on Missouri Highway Patrol Capt. Ronald S. Johnson, the new commander assigned to keep order in Ferguson

Aug 15	<b>IN THE SUBURBS? RIOTS' EVERYDAY BACKDROP CREATES JARRING CONTRAST</b>	Nicholas J.C. Pistor	A12	Report on the riots' impact on the suburban neighborhood
Aug 15	<b>BUSINESS AND CIVIC LEADERS DECRY UNREST, ARRESTS</b>	Lisa Brown	A12	Report on St. Louis business leaders criticizing police actions, violence
Aug 15	<b>A NEW SHERIFF IN TOWN</b>	Editorial	A18	Opinion piece on how the arrival of Capt. Ronald S. Johnson sparks signs of hope
Aug 15	<b>YOUR VIEWS</b>	Reader's views	A18	Reader's views regarding the shooting, riots
Aug 15	<b>MERCHANTS MOVE FORWARD</b>	Tim Barker	B1	Report on shop owners getting back to work after days of looting
Aug 16	<b>STORM AFTER CALM</b>	Robert Cohen	A1	Photo report on how nightly violence erupts yet again after video on Brown, officer's name is released
Aug 16	<b>STREETS TURN AGAIN TENSE</b>	Koran Addo and Paul Hampel	A1, A7	Report on the nightly protests
Aug 16	<b>RELEASE OF INFORMATION MET WITH ANGER, SHOCK</b>	Staff Reports	A1, A5	Report summarizing the reactions following the release of the officer's name, video of Brown shoplifting shortly before the shooting incident
Aug 16	<b>NEW ALLEGATIONS COULD AFFECT INVESTIGATION</b>	Robert Patrick	A4	Report on how the shoplifting video could affect the federal investigation
Aug 16	<b>NIXON HAD LEVERAGE IN TAKEOVER</b>	Virginia Young	A4	Analysis of Gov. Nixon's decision to put Missouri Highway Patrol in charge
Aug 16	<b>McCULLOCH IS NOT ONE TO SHRINK FROM CONTROVERSY</b>	Nicholas J.C. Pistor and Joe Holleman	A4	Profile on St. Louis County Prosecutor Robert McCulloch
Aug 16	<b>MOMENTS OF KINDNESS</b>	Laurie Skrivan, Cristina Fletes-Boutte, David Carson and J.B. Forbes	A6	Photo report on community pulling together to provide comfort
Aug 16	<b>UNREST INVADES, BUT STUDENTS REMAIN PRIORITY</b>	Jessica Bock	A7	Report on the impact of Brown's shooting on students, as new school year begins
Aug 16	<b>NOTES FROM FERGUSON</b>	Staff Reports	A7	News bulletins regarding the Ferguson unrest
Aug 16	<b>FAITH IN FERGUSON</b>	Lilly Fowler	A10	Report on faith leaders at the center of activism in support of Brown
Aug 16	<b>THE KILLING OF MICHAEL BROWN</b>	Reader's views	A12	Reader's views regarding the shooting of Brown, protests, riots
Aug 17	<b>CURFEW DEFIED</b>	David Carson	A1	Photo report on smoke bomb hitting last of crowd after state of emergency is declared
Aug 17	<b>UNDER A HARD RAIN, A TENSE STANDOFF</b>	Staff Reports	A1, A8	Report on the events as a nightly confrontation between protesters and police takes place despite installment of curfew

Aug 17	<b>SHIFT IN STRATEGY CAME AFTER RIOTS FLARED ANEW</b>	Joel Currier	A1, A9	Report on Nixon imposing curfew and declaring state of emergency
Aug 17	<b>WHY DID IT HAPPEN HERE?</b>	Jesse Bogan, Denise Hollinshed and Stephen Deere	A1, A10	Analysis of the communal conditions leading up to the shooting of Brown
Aug 17	<b>NOTES FROM FERGUSON</b>	Staff Reports	A8	News bulletins regarding the Ferguson unrest
Aug 17	<b>VIDEO RAISES TENSION</b>	Staff Reports	A8	News item summarizing the events following the release of the video regarding Brown's shoplifting
Aug 17	<b>'A WAKE-UP CALL'</b>	Doug Moore	A9	Report on a march calling for healing, change
Aug 17	<b>STRIFE ERUPTS</b>	Robert Cohen	A12	Photo report on nightly confrontations between protesters and police
Aug 17	<b>WHAT DO WE WANT? GOOD SCHOOLS! WHEN DO WE NEED THEM? NOW!</b>	Editorial	A18	Opinion piece on how St. Louis needs immediate action instead of another conversation about race
Aug 17	<b>YOUR VIEWS</b>	Reader's views	A18	Reader's views on the shooting, protests, riots
Aug 17	<b>FACES OF FERGUSON</b>	Huy Mach, J.B. Forbes and Robert Cohen	B1	Photo report on key figures, residents regarding the protests
Aug 17	<b>RESIDENTS SHARE PERSPECTIVES ON WHY THE KILLING RESONATES</b>	Doug Moore	B1, B2	Report summarizing the views regarding the shooting of Brown
Aug 17	<b>EXTRAORDINARY EFFORT BY NEWS STAFF BEFITS BIG STORY</b>	Gilbert Bailon (Editor)	B1, B2	Opinion piece on how international media have portrayed a different, unfamiliar picture of Ferguson, as compared to local media
Aug 18	<b>CLASHES, CHAOS</b>	Robert Cohen	A1	Photo report on police firing tear gas at protesters
Aug 18	<b>AUTOPSY SHOWS BROWN WAS HIT BY SIX ROUNDS</b>	Staff Reports	A1, A4	Report on Brown's autopsy report, announcement of third autopsy by U.S. Justice Department
Aug 18	<b>"WE'LL BE HERE UNTIL WE GET AN EXPLANATION"</b>	Joe Holleman and Jesse Bogan	A1, A5	Report on protesters demanding answers regarding the shooting
Aug 18	<b>NIXON STRESSES FED'S ROLE</b>	Chuck Raasch	A4	News item summarizing Nixon's comments in national media
Aug 18	<b>NOTES FROM FERGUSON</b>	Staff Reports	A5	News bulletins regarding Ferguson unrest
Aug 18	<b>SPREADING THE WORD</b>	Josh Renaud	A6	Photo report on church sign messages praying for peace
Aug 18	<b>BACKERS VOW CHANGE</b>	Lilly Fowler and Jesse Bogan	A6	Report on civil right leaders calling for change
Aug 18	<b>20,000 SIGN PETITION FOR SPECIAL PROSECUTOR</b>	Michael D. Sorkin	A6	Report on a petition asking for a replacement for Robert McCulloch
Aug 18	<b>FAITH RALLY</b>	Robert Cohen, Christian Gooden and J.B. Forbes	A7	Photo report on faith rally led by Martin Luther King III and Rev. Al Sharpton

Aug 18	<b>'THIS IS A GENERATIONAL EVENT'</b>	Editorial	A12	Opinion piece calling for a fundamental shift "in the old way of doing things", generational response
Aug 18	<b>YOUR VIEWS</b>	Reader's views	A12	Reader's views regarding the Ferguson unrest
Aug 19	<b>STREETS FLARE UP</b>	David Carson	A1	Photo report on police firing tear gas yet again
Aug 19	<b>SCHOOLS CLOSED FOR THE WEEK</b>	Kevin McDermott	A1, A6	Report on decision by schools to shut down
Aug 19	<b>AUTOPSY OFFERS DETAIL BUT NOT ANSWERS ON KILLING OF BROWN</b>	Joel Currier and Kim Bell	A1, A7	News item summarizing the autopsy report, autopsy diagram
Aug 19	<b>OTHER PROVOCATIVE SHOOTINGS</b>	Joe Holleman	A6	Analysis of other local shootings sparking federal investigations, protests
Aug 19	<b>NOTES FROM FERGUSON</b>	Staff Reports	A7	News bulletins regarding Ferguson unrest
Aug 19	<b>IMAGE</b>	Robert Cohen	A8	Photo report and the photographer's backstory on his photograph that has gone viral, has become a symbol of the unrest [see footnote 35]
Aug 19	<b>FAMILY KEEPS NIGHTLY VIGIL AT STORE</b>	Doug Moore	A9	Report on armed families protecting their store from being looted
Aug 19	<b>TURMOIL HAS CUSTOMERS ALONG WEST FLORISSANT LYING LOW</b>	Lisa Brown	A9	Report on the riots' impact on local business stores
Aug 19	<b>MORE THAN A DOZEN TREATED AT HOSPITALS FROM SUNDAY'S RIOTS</b>	Samantha Liss	A9	Report on hospitals' experiences, treatments following the riots
Aug 19	<b>THE PATH TO PEACE</b>	Editorial	A14	Opinion piece calling for schools to stay open, arguing that "the path to peace is paved with diplomas"
Aug 19	<b>YOUR VIEWS</b>	Reader's views	A14	Reader's views regarding the Ferguson unrest
Aug 20	<b>A DAY OF RECOVERY</b>	Robert Cohen	A1	Photo report on protest after street violence takes a break
Aug 20	<b>ST. LOUIS CHIEF TRIES TO PRESERVE CALM</b>	Joe Holleman and Lisa Brown	A1, A9	Report on St. Louis Police Chief Sam Dotson's call for calmness
Aug 20	<b>TESTIMONY BEGINS TODAY</b>	Kevin McDermott	A1, A8	Update on ongoing federal investigation
Aug 20	<b>JENNINGS TEACHERS LAUNCH CLEANUP</b>	Staff Reports	A1, A8	Report on school's initiative to restore public life
Aug 20	<b>UNREST TAKING ITS TOLL ON EDUCATION</b>	Elisa Crouch and Jessica Bock	A7	Report on the riots' impact on students, education
Aug 20	<b>OUTSIDE OF THE CHAOS, 'NORMAL' FINDS A COMFORTABLE PLACE</b>	Tim Barker and Lean Thorsen	A7	Report on the experiences elsewhere in the St. Louis community
Aug 20	<b>HOSPITALS CITE PRIVACY RULES, WON'T SAY MORE ON INJURED</b>	Samantha Liss	A7	Update on hospitals' experiences, treatments following the riots



Aug 20	<b>NOTES FROM FERGUSON</b>	Staff Reports	A9	News bulletins regarding Ferguson unrest
Aug 20	<b>MAYOR PLEDGES TO RECRUIT BLACK OFFICERS</b>	Nicholas J.C. Pistor	A10	Report on the debate where to go from here
Aug 20	<b>SMALL GROUPS STIRS 'DANGEROUS DYNAMICS'</b>	Steve Giegerich, Joer Currier and Joe Holleman	A10	Analysis of the riots, who's igniting the violence
Aug 20	<b>A CHANCE TO TURN THE TABLES AND ACCUSE THE U.S. OF HYPOCRISY</b>	Julie Makinen (The Los Angeles Times)	A12	News item summarizing international media's coverage of the Ferguson unrest
Aug 20	<b>OLD-SCHOOL IN FERGUSON</b>	Editorial	A16	Opinion on the peaceful sit-down protest
Aug 20	<b>YOUR VIEWS</b>	Reader's views	A16	Reader's views regarding the Ferguson unrest
Aug 21	<b>GRAND JURY CONVENES</b>	Huy Mach	A1	Photo report on continuing protests after the arrival of U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder
Aug 21	<b>JUSTICE CENTER IS TARGET OF MARCHES</b>	Staff Reports	A1, A6	Report on the ongoing marches
Aug 21	<b>HOLDER TALKS OF CHANGE IN FERGUSON VISIT</b>	Kevin McDermott	A1, A10	Report on U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder's visit in Ferguson
Aug 21	<b>POLICE OFFICER WILSON KEEPING LOW PROFILE</b>	Jeremy Kohler, David Hunn and Robert Patrick	A1, A7	Report on Wilson's whereabouts since the release of his name regarding the shooting of Brown
Aug 21	<b>DOTSON DETAILS SHOOTING</b>	Joel Currier	A2	Report on the death of a protester after he was shot by St.Louis police officers while approaching them with a knife
Aug 21	<b>OFFICER SUSPENDED AFTER RIFLE INCIDENT</b>	Robert Patrick and Walker Moskop	A6	Report on a St. Ann police officer being suspended indefinitely without pay after raising his rifle and threatening someone in the crowd
Aug 21	<b>NOTES FROM FERGUSON</b>	Staff Reports	A7	News bulletins regarding Ferguson unrest
Aug 21	<b>AFTER 12 DAYS OF UNREST, STRESS IS TAKING A TOLL</b>	Michelle Munz and Lisa Brown	A8	Report summarizing narratives of both protesters and police officers and their families on the Ferguson unrest
Aug 21	<b>LIFE ON THE OUTSKIRTS</b>	Jesse Bogan	A9	Report on life on the outskirts of Ferguson
Aug 21	<b>DAY AND NIGHT - A REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK FROM FERGUSON</b>	Paul Hampel	A9	Report on a reporter's experience during the unrest
Aug 21	<b>CHANGE IS COMING</b>	Editorial	A16	Opinion piece hoping that U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder is the leader Ferguson has been waiting for
Aug 21	<b>YOUR VIEWS</b>	Reader's views	A16	Reader's views regarding the Ferguson unrest
Aug 22	<b>A COOLING OFF</b>	Christian Gooden	A1	Photo report on the streets as the tension seems to calm, arrests are down, media circus abates

Aug 22	<b>HOLDER VISIT, GRAND JURY MAY HAVE EASED TENSION</b>	Staff Reports	A1, A12	Report on the events following U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder's visit
Aug 22	<b>PROTESTERS WANT CHANGES BEFORE CRISIS CAN END</b>	Ken Leiser	A1, A13	Update on the protests
Aug 22	<b>HELP IS POURING IN FOR NEIGHBORHOODS CUT OFF AFTER RIOTING</b>	Margaret Gillerman	A12	Report on downtown Ferguson and its way to recovery
Aug 22	<b>NOTES FROM FERGUSON</b>	Staff Reports	A12	News bulletins regarding Ferguson unrest
Aug 22	<b>HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF, SAYS RACE RIOT SCHOLAR</b>	Nancy Cambria	A14	Analysis by political scientist Ann Collins, researcher of American race riots since 2000
Aug 22	<b>HOW SHOULD TEACHERS RESPOND?</b>	Elisa Crouch and Jessica Bock	A14	Report on the discussion regarding the unrest within schools
Aug 22	<b>YOUR VIEWS</b>	Reader's views	A16	Reader's views regarding the Ferguson unrest
Aug 23	<b>RIDING OUT OF THE STORM</b>	Robert Cohen	A1	Photo report on the streets as calmness seems to have returned
Aug 23	<b>JOHNSON ENDURES TURMOIL</b>	Paul Hampel	A1, A4	Analysis of Missouri Highway Patrol Capt. Ronald S. Johnson's handling of the Ferguson unrest
Aug 23	<b>PEACEKEEPERS PROMOTE CALM</b>	Steve Giegerich	A1, A4	Report on the unity that is starting to take shape after days of violence
Aug 23	<b>TWO AREA POLICE OFFICERS ARE SUSPENDED</b>	Jacob Barker and Lean Thorsen	A4	Report on two police officers being suspended following events during the riots
Aug 23	<b>AN OASIS, RESPITE FROM ANXIETIES</b>	Nancy Cambria	A5	Report on the United Way Community Resource Drop-In Center and its role as refuge after days of violence
Aug 23	<b>NOTES FROM FERGUSON</b>	Staff Reports	A5	News bulletins regarding the Ferguson Unrest
Aug 23	<b>ONE RAY OF SUNSHINE</b>	Editorial	A12	Opinion piece aiming at the positives coming out of the aftermath of the riots
Aug 23	<b>YOUR VIEWS</b>	Reader's views	A12	Reader's views regarding Ferguson unrest
Aug 24	<b>OUT OF BALANCE</b>	U.S. Census Bureau	A1	Analysis of the percentage of African-Americans in the communities as compared to African-Americans in police departments
Aug 24	<b>HAS FERGUSON DAMAGED NIXON'S POLITICAL FUTURE?</b>	Kevin McDermott and Virginia Young	A1, A6	Analysis of where to go from here, how it may affect Gov. Nixon's career
Aug 24	<b>QUALITANT BLACK APPLICANTS HARD TO FIND, CHIEFS SAY</b>	Doug Moore, Walter Moskop and Nancy Cambria	A1, A7	Analysis of the disparity of African-Americans in the communities as compared to African-Americans in police departments
Aug 24	<b>'THERE'S TWO SIDES TO EVERY STORY'</b>	Jacob Barker	A8	Report on the rally in support of officer Wilson

Aug 24	<b>HUNDREDS JOIN MARCH WITH NAACP</b>	Mark Schlinkmann	A8	Report on the march led by NAACP
Aug 24	<b>NOTES FROM FERGUSON</b>	Staff Reports	A8	News bulletins regarding the Ferguson unrest
Aug 24	<b>TWO POLICE SHOOTINGS ARE ALIKE, AND NOT</b>	Joel Currier	A9	Analysis of the shooting of Michael Brown as compared to the shooting of Kajieme Powell, the man shot by St. Louis officers after having approached them with a knife
Aug 24	<b>WE EARNED THIS</b>	Editorial	A20	Opinion piece on how St. Louis' history allowed racial difference to define Ferguson
Aug 24	<b>YOUR VIEWS</b>	Reader's views	A20	Reader's views regarding Ferguson unrest
Aug 24	<b>NEW LIFE AMID CHAOS</b>	Aisha Sultan	B1, B4	Report on a struggling couple's experiences during and in the aftermath of the Ferguson unrest
Aug 24	<b>CINCINNATI RIOTS LED TO LONG SUFFERING</b>	Jim Gallagher	E4	Analysis of how Ferguson's recovery must be different than Cincinnati's after the riots of 2001
Aug 25	<b>'A DAY OF SILENCE'</b>	J.B. Forbes	A1	Photo report on Brown's service
Aug 25	<b>HOPING TO UNITE, NOT DIVIDE</b>	Elisa Crouch	A1, A8	Report on services dedicated to Brown
Aug 25	<b>PEACEFEST IS FORUM FOR FERGUSON CAUSE</b>	Steve Giegerich	A1, A7	Report on PeaceFest, with speeches of family members, Rev. Sharpton
Aug 25	<b>BLACK LEGISLATORS MEET WITH NIXON, AIR FRUSTRATION</b>	Joel Currier	A7	Report on a meeting between members of the Missouri Legislative Black Caucus and Gov. Nixon
Aug 25	<b>SCENES FROM SUNDAY</b>	J.B. Forbes and David Carson	A8	Photo report on residents recovering from the unrest
Aug 25	<b>SUBJECT OF ICONIC PHOTO SPEAKS OUT</b>	David Hunn	A9	Profile on Edward Crawford, whose photo went viral and became a symbol of the unrest
Aug 26	<b>A TIME TO MOURN</b>	Huy Mach	A1	Photo report on Brown's funeral
Aug 26	<b>THOUSANDS GATHER FOR BROWN'S FUNERAL</b>	Elisa Crouch and Doug Moore	A1, A4	Report on Brown's funeral
Aug 26	<b>CASE SPURS TALKS OF BODY CAMERAS FOR POLICE</b>	Nicholas J.C. Pistor	A1, A6	Report on the debate surrounding body cameras for police officers following Ferguson unrest
Aug 26	<b>EXCITEMENT PREVAILS ON FIRST DAY</b>	Jessica Bock	A5	Report on school's delayed start of the new year following Ferguson unrest
Aug 26	<b>CROWDS PACK HISTORY MUSEUM TO PROMOTE CHANGE</b>	Margaret Gillerman	A5	Report on a meeting in the local history museum following the Ferguson unrest
Aug 26	<b>NOTES FROM FERGUSON</b>	Staff Reports	A6	News bulletins regarding the Ferguson unrest
Aug 26	<b>FINDING OUR COMMON LANGUAGE</b>	Editorial	A11	Opinion piece on how mourning of Brown should bridge region's racial divide

Aug 26	<b>YOUR VIEWS</b>	Reader's views	A11	Reader's views regarding the Ferguson unrest
Aug 27	<b>BRIDGE TO THE PAST</b>	Laurie Skrivan and J.B. Forbes	A1	Photo report on peaceful protesters holding hands, Bernice King
Aug 27	<b>'MY DAD'S LEGACY IS ON THE LINE', KING TELLS STUDENTS</b>	Elisa Crouch	A1, A6	Report on Bernice King's speech at Riverview Gardens High School
Aug 27	<b>SHOTS FIRED AT BROWN MAY HAVE BEEN RECORDED</b>	Stephen Deere and David Hunn	A1, A6	Report on the appearance of a cell phone video believed to have captured the shooting of Brown
Aug 27	<b>PEACEFUL MARCH CONTINUES</b>	Lilly Fowler and Valerie Schremp Hahn	A6	Report on a peaceful march towards the federal courthouse in downtown Ferguson
Aug 28	<b>THE POLITICS OF FERGUSON</b>	Steve Giegerich and Walter Moskop	A1, A6	Report on the debate surrounding the county executive contest in the aftermath of Ferguson
Aug 28	<b>AS UNREST FADES, TIME TO COUNT THE COST</b>	David Carson, Christian Gooden and Laurie Skrivan	A1	Photo report on the (financial) losses created by the Ferguson unrest
Aug 28	<b>POLICING, RECOVERY RUNS INTO MILLIONS</b>	Kevin McDermott	A1, A7	Analysis of the economic bill following the Ferguson unrest
Aug 28	<b>LOOKING FOR A RESPONSE THAT LASTS</b>	Doug Moore	A1, A7	Report on where to go from here
Aug 28	<b>STATE AND COUNTY POLICE WILL SCALE BACK PRESENCE IN FERGUSON</b>	Joel Currier	A7	Report on police's announcement to scale back its presence
Aug 28	<b>FROM MOMENT TO MOVEMENT</b>	Editorial	A13	Opinion piece on the Ferguson Commission and where its focus should lay
Aug 28	<b>YOUR VIEWS</b>	Reader's views	A13	Reader's views regarding Ferguson unrest
Aug 29	<b>NOTES FROM FERGUSON</b>	Staff Reports	A7	News bulletins regarding Ferguson unrest
Aug 29	<b>HEARING CALLED ON POLICE 'MILITARIZATION'</b>	Chuck Raasch	A8	News item on the hearing on issues raised by response to protests, violence in Ferguson
Aug 29	<b>STENGER URGES HIRING OF MORE BLACK OFFICERS</b>	Mark Schlinkmann	A9	Report on the debate regarding the lack of black police officers
Aug 31	<b>CROWD GATHERS AT POLICE STATION</b>	Lisa Brown	A11	Report on crowd at police station in support of Brown, calling for end to racial profiling
Sep 01	<b>BROWN CASE SPURS NATIONAL MOVEMENTS</b>	Brian Melley (Associated Press)	A3	Analysis of the outbreak of fresh outrage at both old and new police cases throughout the country
Sep 01	<b>FERGUSON OFFICERS BEGIN USING BODY CAMERAS</b>	Denise Hollinshed	A3	Report on the introduction of body cameras as police monitored march

It is fair to state that the civil unrest was widely covered by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, as it published 174 news items on the topic, including news reports (100), photo

reports (25) and analyses (17). Furthermore, editors expressed their thoughts on multiple occasions (15 editorials), while reader's views were often published as well (13). Coverage commenced on August 10 and was brought to a temporary halt on September 1 with a news bulletin on the introduction of the use of body cameras by police, while it reached its peak on August 15 (14 news items), the day after Gov. Nixon's decision to put the Missouri Highway Patrol in charge. Nearly all items were written by the paper's personnel, with an analysis by Brian Melley (*Associated Press*) in the newspaper of September 1 being the sole exception. This, along with the many editorials, shows the paper's close involvement to the local riots.

The newspaper was quick to publish a profile on Michael Brown, only a day and half after he was shot by officer Wilson. Similar profiles kept on being published in the following days with the likes of Missouri Highway Patrol Capt. Ronald S. Johnson (August 15), St. Louis County prosecutor Robert McCulloch (August 16) and Eric Crawford (August 25), the protester in the photo that had gone viral on social media (see footnote 35). Speaking of images, the number of photo reports published by the St. Louis newspaper is relatively high, especially compared to the *Cincinnati Enquirer's* coverage on the Cincinnati unrest in 2001 (25 as opposed to just 2). However, these "reports" did not always consist of multiple photos -- in some cases it was merely the headlining photo on the paper's opening page.



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<sup>36</sup> Kim Bell, "Ferguson Protester Who Threw Back Tear Gas Cannister in Iconic Photo is Charged," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 26, 2015, [http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/ferguson-protester-who-threw-back-tear-gas-cannister-in-iconic/article\\_437076f9-a6a2-5f03-a2fb-d612611a504f.html](http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/ferguson-protester-who-threw-back-tear-gas-cannister-in-iconic/article_437076f9-a6a2-5f03-a2fb-d612611a504f.html).

As of April 12, reporters started to shift their focus on the consequences of the unrest,<sup>37</sup> focusing on both the financial impact<sup>38</sup> as well as its impact on local education.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile, faith leaders and local church services continued to be an important topic as well.<sup>40</sup> However, as of August 13, the St. Louis newspaper started to publish analyses on a regular basis, with topics varying from the disparity index on blacks regarding police stops<sup>41</sup> to the percentage of African-Americans in the communities as compared to African-Americans in police departments.<sup>42</sup> Compared to the *Cincinnati Enquirer's* coverage on the Cincinnati riots in 2001, there now seemed to be more awareness in terms of the underlying racial disparities. Whether that was also the case for the Cincinnati newspaper itself will be the topic of the next paragraph.

#### 4.2 Cincinnati Enquirer

Date issued	Heading	Author	Page no.	Short description
Aug 11	<b>BLACK TEENAGER SHOT IN SCUFFLE OVER POLICE GUN</b>	Grant Bissell and Brandie Piper (KSDK-TV, St. Louis)	B3	Report on the police shooting, protests
Aug 12	<b>MOM: SLAIN TEEN 'DIDN'T CREATE ANY PROBLEMS'</b>	Yamiche Alcindor and Marisol Bello (USA Today)	B3	Report on Brown's parents' plea for justice, not riots
Aug 12	<b>32 ARRESTED, 2 COPS HURT IN SUBURBAN ST. LOUIS RIOT</b>	Elizabeth Matthews and Christina Coleman (KSDK-TV)	B3	Update on the ongoing riots in downtown Ferguson
Aug 13	<b>POLICE TACTICS SUBJECT OF BROAD U.S. REVIEW</b>	Kevin Johnson (USA Today)	B3	Report on Justice Department's upcoming review of nationwide police tactics following the Ferguson unrest
Aug 13	<b>THREAT KEEPS COP'S NAME UNDER WRAPS</b>	Yamiche Alcindor, Brandie Piper and John Bacon (USA Today)	B3	Update on the Ferguson unrest, report on authorities' decision to delay the revealment of the police officer's identity who shot Brown

<sup>37</sup> Jim Gallagher, "Worry About City's Revival," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 12, 2014, A7.

<sup>38</sup> Tim Barker, "Merchants Move Forward," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 15, 2014, B1.

<sup>39</sup> Jessica Bock, "Unrest Invades, But Students Remain Top Priority," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 16, 2014, A7.

<sup>40</sup> Lilly Fowler, "Faith Leaders Seek Unity," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 12, 2014, A5.

<sup>41</sup> Walter Moskop, "What Are The Numbers?" *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 13, 2014, A7.

<sup>42</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, "Out of Balance," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 24, 2014, A1.

Aug 14	<b>RACE RELATIONS A 'TOP PRIORITY'</b>	Yamiche Alcindor, Marisol Bello and Farrah Fazal (USA Today)	B1, B2	Update on the Ferguson unrest, report on the underlying racial differences
Aug 15	<b>CINCINNATI RESPONDS TO FERGUSON MOMENT</b>	Keith BieryGolick	A7	Report on a event at the New Protest Baptist Church, where vigils turned into discussions
Aug 15	<b>PROTESTS DON'T STOP</b>	Yamiche Alcindor, Aamer Madhani and Doug Stanglin (USA Today)	B1, B2	Update on the ongoing Ferguson unrest
Aug 15	<b>POLICE IN FERGUSON IGNITE DEBATE ABOUT MILITARY TACTICS</b>	Marisol Bello and Yamiche Alcindor (USA Today)	B3	Report on the debate regarding police tactics used in Ferguson
Aug 15	<b>FERGUSON FUELS RAW FEELINGS ONLINE</b>	Lindsay Deutsch and Jolie Lee (USA Today)	B3	Report on the role of social media during the Ferguson unrest
Aug 16	<b>CHIEF ON CNN: CINCINNATI HAS BEEN THERE</b>	Bowdeya Tweh	A10	Report on a CNN interview with Cincinnati Police Chief Jeffrey Blackwell regarding Ferguson unrest
Aug 16	<b>FEELINGS STILL RAW</b>	Yamiche Alcindor, Aamer Madhani and Marisol Bello (USA Today)	B1, B2	Update on the ongoing Ferguson unrest, report on the video of a shoplifting Brown released by the police
Aug 16	<b>WHY NAME RELEASED RISKS FURTHER DISTRUST</b>	Yamiche Alcindor, Aamer Madhani and Kevin Johnson (USA Today)	B1, B2	Analysis of the revealment of officer Wilson's identity
Aug 17	<b>GOVERNOR IMPOSES CURFEW IN FERGUSON</b>	Yamiche Alcindor, Natalie DiBlasio (USA Today)	B1, B3	Update on the ongoing Ferguson unrest, report on Gov. Nixon's decision to impose a curfew
Aug 17	<b>POLICE AND BLACK COMMUNITY: WHAT WE NEED TO HEAR</b>	Enquirer Editorial Staff	F1, F2	Opinion piece on the nationwide conditions underlying unrests as the one in Ferguson
Aug 18	<b>CINCINNATI PACT MAY BE A MODEL FOR FERGUSON</b>	Mark Curnutte	A3	Report on members of the Cincinnati Black United Front distributing copies of Cincinnati's Collaborative Agreement of 2002 (a result of the 2001 Cincinnati riots) in downtown Ferguson
Aug 18	<b>FERGUSON CURFEW EXTENDED</b>	Yamiche Alcindor and Brandie Piper (USA Today)	B1	Update on the ongoing Ferguson unrest, curfew
Aug 19	<b>MO. GOVERNOR ENDS CURFEW</b>	Yamiche Alcindor and John Bacon (USA Today)	B2	Update on the ongoing Ferguson unrest, end of curfew
Aug 20	<b>HOW POLICE TRAIN TO STOP A THREAT</b>	Gregg Zoroya (USA Today)	B2	Analysis of police tactics at times of training, arrests
Aug 20	<b>FERGUSON CASE GOES TO GRAND JURY</b>	Larry Copeland and Kevin Johnson (USA Today)	B3	News item on Ferguson case going to grand jury, announcement of U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder's trip to Ferguson
Aug 20	<b>FERGUSON OFFICER GAINS SUPPORTERS</b>	Gregg Toppo (USA Today)	B3	Report on growing support of Facebook regarding officer Wilson

Aug 21	<b>HOLDER'S FERGUSON VISIT IS PERSONAL</b>	Kevin Johnson (USA Today)	B1, B3	Profile on U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder, report on his trip to Ferguson
Aug 21	<b>TWO SETS OF PROTESTERS NOTED IN FERGUSON</b>	Larry Copeland and Yamiche Alcindor (USA Today)	B3	Analysis of the protesters
Aug 21	<b>CHARGES FOR WILSON EYED</b>	Yamiche Alcindor, Larry Copeland and Kevin Johnson (USA Today)	B3	Update on the ongoing grand jury investigation
Aug 22	<b>MO. PROTESTERS WANT NEW PROSECUTOR</b>	Larry Copeland (USA Today)	B3	Report on the debate regarding the position of St. Louis County Attorney Robert McCulloch
Aug 22	<b>GOV. NIXON PULLS NATIONAL GUARD FROM A CALMER FERGUSON</b>	Yamiche Alcindor and Larry Copeland (USA Today)	B3	Report on Gov. Nixon's decision to pull out national guard
Aug 24	<b>FERGUSON KEEPS CALM; MONEY RAISED FOR COP</b>	Natalie DiBlasio (USA Today)	B3	Report on the returning peace in Ferguson
Aug 25	<b>PARENTS PREPARE TO SAY GOODBYE TO MISSOURI TEEN</b>	Yamiche Alcindor (USA Today)	B3	Report on the events building up to Brown's funeral
Aug 26	<b>AMID FUROR, SOLACE SOUGHT</b>	Yamiche Alcindor (USA Today)	B1, B2	Report on Brown's funeral
Aug 26	<b>WHITES, BLACK DOUBT POLICE</b>	Susan Page (USA Today)	B1, B2	Analysis of the distrust of police following Ferguson unrest

The *Cincinnati Enquirer* published a total of 30 news items on the events in Ferguson, including 25 news reports, 3 analyses, a profile of U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder and an editorial. Coverage started on August 11, the day after the fatal confrontation between Brown and officer Wilson, and was temporarily brought to a halt on August 26 when the newspaper published both a report on Brown's funeral and an analysis of the distrust of police by local residents as a result of the civil unrest. As compared to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the Cincinnati newspaper ceased coverage on the civil unrest relatively early. A majority of the news items was written by reporters of *USA Today* (26), while only three news reports were written by the paper's own staff, along with one editorial. These three articles, however, provided an unique insight by describing the events in terms of the Cincinnati riots of 2001.

In terms of writing styles, the tone was rather sharp, with references to Brown as "black teenager" and "slain", an adjective that has never been mentioned once in *St. Louis Post-Dispatch's* 174 news items. As compared to 2001, the tables had now seemingly turned,



with the *Cincinnati Enquirer* now using a more sensationalized tone of writing and the St. Louis Post paper conducting a more gentle approach. Furthermore, no news items had been published on the (financial) impact of the civil unrest on Ferguson's community.

#### 4.3 New York Times

<b>Date issued</b>	<b>Heading</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Page no.</b>	<b>Short description</b>
Aug 11	<b>GRIEF AND PROTESTS FOLLOW SHOOTING OF A TEENAGER</b>	Julie Bosman and Emma G. Fitzsimmons	A11	Report on the shooting of Brown, growing protests
Aug 12	<b>F.B.I. STEPS IN AMID UNREST AFTER POLICE KILL MISSOURI YOUTH</b>	Julie Bosman and Erica Goode	A1	Report on Ferguson unrest, F.B.I.'s civil right inquiry
Aug 13	<b>SHOOTING SPURS HASHTAG EFFORT ON STEREOTYPES</b>	Tanzina Vega	A1	Report on the reactions on social media, particularly Twitter, following the shooting of Brown
Aug 13	<b>POLICE CITE THREATS IN DECIDING NOT TO NAME OFFICER WHO SHOT MISSOURI TEENAGER</b>	Julie Bosman and Timothy Williams	A14	Report on police's decision not to reveal officer Wilson's identity
Aug 14	<b>ANONYMITY IN POLICE SHOOTING FUELS FRUSTRATION</b>	Julie Bosman and Erick Eckholm	A1	Report on the debate regarding police's decision not to reveal officer Wilson's identity
Aug 15	<b>NEW TACK ON UNREST EASES TENSION IN MISSOURI</b>	Joel Schwartz, Michael D. Shear and Michael Paulson	A15	Update on the ongoing Ferguson unrest
Aug 15	<b>IN WAKE OF CLASHES, CALLS TO DEMILITARIZE POLICE</b>	Julie Bosman and Matt Apuzzo	A1	Report on the debate regarding police tactics following Ferguson unrest
Aug 15	<b>MISSOURI UNREST LEAVES THE RIGHT TORN OVER VIEWS ON LAW VS. ORDER</b>	Jeremy W. Peter	A11	News item summarizing the political debate regarding police force following Ferguson unrest
Aug 15	<b>FOR MISSOURI GOVERNOR, TEST AT AN UNEASY TIME</b>	Alan Blinder and John Eligon	A12	Profile on Gov. Nixon and his narrative on the Ferguson unrest
Aug 15	<b>HACKERS' EFFORT TO IDENTIFY OFFICER CREATE TURMOIL</b>	Nicole Perlroth	A13	Report on Anonymous' effort to identify officer Wilson's identity
Aug 15	<b>FERGUSON IMAGE EVOKES CIVIL RIGHTS ERA AND CHANGING VISUAL PERCEPTION</b>	Randy Kennedy and Jennifer Schuessler	A14	Analysis of visual echoes of the 1960s in current Ferguson riots
Aug 16	<b>DUELING POLICE STATEMENTS AS ANGER RISES IN MISSOURI</b>	Tanzina Vega, Timothy Williams and Erick Eckholm	A1	Report on the ongoing Ferguson unrest, release of surveillance footage of Brown's shoplifting theft
Aug 16	<b>TROOPER LISTENS TO, AND CONNECTS WITH, A FERGUSON TORN</b>	Alan Blinder	A13	Report on State Highway Patrol Capt. Ronald S. Johnson, as he tries to deal with Ferguson protests

Aug 16	<b>A YOUTH, AN OFFICER AND 2 PATHS TO A FATAL ENCOUNTER</b>	Julie Bosman, John Schwartz and Serge F. Kovalski	A13	Analysis of the different narratives regarding the shooting of Brown
Aug 17	<b>MISSOURI ORDERS NIGHTLY CURFEW TO QUELL LOOTING</b>	Julie Bosman and Alan Blinder	A1	Report on the ongoing Ferguson unrest, Gov. Nixon's decision to impose curfew
Aug 17	<b>DEEP TENSIONS RISE TO SURFACE AFTER SHOOTING</b>	Tanzina Vega and John Eligon	A1	Analysis of the underlying suburban tensions leading up to the shooting of Brown
Aug 17	<b>LACK OF LEADERSHIP AND A GENERATIONAL SPLIT HINDER PROTESTS IN FERGUSON</b>	Julie Bosman	A22	Update on the ongoing protests, Ferguson unrest
Aug 18	<b>VIOLENCE FLARES AFTER APPEALS OF HARMONY</b>	Alan Blinder and Tanzina Vega	A1	Update on the ongoing Ferguson unrest
Aug 18	<b>MISSOURI SHOOTING VICTIM WAS HIT AT LEAST 6 TIMES</b>	Frances Robles and Julie Bosman	A1	Report on police investigation, autopsy
Aug 18	<b>WHITE HOUSE EFFORTS TO KEEP PEACE INCLUDE PLAN FOR A JUSTICE DEPT. AUTOPSY</b>	Michael D. Shear and Matt Apuzzo	A12	Report on the White House's reaction regarding the Ferguson unrest
Aug 19	<b>FITFUL NIGHT IN FERGUSON AS NATIONAL GUARD ARRIVES</b>	Monica Davey, John Eligon and Alan Blinder	A1	Update on the ongoing Ferguson unrest
Aug 19	<b>MISSOURI TRIES ANOTHER IDEA: CALL IN GUARD</b>	Monica Davey, John Eligon and Alan Blinder	A1	Update on the ongoing Ferguson unrest, Gov. Nixon's decision to bring in the National Guard
Aug 19	<b>CITIES ROCKED BY PAST UNREST OFFER LESSONS</b>	Michael Wines and Erica Goode	A1	Analysis of lessons to be learned from previous civil unrests
Aug 19	<b>CALLING FOR CALM IN FERGUSON, OBAMA CITES NEED FOR IMPROVED RACE RELATIONS</b>	Julie Hirschfeld David	A12	Report on President Obama's response to the Ferguson unrest
Aug 20	<b>SHOOTING ACCOUNTS DIFFER AS HOLDER SCHEDULES VISIT</b>	Frances Robles and Michael S. Schmidt	A1	Report on the ongoing federal investigation, U.S. State Attorney General Eric Holder's scheduled visit to Ferguson
Aug 20	<b>IN RUSSIA, SCENES FROM FERGUSON ARE PLAYED AS NOTHING SHOCKING: IT'S AMERICA</b>	David M. Herszenhorn	A14	News item summarizing global news' coverage on the Ferguson unrest
Aug 21	<b>AS TENSION EASES ON FERGUSON'S STREETS, FOCUS TURNS ON INVESTIGATION</b>	Alan Blinder and Campbell Robertson	A1	Update on the ongoing Ferguson unrest, ongoing federal investigation
Aug 21	<b>ANGER, HURT AND MOMENTS OF HOPE IN FERGUSON</b>	John Eligon	A1	Update on the Ferguson unrest, easing tensions
Aug 21	<b>WHAT STARTED AS LOCAL PROTEST IN MISSOURI GROWS INTO A CENTER OF NATIONAL ACTIVISM</b>	Michael Wines and Emma G. Fitzsimmons	A14	Analysis of the protests, how the Ferguson unrest unfolded
Aug 21	<b>SCRUTINY ON THE POLICE IS BUILDING IN FERGUSON</b>	John Eligon and Michael S. Schmidt	A15	Report on the narratives regarding the Ferguson unrest by both police and protesters

Aug 21	<b>LAWMAN IN MISSOURI DEFENDS OBJECTIVITY</b>	Francis Robles	A15	Report on St. Louis County prosecutor Robert McCulloch, his narrative of the Ferguson unrest
Aug 21	<b>TANGLE OF LEADERSHIP HELPS FUEL CHAOS IN FERGUSON</b>	Monica Davey and Tanzina Vega	A16	Report on officials' tactics regarding police shooting, Ferguson unrest
Aug 22	<b>NATIONAL GUARD IS PULLING OUT OF FERGUSON AS TENSIONS EASE</b>	Julie Bosman, Matt Apuzzo and Marc Santora	A1	Update on the Ferguson unrest, report on national guard pulling out of Ferguson
Aug 22	<b>POLL SHOWS BROAD DIVISIONS AMID MISSOURI TURMOIL</b>	Tanzina Vega and Megan Thee-Brenan	A14	Analysis of poll showing racial profiling by police
Aug 22	<b>AMONG WHITES, PROTESTS STIR A RANGE OF EMOTIONS AND A LOT OF PERPLEXITY</b>	Campbell Robertson	A15	Report on white residents' narrative of the Ferguson unrest
Aug 22	<b>POLICE, PROTESTERS AND REPORTERS FORM UNEASY CAST FOR NIGHTLY SHOW IN FERGUSON</b>	Dan Barry	A15	Report on a McDonald's in downtown Ferguson, a haven of residents, reporters, cops and protesters

As compared to the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, the *New York Times* published more news items on the Ferguson riots: 36, consisting of 29 news reports, 6 analyses and a profile of Gov. Nixon. The high number of analyses is remarkable, especially compared to the number during the paper's coverage on the Cincinnati riots of 2001 (which was only one). In terms of the Ferguson unrest, coverage started on August 11, the day after Brown had been shot -- as opposed to the paper's coverage on the Cincinnati unrest, which started four days after Thomas was killed -- and was brought to a halt on August 22 (at least for the time being). All articles were written by the news staff. This is quite similar to the paper's coverage on the Cincinnati riots in 2001, when just 1 out of 8 articles had been provided by an external news outlet.

Just as was the case with the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, no news reports were published on the (financial) impact of the riots in Ferguson. However, the tone of writing was surprisingly gentle; not once was the racial component of the riots mentioned in the headings, while the authors simply referred to Brown as "teenager" and "Missouri youth". This is quite the change from 2001, when the paper's journalists referred to Thomas as "slain teenager". The

same applied to the *Los Angeles Times*, as we will see in the next paragraph.

#### 4.4 *Los Angeles Times*

<b>Date issued</b>	<b>Heading</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Page no.</b>	<b>Short description</b>
Aug 11	<b>POLICE SHOOTING ROILS TOWN</b>	Maya Srikrishnan	A9	Report on the police shooting, protests
Aug 12	<b>TENSION STILL HIGH AFTER SHOOTING</b>	Matt Pearce, Maya Srikrishnan and David Zucchino	A6	Report on the Ferguson unrest
Aug 13	<b>RAISING THEIR HANDS IN DEFIANCE</b>	Matt Pearce	A5	Report on the Ferguson protests, update on ongoing unrest
Aug 14	<b>PROTESTS OVER SHOOTING PERSIST</b>	Matt Pearce	A2	Report on the ongoing Ferguson unrest
Aug 15	<b>'SOFTER' POLICE RESPONSE VOWED IN MISSOURI TOWN</b>	Matt Pearce and Joe Mozingo	A1, A12	Report on the debate surrounding Ferguson unrest, police violence
Aug 15	<b>WHEN THE POLICE KILL</b>	Editorial	A18	Opinion piece on the underlying threat (racial profiling) regarding police shootings such as the one in Ferguson
Aug 16	<b>'YOU HAVE TO SHOW COMPASSION'</b>	Molly Hennessy-Fiske	A8	Report on black officers trying to keep the peace in Ferguson
Aug 16	<b>OFFICER IN SHOOTING NAMED</b>	Molly Hennessy-Fiske, Matt Pearce and Tina Susman	A9	Report on ongoing police investigation, revelation of officer Wilson's identity
Aug 16	<b>TUMULT PLAYS OUT IN PUBLIC SPACES</b>	Christopher Hawthorne	D1, D4	Update on the ongoing Ferguson unrest, police tactics
Aug 17	<b>STRESS WAS MOUNTING IN FERGUSON</b>	Tim Logan and Molly Hennessy-Fiske	A1, A16	Analysis of the racial and economic tension in Ferguson leading up to the shooting of Brown
Aug 17	<b>SOME WARN CURFEW COULD BACKFIRE</b>	Tina Susman, Matt Pearce and Molly Hennessy-Fiske	A12	News item on the debate regarding the curfew imposed by Gov. Nixon
Aug 17	<b>ANGER, DISMAY OVER A FUTURE LOST</b>	Molly Hennessy-Fiske	A14	Profile on Michael Brown, his family and his neighborhood
Aug 19	<b>NATIONAL GUARD, CROWDS CLASH</b>	Molly Hennessy-Fiske, Tina Susman and Lauren Raab	A6	Report on nightly riots despite curfew
Aug 19	<b>LAPD'S LESSONS FOR FERGUSON</b>	Editorial	A10	Opinion piece on why Ferguson police should learn from the steps taken by LAPD to win back people's trust
Aug 20	<b>FERGUSON UNREST A POWERFUL LURE</b>	Kurtis Lee and Tina Susman	A6	Analysis of the protesters, riots
Aug 20	<b>PROTESTERS IGNORE OFFICIAL'S PLEA TO STAY HOME</b>	Tina Susman, Molly Hennessy-Fiske and Richard A. Serrano	A6	Update on the ongoing Ferguson unrest

Aug 21	<b>MANY WARY OF GRAND JURY PROCESS</b>	Tina Susman	A7	Report on grand jury investigation, ongoing protests
Aug 21	<b>IN VISIT, HOLDER SAYS HE UNDERSTANDS LOCAL ANGER</b>	Molly Hennessy-Fiske	A7	Report on U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder's visit to Ferguson
Aug 22	<b>CHINESE RIDICULE REMARK ON FERGUSON</b>	Julie Makinen	A3	News item on Chinese government 'misconstruing' words by State Department spokeswoman regarding Ferguson case
Aug 22	<b>PEACE AND FOOD ORDERS AMID UNREST</b>	Matt Pearce	A10	Report on a McDonald's in downtown Ferguson, a haven of residents, reporters, cops and protesters
Aug 23	<b>STRIP MALL SETS THE STAGE FOR SHIFTING DRAMA</b>	Molly Hennessy-Fiske	A1, A8	Report on business owners in Ferguson, how to recover from riots, looting
Aug 24	<b>IN FERGUSON, A NATIONAL STAR EMERGES</b>	Kurtis Lee	A10	Profile on Antonio French, a key figure during the protests after posting images on social media

Once again, the *Los Angeles Times* had the fewest news items regarding a civil unrest, in this case the one in Ferguson: only 22 news items, consisting of 16 news bulletins, 2 analyses, 2 profiles and 2 editorials. Still, the number of editorials was quite remarkable as compared to the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, which published just one, and the *New York Times*, which posted none at all. It is even more notable when comparing it to the paper's coverage on the Cincinnati unrest, which did not consist of any editorials either, despite the fact that one of the editorials that were now published (on why Ferguson police should learn from the steps taken by the Los Angeles Police Department after the city's riots of 1992<sup>43</sup>) would have been as much as applicable to the riots in Cincinnati as opposed to the unrest in Ferguson.

As was the case with the three previous newspapers, coverage started on August 11, the day after Brown was killed -- not three days later, as was the case with the coverage on the events in Cincinnati. All items were written by the paper's staff, an interesting development as compared to 2001 when only one-third had been written by that same staff. Despite the paper being located 2000 miles away (as was also the case with Cincinnati), involvement seemed to have grown much closer as compared to 2001. Whether that trend

<sup>43</sup> Editorial, "LAPD's Lessons for Ferguson," *Los Angeles Times*, August 19, 2014, A10.

applied to newspapers in general will be the subject of the following chapter, in which I will cross-analyze the coverages on both civil unrests.

## Chapter 5: Comparing the coverage: Cincinnati vs. Ferguson

In this chapter I will try to distinguish trends in coverage by drawing four comparisons between the reports on the Cincinnati riots and those on the Ferguson unrest: the variation in coverage, the variation in coverage as a percentage of the total number of news items published by the paper, the average number of news items per day, and the number of news items written by the paper's personnel as a percentage of the total number of news items printed in that newspaper. These comparisons will help me determine whether newspapers have become more engaged with civil unrests caused by police brutality against black citizens as compared to 2001.

First I will look at the variations in coverage, starting with the reports on the Cincinnati unrest. The coverage has been divided into seven sections: news updates on the events, photo reports, analyses, profiles, editorials, reader's views and, to conclude, the total number of news items. The regional newspaper covering the events has been highlighted in blue.

	News updates on the events	Photo reports	Analyses	Profiles	Editorials	Reader's views	Total number of news items
<i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i>	79	2	8	3	8	5	105
<i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i>	8	1	1	0	1	0	11
<i>NY Times</i>	7	0	1	0	1	0	9
<i>LA Times</i>	8	0	1	0	0	0	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>134</b>

Between these four newspapers, 134 news items have been published on the Cincinnati unrest. Of these four, the regional newspaper (*Cincinnati Enquirer*) outnumbered

the others in every category, providing 78 percent of the combined 134 news items published by the papers. It was also the most diverse newspaper in terms of coverage: whereas the other papers only published a photo report, analysis or editorial on a rare occasion, the *Cincinnati Enquirer* printed them on a more regular basis, hereby contributing in every category. Furthermore, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* published no profiles nor reader's views.

I will now compare these numbers to the ones regarding the Ferguson unrest. Once again, the regional newspaper covering the events has been highlighted in blue:

	News updates on the events	Photo reports	Analyses	Profiles	Editorials	Reader's views	Total number of news items
<i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i>	25	0	3	1	1	0	30
<i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i>	100	25	17	4	15	13	174
<i>NY Times</i>	29	0	6	1	0	0	36
<i>LA Times</i>	16	0	2	2	2	0	22
<b>Total</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>262</b>

The events in Ferguson were covered more widely as opposed the riots in Cincinnati: a total number 262 news items as compared to 134 reports. Furthermore, coverage outnumbered that on the Cincinnati riots in every category: 170 news updates as compared to 102, 25 photo reports versus just 3, 28 analyses versus 11, 8 profiles versus 3, 18 editorials versus 10, and 13 reader's views sections as compared to just 5 regarding the Cincinnati unrest. Once again, the regional newspaper outnumbered the other papers in every category, this time providing 66 percent of the total number of news items published by the four papers. Furthermore, the regional newspaper outnumbered the others in every category yet again.



The most significant differentiation to be determined when cross-analyzing the two regionals newspapers (the *St. Louis-Dispatch* in the case of the Ferguson unrest and the *Cincinnati Enquirer* in the case of the Cincinnati riots) is the number of photo reports: 25 as opposed to just 3. The dissimilarity in reader's views is also noteworthy: 13 as opposed to 5. In fact, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*'s coverage on the Ferguson unrest outnumbered the Cincinnati newspaper's coverage on the Cincinnati unrest in every category, although the number of profiles published hardly differed (4 and 3 respectively).

The dissimilarity in news coverage increases when cross-analyzing the two newspapers from another state: the *Cincinnati Enquirer* published 30 news items on the Ferguson unrest, whereas the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* published just 11 items on the one that took place in Cincinnati. The Cincinnati newspaper outnumbered its "predecessor" in half of the categories: 25 news reports as opposed to 8, 3 analyses as opposed to just 1, and one profile compared to none in 2001. In the other categories the number of news items had remained fairly the same; only in terms of photo reports did the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* outnumber its "successor" (one compared to none in 2014).

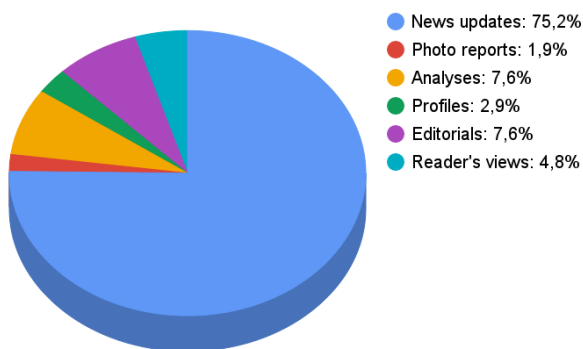
The *New York Times*' coverage on the Ferguson unrest strongly differed from its coverage on the Cincinnati riots, as news reports in 2014 outnumbered those in 2001 by 300 percent (36 news items compared to 9). This increase was mainly attributable to the boost in news reports (29 versus 7) and analyses (6 compared to just 1). There were hardly any changes in terms of variation, as the New York newspaper published in half of the categories in both years.

The *Los Angeles Times*'s coverage on the Ferguson unrest also outnumbered that of its coverage on the Cincinnati riots: 22 news items compared to 9, an increase of 144 percent. The increase was mainly caused by the rise in news reports (16 compared to 8), while the number of analyses also grew by one (2 compared to 1). However, whereas the newspaper

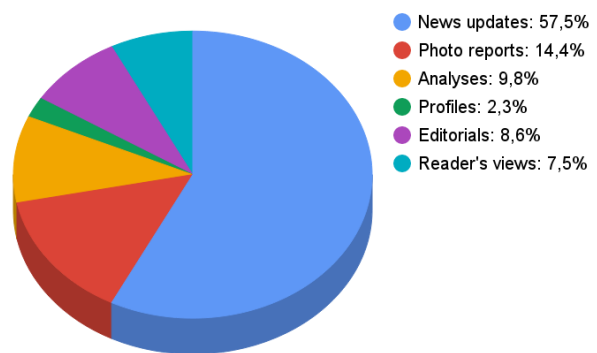
published no profiles or editorials in 2001, it had now published two and two respectively; only in terms of photo reports and reader's views did the numbers stay the same.

The changes in the variation of news items become even more apparent when describing them in terms of the total number of news items published by that particular paper, as we will see in the following figures. The first row shows the coverage by the regional newspapers. The second row displays the coverage by the regional newspaper from another state, followed by the reports of the *New York Times*, coverage by *The Los Angeles Times* and the news items of the four papers combined.

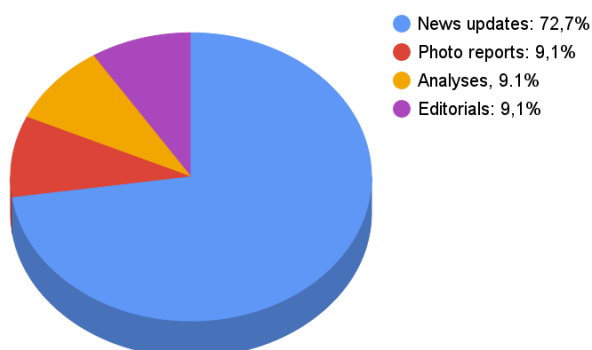
**Figure 7.1 The Cincinnati Enquirer: Cincinnati**



**Figure 7.2 STLPD: Ferguson**



**Figure 7.3 STLPD: Cincinnati**



**Figure 7.4 The Cincinnati Enquirer: Ferguson**

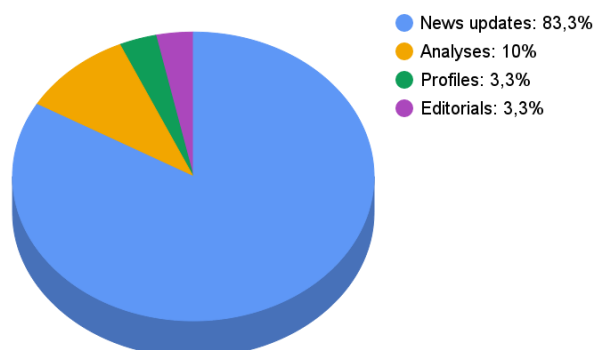


Figure 7.5 The NY Times: Cincinnati

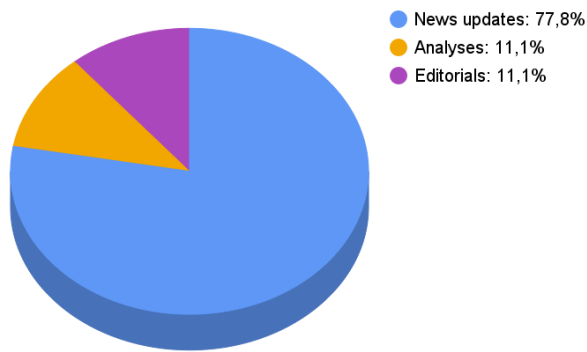


Figure 7.6 The NY Times: Ferguson

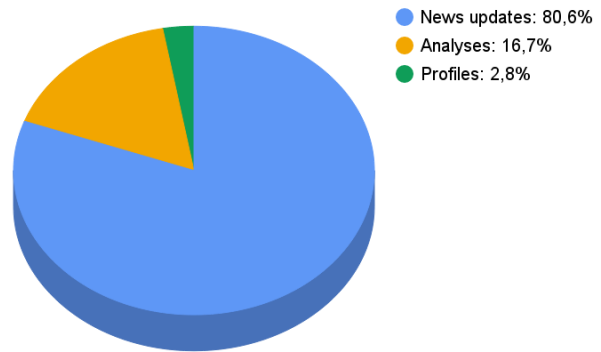


Figure 7.7 The LA Times: Cincinnati

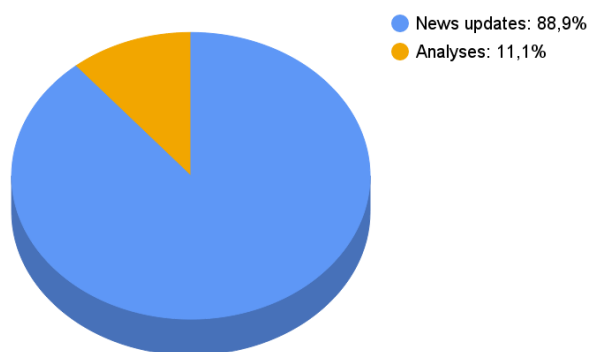


Figure 7.8 The LA Times: Ferguson

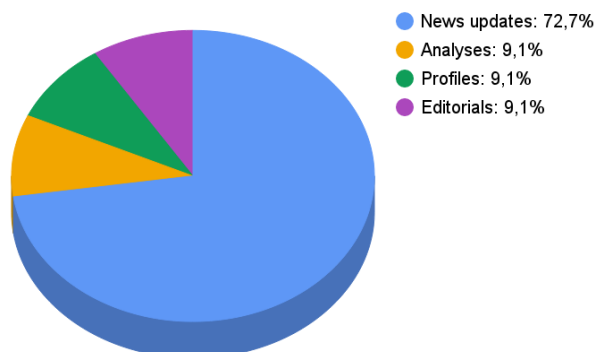


Figure 7.9 Total coverage: Cincinnati

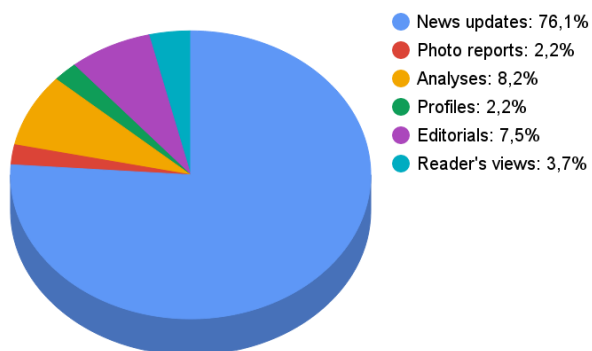
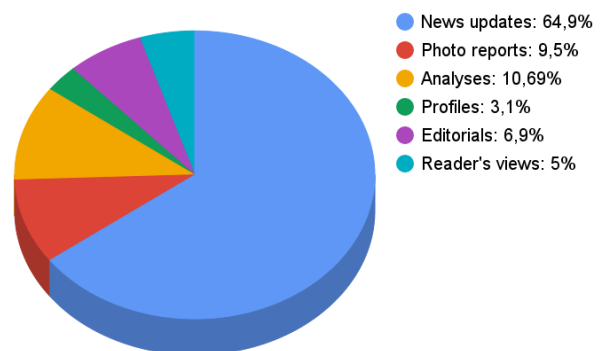


Figure 7.10 Total coverage: Ferguson



In terms of the regional newspapers, we see a decline in the percentage of news reports by 17.7 percent, while the percentages of profiles and editorials have almost stayed the same, going down by one percent at most. However, the shares of photo reports, reader's views and analyses all went up, rising by 12.5 percent, 2.7 percent and 2.2 percent

respectively. The same cannot be said in terms of regional newspapers from a different state, as we see an increase of news reports by 10.6 percent, while the share of photo reports had completely vanished by the time of 2014. The percentage of editorials suffered a decrease as well, going down by 5.8 percent, while the share of profiles made its entrance with 3.3 percent. The proportion of analyses has relatively stayed the same, only going up by 0.9 percent.

In terms of the *New York Times*, the percentage of news updates went up relatively slightly: 80.6 percent as compared to 77.8 percent in 2001. However, we see a slight rise in the analyses rate, which increased by 5.6 percent, while the share of percentage of editorials went down 11.1 percent to nil. The exact opposite trend can be spotted when looking at the change in the variation of news items by the *Los Angeles Times*: the proportion of news items went down by 16.2 percent, while the share of analyses decreased by two percent as well. Furthermore, profiles and editorials made an entrance in the paper's coverage on the Ferguson unrest, each taking a share of 9.1 percent.

In terms of the subject of this thesis, the last two figures are the most important ones, showing the change in variation of the total number of news items published by the four newspapers. The percentage of news reports fluctuated the most, going down by 11.2 percent. The share of editorials went down as well, albeit slightly (0.6 percent). However, the proportions of photo reports, analyses, profiles and reader's views had all increased by 7.3 percent, 2.5 percent, 0.8 percent and 1.3 percent respectively. In other words, and in terms of the coverage on civil unrests, news reports had made room for more in-depth news items such as analyses, while newspapers were now more inclined to describe the events through the use of photos as compared to 2001.

As we saw earlier in this chapter, the Ferguson unrest was far more covered as compared to the Cincinnati riots in 2001, outnumbering its coverage in every category.

However, this conclusion is not particularly valid, since the events in Ferguson lasted longer than those in Cincinnati, hereby inducing more coverage. One can only draw such a conclusion after having looked at the coverage as a percentage of the days of coverage -- in other words, the average number of news items per day, as shown in the following chart.

	<b>Cincinnati, Ohio</b>	<b>Ferguson, Missouri</b>
Days of coverage	16	22
Number of news items published in the <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i>	105	30
<b>Average number of news items published in the <i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i> per day</b>	<b>6,56</b>	<b>1,26</b>
Number of news items published in the <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i>	11	174
<b>Average number of news items published in the <i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i> per day</b>	<b>0,69</b>	<b>7,91</b>
Number of news items published in the <i>New York Times</i>	9	36
<b>Average number of news items published in the <i>New York Times</i> per day</b>	<b>0,56</b>	<b>1,63</b>
Number of news items published in the <i>Los Angeles Times</i>	9	22
<b>Average number of news items published in the <i>Los Angeles Times</i> per day</b>	<b>0,56</b>	<b>1</b>
Total number of news items published	134	262
<b>Average number of news items published per day</b>	<b>8,38</b>	<b>11,91</b>

The average number of news items published in the regional newspaper per day had gone up in 2014 as opposed to 2001, as the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* published 7,91 articles on the Ferguson unrest per day as compared to the *Cincinnati Enquirer* publishing 6,56 news items on the Cincinnati unrest on average. We see a similar increase once we turn the tables: the Cincinnati newspaper published an average number of 1,26 news items on the Ferguson

unrest per day, whereas the St. Louis paper produced only 0,69 articles on the Cincinnati unrest per day. The average numbers of news items published in the two national newspapers per day has increased as well: both produced an average number of 0,56 articles on the Cincinnati unrest per day, but published relatively more news items on the Ferguson unrest 13 years later (1,63 in the case of the *New York Times*, exactly one news item per day in the case of the *Los Angeles Times*). As a result, the average number of news items published per day had gone up significantly: 11,91 articles regarding the Ferguson unrest as compared to 8,38 news items on the Cincinnati riots. It is hereby fair to conclude that the Ferguson unrest was indeed covered more widely compared to the civil unrest in Cincinnati. In other words, newspapers were now more engaged with police brutality against black citizens and the riots evoked by it.

But to what extent was the newspapers' personnel truly involved with the civil unrests taking place? In other words, to what extent were the news items provided internally as a percentage of the total number of news items printed in the newspaper? The following charts show just that, starting with the one concerning the Cincinnati unrest. As was the case with previous charts, the regional newspaper has been highlighted in blue.

	Total number of news items	Number of items by paper's staff	Items by paper's staff in % of total news items	Number of items by other news associations	Items by other news associations in % of total news items
<i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i>	105	105	100%	0	0%
<i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i>	11	1	9,1%	10	90,9%
<i>NY Times</i>	9	8	88,9%	1	11,1%
<i>LA Times</i>	9	3	33,3%	6	66,7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>87,3%</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>12,7%</b>

As was already mentioned in the chapter on the coverage on the Cincinnati unrest, all

news items by the local newspaper (*Cincinnati Enquirer*) were provided by its own staff, while nearly all news items published in a regional newspaper from another state (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*) were provided from other news outlets. The *New York Times*'s personnel had written eight out of nine articles published in its newspaper, while staff members of the *Los Angeles Times* had provided just one-third of the news items published in the newspaper. After having combined these numbers, we can conclude that 87.3 percent of the articles published in these newspapers were written by their particular personnel. The following chart on the coverage on the Ferguson unrest will show whether these numbers are somewhat identical thirteen years later. Once again, the regional newspaper has been highlighted in blue.

	Total number of news items	Number of items by paper's staff	Items of paper's staff in % of total news items	Number of items by other news associations	Items by other news associations in % of total news items
<i>Cincinnati Enquirer</i>	30	4	13,3%	26	86,7%
<i>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</i>	174	172	98,9%	2	1,1%
<i>The NY Times</i>	36	36	100%	0	0%
<i>The LA Times</i>	22	22	100%	0	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>262</b>	<b>234</b>	<b>89,3%</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>10,7%</b>

In terms of regional newspapers, hardly anything has changed: almost all news items were provided by the paper's personnel, although there is a small decrease of 1.1 percent. Once again, news items published in the regional newspaper of another state were mostly contributed by other news outlets, although that percentage dropped from 90.9 percent to 86.7 percent. In terms of the Ferguson unrest, staff members of the *New York Times* provided all of the news items, opposed to the 88.9 percent in 2001. However, it is in the coverage by the *Los Angeles Times* that we see the most significant change: whereas the paper's staff had

only provided one-third of the news items on the Cincinnati unrest in 2001, it now contributed all of the 22 articles on the events in Ferguson. In terms of involvement with civil unrests sparked by police brutality against black citizens, the Los Angeles paper had generated the largest growth of commitment as compared to 2001. Finally, the total number of news items provided internally saw an increase as well, albeit it being a relatively slight one: 89.3 percent in 2014 as compared to 87.3 percent in 2001.



## Conclusion

In this thesis I have analyzed the coverage by four newspapers -- the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* -- on two widely-covered civil unrests: the 2001 riots in Cincinnati and the 2014 riots in Ferguson. After having examined the coverages on these unrests specifically, I cross-analyzed the reports to spot potential trends and/or dissimilarities.

In terms of the coverage on Cincinnati riots of 2001, news items printed in the regional newspaper (*Cincinnati Enquirer*) outnumbered those of the other papers; not only in terms of total numbers, but also in terms of news reports, photo reports, analyses, profiles, editorials and sections concerning reader's views. This can be partially be contributed to the fact that coverage had started the day after Timothy Thomas, a black teenager, was shot by a white officer, whereas the other papers started covering the events only three days later when peaceful demonstrations had resulted in violent confrontations with police. All news items were provided by the paper's personnel, whereas the staff of the newspaper from another state -- in this case the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* -- contributed only one out of eleven news items on the unrest printed in the newspaper. Furthermore, whereas the regional newspaper conducted a relatively gentle tone of writing, the newspaper from another state applied a relatively harsher voice, referring to Thomas as 'slain teen' and emphasizing the underlying racial component of the events. This tone is also characteristic for the coverage by the *New York Times*, but contrary to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, personnel from the New York paper provided nearly all of the news items published on the civil unrest. The *Los Angeles Times* did not indulge in using this harsher tone, although it emphasized the underlying racial inequalities regarding the riots on multiple occasions. However, as compared to the *New York Times*, the paper's staff only provided one-third of the news items printed on the issue.

News items published by the regional newspaper regarding the Ferguson unrest in 2014 outnumbered those of the other papers yet again, as the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* was responsible for nearly two-thirds of the news items published by the four papers; in fact, it outnumbered the coverage by the others in all categories, just like the *Cincinnati Enquirer* did in 2001. This time, however, other newspapers did not wait until four days after the shooting to report the events, as all papers started to cover the story the first day after the fatal confrontation between Michael Brown and officer Darren Wilson. Personnel of the St. Louis newspaper provided all news items published in the paper, with the exception of two articles out of 174. As was the case with the coverage on the Cincinnati unrest, the same cannot be said of the newspaper from another state, as the *Cincinnati Enquirer's* personnel contributed only 13.3 percent of the articles on the Ferguson unrest printed in the paper. Furthermore, in terms of tones of writing, the newspaper from another state applied a relatively harsh voice yet again, as the Cincinnati newspaper called Brown a “slain teen”, an adjective that has never been printed in any of the 174 articles published by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. As of 2014, the tables had seemingly turned: whereas the St. Louis newspaper used a sharp voice when reporting on the unrest in Cincinnati as opposed to the relatively gently tone applied by the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, things had now gone exactly the other way around, with the Cincinnati newspaper now applying the sharp voice instead of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Yet again, the harsh voice was also characteristic of the two national newspapers. Furthermore, the *New York Times's* staff provided a vast majority of the news items on the ongoing civil unrest published in the paper once again, this time all of them instead of eight out of nine regarding the Cincinnati riots. But in terms of the Ferguson unrest, the same could now also be said of the *Los Angeles Times*, whose personnel now provided all of the news items published in the paper as opposed to just one-third of the articles published on the civil unrest in 2001.

When one cross-analyzes these results, it becomes evident that news items on the Ferguson unrest in 2014 were more diverse as opposed to the coverage on the Cincinnati unrest in 2001. The proportion of news reports has gone down by 11.2 percent, making way for more photo reports, analyses, profiles and reader's views: in other words, a simple depiction of the news was now less likely to be printed in the papers as compared to 2001. The decreasing ratio of news reports can mainly be attributed to the coverage by the regional newspapers: of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch's* coverage on the Ferguson unrest, only 57.5 percent of the news items were news reports, as compared to the *Cincinnati Enquirer's* coverage on the Cincinnati unrest which consisted for 75.2 percent out of news updates, a drop of 17.7 percent. Furthermore, the *Los Angeles Times* reduced its proportion of news items as well, as the ratio had decreased with 16.2 percent as of 2014.

In terms of the average number of news items published on the Ferguson unrest per day as compared to the average number of news items published on the Cincinnati unrest per day, all four papers actualized an upswing: the average number of coverage by regional newspapers per day went up by 1.35, while the same statistic increased with 0.57 regarding regional newspapers from another state. The same applies to the two national newspapers: the *New York Times* realized an increase of 0.93 news items per day, while the *Los Angeles Times* reported 0.44 more articles on average in 2014 as compared to the coverage on the Cincinnati unrest in 2001. These upswings result in an even sharper increase in terms of the average number of news items published by all four papers per day: 11.91 articles per day in 2014 as compared to 8,38 articles per day on the Cincinnati unrest in 2001, a rise of 3.53 per day on average. In other words, newspaper journalists have written articles on civil unrests at a higher rate in 2014 as compared to 2001.

Finally, journalists of the four newspapers provided the paper's news items on the Ferguson unrest at a higher rate as compared to their contribution on the Cincinnati unrest:

89.3 percent in 2014 was written by the paper's personnel as compared to 87.3 percent in 2001. This can mainly be attributed to the staff of the *Los Angeles Times*, which provided all the articles on the Ferguson unrest published by the California newspaper as compared to just one-third of the news items on the 2001 Cincinnati riots printed in the same paper.

It is my opinion that this statistic, along with the higher rate of the average number of news items published on the unrest on a daily basis, shows that as of 2014 newspapers have become more closely involved with police brutality against black citizens and the riots evoked by these fatal confrontations. Racial violence by the hands of police officers has become more of a 'hot topic', one that is not only covered at a higher rate, but also increasingly in multiple ways, varying from photo reports and analyses to profiles on key figures. As of 2014, journalists are more inclined to report about fatal confrontations as compared to 2001.

As long as such reports keep reappearing in the news, distrust towards the police will enhance even further. Studies have shown a decline in community support and an increase in dissatisfaction with police following negative, publicized behavior on part of the police. Furthermore, communities where such incidents occur may become more resentful and suspicious of local police force, regardless of the amount and rarity of such events. As a result, citizens become less cooperative, especially when fatal shootings such as those of Timothy Thomas or Michael Brown shape the community's perception over an extended period of time. With overly negative press coverage, disdain against the police is not uncommon, and with such disdain it is not unnatural for police officers to feel pressured by the increasingly glowing spotlights -- especially since the introduction of smartphones equipped with high-quality cameras and the growing influence of social media. Whereas police had always watched over the community, things have now developed the other way around.

Accusing one party of this growing disdain does not make it go away. Putting the blame solely on the media simlizes not acknowledging racist behavior by police, while holding the police exclusively accountable equates to ignoring media's influence on public opinion. Instead, both parties are at fault: racist behavior by police is undoubtedly an issue, while press coverage tends to be overly negative and at times inaccurate, as was proven by the highly publicized "Fifteen black men!" movement. However, this does not mean that one should direct one another on how to act during potentially violent confrontations or decide what is worth publishing -- one should leave that to the professionals instead. Certainly, even the highest of professionals make mistakes from time to time, and the police and media are clearly no exceptions to this. But making mistakes is part of human behavior; it does not define professionalism. It is what we do after we have made these mistakes that makes us professionals.

In terms of criminality and safety, police officials are by far the most experienced people out there, while journalists are highly expertised in terms of informing the public. Leave that as it is. Being suspicious of one another does not prevent fatal shootings or public riots from happening. Instead, putting a little faith in one another's professionalism might just do the trick.

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