NEWSPAPER PORTRAYALS OF RACE IN WILMINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS USING THE PUBLIC ARENAS MODEL

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ........................................................................................................................................ iv

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .................................................................................................................. v

DEDICATION ...................................................................................................................................... vi

LIST OF TABLES ............................................................................................................................... vii

LIST OF FIGURES ............................................................................................................................ viii

INTRODUCTION ............................................................................................................................... 1

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE .............................................................................................................. 4

BACKGROUND TO PRESENT STUDY ............................................................................................... 5

LITERATURE REVIEW ...................................................................................................................... 7

Section 1: Historical Analysis .......................................................................................................... 7

   I. Race in the US Prior to 1964 ...................................................................................................... 8

   II. Race in the US After 1964 .................................................................................................... 10

   III. Racial History in Wilmington ............................................................................................. 15

Section 2: Studies Utilizing the Public Arenas Model ..................................................................... 19

Section 3: Race and Media Studies ................................................................................................ 20

   IV. Media Portrayals of Race in General .................................................................................... 21

   V. Media Portrayals of Race and Crime .................................................................................... 23

   VI. Media Portrayals of Protestors ............................................................................................ 27

   VII. The Media and Images ....................................................................................................... 28

METHODOLOGY .............................................................................................................................. 29

Analytic Framework ....................................................................................................................... 29
ABSTRACT

Previous researchers have relied on content analysis to study race, but none so far have used the public arenas model developed by Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) and social constructionism to analyze media coverage over time and between sources. Given that previous researchers have used the public arenas model to study social problems (Ungar 1992; Herty 1994; Lawrence 2004; Smith 2009; Yamato 2011), this thesis seeks to provide a new perspective by applying the model to the study of social categories of people. Using the two variations of time and source, this research project seeks to analyze the context in which race is presented and whether black or white individuals are more likely to be depicted as violent, criminal and dangerous. These ascribed attributes will be studied within race in general as well as within a local case known as The Wilmington Ten. By using content analysis, both language and photo images will be studied and documented to determine changes over time and between newspapers.

Since researchers have pointed out the influence portrayals of individuals has on entire groups through stereotypes and prejudice (Mogul, Ritchie, and Whitlock 2011; Tonry 2011, Reiman and Leighton 2013), this research project sheds light on the specific ways public arenas may differ in the framing and coverage of individuals/groups. As social constructionist theory posits, the social structure, political climate, and public arenas work dialectically to shape one’s sense of reality, so studying the framing and portrayal of individuals is incredibly important. This research project seeks to ascertain differences in race portrayals, provide more in depth understanding concerning the functioning of the public arenas model, and encourages future researchers to use this model within larger studies and in other public arenas.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis committee for their guidance, work, and support that they have given me on this project: Dr. LaGrange, Dr. DeVall, and Dr. Vanderminden.
DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to the Wilmington Ten, and the many other individuals who have suffered at the hands of our criminal legal system due to wrongful convictions.

“Back in the Biblical days, there was another governor named Pontius Pilate. An innocent man named Jesus was brought before him. Pontius Pilate knew that Jesus Christ was going to be crucified, but yet Pontius Pilate washed his hands and let the crucifixion continue. We are the Wilmington 10, and we have been crucified here, right here in North Carolina. We have been nailed to the cross of racism and political repression.”

-Benjamin Chavis, member of the Wilmington Ten
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Inter-coder Reliability</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Article Totals</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Race Mentioned</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Black Racial Context</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. White Racial Context</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Frequencies of Race Mentioned</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Images of Victims</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Images of Suspects</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. The Wilmington Ten</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Percent of Articles Depicting Blacks as Violent, Dangerous, or Criminal; <em>Star News</em> 1971, 1980, 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Percent of Articles Depicting Whites as Violent, Dangerous, or Criminal; <em>Star News</em> 1971, 1980, 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Depiction of Black Individuals: 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Depiction of White Individuals: 1980</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Since the central analysis of this paper is on depictions of race, it is first imperative to define what constitutes race. In the United States, the category of race is based on biological and anthropological definitions surrounding the make up of one’s skin color. These categories defined historically one’s position in society. However, given the advances in the study of genetics that show race does not define biological differences between people, it is more appropriate to refer to race as a social category. This thesis will rely on the definition of race provided by David Roediger (2010) in his book How Race Survived U.S. History: From Settlement and Slavery to the Obama Phenomenon. More specifically, he states, “Race defines the social category into which peoples are sorted, producing and justifying their very different opportunities with regard to wealth and poverty, confinement and freedom, citizenship and alienation, and, as Ruth Wilson Gilmore put it, life and premature death” (pp. xi-xii).

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 marked the official and formal dismantling of the “Jim Crow” system in the south. While this seemed promising for racial equality, within the south deeply embedded racial tensions still existed from years of slavery and segregation. These race-centered ideologies were instilled in many southerners who were still adamant about maintaining the existing racial social structure, and who were interested in finding a way around the laws brought about by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. However, given that the nation was beginning to move away from the acceptance of overt racial discrimination, some researchers who study race in this country believe a system emerged after the 1964 Civil Rights Act that would covertly maintain racial segregation. This system, as Michelle Alexander terms “The New Jim Crow,” resorted to the concept of law and order rather than overt racial segregation (Alexander 2010).
This system is viewed by some researchers as discriminating against minorities by portraying the “typical criminal” as a young black man who is often violent and a threat to society (Tonry 2011, Reiman and Leighton 2013). According to these scholars, accusing African Americans of being criminal and deviant became the new mechanism for formal control beginning in the 1970s and increasing dramatically in the 1980s with the War on Drugs. The idea of the typical criminal black man was reinforced not only through the unequal policing and arrests of African Americans, but also reified through criminal archetypes within the media (Alexander 2010). As Mogul, Ritchie and Whitlock (2011) describe, when criminal archetypes become attached to certain groups, people begin to pre-emptively view these individuals through the lens of socially constructed stereotypes. This can be especially detrimental within the criminal legal system, as individuals who fall outside of the heterosexual white population are often dehumanized by these discriminatory archetypes (Mogul et al. 2011).

It is important to note that while these archetypes that society has constructed around certain groups are discriminatory, they are often enforced through covert forms of racism and sexism. A key example of the media perpetuating archetypes as described by Hurwitz and Peffley (2005) is the politicized use of the Willie Horton ad in the 1988 presidential campaign to reinforce the stereotype of the dangerous criminal black man. However, they argue that in the “post Willie Horton era” the media continues to rely on implicit racial codes that reinforce stereotypes of African Americans in relation to crime. As can be seen in the example, the media, politics, and criminal legal system play an important and dialectical role in reinforcing a social structure that implicitly maintains racial segregation.

This paper will explore the ways in which two newspapers in Wilmington, North Carolina, incorporate and cover race, crime, and violence. This research focuses on these topics
within a broad sense and analyzes a specific local criminal court case known today as the Wilmington Ten. These ten individuals were convicted of firebombing a white-owned grocery store and conspiracy to assault emergency personnel in 1971. Often famous court cases such as the Wilmington Ten saturate the media and can draw the public’s attention away from the way race and crime in general are simultaneously being covered within the same time period. Therefore, this study analyzes the portrayals of race in general within the same years as the main coverage of the Wilmington Ten court case. By using the two frameworks of the social construction of deviance (Schneider 1985; Best 1987; Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1994; Becker 2012) and the public arenas model (Hilgartner and Bosk 1988), this paper uses the methodology of content analysis to explore specific comparisons involving coverage of race in general and the Wilmington Ten, including the language and images used as well the manner in which issues are framed.

Central to the public arenas model is the concept of “limited carrying capacity” and the competition that issues face in order to gain coverage within a specific arena. As Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) acknowledge, the action of individuals and groups shape the coverage of the issues within their arena, as well as the manner in which these issues are framed. Political, cultural, and historical factors as well as the target audience of the public arena are key to understanding this process. Therefore, to understand the way that race has been socially constructed within the United States, this paper includes a historical component to outline the development of our racial hegemonic structure. This discussion includes information on the US as a whole, the city of Wilmington, the history of the Wilmington Ten, an analysis of existing literature on current research studies utilizing the public arenas model and other studies concerning the media, race, and crime.
To test the public arenas model, the content analysis will examine the portrayal of race over time and differences in coverage between *The Star News* and the historically African American newspaper *The Wilmington Journal*. In order to compare change in coverage over time, three sample years were chosen: 1971, 1980, and 2012. This sampling frame was chosen based upon important developments within the Wilmington Ten case. In the February 1971, the firebombing of Mike’s Grocery occurred, followed with the overturning of the Wilmington Ten’s sentences in 1980, and finally their official pardon of innocence being granted in 2012. Coverage within these three years will be analyzed in *The Star News* and compared with articles from *The Wilmington Journal* in 1980. This research project sheds light on differences in coverage between black and white individuals and contributes to our understanding of the way in which the public arenas model functions within newspapers.

It is hypothesized that African Americans are more likely than whites to be portrayed both by language and images as criminal, violent, and dangerous in the years 1971, 1980, and 2012 in *The Star News*. However, I assert that they are less likely to be portrayed as violent, criminal and dangerous in *The Wilmington Journal*. It is also hypothesized that African Americans are depicted most frequently and most overtly in criminal, violent, and dangerous portrayals in 1971 compared with 1980 and 2012. It is hypothesized that the Wilmington Ten court case will fit within this hypothesis as well, and that by 2012 their innocence will be central to articles rather than the crimes they committed.

**STATEMENT OF PURPOSE**

As Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) discuss, public arenas have a profound impact on shaping individual’s understanding of reality by the issues they portray and the manner in which the
issues are framed. Therefore, studying these public arenas is increasingly important, especially as access to news arenas becomes easier and reporting becomes more instantaneous. Given the historical context of this thesis, it was important to analyze a news arena widely used in the 1970s as well as today, so newspapers were chosen as the source to study. It is hoped that this thesis will not only contribute to research on depictions of race in newspapers, but also encourage future research projects to engage the public arenas model in more current news forms such as Twitter, Facebook, and Buzzfeed.

**BACKGROUND TO PRESENT STUDY**

Today Wilmington, North Carolina is often portrayed as a relaxing beach town, and was even voted “Best American Riverfront” by USA Today (“10 Best” 2014). However, in the 1960s and 1970s the name North Carolina and New Hanover County in particular had a much different connotation. The state was known to have the largest Klan following in the nation (Cunningham 2013), as well as being the site of horrific violence and tension during the Martin Luther King Riots and the desegregation of schools. It is within this social unrest that the violence surrounding the Wilmington Ten case occurred. This case gained national attention through Amnesty International, NAACP, segments on 60 Minutes and Democracy Now, and the Soviet Union referencing the case as a representation of how unjust America is.

As a city located in the south, Wilmington has a history entrenched with racial tensions and political unrest. Described by Umfleet (2009) in *A Day of Blood: The 1898 Wilmington Race Riot*, Wilmington was the site of a horrific and violent backlash against African Americans gaining political and social rights in the late 19th century. The riot itself provides a strong example of the impact media and politics had in the preceding events. White southern males
turned to the media to inflate ideas surrounding black men as threatening to white women. This fueled hatred and anger among many whom still held deeply racist views and were therefore quick to believe the racism presented in the newspaper (Bardaglio 2000).

While the media portrayed African Americans as a threat to society, many scholars agree that the riot occurred as a political backlash by white Democrats who were angered at the number of African Americans who held positions of power within the municipal government and civil service. The town had the state’s only daily African American newspaper, which was burned to the ground during the riot. Coverage of the riot itself in the white newspaper reported nine African American deaths, but scholars who have analyzed the riot generally agree that this number significantly underrepresents the number of lives lost (McLaurin 2000).

As can be seen, like many other southern cities, Wilmington’s roots are grounded in racial tensions that are crucial to understanding the events and dynamics throughout the 20th century. It is important to realize racial ideologies within Wilmington in the 20th and 21st century stem from the historical inertia upon which the city was formed. The Wilmington Ten case occurred in the early 1970s as racial tensions increased in Wilmington with the closing of Williston as a High School (Thomas 1993). Both black and white students struggled with adjusting to school desegregation as black students were moved to Hoggard and New Hanover High Schools (Chavis 2012).

As frustrations rose, black students formed their own school that met daily in a church. As Thomas (1993) points out, racial rioting and protests had been going on throughout the 1960s and 1970s, and Wilmington experienced violent riots stemming from angered and frustrated young black men. Within this tense and violent climate, a grocery store locally owned by a white man was firebombed. In response to the firebombing, nine African Americans and one white man were killed.
woman were arrested and sentenced in 1972 to a cumulative total of 282 years in prison. Included as one of the ten was Benjamin Chavis, the civil rights activist called to Wilmington to lead the black students in their boycott against being moved to Hoggard High School and New Hanover High School (Thomas 1993).

In 1976, three of the key witnesses recanted their testimony, and an analysis of notes of the prosecutor revealed that he attempted to keep the jury from having any African American members. Given this evidence, the ten had their sentences reduced in 1978, but then Governor Jim Hunt, was unwilling to grant a pardon. As the case began to gain national attention, it was reexamined. On December 31, 2012, Governor Beverly Purdue officially granted all ten individuals a pardon of innocence. While this was a “joyous day” as described by Chavis, the fact that the majority of the group had served years in prison was something that would impact local families and the individuals themselves for many years to come (The Christian Century 2013).

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to fully examine the way scholars have studied race and crime, this literature review consists of a historical analysis of race within the United States, research that has used the public arenas model, and a section of literature concerning race and the media. The first section of literature consists of the historical analysis and is divided into three sub-sections: racial history up until the Civil Rights Act of 1964, racial history after the Civil Rights Act, and racial history specific to Wilmington. The second section of literature examines studies that have tested the public arenas model. The third section of literature discusses content analysis studies of race and
the media and consists of four sub-sections: media portrayals of race in general, media portrayals of race and crime, media portrayals of protestors, and the media and images.

Section 1: Historical Analysis

Prior to examining similar studies conducted using content analysis and the media, it was crucial to fully analyze the literature explaining the historical context in which the Wilmington Ten occurred. This sheds light on the social construction of the hegemonic racial structure and the social climate surrounding the events of the Wilmington Ten.

I. Race in the U.S. Prior to 1964

Arguably, the first U.S. institution that relied primarily on racial categories was slavery. As the number of plantations grew in the south, the institution of slavery emerged as a means to provide free labor. This became the first large-scale institutionalized form of racial segregation within the United States, and lasted until the Civil War. This system of slavery created racial categories in which African Americans were viewed as nothing more than property. Fuente and Gross (2010) point out that the only time in which the character of African Americans was acknowledged was during criminal cases, which often portrayed African Americans negatively. Slavery is important for analyzing events that occurred later in history such as the Wilmington Ten, because as author Alexander (2010:26) points out, “Upon this racist fiction rests the entire structure of American democracy.” Similar to this paper, other sociologists and historians have continued to study and understand slavery as the foundation for interpreting events in the 1960s and even today (Alexander 2010; O’Connell 2012). According to O’Connell (2012), a direct link exists between the legacy of slavery and racial inequality in the south today and poverty.

With the end of the Civil War came the end of slavery in the United States. However, as Alexander (2010) discusses, this did not mean the death of racial categories. The idea of racial
difference had already become deeply embedded within the ideologies of U.S. citizens, and this was especially the case in the south. Therefore, it has been argued that after a brief period of progress known as the Reconstruction Era, a new system of more informal control emerged in the south that became known as Jim Crow laws.

Jim Crow laws were based on formal sanctions as well as “visual communication systems” (Guffey 2012). They laid out boundaries that once again formed the same racial categories in the south that had existed during slavery. Through Jim Crow laws, African Americans were marginalized and reminded daily of their low position within society. As Guffey (2012) notes, these mechanisms for marginalization included an entire sign system both through formal boundaries such as “colored” and “white only” signs, as well as legal codes enforcing segregated education, marriage and health care.

Gullickson (2010) notes that at this point in time the “one drop” rule emerged as a mechanism for where to draw the racial boundaries of segregation within Jim Crow. In this form of racial segregation, anyone who had any African American blood was ostracized into the colored group. These laws also formed a way to separate poor whites from blacks in the fight for equality with the middle and upper class. This was done by wedging a gap between the class interests of poor whites and poor blacks, given that poor whites were now separated and superior to blacks in the segregated Jim Crow south (Alexander 2010).

With the end of World War II and various social movements gaining momentum in the 1950s and 1960s, the Jim Crow system began to be dismantled. Then, with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the system was officially broken down. Even though this act was an important step towards racial equality in the United States, the south struggled to adjust to the changes it sought to establish given the deeply entrenched racial system. By the late 1960s and throughout the
1970s, racial riots, protests, and violence broke out across the country, but especially within the south.

II. Race in the U.S. After 1964

The 1960s brought about many changes including shifts in the support for women’s rights and racial equality. Martin Luther King Jr. and other major civil rights public figures led the country in a moral shift towards inclusion as men and women fought against the history of gender inequality, slavery and Jim Crow (Richie 2012). Although not ending racial prejudice, these important developments did cause an ideological shift that led to racism no longer being overtly supported by the country as a whole (Alba and Nee 2014). Whereas slavery and Jim Crow provided distinct racial boundaries by their policies, these major social changes meant the continuation of a racist system would need to be developed upon covert mechanisms (Alexander 2010).

The country as a whole struggled with the social changes rapidly occurring, and the north and south both experienced a period of violence and riots known as the “long hot summers.” During this time period, riots broke out in urban cities over frustration of a history of racial oppression as well as more immediate problems such as anger over poor housing conditions, lack of employment, and continued segregation. These riots were especially prevalent throughout Los Angeles and Detroit, where racial violence and turmoil gained national attention (“The Long Hot Summers” 2008). According to Myers (1997) the number of racial riots dramatically increased in the 1960s, from only three major riots in 1961 to 141 in 1968.

While the majority of riots were influenced by racial tensions, many scholars have attempted to theorize and break down the exact causes of the riots. Spilerman (1970) analyzed the riots from the perspective of structural strain theories, focusing on the social disorganization
of societies at the time and the level of integration of those who were rioting. According to Spilerman, blacks would compare their level of resources to whites and feel a level of frustration and deprivation that resulted often in anger and violence. However, as Myers (1997) points out, the racial riots of the 1960s and 1970s often involved violence not only from groups of frustrated blacks, but also whites who felt that their position in society and access to resources was threatened by desegregation.

Myers (1997) also focuses on the level of diffusion of the riots as a mechanism for measuring how the media covered the riots. He was interested in understanding if the racial riots in the 1960s were responses to more local, community-level tensions or more of an overall response to racial frustrations nationwide. Thomas (1993) found through interviews that many of the younger participants in the race riots in Wilmington were not very aware of the societal-wide violence and rioting that was simultaneously occurring at the time. The riots provided a more localized means of becoming involved in something, rather than understanding each riot as a fight for a nationwide cause.

Even though the theoretical approaches to understanding the race riots of the 1960s are debated, scholars generally agree upon several key events that heightened racial tensions and increased rioting. Although occurring prior to 1964, *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) had lasting impacts on the racial tensions for years after the ruling. Patterson and Freehling (2001) note how *Brown* had many positive impacts, but also caused intense backlash surrounding the desegregation of schools. Cities in which tension and riots developed around school desegregation, including Wilmington, resulted in high school students becoming directly involved in the boycotts and the violent riots of the 1960s and 1970s (Thomas 1993).
According to Patterson and Freehling (2001), the violence in the 1960s that stemmed from school desegregation was among the most passionate rioting by both black and white groups that has occurred in this country. Patterson and Freehling point out that when the future and livelihood of their children came to the forefront, both white and black parents lashed out. Prior to the Brown ruling, and in the years after, black parents and families fought for the equality in education they believed their children deserved. Many white parents, on the other hand, had grown up in a segregated society and maintained deeply rooted concerns that desegregation would threaten their children’s learning processes. Furthermore, some white parents feared the social implications of their children dating black students or eventually intermarriage (Patterson and Freehling 2001).

With the desegregation of schools and the Civil Rights Movement bringing about major social and political changes, the United States saw one of the most influential and charismatic leaders rise to the front of the movement. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. provided inspiration, leadership, and guidance to African Americans across the nation, as he became a symbol of hope and progress. Given his incredible influence over the Civil Rights Movement and his impact on many African American’s beliefs, his tragic assassination in 1968 was another major cause of heightened racial violence and rioting. Directly after his death, hundreds of riots broke out across the nation, as many Americans were both saddened and angered by his shooting. Further showing the racial division and tension within the 1960s, a few white individuals at the time were happy and even rejoiced King’s death. These whites, especially in the south, viewed King as a threat to their racial ideologies and believed the racial boundaries should remain as they were during slavery and Jim Crow (Pierce 2005).
It is also important to understand the racial tension between law enforcement and blacks during this time period. As Alexander (2010) points out, prior to the 1960s more formalized social control systems were in place to maintain racial boundaries. After the Civil Rights Act (1964), institutional racism shifted as the former legal code no longer applied. However, the political arena and law enforcement continued to work together throughout the 1960s until today to develop a system that relies on mass incarceration and imprisonment of black individuals, especially men. The catalyst to this new system is often indicated as the War on Drugs within the Reagan presidency, but the disproportionate criminalization of black people and tough on crime rhetoric can be traced back to the 1960s and 1970s.

Although Alexander (2010) presents a liberal-progressive argument stating biased political and legal sanctions are the root of the War on Drugs and its disproportionate impact on young black men, other sociologists and economists have countered her view. In 1965, Daniel Moynihan developed a cultural poverty theory and argued the culture within black ghettos is the cause of lack of employment, crime, single-mother headed households and incarceration. Moynihan (1965) focused primarily on the family structure within black urban areas and the concentration of female-headed houses. Recent scholars have expanded his theory to include more cultural problems within urban black ghettos. For example, Anderson (1994) describes issues developed within urban areas of poverty as a survival mode consisting of a “code of the streets” (82). This code often consists of violent street behavior, burglaries, and mugging in order to gain and maintain respect in the urban black culture among young African American men. Black women living in this culture face different challenges within the “code of the streets” such as trying to maintain “decency” and avoiding sexual violence and attacks (Anderson 1994:83).
Other researchers have also looked into the racial gap in violent crime that exists in some cities between blacks and whites. Although most levels for committing crime (especially drug related) are similar between whites and blacks (Tonry 2011), researchers have shown that in certain circumstances blacks are in fact more likely to commit violent crime. Research by Velez, Krivo, and Peterson (2003) found that cities with higher levels of racial segregation had higher levels of homicides committed by blacks. This was especially the case in racially segregated cities that consisted of white individuals with far higher levels of resources than blacks. These findings suggest that the understanding of differences in incarceration becomes more complex than the explanation given by Alexander (2010) of racial bias in policing and arrests.

Even though the cultural poverty argument and the explanation of the gap in crime rates committed both differ from the viewpoint of Alexander (2010), all of these perspectives share the commonality of tracing the primary root of the criminalization of young black men to racial discrimination, inequality, and slavery. Cashmore and McLaughlin (1991) note the importance of understanding black people’s relationship to the police from the beginning of slavery, through Jim Crow, and into the Civil Rights Movement. They claim that the historical context is important in understanding the system of control and power that the police now have within society, and the manner in which they used this control during the race riots of the 1960s and 1970s. During this time, they point out that as African Americans gained more social power and rights, they began to more openly question whether the law enforcement system was in fact serving their interests. In their analysis of the policing of blacks, Cashmore and McLaughlin (1991) claim that white racism was especially noticeable within the police departments, as they targeted urban black ghettos and harshly punished rioters.
However, Cashmore and McLaughin (1991) caution against researchers who indicate that the race riots were only caused by issues related to access to resources such as employment, housing conditions, and police harassment. They claim distrust of the law and police system needs to also be situated in deeply rooted historical racial oppression. Ironically, the very institution that many blacks distrusted and feared was the same institution sent in to “protect” communities and maintain order during riots. As Thomas (1993) discusses, the police also often had to call in the National Guard, as racial tensions and violence became so intense they resulted to a militarization of policing black riots.

III. Racial History in Wilmington

In order to understand the Wilmington Ten, it is important now to turn to the literature that specifically analyzes the history of race relations in Wilmington, North Carolina. Wilmington was the site for some of the most notorious race riots and violence throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. This local analysis begins with the race riot of 1898, explores the tensions in Wilmington caused by the desegregation of public schools, and includes a brief discussion on the violent outbreak in Wilmington after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.

The 1898 race riot has become one of the most well-known and studied occurrences in recent U.S. history. Scholars studying the riot often focus on the deeply rooted racial tensions in Wilmington at the time, leading to the war-like backlash of white Democrats towards the racially diverse government. Cecelski and Tyson (1998) begin their analysis of this riot with the importance of the political context of the riot. Several days prior to the riot, angry white Democrats met and encouraged others to try and stop blacks in the city from going to the polls to vote. They were upset with the structure of their local government, controlled at the time by a fusion of the Populist Party and Republicans. When several days later it was revealed that
Fusionists still controlled the government even after attempting to flaw the votes, white Democrats became even angrier. They took matters into their own hands, storming through town with rifles and killing African Americans along the way, and eventually forcing black members out of the government through use of violence. The leader of the group, Colonel Alfred Waddell became the new mayor, and many African Americans fled to the swamps outside of the city out of fear.

It is estimated that anywhere between seven and 250 people died that day, the majority of whom were African American. In addition to the many lives lost, the only African American owned and run printing press was burned to the ground. To gain followers for the revolt, the white Democrats appealed to other whites by using deeply rooted white supremacy ideologies and making claims about white women’s safety from dangerous black men (Kirshenbaum 1998). As Cecelski and Tyson (1998) discuss, even the common rhetoric of referring to the event as a “riot” should be reconsidered given the connotation riot has for being a spontaneous uprising. These authors point out how the violence was thoroughly thought out, planned, and justified through arguments made in propaganda.

Highlighting the importance of the theory of social constructionism, it is important to note that the mentality of many white people at this time was rooted in a genuine fear of African Americans that was socially constructed by the law, politics, and historical inertia. Furthermore, given a lack of research supporting other mentalities, individuals followed their traditional views on racial segregation that they had been raised to know and understand. This social construction of reality that portrayed black men as violent, threatening and sexual was spread through word of mouth, the local newspaper, and even confirmed by women at the time. For example, in a speech given by Rebecca Felton, a white woman who self-identified herself as a “feminist” and was
strongly interested in preserving southern womanhood, gave a speech warning of black men and their likelihood to rape, referring to them as “ravening human beasts” (MyCoy 2001:34). Therefore, the rhetoric surrounding the riot was agreed upon by whites as a means to protect both their women and the city from a supposed corrupt government.

Even though the 1898 riot is the most well-known occurrence of racial violence in Wilmington, it was by no means the last. Racial turmoil remained high throughout the south in the beginning of the 20th century as the Jim Crow system was established. There exists a wealth of Wilmington history worth analyzing between the race riot of 1898 and the 1950s, but the next set of riots analyzed here given their applicability to the Wilmington Ten are the education boycotts of the late 1950s and 1960s.

As discussed in the section on national history, *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954) was a landmark case that changed the Jim Crow concept of separate but equal. On a local level, it is important to understand the structure of Wilmington’s education system in the 1950s to analyze the impact that the desegregation of schools had on Wilmington. Up until the 1960s, schools in Wilmington were segregated, with most white high school students attending Hoggard or New Hanover High Schools and black students attending Williston High School. Founded in the 19th century, Williston had become the sight of great pride and community involvement for black families and children in Wilmington. However, by the 1950s and 1960s, it was becoming incredibly overcrowded, especially in comparison to the other white schools in Wilmington (Thomas 1993).

In a controversial vote in the late 1960s, city leaders in Wilmington decided to close Williston as a high school and disperse the African American student body to either New Hanover and Hoggard High Schools. While some thought this would be a positive step towards
desegregation, many local black students and families were upset at the closing of Williston given its long history and importance within their community. Furthermore, as Thomas (1993) describes, the students in particular were angry since they were only notified of their school closing a few weeks before the beginning of classes.

Therefore, in the wake of Brown vs. Board of Education and the closing of the all-black high school of Williston, by the late 1960s Wilmington became the site for heightened racial violence and boycotts, mainly by young and frustrated students. Violent rioting in the streets and racial tensions increased even more with the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968. Thomas (1993) interviewed black Wilmingtonians who had been involved in the riots in the late 1960s. Some of the young participants in the riots claimed that at the time they felt they had no other option but to resort to violence and rioting. Furthermore, some of the young black individuals who were interviewed admitted that they were less aware of the national scale of violence and rioting that was going at the time, and joined the riots more as a mechanism for staying involved at the local level. Although some of these younger black individuals claimed to be less connected to the way rioting was being carried out on a national scale, as Taylor (2006) discusses, many others stayed connected to the national progressions in the Civil Rights Movement through multiple mediums, especially the radio and newspaper. It is important to note that not all African American families in Wilmington supported the violence used by many younger members of the black population. As Thomas (1993) discusses, many older blacks were opposed to the use of violence to gain racial equality in Wilmington.

Eventually, out of frustration from the school desegregation, a group of black students began meeting at a local church for classes as an alternative to attending New Hanover or Hoggard High Schools. At this point, a civil rights activist Benjamin Chavis Jr. was called to
Wilmington to lead students and other political and social activists in a boycott. At this time, there were elevated levels of violence in the wake of school desegregation, and a store owned by a local white businessman was firebombed. Following this crime, nine black individuals and one white woman were arrested, all of whom had been active in political and social protests of the unfair treatment of black students and community members in Wilmington (Taylor 2006).

These ten individuals who were convicted and imprisoned in 1972 became known nationally as the “Wilmington Ten.” One of the most important components of their trial and eventual backlash leading to their arrest was the portrayal of the individuals and their case in the media. The media played an important role by connecting the case nationally to the public as well as shaping the Wilmington community’s understanding of the event.

Section 2: Studies Using the Public Arenas Model

Although no studies to date have applied the public arenas model to race and crime, many have used the framework to study the rise and fall of other social problems. The majority of these studies exist within the healthcare field. Morgan (2009) applied the public arenas model to the way public arenas define obesity. By studying a variety of arenas she found differing definitions in its causes and implications. In a somewhat similar study, Yamamoto (2011) analyzed a variety of arenas to ascertain possible differences in the way they discuss cesarean delivery, finding that depending on the source this method could be viewed positively or negatively. Comparing correlations with real life events with the coverage of social problems, Ungar (1992) studied the manner in which global warming was covered in public arenas in relation to whether it was more receptive to audiences during times of real life scares such as droughts.
In order to test the displacement effect of the public arenas model, Hertog (1994) hand-counted coverage of articles that related to AIDS, cancer, and sexually transmitted diseases. After looking into both newscasts and press outlets, he found that increases in articles on AIDS did not necessarily lead to a decrease in articles on cancer or STDS, failing to prove the displacement effect. In another study examining the media, Lawrence (2004) used the public arenas model to study the collective definitions of school shootings following the 1999 Columbine High School shooting. She used content analysis to compare the way the media discusses school shootings with congressional legislative action, highlighting the component of the public arenas model that discusses how arenas often work together and/or are influenced by each other.

Section 3: Race and Media Studies

Within the instrumental social movements going on throughout the 1960s and 1970s the media played both a positive and negative role in race relations (Taylor 2006). On the one hand, it allowed the African American population to remain connected to and informed about the developments within the Civil Rights Movement on a national level. On the other hand, some scholars have shown how the media worked to reinforce racial stereotypes of African Americans as being threatening or criminal. Literature that explores the relationship of the media and race is discussed in the following sub-sections. What follows is an analysis of literature on race and the media in general, studies that have analyzed the way race and crime together are portrayed, literature on the media portrayals of protestors, and finally existing literature on images used in the media. These sections also include literature that has looked at the impact these portrayals have on racial stereotypes and the public perception of race.
IV: Media Portrayal of Race in General

Researchers have analyzed the content of several different mediums to understand the way race and media intersect. The mechanisms in which the majority of researchers analyze this content include a process of looking first at the frequencies, followed by selective presentation and then presentation quality (Ben-Porath and Shaker 2010). As Mastro and Stern (2003: 638) point out, the majority of literature on content analysis focuses on the depictions of minorities given that their portrayal in the media traditionally has been “questionable in nature.”

Mastro and Stern (2003) focused on a one-week sample of contemporary television commercials and analyzed the way race differs in the three areas of frequency, presentation and quality. These researchers used chi-square tests to determine whether race had a statistically significant relationship with other variables that included occupation, dress, presentation, giving/receiving orders, and frequency of sexual gaze. Given the similarity in some categories with the depiction of blacks, whites, and Asians, they found that in some ways modern television has progressed in its depictions of race in general, but has remained stalled in other ways especially in the portrayal of Latinos. This group in particular had the most negative depictions in current news advertisements, often being shown in sexual or revealing poses. Furthermore, in some categories such as location, statistically significant differences were found between blacks and whites, given that black individuals were more likely to be portrayed outside while whites were likely to be depicted in the home.

In a similar study, Bailey (2006) looked at the frequency and depiction of occupational roles of African Americans in print advertisements. An extensive content analysis was conducted that included coding advertisements into product categories, status, occupation portrayals, settings and interactions. It was found that African Americans were portrayed in 65.8% of
advertisements as not having an occupation, while only 1.7% of the advertisements portrayed an African American in a managerial or professional occupation. It was also found that the majority of advertisements featuring blacks were for products in clothing, shoes and accessories or food and drink. Furthermore, the settings of the advertisements were only 4.7% of the time in a business or work area.

Ben-Porath and Shaker (2010) provide an in-depth analysis of the way certain portrayals of race impact public perception. They point out that race and the media have often played an important role in framing the way individuals interpret events. The authors assert that white individuals tend to attribute social problems to characteristics inherent of the individual when race is made a significant factor in the story. An example of this is provided by the study by Gandy and Baron (1998). They found that stories covering poor blacks are often reported episodically. This method contrasts thematic framing and causes audience members to be much more likely to attribute the social problem to the individuals themselves rather than structural problems (Ben-Porath and Shaker 2010).

In their own research, Ben-Porath and Shaker (2010) used a responsibility framing approach in which they analyzed how the portrayal of events surrounding Hurricane Katrina influenced the perception of responsibility for those events. Participants read a variety of news stories about the hurricane and their responses to the events were analyzed based on whether they thought more responsibility for the aftermath should be placed on the federal government or on the individual residents of New Orleans. Their results showed clear racial divisions between the perceptions of the events of Hurricane Katrina even when similar articles were read. White participants were much more likely to attribute the responsibility of the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina to the individual members of the community when images were included in the articles.
and African American participants were more likely to attribute the responsibility of the aftermath to the government regardless of whether the articles had images or not.

V. Media Portrayals of Race and Crime

As shown in the literature above, although some progress has been made in the general portrayal of minorities in the media, there still exist stereotypes surrounding African Americans and Latinos that especially come to light in relation to the studies on criminal portrayals. Prior to discussing the literature on content analyses of race and crime, a summary of legislative and political decisions that have impacted race and crime are described.

In the late 1960s, Nixon declared a War on Drugs that increased policing and instilled within Americans an increased fear of crime and criminals. Although Nixon was reacting to an actual increase in crime, most scholars today attribute this slight crime increase in part to the population growth from the baby boomers in combination with other variations such as economic conditions and social cohesion (Levitt 1999). Following Nixon, Reagan continued to support the War on Drugs, and narrowed the focus into policing drug activity within street-level crime. These policing and punishment methods began to shape a particular portrayal of dangerous criminals, and where they were located (Tonry 2011). Sociologists and criminologists point to this latter statement as being important for understanding the way that the tough on crime rhetoric impacted African Americans differently than whites. As Liazos (1972) discusses, the socially constructed definitions of deviant and criminal behavior in society often reflect power dynamics. This is represented in the way that the war on drugs targeted street-level crime as opposed to white-collar crime. As Liazos (1972:108) goes on to analyze, the power dynamic is especially reflective in the way that criminals who are portrayed as disturbed are in fact “political criminals” responding to “current social and political conditions.” This rhetoric will be
particularly important in understanding and analyzing the media portrayal of the Wilmington Ten.

Around this tough-on-street crime-rhetoric, a dialectical relationship between the media, politics, and the criminal legal system strengthened. One of the most famous and studied examples of this occurred in the late 1980s with the presidential election of George Bush and the defeat of Michael Dukakis. During the campaign period, a political advertisement was produced that portrayed Dukakis as being soft on crime. Most notably, the image that was used in the political advertisement was one of an African American prisoner, Willie Horton, who while being released on a weekend furlough program in Dukakis’s state, raped and murdered a woman and her partner (Newburn and Jones 2005). This image not only helped portray Dukakis’s weakness on enforcing crime, but also reinforced the idea of what Reiman and Leighton (2013) refer to as the typical criminal black man. This criminal stereotype simultaneously reiterated to Americans the fear of crime, and also the fear of black men who commit crime (Newburn and Jones 2005).

The literature that exists on the media and portrayal of criminals often uses the techniques of content analysis to understand the way images or language portray different groups of people in society. Mogul et al. (2011) refer to these stereotypes and symbolic representations that become attached to particular groups as criminal archetypes. According to these authors, these scripts and images become deeply embedded in society through the repetition of images and languages that reinforce the archetypes. Pointing out the importance of continuing to analyze the content around these portrayals, these authors state, “Scrutiny of such images and narratives helps to illustrate how these representations become so thoroughly embedded in public thought,
policy, and institutional practice that they remain all but immune to effective political challenge” (Mogul et al 2011:26).

As Massey (2007) points out, stereotypes of Latinos in the United States has especially become stagnant given their portrayal as being Mexican, undocumented and part of the underclass. Chavez (2001) looked at U.S. magazine covers from 1965 to 2000 that related to immigration and found that the magazine covers overly represented African or Latino immigrants versus white Europeans. He also coded the magazine covers in relationship to immigration as affirmative, alarmist, and neutral and found that a large majority of covers fell into the alarmist category.

The portrayal of immigrants as illegal and threatening was also examined in a content analysis by Roth (2013). In this study she found that the moral panics surrounding illegal immigration and crack babies were reflected in the rhetoric used by newspapers, television, and Congressional hearings to portray African Americans and immigrants as immoral. Similar to the use of the War on Drugs and tough on crime rhetoric developed by politicians, her research points to the way that those in power attempt to maintain class and racial boundaries through the perpetuation of stereotypes in various visual mediums.

Portraying Latino or African immigrants as threatening, alarmist, or criminal also supports the literature that exists on “colorism.” This field seeks to examine the way skin color in particular has an impact on the way individuals are perceived by society. For example, one theme that has emerged in this literature concerns the “Afrocentric feature bias” (Tonry 2011: 87). Blair et al. (2005) attempted to study this bias and found that those individuals with more Afrocentric features were perceived to be more aggressive. A study done by these same researchers in 2004 also found that criminals with more Afrocentric features had harsher
sentences (Blair et al. 2004). Similarly, Eberhardt et al. (2004) asked police officers to analyze photographs of white and black males and found that those black males who were ranked as stereotypical to their race were also perceived to be more criminal.

LeDuff (2008) further contributed to the literature on race, crime and the media by completing a content analysis of two local news stations in New Orleans and Indianapolis. By using both qualitative and quantitative content analysis methodology, she analyzed the news stations for a four-month period to ascertain the comparison between the frequency and depiction of white and black suspects. She found that in comparison to national statistics, blacks were over-reported in relation to crime, and crimes involving black victims were more likely to be covered by black reporters. Chapman (2009) conducted a similar content analysis of television within Las Vegas and found that there was an inaccurate portrayal of race and crime on these news stations. However, she also found that the news coverage seemed to be more strongly motivated by particular crime coverage versus race, indicating that her results would also support LeDuff’s finding that murders are much more likely to be covered than any other crime.

A dialectical theme emerges that ties together the literature on media, race and crime. Alexander (2010) discusses how the promotion of a tough-on-crime rhetoric through the media, political speeches, and the policing of inner-city residents reinforces the racial stereotype of African Americans as criminals. Furthermore, as Reiman and Leighton (2013) point out, the criminal stereotypes reinforced through the media contribute to the system of mass incarceration since these stereotypes are embedded in every step of the criminal legal system. Thus, poor African Americans are more likely to be assumed guilty and criminal in nature and therefore more likely to be incarcerated.
VI. Media Portrayals of Protestors

Central to the articles on race and crime in the 1970s is the literature that examines the way protestors are depicted. This section is relevant to the Wilmington Ten and race and crime in general because the individuals within the Wilmington Ten were all involved in political protests seeking to bring about changes to the manner in which the desegregation of schools was handled in Wilmington. In fact, Amnesty International even referred to the ten individuals incarcerated in Wilmington as “American Political Prisoners” (Gonzalez and Goodman 2012).

Around the same time that the violence in Wilmington occurred and the arrest of the Wilmington Ten, Ralph Turner (1969) developed an analysis on the public perception of protests, and the manner in which community reactions depend on the portrayal of the individuals as protestors or individuals engaged in crime or rebellion. Best (1987) further elaborated on this idea by describing how the specific rhetoric used plays an important role in how people make sense of or react to situations. This will be important when understanding the particular language and strength of words that are used to describe white or black individuals during the 1970s.

Furthermore, when analyzing newspapers, many researchers acknowledge the “protest paradigm.” This is when journalists create catchy stories that highlight the violence or rioting but downplay the demands or grievances of the protestors (Boyle et al., 2005; McLeod 2007; Cico 2010; Weaver and Scacco 2012). This paradigm ties directly into the public arenas model as Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) discuss how the level of drama in reporting plays a role in determining which articles will be competitive for coverage in public arenas. These concepts will be particularly important for the framework of this content analysis because this current study will look at the portrayal of the Wilmington Ten as protestors or criminals. The frequency of
violence discussed in each article and the mention of the grievances of African American Civil Rights protestors is also analyzed.

**VII. The Media and Images**

Articles within newspapers have been utilizing images to pair with stories for decades but, as Lashmar (2014) discusses, these images can contain much more meaning than most people recognize. The existing literature on images in newspapers focuses on the way they can function as framing devices, causing or enhancing a certain reaction to the article from the audience reading it. Adding to this point, Biber (2007) shows in her research on crime and the law that although an image might appear objective, an individual’s pre-existing ideas and knowledge will shape the way they internalize, interpret and make sense of the image.

One important aspect of newspaper images and crime that several researchers have examined involves the history and modern use of the mug shot. Lashmar (2014) in particular focuses on the connotation of the mug shot and its evolution over time. Since the structure of the mug shot has become a well-known image to most people, when used in newspaper articles it attaches a certain stigma, criminal status, and shame to the individual (Jewkes 2005; Carney 2010; Mayr and Machin 2012; Lashmar 2014). Publicly shaming an individual for criminal behavior has been researched as early as Foucault, who stated that photographic images encourage “the normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates and judges them” (Foucault 1977:25). As Lashmar shows in his research, the modern-day mug shot still functions in a similar manner, creating a way to “other” or “lesen” the individual depicted (Lashmar 2014:68).
As has been portrayed, a vast amount literature exists on the study of race in general and race and crime through the study of different mediums and methodologies. This study specifically relies on the combination of two frameworks previously not used together in the study of race and crime, so will contribute not only to the study of depictions of race and crime, but also the functioning of the public arenas model within newspapers.

METHODOLOGY

Analytic Framework

Two theoretical frameworks will structure the analysis for the current study. The first framework is the social construction of deviance (Schneider 1985; Goode and Ben-Yehuda 1994; Best 1987; Becker 2012). This theory was chosen because it highlights the importance of understanding the context in which society deems certain individuals deviant or criminal. As Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) point out, in times of great social anxiety or when there is a shift in power, groups often attempt to restore order once again and certain individuals become the unfortunate scapegoats for this process. Other examples of this occurring include the Salem Witch Trials and the missing children panic of the 1970s that resulted in unjust incarceration such as the Little Rascals Case.

The second framework, the public arenas model (Hilgartner and Bosk in 1988), emphasizes the influence public arenas have on society’s understanding of events through their limited coverage in which they selectively highlight certain social problems while omitting others. Central to their model is the idea of competition. Rather than analyze the evolution of a social problem, their model “assumes that public attention is a scarce resource, allocated through competition in a system of public arenas” (Hilgartner and Bosk 1988:55). Therefore, they stress
the importance of understanding the coverage that different public arenas allot to various social problems existing simultaneously in order to understand the way the public interprets events.

One example of a public arena discussed by Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) is newspapers. While the model is strictly theoretical, Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) propose several avenues for future research that will help guide the analysis of this paper. In their model, the researcher can engage in comparing the way different macro categories are covered in public arenas (such as comparing the coverage of economics, war, fashion, housing, etc in a newspaper). The majority of researchers who have used this model have relied on its second component, which suggests comparing the “diversity of problem claims within a problem category” (Hilgartner and Bosk 1988: 74). Using this framework, previous research has applied the model to look at the changes in social problems over time (Herty 1994; Williams and Frey 1997; Lawrence 2004; Smith 2009; Yamato 2011). This thesis seeks to utilize the model in a new manner by applying its framework to the study of social categories of race over time and between sources.

Relying on the macro-categories of violent crimes, non-violent crimes, politics, civil rights, protests, desegregation of schools, and law enforcement, this thesis seeks to first understand whether the context of race mentioned changes over time and between sources. Second, this research project seeks to ascertain whether black or white individuals are more likely to be depicted as violent, criminal or dangerous within articles. This framework is used to compare race in general, as well as study changes in language surrounding a group of 10 individuals convicted in Wilmington during the racial riots of the 1970s.

Studying the content from these local newspapers in the years 1971, 1980, and 2012 will help to answer several key research questions that are described below. By using this framework combined with the analysis of the societal context, this study seeks to understand not only the
frequency of race mentioned but also the possible reasons why issues are framed as they are in a given time period. To this end, the role historical and societal racial contingencies play in influencing public arenas such as the media are explored.

**Research Questions**

By combining the importance of societal context and the public arenas model, this study examines the coverage of race, crime and the Wilmington Ten over a span of 41 years as well as between two different newspapers: *The Wilmington Star News* and *The Wilmington Journal*. It is important to understand that during the 1970s, boycotts and violence were by no means limited to African American Civil Rights protesters given that North Carolina had the largest Ku Klux Klan following as a backlash to the Civil Rights Movement (Cunningham 2013). Furthermore, throughout history, as well as today, similar levels exist for committing violent and non-violent crimes for blacks and whites, although arrest rates are higher for African Americans (Reiman and Leighton 2013). Therefore, reporting that specifically portrays a single racial category as more violent or dangerous will be a social construction of reality.

The first section of research questions focus on race and crime in general and are as follows:

I. Does the context in which race is mentioned change over time and between newspapers within the categories studied and, if so, how?

II. Does the frequency of mentioning race in general change over time, and does it differ between news sources?

III. Are there statistically significant differences in the amount of time the race “black or African American” in comparison with the race “white” is mentioned through
language within each sample year, and if so, what years? Are there differences between newspapers?

IV. What images of race were used within each sample year, and did this change over time and between newspapers?

The second section of research question(s) relate specifically to articles that concern violent crime:

I. Using both images and language as indicators, are African Americans more likely than whites to be portrayed as violent, criminal and dangerous in 1971, 1980 and 2012? What about between newspapers?

The final section of research questions concerns the specific case of the Wilmington Ten:

I. Did the language surrounding the crime the Wilmington Ten were convicted of change over time? Did it change between newspapers?

II. Did the portrayal of the individuals (in relation to the frequency of their race mentioned, their identity as protestors, and their depiction as criminal or violent) change over time, and did it change between newspapers?

**Hypotheses**

It is anticipated that in the 1971, 1980 and 2012 Star News, African Americans will be more likely than whites to be portrayed and framed as violent, dangerous and rioting and also more likely to have their race mentioned in articles. It is anticipated that in the 1980 and 2012 *The Star News* there will be less violent and dangerous portrayals of African Americans, and the language surrounding race will be less intense overall than in 1971. It is also anticipated given the target audience of African Americans that *The Wilmington Journal* will have far fewer
dangerous, criminal, and violent portrayals of African Americans, if any. Lastly, it is hypothesized that the language and portrayal of the Wilmington Ten will become less criminal and violent in 1980 and 2012, and that their identity as political protestors will be discussed the most in the articles in 2012.

These hypotheses are informed by the importance that both the public arenas model and social constructionism place on understanding the context in which social problems exist. Given that *The Star News* was historically known as the newspaper for white community members of Wilmington and the location of Wilmington in the south, it is predicted that this newspaper in particular will be influenced by historical inertia and deeply embedded race-centered ideologies.

**Research Design**

The design of this study will utilize qualitative and quantitative content analysis. Given that there is only one primary researcher to carry out the content analysis, the quantitative measures will help to ensure a less biased and more numerical representation of the articles. However, since this research project emphasizes the importance of understanding the historical and social context of race within each article, the qualitative section will provide a more in-depth understanding of the themes that exist within the text.

Krippendorf (2013) provides an especially useful outline concerning the technique of qualitative content analysis combined with historical and social contingencies by emphasizing the importance for the researcher to understand the context in which a text was developed. Although quantitative content analysis can be very useful in certain research projects, Krippendorf discusses its limitations when a researcher is hoping to understand a text outside the physicality of the words themselves. According to Krippendorf (2013:29), “Without human
intelligence and the human ability to read and draw inferences from texts, computer text analysis cannot point to anything outside of what it processes.” While allowing a researcher to draw their own inferences and conclusions might arguably introduce some level of bias in the research design, this project will attempt to rely more upon the historical and social framework of the time period to develop the meanings and connotations within the text.

Given the framework of the public arenas model, the content analysis will focus both on the coverage and portrayal of individuals within the articles, as well as the overall frequency of articles within the category of racial violence. For the sake of consistency and organization, several broad categories have been defined prior to analysis that are anticipated to contain coverage of crime and racial violence in 1971, 1980, and 2012. These categories include articles on violent crime, non-violent crime, politics, Civil Rights, protests, the desegregation of schools, law enforcement, organized backlash to the Civil Rights movement such as the KKK, and any specific articles on the Wilmington Ten. In addition to the categories established through the topics of the articles, each article will also be labeled. The labeling system as outlined in the analysis section will be important for keeping track of the dates of each article. This is relevant to determine whether a frequency in depictions of race and violence fluctuate during a specific time period in Wilmington. All the articles will be analyzed to ascertain whether race is mentioned in the article, and the rhetoric surrounding the mention of race. This will expand on whether the print media in Wilmington helped to perpetuate the criminal archetypes of African Americans as violent and dangerous.
Data Analysis Strategy

Data used for this project will come from *The Star News* and *The Wilmington Journal* microfilms located in the UNCW Randall Library. Since the public arenas model highlights the importance of understanding the different operatives within arenas, these papers were chosen for comparison given the historical difference within their reporters and target audience. *The Star News* historically has had a predominately white audience, while *The Wilmington Journal* is known as the African American newspaper in Wilmington. This data is available for the public, so I did not need IRB approval for use. The specific time period analyzed will include February 1971, December 1980, and December 2012 in *The Star News*, as well as November and December 1980 in *The Wilmington Journal*. *The Wilmington Journal* could not be analyzed during the year of 1971 because it was burned to the ground. However, two months were chosen for *The Wilmington Journal* to gather a sample size of articles more comparable to *The Star News* since the former is published weekly, and the latter is published daily.

This method for analyzing the content of microfilms is structured around Dr. Cunningham’s content analysis for his 2013 research on Civil Rights and the KKK in North Carolina and Mississippi. In this project, research assistants in North Carolina and Mississippi conducted extensive secondary data analysis of existing microfilms from newspapers and records from schools, courts, and the police. By analyzing documents dated from the time period in which the sociologist Dr. Cunningham was studying, the research team was more accurately able to analyze and understand the institutions, languages, images, and communities in North Carolina and Mississippi during the 1960s.

The system used for coding these documents consists of several steps. Labels are based on a system that contains the media type, source of the media, year, letter representing a
The specific categories for labeling include Civil Rights in general, civil rights protestors, other protestors, crime (non-violent), crime (violent), politics, backlash to Civil Rights, desegregation of schools, The Wilmington Ten, and other. The labeling method is depicted in Appendix A.

Once each article was read the first time for the purpose of labeling and gaining an understanding for the general topic and content, the articles were read a second time for the sake of coding. The codebook for themes can be seen in Appendix C. Coding consists of two steps. First, the articles are read to search for any major themes that emerge in relation to depictions of race. Specific passages or entire sentences that reflect rhetoric surrounding race portrayals are documented, as well as any themes that emerge that help to tie the articles together. Themes are analyzed that look for depictions of African Americans and whites in general, the manner in which protestors are depicted, and the way violence is or is not mentioned in the articles. This section of the content analysis will contribute to the qualitative methodology emphasized for this study.

The articles were read a third time to engage in specific frequency coding that is based on an excel document designed for this type of methodology. This document is provided in Appendix B. The article label and title are entered first, followed with the numerical codes developed within the codebook (see Appendix C). In order to make the data transition from Excel to SPSS more efficient, numerical codes were developed for Excel (e.g. 1=Yes, 0=No). The general quantitative analysis section consists of 13 variables: race mentioned, context of race for blacks, context of race for whites, frequency of black mentioned, frequency of white mentioned, violence mentioned, image of victim, race of victim, image of suspect, race of suspect, mug shot, frequency of white mug shots, and frequency of black mug shots.
The quantitative section analyzing specifically violent crimes consists of 6 variables: blacks depicted as violent, blacks depicted as dangerous, blacks depicted as criminal, whites depicted as violent, whites depicted as dangerous, and whites depicted as criminal. Since these concepts are all very similar in nature, the specific terms were defined prior to analysis to establish consistency between coding (see definitions in Appendix D). The depictions in this section were based on both language and images used. Given current literature on the way individuals react to and perceive mug shots, it was established that individuals displayed in mug shots would be included as violent, criminal and dangerous depictions (Jewkes 2005; Carney 2010; Mayr and Machin 2012; Lashmar 2014). Images used in articles (such as a family photo or yearbook picture) that did not have the same criminal stigma as the mug shot were not classified as violent, criminal, or dangerous.

Lastly, the quantitative section analyzing the Wilmington Ten consists of 5 variables: race of Wilmington Ten mentioned, Wilmington Ten depicted as violent, Wilmington Ten depicted as dangerous, Wilmington Ten depicted as criminal, and whether they were mentioned as protestors. Since the quantitative section was entirely numerical, a category at the end of each section for “notes” was entered to leave room for additional comments on the decisions made within each variable.

The qualitative section consists of the article title, label and then 5 variable categories: major theme, subcategory theme, example of theme within the text, intensity of language (on a Likert scale) and an example of the language from the text. The Likert scale for intensity consists of not very intense, somewhat intense, intense, and very intense. This scale defined and operationalized can be seen in Appendix E.
Once all the data was collected and coded, it was transferred from Excel into SPSS for analysis. Univariate statistics to compare means, frequencies, and percentages were calculated. The qualitative data was also analyzed to provide examples from the text itself to represent the various themes within the articles. These were also compared across sources and over time to establish changes in language and images. Lastly, the sections were situated within a sociological analysis utilizing the context in which the articles were written to understand the historical and societal impact on the findings from the content analysis.

**Inter-coder Reliability Measure**

In order to check for inter-coder reliability, two research assistants coded a sample of five articles using the same research design. Each was provided with the articles, excel sheet, labeling system, and codebook of themes/subcategories. The research assistants completed the coding on their own, and once their coding was complete the codes they determined were compared with the primary researcher’s coding to establish inter-coder reliability percentages.

The percent agreement between the three coders is shown in Table 1. The coding was divided by section including general, violence, Wilmington 10, qualitative, and then the total. This was done to determine not only the total percent agreement, but also to ascertain if any sections with particularly low levels of inter-coder reliability should not be highlighted in the findings. This was found to be the case for the qualitative section shown by percent agreement between the primary researcher and undergraduates as 40 percent and 47 percent. Percent agreement in this section was especially low for the intensity level of articles. Even though this scale was operationalized, it appeared that the coding varied greatly between the three researchers. Therefore, the intensity of articles was not included in the analysis as a central
finding. Instead, qualitative examples of quotes from the articles were used throughout the following section to illustrate the quantitative findings. The highest percent agreement was found in the quantitative sections of general and violence, which was anticipated. The overall percent agreement for the three coders was 62 percent including the qualitative section (see total 1), and when that section was removed the percent agreement was 71 percent (see total 2). This number was a reasonable percent agreement given the scope of this study.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inter-Coder Reliability</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Violence</th>
<th>Wilmington</th>
<th>Qualitative</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kelly and I</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brian and I</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly and Brian</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly, Brian, and I</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Total 2 represents percent agreement not including the qualitative section*

RESULTS

Section 1: Racial Context and Imagery

The total sample size for the content analysis was 323 articles, with 106 articles in the 1971 *Star News*, 150 articles in the 1980 *Star News*, 28 articles in the 1980 *Wilmington Journal*, and 39 articles in the 2012 *Star News*. The articles broken down by the three sections of research questions are depicted below in Table 2.
Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles on Violence</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Articles on Wilmington Ten</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first section of analysis explored the research questions concerning the context of race mentioned in articles, the frequency of race mentioned, and the images shown within each sample year. The total number of articles and percentage of articles that mentioned race is portrayed in Table 3. As can be seen, a decrease in articles mentioning race occurred between *The Star News* in 1971 and 1980 as predicted; however, an interesting increase occurred in 2012. *The Wilmington Journal* articles were by far the most likely than any years within *The Star News* to mention race.

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, Total</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, Percentage</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To expand on the understanding of race mentioned in articles, the specific article categories in which race was mentioned are shown in Tables 4 and 5. Within these tables, the percentage of articles within each category can be seen first in Table 4 depicting the categories in which African American or black was mentioned or depicted. Table 5 presents the categories in
which white was mentioned or depicted. The category with the highest percentage of articles that
mentioned race is highlighted for each year.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Race Mentioned</td>
<td>60.40%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>32.10%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent Crimes</td>
<td>8.50%</td>
<td>13.30%</td>
<td>7.10%</td>
<td>17.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Violent Crimes</td>
<td>0.90%</td>
<td>3.30%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.70%</td>
<td>14.30%</td>
<td>7.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Rights</td>
<td>9.40%</td>
<td>3.30%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protests</td>
<td>4.70%</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
<td>7.10%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desegregation of Schools</td>
<td>13.20%</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
<td>3.60%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law enforcement</td>
<td>0.90%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.90%</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
<td>10.70%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Upon analyzing these tables, several interesting trends emerge. First, it is important to
note the change in categories over time in which race was most likely to be mentioned. This not
only reflects on the research questions highlighted in this project, but also contributes to the
importance of the social context and time period in which the articles were published. As
Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) reiterated throughout their explanation of the public arenas model,
understanding these cultural, political, historical, and social influences are incredibly important
for analyzing the coverage allotted in public arenas.

In 1971, the race African American or black was most likely to be mentioned in the
context of desegregation of schools, compared with violent crime in 1980 and 2012. This trend
could potentially reflect the shift in overt racism within the Jim Crow system to the law and
order rhetoric of perpetuating the archetype of the criminal black man (Alexander 2010; Mogul
et al. 2011; Tonry 2011; Reiman and Leighton 2013). In contrast to The Star News, The
Wilmington Journal in 1980 most frequently mentioned the race African American or black in
the context of Civil Rights. Although the drastic difference between news sources in frequency of race mentioned was not anticipated, it was predicted that given the target audience of The Wilmington Journal, it would be less likely that the race African American or black would be mentioned in the context of violent or criminal behavior.

In order to illustrate the way in which racial context was determined, qualitative examples from articles in each year are provided below. By looking at the qualitative examples, one can not only see the context in which race is mentioned, but also the framing devices and language used that reflect the social climate at the given time. For example, in the examples from 1971 and 1980, the racial tensions of the time are clearly represented in the quotes chosen. The language in each of the articles is intense and descriptive, including strong words such as “attacks,” “fatally shot,” and “racial rioting” (*Star News* 1971: “Boycott set today”; *Star News* 1980: “Youth sentenced to 15 years for charges from Miami rioting”).

This use of dramatic and intense language also garners support for the public arenas model. Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) discuss how given competition for topics, those who have a stake in a public arena often rely on more dramatic language and topics to gather more of the public’s interest. Hilgarnter and Bosk (1988) stress this point because they refer to the public interest as a limited resource spread between multiple arenas, such as individuals choosing which newspaper to read. As will be discussed later, although the language does appear to be less intense in the 2012 article, an interesting theme emerged through this study that reflected an increase in 2012 in dramatic and intense visual aids to articles.


“...The demands included immediate reinstatement of students suspended without just cause, an end to harassment of black students by police on campus, a cessation of allowing non-students on campus, and an end of attacks by male faculty members upon black students.”
Star News (1980) “Youth sentenced to 15 years for charges from Miami rioting” (violent crimes):

“A black youth was sentenced to 15 years in prison Thursday in the death of a young white motorist who was fatally shot, beaten and stabbed during racial rioting last May.”


“The political and religious makeup of Americans would not permit government to become so insensitive and irresponsible as to let blood run in the streets if blacks continue to be oppressed to the point of rebellion.”


“The shooter then ran away. Police are searching the area, Crockett said. The shooter was described as a black male, six-feet tall and about 20 years old, she said.”

The categories for the context in which white was most frequently mentioned or depicted are shown in Table 5. Several interesting changes are noteworthy between the African American or black context of race frequently mentioned and that of white individuals. First, the actual mention of the word white appears much less frequently in the articles analyzed. As was the case for the mention of African American/black race, The Wilmington Journal was most likely to also mention individual’s race that were white. In the 1971 and 1980 Star News, the racial context for white was most likely in violent crimes. This was seen often in articles concerning the KKK and backlash to Civil Rights. In both the 1980 Wilmington Journal as well as the 2012 Star News, white individuals were more likely to be mentioned in politics. This was due to several major court cases that occurred in these sample months in which individuals were questioning or protesting the equality of juries and our political system.
Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Race Mentioned</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>87.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent Crimes</td>
<td><strong>7.50%</strong></td>
<td><strong>7.30%</strong></td>
<td>7.10%</td>
<td>2.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Violent Crimes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td><strong>25%</strong></td>
<td>7.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Rights</td>
<td>3.80%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10.70%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protests</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desegregation of Schools</td>
<td>4.70%</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law enforcement</td>
<td>0.90%</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.80%</td>
<td>0.70%</td>
<td>7.10%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To further illustrate the way in which the race “white” was mentioned or depicted within articles, qualitative examples are provided below.

*Star News* (1971) “Police abort white backlash” (violent crime):

“Law enforcement officers broke up an attempt by whites to invade the black portion of Wilmington late Saturday afternoon. They arrested three white males and charged them with going about armed to the terror of the populace”

“What we need in this town are some dead agitators. They should be shot and left out in the street as a reminder for three days and then bury them. I’ve got my gun.” –Anonymous local Wilmington man


“Singing, chanting and carrying banners, more than 200 people marched peacefully through Miami’s riot-scarred Liberty City ghetto Sunday, marking the first anniversary of the death of a black Miami businessman beaten to death by white police officers”


“In Raleigh, National Nazi leader Harold Covington said the jury acted out of ‘a basic white sense of fairness.’ Covington called for North Carolina and South Carolina to secede and establish a nation for whites.”

44
In these examples, one can see the extreme racial tension in Wilmington reflected in the dramatic quote used from 1971. The individual in the quote was referring to the student boycott that the Wilmington Ten were a part of when he called for “dead agitators” (*Star News* 1971: “Police abort white backlash”). Articles such as this were particularly interesting, because although they show support for the Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) concept of using dramatic language to increase support for a public arena by using words such as “abort” and “terror,” they refute the hypothesis of this paper. Although less common than articles concerning African American/black violence, this article provides an example of how articles in the 1970s did actually report violence and violent acts stemming from hostility by white individuals, and did in fact call attention to their race, something that was not anticipated prior to analyzing the articles.

*The Star News* (1980) and *The Wilmington Journal* (1980) provide an interesting juxtaposition for white racial context because they both concern the same topic, but include different framing devices. While both include intense and emotional language such as “riot-scarred,” *The Wilmington Journal* article included interviews, such as the one shown, that used quotes from white extremists. Although the scope of this research project is limited to analyzing the content of the articles and not the reaction of individuals, it is hypothesized that using individuals from such a polarized stance to be the ones interviewed as supporters of the jury ruling could make the audience reading the article view the jury decision as more outlandish and extreme. Similar to the 2012 article with a racial context of African American/black, the intensity of language in the 2012 article concerning white racial context appears much less dramatic than
that of the articles from 1971 and 1980. This emerged as a common theme, and will be examined further in the discussion section.

In addition to understanding context in which race was most likely to be mentioned, the second research question concerned the frequency with which race was mentioned. This comparison was made between the number of times articles mentioned African American/black with the number of times the articles mentioned white within the same sample year. These comparisons are shown below in Table 6. A trend emerged in this component of the analysis that fit within the anticipated findings. Within The Star News, the actual mean frequency of times race is mentioned decreases with every sample year. Furthermore, within each year for both The Star News and The Wilmington Journal, African American/black was more likely to be mentioned on average than white. A t-test was also run to compare the mean frequencies within each year, and statistically significant differences were found for every year within the sample.

This section signified support for the public arenas model and social constructionism, given a change in frequency of race mentioned between races, over time, and between the two sources used. These differences demonstrate that depictions of race mentioned specifically through language were more common in 1971 than 2012 within The Star News, whereas race centered language was the most frequently used within The Wilmington Journal.

Table 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean Frequency Black</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Frequency White</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig value (p=)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Significant findings at the p<.05 level
In order to understand the differences in framing devices and context of articles in entirety, the last component of this section of racial context and imagery analyzed the images used. As Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) point out, public arenas may use a variety of framing devices, so to understand changes over time or between sources it was important to study every component that may shape the content of an article. This section specifically focused on images used in the articles that related to violent crime to ascertain if there were differences between depictions of black and white individuals. Therefore, the analysis tables were divided into images of victims and images of suspects. In Table 7, the images of victims within each sample year are depicted.

Table 7

*Images of Victims*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Image of Victims</td>
<td>96.2%</td>
<td>98.7%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>97.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image of Black Victim</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.70%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image of White Victim</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>0.70%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: percentages are rounded to one decimal point*

The 1980 *Wilmington Journal* contained no images of victims, but this might also be due to the fact that the newspaper tended not to report any articles on violent crime. No clear trend emerged in the actual percentage of articles that show an image of a victim in *The Star News*, given that there was an increase between 1971 articles and 1980 articles, and then a decrease again in 2012. However, as can be seen in Table 7, in 1971 and 2012, all the images that showed victims were of white individuals.
A trend emerged when analyzing the imagery used in articles of suspects. In Table 8, the percentages for images of suspects by year are shown. This section was particularly interesting given the inclusion of an analysis of mug shots. Based on existing literature that discussed the way mug shots are interpreted by audiences as well as the studied negative connotation they attach to individuals, it was important to understand whether there was a significant difference in the frequency with which mug shots of black and white individuals were used (Jewkes 2005; Carney 2010; Mayr and Machin 2012; Lashmar 2014). It is noteworthy to look at the changes in images in general of suspects over time and between newspapers. As was the case with the images of victims, no images of suspects existed within The Wilmington Journal. However, changes between images of suspects broken down by race show that no clear trend emerged between sample years in The Star News. In 1971, the percentage of images for black and white individuals were the same, an increase in the percentage of images of white suspects occurred in 1980, followed by an increase in images of black suspects in 2012. Applying the concept of social constructionism and the importance of understanding the context of the articles of the given time period, it should be noted that several major crimes committed by white individuals occurred in 1980. These consisted of the murder of John Lennon by a young white male and the trial of Susan Atkins, a young white female. Each of these topics consisted of multiple articles with the image of the suspects shown throughout.

What became clear was a trend for the use of mug shots; given a drastic increase in 2012. Interestingly, no mug shots were displayed in the 1971 and 1980 articles. In 2012, although there was a decrease in the intensity of language used surrounding race and a reduction in the frequency of race being mentioned within articles, there was a dramatic increase in the use of
mug shots, especially for African American individuals. See Appendix F for the images used within each year and source.

It may be argued that the increased frequency of mug shots for African Americans is due to the higher percentages of articles on African Americans committing violent crime in 2012. However, for each sample year, a large percentage of articles (around 50%) mentioned no race at all, so it is impossible to know whether black or white individuals were more likely to have their crimes reported in articles; rather it is only possible to know whether black or white individuals were likely to be depicted in the articles in a particular way and have their race mentioned. In fact, analyzing national crime data consistently shows that in reality, African American individuals and white individuals commit crime at similar levels. However, policing, arrest rates, and as this study shows, negative media depictions are often higher for African Americans (Alexander 2010; Tonry 2011, Reiman and Leighton 2013).

Therefore, this section also draws support for the public arenas model in a way that shows the intersection of and dialectical relationship between public arenas and what Hilgarnter and Bosk (1988:60) refer to as “operatives.” These operatives may refer to politicians, reporters, public relations firms, public interest law firms, etc., and influence public arenas such as organizations, newspapers, congressional committees and foundations. Literature has shown this dialectical relationship emerging in public arenas in relation to race and crime through the unequal policing and arrest of African Americans as well as the unequal prosecution and conviction of African Americans (Alexander 2010; Tonry 2011). However, given public arenas, such as newspapers, that portray African Americans more often as suspects (as is shown below), the image of the criminal black man becomes more likely to be reified as an archetype, creating
stereotypes and prejudice not only from the general public but also from these key operatives such as law enforcement and individuals working within the criminal legal system.

Table 8

*Images of Suspects*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Image of Suspect</td>
<td>96.20%</td>
<td>94.70%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>71.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image of Black Suspect</td>
<td>1.90%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image of White Suspect</td>
<td>1.90%</td>
<td>4.70%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Images of Black and White Suspects</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.70%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image is a Mugshot (%) Yes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Frequency Black Mugshot</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Frequency White Mugshot</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Section 2: Race and Violence**

The second section of research questions focused on whether African Americans were more likely than whites to be depicted as criminal, violent, and dangerous. The distinctions between these definitions are shown in Appendix D. As can be seen in Figure 1, differences existed between each year within *The Star News* and the percentage of articles that depicted blacks as violent, criminal or dangerous. The increase in 2012 shown in the graph is mostly due to an increase in articles using mug shots of African Americans. The percentage of African Americans portrayed as violent, dangerous, or criminal followed the same trend, with the smallest percentage of African Americans being portrayed as criminal. Given the small sample size of 6 articles within *The Wilmington Journal*, statistical tests were not run.
Figure 1: Percent of Articles Depicting Blacks as Violent, Dangerous, or Criminal; *Star News* 1971, 1980, 2012

Figure 2 presents the percentage of articles portraying white individuals as violent, criminal, or dangerous. Compared with the graph for black portrayals, a clearer trend by year can be seen. White individuals were less likely in 1980 and 2012 to be depicted as violent, dangerous, and criminal than in 1971. In 1971 and 1980, the violent and dangerous depictions may be due to the frequent mention of the KKK and white extremist groups that were creating backlash to the Civil Rights Movement. As shown in the qualitative quotes section, these individuals often made violent and extreme remarks towards African Americans, but were never directly depicted in the articles as being tied to specific criminal activities (see *Star News* 1971: “Police Abort White Backlash”).
Given the change in coverage over time, these two graphs provide support for the public arenas model but do not support the hypothesis formed around social constructionism. Given the social climate and historical analysis provided at the beginning of the paper, it was predicted that this research would reveal a general decrease in depictions of African Americans as violent, dangerous or criminal. Rather than find support for this hypothesis, a complex relationship emerged that can be described by a shift in language-centered racial depictions to negative images of African Americans. While additional research is needed to explain this exact shift within *The Star News*, existing literature by researchers such as Michelle Alexander (2010) point out how rather than move beyond racism, the nation has seen a shift from more overt forms of racism (such as referring to an individual in a news article as “Negro”) to covert forms of racism (simply depicting a mug shot).
The other comparison made in this section to test the public arenas model was between *The Star News* and *Wilmington Journal* within the same year: 1980. This comparison is depicted in Figure 3. This comparison was particularly interesting and showed support for both the public arenas model as well as the anticipated findings of this project. Even given the same social and political climate in 1980, coverage and portrayals of individuals varied greatly between the 1980 *Wilmington Journal* and 1980 *Star News*, given a much higher percentage of article that portrayed blacks as violent, dangerous or criminal in *The Star News*.

Figure 3: Depictions of Black Individuals: 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Depicted as</th>
<th>% Articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violent</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dangerous</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Figure 4, the comparison of depictions of white individuals is shown between the 1980 *Wilmington Journal* and the 1980 *Star News*. When comparing Figures 3 and 4, an interesting relationship is shown. More specifically, the two news sources not only varied in their coverage, but also in general had differing depictions between black and white individuals. *The Wilmington Journal* was actually much more likely to depict white individuals as violent and dangerous, with 50% of articles containing these portrayals. Even though this statistic is an interesting finding, it should also be noted that the sampling frame was very small for *The Wilmington Journal*. 

53
Although *The Star News* was less likely to portray white individuals as violent and dangerous in comparison with *The Wilmington Journal*, percentages of depictions of black and white individuals in *The Star News* as violent and dangerous were actually very similar. Furthermore, *The Star News* and *Wilmington Journal* did not differ very much in their depiction of white and black individuals as criminal (0 articles for *The Wilmington Journal* and around 6.9 percent for black individuals and 4.2 percent for white individuals in *The Star News*).

Figure 4: Depictions of White Individuals: 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Depicted as</th>
<th>Percentage of Articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violent</td>
<td>The Wilmington Journal: 20.8% The Star News: 13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dangerous</td>
<td>The Wilmington Journal: 13.9% The Star News: 4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal</td>
<td>The Wilmington Journal: 0% The Star News: 4.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Section 3: The Wilmington Ten**

The final set of research questions tested the public arenas model by comparing the coverage of one single criminal case across the sample years and between news sources. Although the criminal status of the individuals changed, the analysis focused on the portrayal of the individuals in general, whether their race was mentioned, as well as the language used within each year and source to describe the crime of which they were convicted of. Table 9 shows the
data gathered on these articles. Given a very small sample size of articles, no multivariate tests were performed.

Table 9

*The Wilmington Ten*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race of Wilmington Ten mentioned? (%no)</td>
<td>41.70%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depicted as violent? (%no)</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depicted as dangerous? (%no)</td>
<td>91.70%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depicted as Criminal? (%no)</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentioned as protestors? (%no)</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentages demonstrate by 2012, the individuals were not depicted as violent, dangerous or criminal. Interestingly though, in 2012 the race of the individuals in The Wilmington Ten was reported. This was not anticipated prior to beginning the analysis. However, the 1980 Star News was most likely to depict the Wilmington Ten as violent and dangerous, something that was predicted. One way to compare the changes in portrayals of the Wilmington Ten using the public arenas model was to draw on quotations from the qualitative section. This way, the specific language used to frame the conviction was analyzed to ascertain any differences over time or between sources.

In the 1980 Star News articles, the crime for which the ten were convicted was often described as “*malicious burning*” and “*conspiracy to assault*” (*Star News* December 1980). This exact dramatic and intense language was used in five out of nine of the articles concerning the Wilmington Ten. In contrast, in the 1980 Wilmington Journal from the exact same time period, the crimes were described much differently. In several articles, the crimes themselves were never even depicted; rather the article simply stated “the convictions” (*Wilmington Journal* November...
Furthermore, as anticipated, the articles framed the evidence differently stating in one article “but there was no evidence that blacks had anything to do with the burning of the Schwartz business” (1980 *Wilmington Journal*: “Rev. Ben Chavis’ Complete Statement After Court Decision”). The articles in 2012 did not use the word malicious to describe the firebombing, but did return to the use of the word assault in reference to the firing on emergency personnel. However, unlike the 1980 *Star News* articles, some articles provided details about the crime that had not been reported previously. For example, one article stated, “firebombing a Wilmington Grocery store after police officers shot a black teenager” (2012 *Star News*: “More requests for Wilmington 10 pardons delivered to Perdue”). The crime and convictions appear to be framed differently when this latter detail was added to the sequence of events during the racial violence in Wilmington.

By analyzing the qualitative examples of the specific language used to describe the same conviction, it becomes clear that the words and framing of the issue changed both over time and between sources. From 1980 to 2012, a decrease in the intensity of dramatic language framing the specific crime occurred. However, the articles in 2012 were still dramatic and emotional; but more so in the language surrounding the individual’s innocence. This example in particular sheds light on the importance of the public arenas model because it utilized the exact same topic, with the only variable changed being time and source. Within the same public arena (*The Star News*), time itself provided enough variation to see the way the social and political climate at the time truly can have an influence on the manner in which the convictions are described. Even within the same year, 1980, the manner in which the crimes were presented was vastly different, given the difference in the target audience, as well as the reporters.
DISCUSSION

This content analysis contributes to the understanding of the applicability of the public arenas model within newspapers and the social construction of race. Support for the model was represented throughout the analysis section by showing changes in language and images over time and between news sources. By taking into account the social and political climate within a given time period, the analysis was strengthened by understanding the dialectical relationship between the social construction of deviance and the public arenas model. Given a certain social structure and political influences, individuals may be more likely to be socially constructed as deviant, especially in times of great social anxiety or change (the 1960s and 1970s). Public arenas, such as newspapers, often rely on the given social climate to shape the manner in which they cover and frame articles, while simultaneously creating or perpetuating the social construction of criminal archetypes and stereotypes. It is therefore difficult to understand the functioning of public arenas and the framework of social constructionism independently, since each works together to form the hegemonic threadwork that connects negative stereotypes of certain groups in society.

In the case of this local level content analysis, in general African Americans were more likely to have their race mentioned, be portrayed violently, dangerously, and as criminals, and as can be seen by the Wilmington Ten case, criminalized unfairly. Interestingly though, this study did contain findings that were not anticipated given the analytic framework of the public arenas model and social constructionism. When comparing articles that mentioned race as well as race portrayals, no clear displacement effect emerged. In other words, increases in articles that mentioned the “black” race or with depictions of black individuals did not necessarily lead to or correlate with a decrease in articles centering on the “white” race. In addition, the exponential
increase in using mug shots to illustrate articles was not predicted, and caused an increase in
violent and dangerous portrayals in 2012. This finding represents that although certain forms of
race-centered portrayals in language may be decreasing, simultaneously other more covert forms
of race-centered portrayals may be increasing. It is therefore increasingly important to research,
analyze, and understand the implications of these changes in media coverage, and specifically
how they impact the stereotypes and criminal archetypes of groups in society.

It was also interesting to note the importance of operatives and target audience that was
represented by the findings in this study. These were shown by the differences in race portrayals
and articles in the 1980 *Wilmington Journal* in comparison with *The Star News*. When looking
specifically at race portrayals, the results section showed how *The Wilmington Journal* had no
violent, dangerous, or criminal portrayals of black individuals. *The Wilmington Journal* was also
much more likely to portray white individuals as violent and dangerous than *The Star News*.

The results for the Wilmington Ten case found support for the public arenas model and
the hypotheses. Over time, the articles did change within depictions and portrayals of the ten
individuals. Although the race of the Wilmington Ten was still frequently mentioned in 2012,
there were no articles in the sample that portrayed the individuals as violent, dangerous, or
criminal. This finding in the content analysis not only showed support for the public arenas
model and the way that in a certain time period innocent individuals may be socially constructed
as deviant, but also represented great strides Wilmington has taken to overcome some of the
race-centered scars of its past. Furthermore, it relates to previous studies using the public arenas
model that have shown the dialectical relationship between public arenas, such as the study the
study by Lawrence (2004) that showed the relationship between congressional action on gun
control and the definitions in news sources surrounding school studies. In this current study, as
court and political action changed the definition of the individuals from criminal to innocent, The Star News framing devices and language changed as well.

Another important implication from The Wilmington Ten results is reflected in the comparison between the changes in language surrounding these individuals with the changes in language and images in race and crime in general. As anticipated in the hypotheses, the portrayals in the media of the Wilmington Ten became much more positive as the general public began to support and back the pardon of innocence of the individuals. Mogul et al. (2011) point out when referencing hate crimes, the attention of the public is often drawn to these isolated cases that are labeled as discriminatory or hateful. By doing so, it causes the public to be less aware of the manner in which general discriminatory practices are constantly occurring but less visible, such as institutional racism and more covert forms of media bias.

Therefore, although it is important to realize that a micro-level analysis of a case, such as the Wilmington Ten may provide a positive example of strides towards racial equality and a more just criminal legal system, it by no means should be an indication that racial inequality, especially in relation to race and crime has ended. This can be reflected not only in Wilmington with the high depiction of violent African Americans in mug shots, but in the nation as a whole. The cases of Eric Garner, Levar Jones, and Michael Brown show how race today is very much at the center of conversations concerning crime and policing. Therefore, studies that analyze depictions of individuals in relation to their race are still very relevant. Researchers (Mogul et al. 2011; Tonry 2011) discuss the detrimental impact reified criminal archetypes can have on entire groups in society. If public arenas such as newspapers are more likely to show mug shots of African American and crime articles consistently mentioning black individuals, the typical criminal black stereotype may become engrained in police officer’s and the general public’s
mind. This may cause police officers and individuals in general to be quicker to assume black individuals (especially men) are violent and dangerous, and need to be policed differently.

On a local level, articles within *The Star News* not only show racial differences in depictions through mug shots, but also have qualitative examples that show the continuing problem of racial inequality, especially in correlation with poverty. For example, in December 2012, four black individuals killed a young white male after attempting to rob him, and there were numerous articles covering this crime in depth. One of the four accused, Christopher Cromartie, stated, “I figured if I robbed a white person in a good neighborhood, they’re bound to have money lying around” (Freskos 2012).

Events such as this one are not isolated, and point to the need to understand racial inequalities from both a historical perspective as well as within public arena. It was an interesting juxtaposition to have a sampling month with a number of articles on the progress that the Wilmington Ten pardons of innocence represented, while simultaneously reporting on the murder of a white male by four black individuals and including interviews that implied the victim was chosen to be robbed based on his race. Today, one can easily point to examples such as the Wilmington Ten to show improved racial equality in this country; however, the historical racial structure the country was founded on does not fade over night. Therefore, research such as this is important to understand ways in which racial hegemony may still be perpetuated today.

**LIMITATIONS**

One of the major limitations of this study was time and the size of the research team. By relying primarily on a single coder for the data analysis with several undergraduate students coding five articles each, the inter-coder reliability was not as strong as it could have been given
a longer period of time to train the undergraduates and more time for them to spend coding. It is hypothesized that because the undergraduates did not code more than five articles, their knowledge of comparison between articles was different. This could have had an impact on the manner in which they ranked the intensity of articles given the vast differences between their intensity rankings and the intensity rankings of the primary researcher.

In addition to having limitations with the inter-coder reliability, the single coder method for content analysis made making decisions throughout the research project difficult. Although all the measures were operationalized prior to analysis, there were still issues that came about once the coding process was started. For example, it was difficult to ascertain where to draw the line with violent and dangerous depictions of individuals. An example of this was deciding how to code articles that discussed how violent the KKK was but never specifically mentioned the white race. In the excel chart for coding, when no specific race was mentioned but a racial context of violence was present, it was difficult to determine whether to code the articles as a specific violent or dangerous race portrayal.

Another example of this came about in the Star News 2012 articles. These articles were very unlikely to specifically mention race, but were more likely to have images of individuals either caught committing the crime on a security camera or the mug shot of the individual. If the articles described a violent or dangerous act with no mention of race, but contained an image of white or black individuals engaging in the crime, was it appropriate to code the article as portraying a certain race as violent or dangerous? These questions arose throughout the analysis, and the major limitation that was reflected in these issues was the inability of the coder to have a research team to help determine coding decisions.
Although representative of the public arenas model, the fact that several major criminal cases garnered quite a lot of coverage and articles within the space of the newspaper also may have caused the results to be slightly skewed. This was represented by the shooting of Lennon in the 1980 *Star News* and the Susan Atkins cause, as well as the murder of a white Community College Student by four black individuals in the 2012 *Star News*.

It should also be pointed out that the scope of this research project is limited to two newspapers within the South. In a larger scale research study, it could be interesting to compare news sources across regions, such as the Wilmington newspapers with news sources in New York. In addition to having more regions to compare, a more large-scale content analysis could lead to sample sizes that would be adequate for multivariate analysis. The small samples sizes within the categories of violence and The Wilmington Ten were another limitation within this study, because descriptive statistics were the appropriate findings to report.

Given a longer research time frame, another component that would have strengthened this thesis would have been statistics on demographics, levels of segregation, and crimes committed by race both in Wilmington and nationally. With this data, this study could have been expanded to analyze whether the news coverage in fact was a reflection of actual crime rates. Articles would have to be divided between local Wilmington crimes and national crimes to compare with actual statistics. It is very possible that African Americans in Wilmington are more likely to engage in violent crime, as Velez et al. (2003) pointed out is the case in some cities with high levels of segregation. With this information, the application of the public arenas model could have been expanded to compare actual crime rates in Wilmington with the news articles chosen by each source to determine any levels of bias in reporting. Future research in this area is warranted in order to fully utilize and understand the public arenas model.
CONCLUSIONS

Even given the above limitations, there were several implications from this study and conclusions that could be drawn. In every sample year, the race “African American” or “black” was more likely to be mentioned through language within *The Star News* and *The Wilmington Journal*. In the 1971 and 2012 *Star News*, African Americans were more likely to be depicted as violent, dangerous, and criminal. However, it was also found that *The Wilmington Journal* was more likely to portray whites as violent and dangerous. For both portrayals of white and black individuals, the use of images within articles increased dramatically in the 2012 sample. This led to an overall conclusion of a shift from race-centered language to visual representations of race. In addition, support for the public arenas model was found through these changes in depictions over time and between the two news sources studied.

It is the hope for those reading this thesis that it not only will provide an example of how the public arenas model may be applied using content analysis, but also serve to preserve the legacy of the Wilmington Ten. Research such as this could serve as a reminder of the pain and suffering institutional racism can cause, and continue to encourage local residents to not only remember the past, but to continue to be aware of and strive to alleviate current racial inequalities in Wilmington. Furthermore, given the limited scope of this content analysis with a single coder, it is encouraged that future researchers and research teams will continue to study race and crime through the methodology of content analysis. Public arenas such as newspapers, as well as other arenas such as court documents and political agendas provide invaluable resources for gaining a deeper understanding of race portrayals and stereotypes within this country.
REFERENCES


Appendix A: Labeling System

A. Civil Rights in general
B. Civil Rights protestors
C. Other Protestors
D. Crime (Non-Violent)
E. Crime (Violent)
F. Politics
G. Backlash to Civil Rights (ex-white protestors, KKK, etc)
H. Desegregation of Schools
I. Wilmington Ten
J. Other

NWSN (News-Wilmington Star News)
National Event= N
North Carolina Event= S (state)
Wilmington Event= W

Labeling order:

(NWSN)(National event/Local Event)(year)(letter category for topic)(specific article date)

So, for example, an article on desegregation in New Hanover Country from July 10, 1972 would be labeled as NWSNW72F0710
## Appendix B: Excel Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article label</th>
<th>Article Title</th>
<th>Race mentioned? (y/n)</th>
<th>Context of race, insert subcategory</th>
<th># of times Black/African American/Negro is mentioned</th>
<th># of times White is mentioned</th>
<th>Violence mentioned (y/n)?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ctd Section 1:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image of Victim? (y/n)</th>
<th>Race of Victim? (1=White, 2=Black, 3=Victims are Black and White)</th>
<th>Image of Suspect? (y/n)</th>
<th>Race of Suspect? (1=White, 2=Black, 3=Suspects are Black and White)</th>
<th>Image is a mugshot? (y/n)</th>
<th>Frequency of black mugshots</th>
<th>Frequency of white mugshots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Section 2: Violence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Label</th>
<th>Article Title</th>
<th>Blacks depicted as violent? (y/n)</th>
<th>Blacks depicted as dangerous? (y/n)</th>
<th>Blacks depicted as criminal? (y/n)</th>
<th>Whites depicted as violent? (y/n)</th>
<th>Whites depicted as dangerous? (y/n)</th>
<th>Whites depicted as criminal? (y/n)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Section 3: Wilmington Ten**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Label</th>
<th>Article Title</th>
<th>Race of Wilm Ten mentioned? (y/n)</th>
<th>Wilm Ten depicted as violent? (y/n)</th>
<th>Depicted as dangerous? (y/n)</th>
<th>Depicted as criminal? (y/n)</th>
<th>Mentioned as protestors? (y/n)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

73
Section 4: Qualitative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Label</th>
<th>Article Title</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Sub-category</th>
<th>Ex. From text</th>
<th>Intensity of language</th>
<th>Ex. From text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C: Codebook for Themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes:</th>
<th>Subcategories:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Racial Context</td>
<td>1.1 Violent Crimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.2 Non-Violent Crimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.3 Politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.4 Civil Rights (in general)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.5 Protests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.6 Desegregation of Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.7 Law enforcement/authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.8 Other (describe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.9 No Race mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Violence</td>
<td>2.1 Criminal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.2 Violence related to Civil Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.3 Violence related to defending oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.4 Other (describe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Crime</td>
<td>3.1 Drug related crimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.2 Other non-violent crimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Protestors</td>
<td>4.1 Protestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.2 Protestors with grievances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.3 Violent protestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.4. Rioters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D: Violent, Dangerous, Criminal Differences

Violent: The individual(s) in the article specifically is depicted or described as having engaged in physically violent activity

Criminal: The individual(s) in the article are described specifically as criminal, having committed crimes, or the individuals are described in an article as being a part of any activities punishable by law

Dangerous: The individual(s) are described as any type of threat to society (this could be anything from violent threats to verbal threats, to even depicted as threatening the social structure)
Appendix E: Intensity Scale

The intensity scale is developed based specifically on the language in the articles and the manner in which the articles are framed and written. For example, an article may have a very emotional/dramatic/violent topic, yet still be not very intense if the language itself is not descriptive, emotional, or dramatic. Using the public arenas model, it is important to pay attention to specific framing devices used throughout each article.

Not very intense:
- article is to the point; less descriptive
- does not appeal to any emotions
- does not use dramatic language
- does not include interviews that could cause sympathy for either side of an argument

Somewhat intense:
- article may be somewhat more descriptive but still not appeal to many emotions
- some use of dramatic language but drama or emotions are not the focal point of the article
- may include interviews, but the interviews are less emotional

Intense:
- article contains dramatic language and appeals to emotions
- article (especially in the 1970s) may focus on sympathy for either black or white individuals; especially through interviews
- article is likely to be very descriptive, not only reporting on events but elaborating on the topic in a manner that increases their dramatic value

Very Intense:
- article is clearly very emotional, dramatic, and descriptive
- article may report more thematically and give background to appeal to emotions, rather than episodically report
- article uses more visual descriptions to appeal to multiple senses (ie instead of just describing a suspect by their name, the article goes into depth about their appearance or personality)
- the article frames the issue in a way that would cause the majority of the audience reading it to react
- article may appear to take a certain side on an issue through framing devices (who the article chooses to interview, how they present the issue etc)
Appendix F: Images; 1971 Star News
The Wilmington 10 As They Looked In The Early Seventies

Rev. Ben Chavis
James McCue
Willie Veryon
Cecil Young
Ava Patterson

80 Wilmington Journal