Television News and Social Protest in a Comparative Perspective

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Acknowledgments

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Abstract

Television news provides information to audiences that help them create meaning from the world around them. This paper explores the relationship between television news and social protest, specifically how television news frames might shape audience perception of social protest as a form of democratic participation. This study utilizes a textual analysis of news stories from NBC, CBS, and Al-Jazeera English in order to compare coverage of social protest in the United States and internationally. Two separate protest issues were studied: Occupy Wall Street and the Arab Spring protests in Tahrir Square in Egypt. Using framing as a theoretical framework, I utilized the three codes of the protest paradigm – narrative structure, official sources, and invocation of public opinion – to analyze thirty news stories about Occupy Wall Street and the Arab Spring. Two codes – the circus and disorganization – emerged during the research. With support from other relevant scholarship, this study concludes that United States network television news acts as a voice of hegemony in the coverage of social protest, framing protest in ways that benefit elites and uphold the status quo. Protest is often delegitimized by news frames that portray protest as a violent activity and protestors as counter-cultural, social outsiders. Al-Jazeera English, in contrast, provides a counter-hegemonic perspective that legitimizes protest as a form of democratic participation used by a diverse cross-section of citizens.

Introduction

Beyond simple entertainment, television can serve as a window to the world.

People rely on the media for information about events and issues to which they may not

have direct access, as well as for cues to interpreting their experiences with these issues

(Adoni et al., 1984). Television news in particular serves as an important source of

information about political issues and civic awareness (Adoni et al., 1984). Information

drawn from television news helps viewers "construct meaning about political and social

issues," influencing public opinion about social reality (Gamson et al., 1992, p. 374).

Protest is one form of political participation that broadens the discourse about political

and social issues to include the voices of marginalized groups through the use of

collective demonstration (Ryan et al., 2001). These protest movements serve as "regular

fare on television news" (Wittebols, 1996, p. 345). Television news provides viewers

with access to social movements, making TV news coverage of social protests crucial to

the success or failure of the movement:

> The tactics of protest and images of protestors conveyed by the news are
> mediating factors in how the public perceives the protests and the issues
> involved. As the virtual sole source of news for most people, television
> news plays a large role in shaping the issues and the perception of issues
> that are the focus of protests (Wittebols, 1996, p. 345).

Thus, television news serves not only as a source of information about protests, but also

as an arena of competition between conflicting viewpoints on social issues (Gamson,

1989). Protestors, challengers, authorities, political elites, and other actors in a protest

movement use the media to voice their opinions and concerns to the public, making

television news the battleground in the fight for political and social change (Gamson,

1989). Television news, however, also faces certain constraints in presenting social

protest and the variety of opinions surrounding protest issues. Journalistic norms and time

constraints, for example, limit the depth of coverage and number of sources referred to

(Singer, 1971). Television news, therefore, is not a democratic institution that guarantees

equal representation to all interests (Mittell, 2010). Rather, TV news selects a limited

number of sources and images to create coherent news stories, in effect "communicating

the boundaries of what is acceptable and what is deviant" (McLeod, 1995, p. 17).

Television news coverage is also affected by the institutional and commercial

structure of news corporations. Not all news is created equal. The financial structure and

conditions under which a news outlet is formed and develops affect the coverage

presented in news stories. Current scholarship focuses largely on American media and the

political and cultural context of news creation in the United States, overlooking the

varying structure and commercial organization of foreign media organizations

(Wojcieszak, 2007). Foreign media companies have their own histories and foreign

countries have unique political and social contexts regarding protest. News outlets are the

"cornerstone institutions for democracy" as citizens rely on the media for information and

for cues to interpreting legitimate and illegitimate political participation (Fornaciari,

2001, p. 224). Understanding how international television news sources differ in their

commercial and historical context sheds light on how television news frames are created

and interpreted. Framing in television news is a participative process that "influences

public opinion on social issues and delimits societal assumptions and public mood"

(Boykoff, 2006, p. 202). Studying who is able to participate in the framing process in

various television news institutions is an important part of understanding public opinion

about social movements. This study will compare how television news frames social

protest in the United States and the Middle East.

Research Question

In order to explore the relationship between television news and social protest,

this study will take on a comparative perspective, comparing coverage of social protest

by United States domestic network television news and news from Al-Jazeera English, a

Middle Eastern news network based in Qatar. I will perform a textual analysis of news

stories about both the Occupy Wall Street protest movement in the United States and the

Arab Spring protests in Egypt in order to answer the question: Do United States network

television news and Al-Jazeera English differ in their coverage of domestic and

international protest issues?

Background to the Question

Television news has been a part of American civil and political culture since the

1960's. At the outset of television news, the primary objective of television journalism in

America was to inform and educate the public, remaining aloof from private or corporate

interests: "News divisions were established as separate and distinct from the

entertainment divisions of networks, with a clear mandate to…fulfill the public interest"

(Mittell, 2010, p. 130). In fact, corporate owners did not regard the news industry as a

place for potential profit (Mittell, 2010). In the 1970's, however, the news industry

became a "profitable facet of a network schedule" as a "low-cost alternative to primetime

entertainment," or rather news itself became primetime entertainment (Mittell, 2010, p. 134). This shift caused increased corporate bias in the news, whereby news divisions select and frame stories to meet the interests of corporate and advertiser sponsors (Mittell, 2010). Much of this bias takes place on an implicit level. While no one tells journalists outright not to report negatively on sponsors, it is "an assumption in the newsroom that [it] will not be rewarded" (Mittell, 2010, p. 140). As news divisions are integrated into the private business sector, private interest takes precedent over balanced public information.

Television news coverage of social protest issues in particular has a history of bias in United States network news coverage. One of the first protest movements covered on television was the anti-Vietnam War movement during the 1960's (Mittell, 2010). Television news coverage during this time tended to support government and foreign policy, framing "young protestors as deviants, radicals, and potentially unpatriotic" (Mittell, 2010, p. 132). Protestors were rarely referred to as sources in news coverage; coverage focused instead on "institutional or established perspectives" (Wittebols, 1996, p. 349). While protestors did apply attention-getting tactics such as mass marches, sit-ins, and building occupations, the movement rarely used overt violence as a tactic (Gamson, 1989). News coverage, however, unevenly highlighted violent incidents and confrontations between the police and protest groups (Gamson, 1989). Overall, media coverage of anti-Vietnam protests covered the movement "as a spectacle, focusing on the countercultural aspects of the movement" (Wittebols, 1996, p. 348).

Domestic network television news coverage has also had considerable influence over public opinion about the contemporary women's movement beginning in the 1970's (Barakso & Schaffner, 2006). Barakso & Schaffner found in a study of coverage from 1969-1982 that television news has paid considerably less attention than newspaper coverage to the women's movement's struggle to pass the Equal Rights Amendment (2006). With the ability to cover far fewer stories than a daily newspaper, television newscasts exercise power over public opinion by means of selectivity, or deciding what issues to present to viewers as newsworthy (Singer, 1971). Television news coverage, for example, disproportionately covered abortion and reproductive rights within the movement (Barakso & Schaffner, 2006). Coverage of abortion issues comes at the expense of other issues central to women's movement, including gender equity and family issues (Barakso & Schaffner, 2006). Furthermore, after the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment in 1982, coverage continued to highlight high-conflict cases related to the abortion issue rather than a broad spectrum of women's issues (Barakso & Schaffner, 2006). Television news also marginalized social protest related to abortion by using war terms to cast protesters as militant and attacking American values and institutions (Husting, 1999). Television news coverage portraying the early 1990's abortion protesters as extremists stigmatized the women's movement moving forward, shedding a negative light on other causes related to the movement (Husting, 1999).

Independent television journalism is a much more recent phenomenon in the Middle East and North Africa than in the United States. Media in the Middle East has historically been controlled by the state with audiences receiving "the majority of their

information from governmental sources" (Wojcieszak, 2007, p. 120). Television news

was of particular concern to authoritarian regimes because of its ability to reach both

literate and illiterate audiences, and the general awareness of the government of "the

crucial role that media play in public opinion formation and political mobilization"

(Wojceiszak, 2007, p. 120). Television news stations were subject to direct censorship,

privacy laws, and respect for authority agreements with Arab governments (Seib, 2005).

The creation of the Al-Jazeera television news network represents a major shift in

television news coverage in the Middle East. Independent from domestic political

control, Al-Jazeera was born out of a failed experiment by the BBC to create BBC Arabic

Television in the early 1990's (Seib, 2005).When Saudi Arabia, the primary funder of the

project, withdrew funding in reaction to the counter-hegemonic news coverage from

BBCATV, the Emir of Qatar began funding the project (Seib, 2005). During the United

States wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, Al-Jazeera gained popularity and credibility as the

voice of the Arab people, breaking the Western monopoly on television media in the

region (Seib, 2005). Al-Jazeera English, or AJE, was born out of the Al-Jazeera network

in 2006, with "the declared purpose of revolutionizing the global newscape" by adding a

non-Western voice to television news coverage (Powers & Nawawy, 2009, p. 269). AJE

reaches over 110 million households in 60 countries worldwide and has been described as

the "United Nations" of journalism because of the diverse backgrounds of the journalists

working for the English-language channel (al-Najjar, 2009). Al-Jazeera English is

editorially independent from its Arabic sister channel, but the channels "share the same

guiding spirit" of providing a counter-hegemonic perspective on world issues (al-Najjar,

2009, p. 7). Al-Jazeera and sister channel Al-Jazeera English have a declared purpose of challenging institutionalized structures in the Middle East and North African (MENA) region as well as providing a counter balance to international media outlets that favor a Western perspective (Wojcieszak, 2007). As the vision and mission statement of Al-Jazeera state, the channel "aspires to…support the right of the individual to acquire information and strengthen the values of tolerance, democracy and the respect for human rights" (Pintak, 2008, p. 19).

In regards to the coverage of social issues, Al-Jazeera has carved out a niche for itself as a counter-hegemonic voice in the Middle East (Sieb, 2005; Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009). Al-Jazeera and Al-Jazeera English have been historically anti-West in their news coverage, but also anti-corruption and pro-reform in regards to domestic and regional issues in the Middle East: "The channel has targeted corruption within monarchical regimes, scrutinized abuses within national militaries, served as a forum for various national opposition movements and as a voice of dissent for minority groups" (Wojcieszak, 2007, p. 121). The establishment of an independent media outlet was itself an act of democratization in the Middle East, where media has been historically censored and controlled by political authorities (Wojcieszak, 2007). One of the major social issues covered by Al-Jazeera has been the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Al-Jazeera is known for providing coverage "with a pro-Palestinian slant" of the conflict between Palestine and Israel (Seib, 2005, p. 602). Coverage of the issue focused on Arab public opinion and the "mood on 'the Arab street,'" reporting news from the perspective of the Palestinian people rather than authority figures such as the police or political elites (Seib, 2005, p.

602). Al-Jazeera coverage of the Palestinian uprising showed images of the brutality of

Israeli occupation of the territories, including footage of Israeli helicopters and tanks

assaulting Palestinian towns and villages (Zayani, 2005). In contrast to coverage of the

Vietnam War, where television news coverage has been accused of delegitimizing

protest, U.S. and Israeli officials "have accused Al-Jazeera of inciting public

demonstrations as a consequence of its coverage" (El-Nawawy & Iskander, 2002, p. 30).

Another major social protest issue that Al-Jazeera has covered in its short history

is the Arab Spring of the 21st century. The Arab Spring as a protest movement can be

divided into several separate domestic protests, tied together by a demand by the people

for democratization and political and civil rights from authoritarian regimes. The

influence of social media on the Arab Spring has received considerable attention.

Television news, however, was also a fundamental influencer: "It was not Twitter or

Facebook, but television that was absolutely fundamental to the unfolding of events,

playing a decisive role in expanding protests of thousands into protests of millions"

(Alterman, 2011, p. 103-4). Television news was able to synthesize and disseminate

information from the internet, mobile, and social media activity of protestors in the

creation of news stories, a phenomenon referred to as citizen journalism or user-

generated content (UGC): "Mobile phones, blogs, YouTube, Facebook pages and Twitter

feeds became instrumental in mediating the live coverage of protests…as well as police

brutality in dispersing demonstrations" (Miladi, 2011, p. 114). In the initial protests of the

Arab Spring in Tunisia, Al Jazeera relied heavily on user-generated content, including

content from social media networks just as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube (Miladi,

2011). Satellite TV coverage became a public forum for Tunisian protestors, and

eventually reactionaries across the region (Miladi, 2011). Similar production patterns in

the coverage of the Arab Spring protest movements occurred in Yemen and later in Egypt

during the Egyptian protests in Tahrir Square that signaled the beginning of the

revolution (Miladi, 2011). By incorporating UGC from citizen reporters, Al-Jazeera has

been "an ally of the emerging civil society in the middle east" rather than antagonistic

towards social protest (Wojcieszak, 2007, p. 123).

Theoretical Framework

Framing theory informs how the television news industry may legitimize or

delegitimize a protest movement by "selecting and highlighting some facets of events or

issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation,

evaluation, and/or solution" (Entman, 2004, p. 5). News frames influence public opinion

through particular patterns of selection, emphasis, and exclusion in the presentation of

news stories (Ryan et al., 2001). Framing in TV news occurs through sources referred to

– or conversely not referred to – images shown, word choice, tone, and other stylistic

choices (Ryan et al., 2001). Framing exists as an inevitable outcome of journalistic

practices in the creation of television news:

> Scholars use the term framing to indicate the process by which journalists
> organize the whirling swirl of empirical reality into consumable news
> packages…journalists place figurative picture frames around the ever-
> moving target of events and actions, thereby focusing our attention on
> particular issues, ideas, and individuals while obscuring what lies outside
> the frame (Boykoff & Laschever, 2011, p. 345).

According to framing theory, these presentational and stylistic choices, whether

conscious on the part of the news industry or not, influence the way viewers make

meaning from news stories (Wittebols, 1996).

Rationale

        If news frames both guide news production and effect audience perception of

social and political issues, it is important to understand how and why frames are selected

from among the many sources and opinions surrounding an issue (Detenber et al., 2007).

Along with journalists, political elites, public authorities, corporations, media

conglomerates, opposition movements, and protestors themselves all participate in the

formation and promotion of news frames (Ryan et al., 1998). Television news is the arena

in which opposing viewpoints "are engaged in battles over meaning" (Gamson, 1989).

Not all competitors, however, are treated equally: "Access to news as a political resource

and the dynamics of framing contests are influenced significantly by the economic and

cultural resources available to groups or organizations that sponsor frames" (Ryan et al.,

2001, p. 179). Protest movements rely on media exposure as a vital resource to attract

attention, influence public opinion, and enact social change (Ryan et al., 2001). In some

cases, "journalistic routines and practices favor official sources and those holding

institutional power" which "significantly hinders the ability of social movement

organizations to shape news stories" (Ryan et al., 2001, p. 180). However, alternate

television news sources differ in the framing process and may allow more actors to

participate in frame creation (Miladi, 2011). Understanding who has a voice in the

creation of news frames surrounding protest issues is a key component to understanding how social movements succeed or fail.

Political elites and authority figures have an obvious stake in promoting social cohesion in order to maintain their power and authority. Thus those who have institutional power – political elites, police forces, etc. – promote frames that uphold the status quo and undermine the perspective of disorderly or threatening protest movements (Detenber et al., 2007). These viewpoints are aided by official bias in American television journalism, or the tendency of journalists to "put more weight on official sources: the voices of government, military authorities, business executives, and other leaders" (Mittell, 2010, p. 141). Television news' reliance on official sources and co-optation of frames promoted by those holding institutional or political authority creates an asymmetry of power between elites and protest movements (Witteboles, 1996).

The economic structure of American media itself leads to news frames that "fit with the perspective of business interests," a phenomenon known as corporate bias (Mittell, 2010, p. 140). Corporate bias stems from two main sources: the advertising model of television and the concentration of ownership within the media industry in the United States (Gamson et al., 1992). The primary goal of the American television industry, including television news, is to sell audiences to advertisers, who fund programming through the purchase of time slots (Mittell, 2010). Television news has an incentive then to create a "buying mood" for viewers (Gamson et al., 1992, p. 377). Advertisers prefer material that is inoffensive with an upbeat political message, supporting the status quo rather than promoting social disorder (Gamson et al., 1992).

The second root of corporate bias is the concentration of ownership through the creation of media conglomerates. Media companies attempt to "create media content that is politically safe" in order to "protect the image of corporations as good citizens" (Gamson et al., 1992, p. 379). While journalists still adhere to the practices of objectivity and fairness in news, it is generally understood that negative portrayals of the corporate owners of news networks will not be rewarded (Mittell, 2010). The news frames that result from profit model of the media are frames that "celebrate existing power relationships and make them seem a normal and acceptable part of the natural order" (Gamson et al., 1992, p. 380). When incorporated into media conglomerates, television news networks produce frames that favor official sources and seek to please corporate sponsors.

There are, however, alternative commercial and institutional structures of media companies and television news outlets as well. An example is the Al-Jazeera network: "Al-Jazeera is not a commercial network like CNN and cannot be described as a public service like the BBC" (Barkho, 2007, p. 23). Al-Jazeera is not subject to media conglomeration or to the commercial advertising model that characterize United States network television news. Because of this, Al Jazeera has avoided issues of corporate and official bias in the television news production process. In contrast to the American media model, operates as an independent, transnational satellite station (Wojcieszak, 2007). Al Jazeera is a transnational channel that is "relatively independent of domestic regulations and is not a battleground for a given state's political elites" (Wojcieszak, 2007, p. 120). In the initial code of ethics for Al Jazeera English, the channel vows to be "a voice to the

voiceless" and mandates that the channel provide "diverse points of view and opinions" (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009, p. 270). Whereas media in the West "evolved in tandem with the developments in various institutions which include politics, economics, and the law," the development of Al-Jazeera is a relatively recent occurrence in a region where "the institutional framework within which Western media operate is quasi-absent" (Zayani, 2005, p. 35). Al-Jazeera, and subsequently Al-Jazeera English, is a news media pioneer in the Middle East, seeking to counter the ills of corporate and official bias that are ingrained in the Western media system.

Al-Jazeera avoids the economic pressures that lead to official or corporate bias in Western media through funding from the Emir of Qatar (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009). In reality, Al-Jazeera is not a profitable enterprise (Zayani, 2005). Profitability is a future goal for the channel, but not at the expense of its editorial independence, leaving the station reliant on subsidies from Qatar (Zayani, 2005). This economic structure creates constraints surrounding the framing of issues relating to Qatari foreign policy, but in general Al Jazeera has remained independent from the Qatari government and political society (Pintak, 2008). The Emir of Qatar is committed to preserving the independence of Al-Jazeera as a sign of his commitment to reform and liberalization (Seib, 2005; Wojcieszak, 2007). The Qatari government consistently maintains that it cannot interfere in the coverage of Al-Jazeera because of the editorial independence of the network (Zayani, 2005). By remaining aloof from domestic powers and private enterprise, "Al-Jazeera English…stands out as transcending the nation-state based paradigm" of television journalism (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009, p. 269). Editorially, Al-Jazeera is

controlled neither by a domestic government nor a large media conglomerate, maintaining its independence from outside powers that potentially negatively affect the coverage of social protest issues.

The role of television news in society is more than a factual depiction of world events and social issues, it is the result of many contributors to the framing process. Television news also helps viewers interpret and form opinions about their social and political environment: "The mass media constitute a crucial site for the construction of reality, an ever-unfolding discursive locale that influences public opinion on social issues and delimits social assumptions and public mood" (Boykoff, 2006, p. 202). Television news coverage of social protest in particular "influences the nature, form, and development of social movements, as well as the ability of these movements to reach their goals" (Boykoff, 2006, p. 203). As new international media outlets emerge and journalistic practices evolve, such as the use of user-generated content and the incorporation of social media in the framing process, it is crucial to understand who is able to participate in the framing process and what news frames are predominant in various television news institutions. This study will attempt to understand how the commercial and institutional structure of television news affects the framing process through a comparison of television news coverage of two social protest issues – the Occupy Wall Street movement and the protests in Tahrir Square that sparked the Egyptian revolution – by American network television news and Al-Jazeera English.

Review of the Literature

Framing Theory

The theoretical framework that will inform this study of television news coverage of social protest is known as framing theory. The basis of framing theory is "the assertion that people use expectations of the social world to make sense of that social world" (Baran & Davis, 2011, p. 35). Framing theory emerged in the 1960s as a means of studying politically radical groups and the coverage they were receiving in the media (Baran & Davis, 2011). Sociologist Erving Goffman originally intended to use framing as a micro-level theory to study how individuals use expectations of the social world to make meaning from media exposure (Goffman, 1974). Thus, frame analysis seeks to identify the frames or schemes that people use to construct their realities as they consume media (Goffman, 1974). Not only do audiences actively participate in framing, but media creators select frames in order to influence perceptions of social phenomenon as well (Volkmer, 2009). Because framing theory developed in a climate of political unrest and during a time when television was emerging as a major source of information, early framing theory research focused on political journalism and the effect of news on perceptions of the social world (Baran & Davis, 2011). Framing theory suggests that "exposure to news coverage results in learning that is consistent with the frames that structure the coverage" (Baran & Davis, 2011). While it is the audiences who create meaning from the media they consume, the frames present in media content also influence the meaning-making process through the presentation of ideas, inclusion and exclusion of sources, as well as methods of television production (Entman, 2004).

While much literature suggests that journalists and actors within the media industry are the primary creators of frames, contemporary framing scholars also argue that other actors present conflicting frames as well (Gamson, 1989; Ryan et al., 1998; Ryan et al., 2001). William Gamson takes a particular interest in the active role that social movements play in promoting positive news frames in order to bring about social change (Baran & Davis, 2010; Gamson, 1989). Any group "having an interest in advancing certain ways of seeing the social world" can participate in battles over meaning that take place through media frames (Baran & Davis, 2010, p. 320). Ryan (2001) actively partners with social movements to form and promote positive frames in contemporary news media. According to Ryan, news frames have a positive potential that social movements can harness (Ryan et al., 1998; Ryan et al., 2001). Historically though, news frames promoted by those with power, money, and ease of access to media channels have worked against social movements that challenge the status quo (Ryan et al., 1998; Ryan et al., 2001). Barriers to entry for controversial social actors, especially those who challenge the status quo such as protest movements, are particularly high.

Scholarship on framing theory, however, has predominantly focused on Western media, particularly in the United Kingdom and the United States (Wojcieszak, 2007). As Wojcieszak suggests:

> Despite its prevalence, the traditional western framing scholarship might not be generalizable to Al-Jazeera and to other media organizations that operate in the transnational sphere, where the production, dissemination and reception of frames differ from these processes as analyzed to date (2007, p. 125).

New research on the television industry, journalistic norms, and production practices in the Middle East is needed in order to shed light on how framing occurs and who influences the framing process outside of the traditional television news institution in the West (Wojcieszak, 2007). For example, Wojcieszak (2007) argues that Al-Jazeera has acted as a counter-hegemonic force outside the control of domestic governments, rather than as a voice of the powerful as framing research focused on Western media suggests: "Al-Jazeera has instigated numerous reforms in the Arab world, and has thus been conceived as a counter-hegemonic force" (p. 119). Furthermore, Al-Jazeera "has provided a platform for the vocal public from which to communicate with policy-makers," utilizing citizens as sources and encouraging participation in the news-making process (Wojcieszak, 2007, p. 122). The theory that television news frames may guide the way audiences interpret television news and thus their social and political environments is still applicable to the Middle East, but the frames and television news production practices are not identical to Western media. Hence, this study seeks to contribute to future scholarship on framing theory from an international perspective.

Frame Analysis and Social Protest: A Western Perspective

Todd Gitlin (1980) was one of the first scholars to apply framing theory to social protest movements, looking specifically at the news coverage of anti-Vietnam War protestors in the 1960's. Gitlin found that the media was able to delegitimize the perspective of protestors through the framing of news stories, specifically by portraying protestors as a fringe movement and focusing on the violent and countercultural aspects of the movement (1980). News frames, defined as "persistent patterns of cognition,

interpretation and presentation of selective emphasis and exclusion," presented a lop-

sided image of the protest movement that focused primarily on deviance (Gitlin, 1980, p.

7). The protestors had trouble communicating their goals and achieving their objectives

when framed as a deviant social group by the news media (Gitlin, 1980). As a sociologist,

Gitlin took the argument one step further, arguing that news frames not only influenced

public opinion about the protest movement, but actually impeded the success of the

movement (Baran & Davis, 2010). By "downplaying the representativeness of the

movement" and "discounting its accomplishments," news media made it difficult for the

protestors to communicate their goals and achieve their objectives (McLeod, 1995, p.20).

Also studying anti-Vietnam War protestors, Hallin (1986) found that the media

covered the protest movement in ways that favored the institutional perspective. News

coverage by CBS during the Vietnam War frequently referred to police or government

officials, denying protestors the opportunity to voice their perspectives (Hallin, 1986).

Hallin (1986) argues that news frames delegitimized social protest because "the media

generally place a low value on citizen involvement" (Wittebols, p. 349). The media

uphold the status quo through the selection of official sources and frames highlighting the

institutional or established perspective (Hallin, 1986).

Boykoff (2006) found similar results in studying a more recent series of protests,

collectively known as Global Justice Movement. The Global Justice Movement refers to

the social movements that focus on a range of issues from poverty, environmentalism,

corporate greed, human rights, AIDS, labor rights, and sexual equality (Boykoff, 2006).

Boykoff studied the mass protests against the actions of the World Trade Organization in

Seattle in 1999 and in Washington DC in 2000 in particular. Through a content analysis

of major newspapers and television news stories from ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, and FOX,

Boykoff found that the protests were largely delegitimized in the mass media (2006).

Violence was the most prominent frame, with a focus on violent acts and a language of

war applied to protests, and "even when protestors did not actually perpetrate violence,

the frame remained in place as journalists remarked on the lack of destruction, the

absence of violence, or the potential for violence" (Boykoff, 2006, p. 211). Another

common frame was the disruption frame, characterized by the framing of protestors as

disrupting the work of legitimate institutions – in this case the WTO, World Bank, and

IMF – and the "freak frame", which focused on "the non-mainstream values, beliefs, and

opinions of these dissidents, as well as their age and appearance" (Boykoff, 2006, p.

216). Protestors were often framed as having an amalgam of grievances and as being

ignorant (Boykoff, 2006). All five prominent frames had a deprecatory effect on the

protest movement, working together to provide an image of social protest as outside the

range of legitimate participation in a democratic society: "These frames are not mutually

exclusive, as they often appear within the same news segment, reverberating and

reinforcing each other" (Boykoff, 2006, p. 224).

Recent audience-centered scholarship has focused on the effect of television news

frames on audience perception of protestors and of protest as a legitimate form of

democratic participation (McLeod, 1995; Detenber et al., 2007). McLeod (1995) suggests

that negative portrayals of protest groups in television news undermines social protest as

a form of democratic participation. Television news framing "communicates the deviance

of protestors," fostering animosity towards protestors and delegitimizing the use of

protest by social movements (McLeod, 1995, p. 6). In a study of the effect of television

news on audience perception of protest, McLeod (1995) found that participants who

viewed a news story framed as critical of protestors were more likely to support police

action against protestors. In contrast, those who viewed a two-sided or balanced news

clip were less critical of the protestors and more critical of police retaliation (McLeod,

1995). McLeod's (1995) study attempts to isolate the effect of news frames on audience

perception by creating news stories about a protest movement unknown to participants.

This mitigates preconceived notions participants may have about a protest movement.

Detenber, et al. (2007) similarly argue that audience perceptions of protestors are

effected by the frames present in television news stories. In contrast to McLeod's (1995)

study, Detenber (2007) studies how the intensity of television news frames effect

audience perception of a social protest surrounding an issue with which they are already

familiar and may have formed opinions about, specifically the issue of abortion.

Participants exposed to the high-intensity framed stories – operationalized through the

negative word choice of reporters, lack of protestors as sources, and negative

characterizations of public opinion – were more critical of protestors in evaluations

following exposure (Detenber et al., 2007). This was true for both pro-life and pro-choice

stories (Detenber et al., 2007). However, individuals who noted strong views about

abortion issues before the study were less likely to be influenced by intensely framed

stories, indicating the limitation of television news as a source of public opinion

(Detenber et al., 2007). According to Detenber et al. (2007), Television news stories have

some power "to shape audience perceptions of the groups and issues involved" in social

protest, but are only one such factor involved in public opinion and the creation of

meaning from media texts (p. 454). As framing theory suggests, frames in media texts

suggest particular meanings but ultimately it is the audiences themselves that engage in

meaning-making process (Baran & Davis, 2010).

Al-Jazeera

Although scholarship on television news coverage of social protest in the West

was well underway when Al-Jazeera was founded in 2006, there is a growing body of

comparative research and scholarship focused on Al-Jazeera's impact on the Middle East.

Barkho (2007) compared English language stories from BBC, CNN, and Al-Jazeera

about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in order to understand how the news outlets differed

in their discursive strategy, or the language utilized by journalists. Brakho's study found

that Al-Jazeera used quotes and paraphrasing that "shift official Palestinian discourse into

public language while…the BBC and CNN attempt the opposite" (Barkho, 2007, p. 22).

Discourse from Al-Jazeera framed Palestine in a positive light and used active verbs to

describe Israeli action against Palestinians, such as "fire," "kill," "launches deadly,"

"screaming" (Barkho, 2007, p. 21). In general, "Al-Jazeera strives to rid itself of what it

sees as the hegemonic Anglo-Saxon discourse that normally equates anti-Western and

anti-Israeli groups and states with terrorism, militancy, or extremism" (Barkho, 2007, p.

24). Al-Jazeera provides an alternative perspective on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by

using language, quotes, and paraphrases that counter traditional Western television news

coverage.

Similarly, Fornaciari (2011) conducted a content analysis of Al-Jazeera English and BBC coverage, but focusing on coverage of the Egyptian Revolution. Fornaciari (2011) used five frames to compare 250 articles: attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic, and morality. While both outlets tended to emphasize the role of conflict in the revolution, Al-Jazeera was more likely to offer an objective description of facts, whereas the BBC was more likely to indicate solutions to the problems presented in stories (Fornaciari, 2011). The BBC was also more likely to name winner and losers in their coverage, thus indicating the difference in power between revolutionaries and the government (Fornaciari, 2011). For example, both news outlets used the attribution of responsibility frame to suggest that the government had a responsibility to intervene in the conflict, but the BBC was more likely to suggest solutions or express opinions on appropriate and inappropriate interventions (Fornaciari, 2011). Fornaciari (2011) suggests that Al-Jazeera's objective and fact-based reporting may be because it is attempting to establish itself as a reputable news source in order to compete on the global market. Unbiased coverage helps maintain Al-Jazeera's reputation and challenges the anti-Western stigma attached to the station (Fornaciari, 2011). Neither news outlet utilized the human interest or economic frames to the extent of the conflict and attribution of responsibility frames, which is not surprising given the serious and contentious nature of the conflict in Egypt (Fornaciari, 2011). Like Barkho (2007), Fornaciari (2011) concludes that "[Al-Jazeera English] and the BBC have tended to provide slightly different versions of reality," and in the case of the Egyptian Revolution AJE provided a version of events that distanced Al-Jazeera from institutional powers (p.232).

Finally, Powers & el-Nawawy (2009) conducted an audience focused study on the

cultural and political opinions of viewers of Al-Jazeera English, CNN, and the BBC.

Powers & el-Nawawy conducted a survey of viewers and found that viewers of Al-

Jazeera were less dogmatic in their thinking than viewers of CNN or the BBC, meaning

that Al-Jazeera viewers were more accepting of information that challenged their existing

opinions and beliefs (2009). Low levels of dogmatism helps to promote cross-cultural

understanding and reconciliation (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009). Thus, Al-Jazeera has the

potential to act as "a positive and proactive force in the creation of a global civil society"

(Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009, p. 280). AJE viewers were also less supportive of United

States policy in Iraq and attitude towards the Palestinian-Israeli conflict: "viewers who

were more dependent on AJE gave more importance to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict

while those who were more dependent on BBC World and CNNI prioritized terror threats

in the U.S. and Europe" (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009, p. 278). The study, however, also

found that people seek television news that affirms existing opinions (Powers & el-

Nawawy, 2009). Rather than Al-Jazeera promoting low levels of dogmatism, viewers

who are less dogmatic may seek AJE as an alternative news source to CNN and the BBC.

Viewers want news that agrees with their beliefs, not news that challenges their

preconceived opinions (Powers & el-Nawaay, 2009). If the goal of Al-Jazeera is to

provide a voice for the voiceless and challenge stereotype about the Middle East and

Western policy in the region, then the challenge for Al-Jazeera is reaching a wider and

more diverse audience (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009).

Citizen Journalism and User-Generated Content

An emerging trend that is influencing journalistic norms and therefore the process of news frame construction is the participation of citizen journalists and the incorporation of user-generated content (UCG) into television news stories (Greer & McLaughlin, 2010; Hanska-Ahy & Shapour, 2013; Miladi, 2011). Citizen journalism is defined as "the spontaneous actions of ordinary people, caught up in extraordinary events, who felt compelled to adopt the role of a news reporter" (Allan & Thorsen, 2009). Journalistic norms are a major contributor to the framing process, shaping the length, narrative structure, and sources referred to in television news stories (Lewis & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2004). Advances in technology – the internet and social media in particular – have opened new avenues for citizens to participate in the news-making process as content creators, challenging the traditional norms of the news-making process (Miladi, 2011). New players and new norms in the 21st century do not necessarily affect all television news institution at the same time or in the same way, however. While scholars have celebrated the success of citizen journalists in influencing coverage of the Arab Spring protests, journalistic norms in the West are entrenched and citizen journalism must also compete with official and corporate bias apparent in the framing process (Hanska-Ahy & Shapour, 2013; Miladi, 2011; Lewis & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2004).

Citizen journalism has not always been welcomed with open arms by traditional Western media. Lewis & Wahl-Jorgensen (2004) studied how journalistic norms and practices in television news either facilitate or discourage citizen participation in political life. Through a content analysis of evening television news broadcasts by the BBC in the

United Kingdom and ABC, CBS, and NBC in the United States, Lewis & Wahl-Jorgensen (2004) concluded that "the routines and practices of journalism might actually contribute to producing a passive, disengaged citizenry" (p. 153). Lewis & Wahl-Jorgensen found that journalists routinely invoked public opinion in order to confer legitimacy or illegitimacy upon ideas, but interacted little with citizens (2004). Journalistic norms promote a top-down structure of political reporting. This excludes citizens from active participation in the construction of public opinion and the overall news-making process: "Citizens are, on the whole, shown as passive observers of the world" (Lewis & Jorgensen, 2004, p. 163). Journalists refer to "the public" and "public opinion," often without polls or surveys, from the perspective of journalists and news organizations, rather than directly engaging with citizens or citizen journalists (Lewis & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2004). Lewis & Wahl-Jorgensen's (2004) study suggests that in Western television news, "the image of citizens engaged in politics is notable by its absence on TV news," allowing politicians and those with institutional power to shape public opinion about political life and appropriate political participation (p. 162).

Greer & McLaughlin (2010), on the other hand, found that citizen journalists were indeed able to influence the farming process in the case of the 2009 G20 Summit Protests in London. Greer & McLaughlin (2010) focused their study on the incorporation of multi-media technologies into the news-making process, commenting on patterns that emerged within newspaper and online coverage. In contrast to the research previously discussed, Greer & McLaughlin (2010) studied newspaper and online journalism rather than television news or the formation of television news frames. Leading up to the

protests, the dominant news frame was focused on protestor violence, predicting a violent

clash between protestors and police instigated by the protestors (Greer & McLaughlin,

2010). The protestor instigated violence frame was challenged by active citizen

journalists who were able to provide photo and video evidence of police violence during

the actual G20 Summit protests (Greer & McLaughlin, 2010). By capturing and

spreading their own version of events, protestors eventually gained the attention of

mainstream media, such as *The Guardian*, who then shared user-generated content with

other news outlets (Greer & McLaughlin, 2010). In this case, protestors successfully

promoted an alternative "police versus protestor" frame that was adopted by mainstream

media (Greer & McLaughlin, 2010). It is important to note, though, that the default frame

of the institutional media still favored the police and framed protest as an inherently

violent and disruptive act (Greer & McLaughlin, 2010). It was not until protestors had

amassed clear and credible evidence and promoted an alternative frame themselves,

though, that coverage changed:

> News media access is not granted because of who citizen journalists are,
> but rather because of where they are and what they have. Their credibility
> and authenticity as news sources derive from their capability to provide
> 'factual' visible evidence of 'live events'" (Greer & McLaughlin, 2010, p.
> 1054).

Although citizen journalists were able to have their voices heard, the burden of proof is

still against protestors acting as citizen journalists, creating a barrier into entering the

news-making process.

Hanska-Ahy & Shapour (2011) argue that journalists and citizen reporters have

found mutually beneficial ways of collaborating in recent years. Hanska-Ahy & Shapour

(2011) studied the BBC Persian and BBC Arabic language services by conducting

qualitative interviews with staff journalists. Studying coverage of citizen protests in Iran

in 2009 and later in the Arab Spring protest of 2011, Hanska-Ahy & Shapour (2011)

found that by 2011 journalists felt more comfortable and effective using user-generated

content. Not only did reporters feel more comfortable, but citizen reporters had adopted

journalistic norms in order to make their material more acceptable to journalists: "the

BBC became more reliant on UGC and its journalists tried to work more closely with

UGC creators…the practices of those producing and sharing content also changed" (p.

30). BBC journalists were frequently banned from sites or unable to gather suitable

footage of events or sources, creating a space in the news-making process for user-

generated content from citizen reporters (Hanska-Ahy & Shapour, 2011). In turn, citizen

reporters developed practices that would "enable faster processing" in order to have their

material included in news stories: "more and more videos use end-boards listing date,

time, and location to help verify material" (Hanska-Ahy & Shapour, 2011, p. 39).

Journalistic practices as well as the practices of citizen journalists are converging in order

to allow more diverse voices into the framing process.

   Finally, Miladi (2011) suggests that Al-Jazeera has been particularly receptive of

citizen journalism and user-generated content in the production of television news.

Television production norms vary by country and by television news institution, as well

as change and develop over time (Miladi, 2011). The use of user-generated content and

reliance on citizen journalists is not only a recent trend as technology develops and social

media grows in importance, but is has actually helped to shape the norms of production

for Al-Jazeera:

> Such developments have proven significant in changing the rules of the
> game, of journalism production, and the dissemination of information in a
> country where the government historically keeps tight control on the
> media and where no platform is available for opinions critical of the
> political elite (Miladi, 2011, p. 114).

In studying coverage of the Tunisian protests that began the Arab Spring in 2011, Miladi

(2011) found that Al-Jazeera relied heavily on user-generated content from Facebook and

YouTube in the reporting of events. Later, during the protests in Egypt, Al-Jazeera had an

entire desk dedicated to receiving submissions from citizen journalists to be verified and

included in reports (Miladi, 2011). Citizen journalists were an integral part of the news

production process for Al-Jazeera, giving the protestors and citizens a voice in the

framing process.

This study seeks to contribute to the growing scholarship on the relationship

between social protest movements and television news frames. While much recent

scholarship has been audience-centered, the present study will focus on television news

stories and the presence and construction of frames within these stories. Understanding

the framing process is a vital component of understanding how television news frames

may affect public opinion about protest issues. A final goal of this study is to expand

current research in the area of television news frames to include an international or

comparative perspective, specifically addressing how the history and institutional

structure of television news in the Middle East compares to United States network

television news. Comparing television news frames from Al-Jazeera English, NBC, and

CBS may provide insight into how the different economic and political situations affect the news production process in the Middle East and the United States.

Methodology

In order to compare how the framing of social protest differs across international news outlets, I conducted a textual analysis of news stories from United States network television news and the Qatari-based Al-Jazeera English news station. This study utilized both primary and secondary sources. Using the Commonwealth University library resources, I compiled a set of books and scholarly articles related to the topics of television news and social protest. Relevant books were obtained from the Commonwealth University library using the Quest library catalog and Holmes search engine. Key words for this search included: television, news, network news, social movement, protest, public opinion, United States, American, Middle East, Al-Jazeera, and conflict. I also obtained scholarly, peer-reviewed articles from the following Commonwealth University on-line library databases. Key words for narrowing my search within these databases included: televi*, TV, news, broadcast, network, media, social, protest, movement, conflict, audience, viewer*, effect*, perception, impact, influence, legit*, public opinion, cover*, fram*, America*, US, Middle East, Al-Jazeera, Arab Spring, Tahrir Square, Egypt*, Vietnam, and war. I conducted secondary research by locating relevant sources referred to by the books and scholarly articles obtained in my original search. These were also found within the Commonwealth University library or located in the on-line databases.

This study included a textual analysis of coverage of the Occupy Wall Street Movement and the 2011 Arab Spring protests in Egypt from both American network television news and Al-Jazeera English. In order to conduct a textual analysis of television news coverage of the Occupy Wall Street protest movement from the perspective of American network television news, I randomly selected five news stories from *NBC Nightly News* and five news stories from *CBS Evening News. NBC Nightly News* and *CBS Evening News* are national network television newscasts, both broadcast nightly. I chose these networks because full news stories were available to the public through their respective online news archives. Stories from *NBC Nightly News* were selected from the online *Nightly News with Brian Williams* archive. After assigning each story about the Occupy Wall Street movement from September 2011-March 2012 a number from 1-20, I used a random number generator to select five stories. The results were numbers one, three, six, ten, and twelve, assigned to stories titled "Wall Street Protests Spread Nationally," "Looming Showdown between NYPD and Protesters," "Occupy Los Angeles," "'Occupy' Protesters Interrupt Bachmann Speech," and "Police Clear Occupy Oakland Camp" respectively. Stories from *CBS Evening News* were selected from the CBS News website. I used the search term "occupy wall street" to refine the search. Out of the 647 results, seven full stories about the Occupy movement were available from *CBS Evening News*. After assigning each story a number 1-7, I used a random number generator to select five stories. The results were as follows: stories two, four, three, five, and seven, representing "'Occupy Wall Street' Now in 25 Cities," "'Occupy' Waste, Noise Test Neighbors' Patience," "Occupy Oakland Awaits Police

Response," "Pushed Out, Occupy Movement Plans Next Move," and "Using Social

Media to Monitor Occupy Movement."

The process was repeated for both networks in order to select stories about the

protests in Tahrir Square that precipitated the Egyptian Revolution in Cairo. Stories were

selected dating from January 25, 2011 to February 11, 2011, with the exception of *NBC*

Nightly News for which only February 1, 2001 to February 11, 2011 were available.

These dates represent the start of the Arab Spring protest movement in Egypt through the

resignation of Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak. *NBC Nightly News with Brian*

Williams had 45 stories about the protests in Tahrir Square during this time period. A

random number generator was used to select five stories for textual analysis. The results

were numbers 5, 11, 20, 23, and 27, corresponding to "Among the Protestors: Tea, not

Tear Gas," "A 'Disastrous Day' for All Egyptians," "Calm Inside, Unrest Outside Tahrir

Square," "Egypt Revolt Spreads to Workforce," and "Egypt's Protestors Brace for

Second Major Battle" respectively. Next, I used the keywords "Arab Spring protest*

Tahrir Square" to search on the *CBS Nightly News* archive, yielding 366 total results. Of

these 366, eight were relevant full length news stories about the Arab Spring protest

movement from *CBS Evening News*. Using a random number generator I selected five

stories corresponding to numbers one, three, five, six, and seven. The stories selected

were titled "Tahrir's Liberation Square Turns Violent," "11 Days that Shook a Nation,"

"Cairo Protestors Show no Signs of Backing Down," "On the Frontlines with Egyptian

Protestors," and "Expert: Mubarak's Speech was a Push for Violence."

Finally, I selected stories from the Al-Jazeera English online television news archives and Al-Jazeera English YouTube page related to the Occupy Wall Street movement and the protests in Tahrir Square, Egypt. Beginning with stories on the Occupy Wall Street movement, I used the key words "occupy wall street protests" to search the Al-Jazeera online news archive. Al-Jazeera English had 24 television news stories about the Occupy movement from September 2011-March 2012. I assigned each story a number and randomly selected stories 2, 4, 8, 11, and 24, to be viewed for the study. These stories were titled "Camping Out in Protest in New York Park," "'Occupy' Protests Spread to US Capital," "Wall Street Protestors Have Little Faith in US Democracy," "Comparing movements on the US Left and Right," and "New York police evicting 'Occupy' protesters." In order to select stories from Al-Jazeera English on the Egyptian protests that took place in 2011, I utilized the Al-Jazeera English YouTube channel. I located all videos uploaded by AJE on the subject by using the search term "Egypt protests Tahrir square 2011." The search presented 72 total stories. I then used a random number generator to select five for the study. The stories selected were titled: "Police Attack Praying Egyptians," "Egypt Protests Press On," "Demanding Change in Egypt," "Millions Rally to Oust Mubarak," and "Egypt's 'Unprecedented' Protests."

In performing the textual analysis, I watched each news clip and observed the images shown, sources referred to, and tone and word choice of the anchors and reporters. I watched clips from NBC, CBS, and Al-Jazeera English separately to observe trends and disparities across network news outlets. In order to analyze the clips, I utilized the codes of the protest paradigm developed by McLeod & Hertog (1999): narrative

structure, reliance on official sources and official definitions, and the invocation of public

opinion. Narrative structure refers to the framing of stories around crime, conflict with

police, and chaos as subthemes (McLeod & Hertog, 1999; Detenber et al., 2007). The

second code, reliance on official sources, refers to the use of police, government officials,

and institutional sources that support the status quo: "They use official sources to add

prestige to a story, to increase the efficiency of news production, and to maintain the

illusion of objectivity (McLeod & Hertog, 1999, p. 6). Finally, invocation of public

opinion refers to the making of generalizations about public opinions and reactions to

protest, including references to social norms and comments from bystanders (Detenber et

al., 2007). An additional code I added prior to the textual analysis was citizen journalism,

referring to integration of citizens into the news production process, generally

characterized by the incorporation of user-generated content into news stories (Greer &

McLaughlin, 2010; Hanska-Ahy & Shapour, 2013). Citizen journalism, as relatively

recent phenomenon, was not included in McLeod & Hertog's (1999) study, but has

played a critical role in recent changes in news production process, especially in the

context of the Arab Spring in the Middle East. For this reason it was included in the study

(Miladi, 2011).

     In conducting the textual analysis, I viewed each news clip several times, each

time noting how the sources referred to, images shown, statistics chosen, word choice,

tone of reporters and anchors, and use of citizen generated content related to the

aforementioned codes. I used an emergent design, developing additional codes as they

became apparent throughout the research process.

Results

The results of the textual analysis are presented as a comparison of United States

network television news – represented by *NBC Nightly News* and *CBS Evening News* –

and the Al-Jazeera English network. Results are grouped by protest issue, with an

analysis of news of coverage of Occupy Wall Street followed by coverage of the Arab

Spring protests in Egypt.

NBC, CBS, and Al-Jazeera English Coverage of Occupy Wall Street

Narrative structure. The code narrative structure refers to the thematic structure

of the news stories, specifically in reference to the use of crime, chaos, or violence as a

central theme. The most common narrative theme was protestors versus police, a

narrative constructed through themes of crime and violence.

Table 1: Narrative Structure in Coverage of Occupy Wall Street

	NBC Nightly News	*CBS Evening News*	**Al-Jazeera English**
Stories Demonstrating Police vs. Protestors	4/5 (80%)	4/5 (80%)	1/5 (20%)
Total			9/15 (60%)

Clips viewed from *NBC Nightly News* contained a consistent narrative of police

versus protestors. The theme of crime appeared across four of the five stories. "Wall

Street Protests Spread Nationally" referenced the arrest of protestors in three separate

instances during the two minute and 17 second clip. Brian Williams' tone and voice

inflection emphasized "*hundreds* of arrests so far" in the introduction to the story.

Reporter on scene Michelle Franzen qualified the small number of arrests that day – three

– by adding "nothing like the 700 hundreds arrests we saw this weekend." In "Looming Showdown between NYPD and Protestors," Mara Schiavocampo referenced high statistics for the number of arrests, in the 1000's by this date in mid-October. She also mentions a protestor shot and killed at the Occupy camp. Word choice was also important in establishing the theme, usually with strong action verbs referring to violence. For example, Shiavocampo's word choice referenced: "bracing for a showdown," "escalation in clashes," "prepared for clashes." "Police Clear Occupy Oakland Camp" referenced "violent and sometimes bloody clashes" and described how "protestors remain defiant." Imagery was used to establish violence as a subtheme as well. Both "Looming Showdown between NYPD and Protestors" and "Police Clear Occupy Oakland" used vivid video footage of violent clashes between police and protestors. "Police Clear Occupy Oakland" showed police in riot gear putting down rowdy protestors, using tear gas and batons, with vivid imagery as well as natural sound of shouting and police sirens. While crime and conflict were central themes across four of the five stories, "Occupy Los Angeles" was an exception, thanking officials for being cooperative and city hall especially for sending ponchos on a rainy day.

     CBS Evening News also contained the narrative structure of police versus protestors across three of five stories. Similar to results from *NBC Nightly News*, this narrative structure was manifested through arrest statistics, word choice, and images of clashes with police. These characteristics created subthemes of crime and violence. In "'Occupy' Waste, Noise, Test Neighbors Patience," there are four references to arrests, three of which state specific statistics. Reporter John Blackstone references 85 arrests in

Oakland, 50 in Atlanta, "nearly *two dozen*" in Dallas, and an unnamed number in

Chicago. "Using Social Media to Monitor Occupy Movement" mentions 732 arrested in

the Brooklyn Bridge occupation as well. Four of five clips also use language that

references violence or confrontation between police and protestors. Some of these

phrases used include: "police crackdown," "the protestors are pushing back," "violent

clashes," "repeated orders to disperse," and "battled them in the streets." Four out of five

stories also included video footage and images of confrontation between police and

protestors. "'Occupy' Waste, Noise Test Neighbors' Patience" shows footage of police

on horseback reacting to protests, protestors running amidst tear gas, and protestors being

tackled and arrested by officers. "Occupy Oakland Awaits Police Response" also shows

protestors rioting, clouds of tear gas, and protestors being arrested. "Pushed Out, Occupy

Movement Plans Next Move" and "Using Social Media to Monitor Occupy Movement"

both show images of people being arrested in the street among protester chaos. The only

story that does not show violence and arrests references protestors spitting on bystanders.

      The narrative structure of the Al-Jazeera English stories did not share a thematic

focus on violence. In fact, only one of five stories contained the narrative structure of

police versus protestors. The one example of police versus protestors as a narrative theme

was "New York Police Evicting 'Occupy' Protestors." The focus of the story was on one

specific instance of a clash between police and protestors, although the reporter claimed

there were "no confirmed reports of violence." The word choice distinguishes between

the use of "force" by police and incidents of "violence" – confirming that the police have

been seen shoving protestors and yelling "move away," but not citing these as reports of

violence. The word choice throughout the story also implied that the violence was

enacted by the police and used as "a deliberate police tactic" against protestors. The

reporter used adjectives such as "heavy-handed" to describe police action, referring to the

incident as a police "crackdown." The reporter frames the incident as the police

"destroying" the home that the protestors have created for themselves in the park: "they

were entrenched. This was a living area…a full camp with kitchen libraries, toilet

facilities…all of that was destroyed…the police are intent on getting rid of these

protestors." While the narrative structure is police versus protestors, the burden of proof

lies with the police to prove that their actions are just and not a violation of the rights of

the citizens to protest.

The more common narrative structure in stories from Al-Jazeera was the theme of

protest as political participation. Three of the stories from Al-Jazeera shared the narrative

structure of Occupy Wall Street as a form of democratic participation that gives voice to

ordinary citizens. "'Occupy' Protests Spread to U.S. Capital" used the theme of collective

action to portray the movement as a form of political voice. The reporter uses several

protestors as sources and refers to their actions as a way to seek rights, rather than a way

to disturb the peace. The reporter quotes a protestor as saying that the protests are the

"start of a new American revolution" and the movement is a way to "reclaim their

rights." "Wall Street Protestors Have Little Faith in American Democracy" contains a

similar narrative theme, focusing on the Occupy Movement as a legitimate form of

democratic participation, but outside traditional avenues. One protestor referred to as a

source says that the movement "will be the leaders" in future policy making, and that "we

need to dictate the policy up, not the policy being dictated down." The story reiterates the

belief that parties in the current system do not represent the beliefs and needs of the

people. The story also includes footage of a protestor who says that "dissent is the most

patriotic things you can do" and that the Occupy movement is seeking a political system

that is "fully participatory." Finally, the story "Comparing Movements on the U.S. Left

and Right" also contains the narrative structure of protest as a form of political voice by

comparing the protest movement to the Tea Party Movement. By aligning the two

movements and highlighting their similarities, the narrative theme draws on the

legitimacy of the Tea Party Movement to demonstrate how Occupy is a similar way to

participate in democratic politics. The reporter says that "both believe they can empower

ordinary citizens to take back control of their banks…and their government." The story

also highlights the fact that what "both have in common is that they are an emotional

response to the economic upheaval taking place" in the U.S. The narrative structure thus

gives legitimacy to the Occupy movement as a form of collective political action

Official sources.

Table 2: Official Sources in Coverage of Occupy Wall Street.

	NBC Nightly News	*CBS Evening News*	**Al-Jazeera English**
Number of Official Sources	5/15 (33.3%)	4/16 (25%)	1/11 (9.1%)
Total			10/32 (31.3%)

NBC Nightly News relied heavily on official sources in two of the stories.

"Looming Showdown between NYPD and Protestors" used two police sources, including

the chief of police, in comparison to one brief protestor source proclaiming: "they can

Y

carry everyone off in handcuffs like they did on the Brooklyn Bridge." "Occupy

Oakland" story used Mayor Quan as a source, who spoke about the unanswered 911 calls

due to police preoccupation with violent protest. These sources functioned to bolster the

narrative structure of police versus protestors. However, the majority of sources referred

to by *NBC Nightly News* were protestors. One clip – "Occupy Protestors interrupt

Bachmann Speech" – used only voiceover and no sources, but two of the five clips used

only protestors as sources: "Occupy Los Angeles" and "Wall Street Protests Spread

Nationally." There were also a few instances of official sources in support of the protests.

"Wall Street Protests Spread Nationally" included a union leader and protestor as one

source, citing union support. A clip from a speech by Democratic Senator Jon Larson was

also used as source to justify the movement in "Looming Showdown between NYPD and

Protestors."

None of the stories from *CBS Evening News* directly used the police as a source.

While images and footage of police were highly prevalent, police were not quoted or

referred to as an official source. Sixteen out of nineteen sources referred to were

protestors, spanning across age and gender. "Occupy Wall Street in 25 Cities" included a

cross-section of protestor sources from a very young boy at protests with his family, to

young adults of both genders, to an elderly couple recounting their days as Anti-Vietnam

War protestors. Official sources besides police referred to included Nancy Pelosi and

Newt Gingrich in "Occupy Wall Street Now in 25 Cities," Pelosi saying she understands

protestors' plight while Gingrich said the protests were "a dumb idea" stemming from a

lack of education among protestors. Two other official sources condemned protestors,

including Oakland mayor Jean Quan in "'Occupy' Waste, Noise Test Neighbors' Patience" and New York Judge Sciarrino in "Using Social Media to Monitor Occupy Movement." Overall, three official sources condemned protestors in comparison to sixteen protestors used as sources and two official sources sympathizing with protestors.

The stories from Al-Jazeera also did not have a tendency to rely on official sources such as police or political officials. Not a single police officer was used as a source in the five Al-Jazeera stories. One political analyst was referred to a source in "'Occupy Protests Spread to U.S. Capital," who spoke in favor of the protests as a way to reclaim the rights of the protestors. All other sources referred to were protestors themselves. This story showed images of police on the sidelines of the protest, but only in order to highlight the lack of violence as the protests continued to grow non-violently. "Camping Out in Protest in New York Park" referred extensively to Robert Segal as a source, example. The story focused on how Segal had taken on a leadership role, acting as a father figure and "official" within the movement.

Invocation of public opinion. The invocation of public opinion occurred through the use of public opinion polls and statistics and through word choice referring to a symbolic, abstract "American public." The invocation of public opinion appeared in two of the five stories from *NBC Nightly News.* In "Looming Showdown between NYPD and Protestors," Williams introduces the story by stating that "the message is increasingly resonating." Schiavocampo references public opinion polls that show 37% of Americans support the protests and 40% of wealthy Americans. This is presented as a favorable statistic and accompanied by the generalization that the movement is spreading quickly

and growing in popularity. In contrast, "Police Clear Occupy Oakland Camp" uses

generalizations of public opinion without specific polls or sources, stating that "the city

has had enough." The story continues to refer to "the city" as an abstraction of public

opinion, at one point referencing how protest related expenses "could cost cash-strapped

Oakland half a million dollars."

While *CBS Evening News* did not make use of any official public opinion polls,

two stories demonstrated the invocation of public opinion code through sources referred

to – in this case a bystander or man-on-street interview – and verbal references to a

generalized public. A man-on-street source in "Occupy Wall Street in 25 Cities"

complained about being spit on undeservedly by protestors. He also stated: "if you're

wearing a tie, it automatically makes him a Nazi Wall Street banker." "'Occupy Waste,

Noise Test Neighbors' Patience" implies the annoyance of an abstract group of

"neighbors." The story refers to "complaints about sanitation and safety."

Al-Jazeera did not use opinion polls, statistics, or by-stander interviews to invoke

public opinion. Three of the five stories did not present this frame at all. The two that did

referred to public opinion in the form of generalizations made by the reporters through

their word choice. "'Occupy Protests Spread to U.S. Capital" referred to the protestors as

"the people" during the story, giving the protests a sense of mass support and collective

action. The reporter referred to the "collective anger" among "the people" present at the

DC protests. "Comparing Movements on the U.S. Left and Right" also referenced public

opinion as a generalization when the reporter claimed the Occupy message "resonates

with a lot of people."

Citizen journalism.

Table 3: Citizen Journalism in Coverage of Occupy Wall Street

	NBC Nightly News	*CBS Evening News*	**Al-Jazeera English**
Stories Incorporating Citizen Journalism	0/5 (0%)	1/5 (20%)	1/5 (20%)
Total			2/15 (13.3%)

Neither *NBC Nightly News* nor *CBS Evening News* extensively included user-generated content from citizen journalists. The one exception was the *CBS* story "Using Social Media to Monitor the Occupy Movement." While the story was not directly using social media – Twitter in this case – as a source of information on the protests, it did refer to how the protestors themselves were using the Internet and social media to organize protest, the anchor stating that these are "essential tools for protest movements." The reporter ends the story by stating that "Twitter remains a major organization tool for the Occupy Wall Street Movement." The focus of the story, however, is how the police are using social media to charge protestors with crimes such as disorderly conduct.

One story from Al-Jazeera demonstrated the citizen journalism code, although several stories were so highly dependent on protestors as sources that the protestors played a more dominant role in providing content than the reporters themselves. "New York Police Evicting 'Occupy' Protestors" used only citizen generated footage as the background for a conversation between an anchor and a journalist speaking by phone. The user –generated content was the only imagery used throughout the story. Although he may not be an ordinary citizen, the story also utilized a tweet from Mayor Bloomberg

as a source in the coverage, stating that protestors can move in after the camp has been

dismantled and the park has been cleaned.

      The Circus. One of the codes that emerged during the viewing is referred to as

"the circus." The circus is characterized by representations of the protestors as social and

cultural outsiders or oddities. The circus emerged either as a primary narrative structure

in stories that did not follow the police versus protestors narrative or as a subtheme in

other stories. This code was commonly found in the imagery used representing abnormal

behavior and appearances of protestors, as well as in the sources and quotations selected

from protestors.

Table 4: The Circus Code in Coverage of Occupy Wall Street.

	NBC Nightly News	*CBS Evening News*	**Al-Jazeera English**
Stories Demonstrating the Circus Code	5/5 (100%)	2/5 (40%)	0/5 (0%)
Total			7/15 (46.7%)

      NBC Nightly News demonstrated the circus code across all five stories. "Occupy

Los Angeles" was organized most strongly around the circus as a narrative structure or

overall theme. This story included only protestors as sources and no images of or

quotations from police and authority figures. However, the overall theme was the

protestors as an abnormal community and social anomaly. The story opens with a scene

of protestors sitting in a circle, playing the guitar, and having a sing-a-long. The images

show tents, radical signs (e.g. "books not bombs," "class warfare"), shirtless protestors,

and male protestors with long hair. The images and quotations selected from protestor

sources portray them as hippies. One male protestor is shown saying, "the blessing on

this meal is that we love you!" Another male protestor with long, unkempt hair is used as

a source as well. The subtheme of protestors as oddities was presented in other stories as

well. "Wall Street Protests Spread Nationally" used imagery throughout the story of

protestors marching dressed as zombies. "Looming Showdown" used a protestor with a

blue mohawk as a source making radical statements and inviting police to come arrest

protestors. "Occupy' Protestors Interrupt Bachmann Speech" includes footage of

protestors yelling over Michelle Bachmann. Williams describes how Bachmann "got an

ear full" while "*trying* to give a speech."

CBS Evening News contained the circus code predominantly in two stories as a

subtheme established by imagery depicting protestors' odd behavior and style of dress.

"Occupy Oakland Awaits Police Response" showed images of protestors playing large

drums and chanting. This same story used a former Anti-Vietnam War protestor as a

source, comparing the Occupy protests to radical student protests in the 1960's. Another

source used was a woman in a blonde wig and bohemian dress walking her bicycle. She

had brought her seven-year-old son to the protest who claimed his goggles would

"protect him from tear gas." In "Pushed Out, Occupy Movement Plans Next Move,"

video footage showed an abandoned tent city, covered in garbage. The story focused on

the Occupy Wall Street movement gaining legitimacy by renting office space and

organizing politically, saying "Occupy Wall Street has left the street and gone legit" and

thus implying that the public protest aspect of the movement was illegitimate. Reporter

Cynthia Bowers also states that the next step is to "turn the protest movement into a

political movement," which also implies that the protest is outside the accepted sphere of political action.

Al-Jazeera did not present the circus code in coverage of the Occupy Wall Street movement. In contrast to the circus code that presents protestors as counter-cultural, social outsiders, Al-Jazeera tended to use a variety of protestor sources and narrative themes to highlight the diversity and inclusiveness of the movement. "Camping Out in Protest in New York Park" focused on Robert Segal as a source, framing Segal as a "father" in the movement acting as a leader to many of the younger participants. "'Occupy' Protests Spread to U.S. Capital" also used protestor sources to show the diversity of the movement, including young, old, male, and female sources, as well as a political analyst. The sources showed the diversity if the movement and also articulated the common goals of the protestors. AJE stories showed not only the inclusiveness of the movement, but also highlighted the potential for the movement and actors to work within the accepted political and social systems of the United States. "Wall Street Protestors Have Little Faith in American Democracy" included two protestor sources who spoke intelligently not only about the goals of the movement, but also about the potential of the Occupy movement to affect policy change and work with recognized political parties within the system.

Disorganization. A fifth code that emerged during the textual analysis was disorganization, meaning the lack of identity and set goals among the Occupy Wall Street protest movement. This code is characterized by portrayals of the movement as lacking uniformity and goals or in a perpetual state of disunity. The lack of organization code was

predominantly found in word choice of anchors and reporters during lead-ins and as

voiceover during stories.

Table 5: Disorganization Code in Coverage of Occupy Wall Street.

	NBC Nightly News	*CBS Evening News*	**Al-Jazeera English**
Stories Demonstrating the Disorganization Code	2/5 (40%)	3/5 (60%)	0/5 (0%)
Total			5/15 (33.3%)

NBC Nightly News demonstrated the disorganization code to a lesser extent than

CBS Evening News although the code did appear in two stories. "Wall Street Protests

Spread Nationally" was coded for disorganization through the word choice of Franzen. In

her initial lead-in, Franzen states that "they have no set plan or end goal in mind." Later

Franzen reinforces the random nature of the movement through word choice and tone by

stating "*anyone* dissatisfied with just about *anything* has a voice" in the Occupy

movement. "Looming Showdown between NYPD and Protestors" includes the code of

disorganization through word choice as well. Williams introduces the story by saying

"this protest does not look the same or take the same shape exactly any two days in a

row" and also states that "the players change," implying a lack of organization or unity

among the movement.

CBS Evening News* contained the disorganization code in three of five stories as

well. This code was in word choice of reporters and anchors referring to the lack of

organization and unity among the movement, as well as the failure to set defined goals.

Reporter Bigad Shaban says in the closing tag of "Occupy Wall Street Now in 25 Cities"

that the movement has "yet to fully develop their goals." Disorganization was also a

predominant code in "Pushed Out, Occupy Movement Plans Next Move." The language

of reporter Cynthia Bowers implies that the protest movement was ineffective due to lack

of organization and coordination. She states that "holding on to encampments like this

one proved too difficult," showing a disorganized tent city with police arresting the

remaining protestors, and that "effective political organization could as well." These

statements imply that organization has been a problem for the movement and that the

movement has been "ineffective." She also mentions how Occupy "prides itself on being

decentralized."

Al-Jazeera English did not demonstrate the disorganization code. Stories avoided

the circus and disorganization codes by creating a narrative structure centered on the

theme of rules and order. In "Camping Out in Protest in New York Park," protestor

Robert Segal is shown organizing his fellow protestors, chastising a group for playing

their music too loud, and attending meetings with other allied groups. "Wall Street

Protestors Have Little Faith in American Democracy" discusses future goals and next

steps for the movement moving forward, implying the ability of the movement to plan

ahead and form long-term goals. Rather than a disjointed group of hippies, Occupy is

presented as a rules-based and diverse collective action group.

NBC, CBS, and Al-Jazeera English Coverage of the Arab Spring

In addition to fifteen stories about the Occupy Wall Street movement, I also

conducted a textual analysis on fifteen stories about the Arab Spring protest in the Middle

East, specifically the protests in Tahrir Square in Cairo, Egypt. The textual analysis

included five stories each from United States news networks NBC and CBS and five

stories from Al-Jazeera English. Results are presented separately for each protest issue, although all stories were coded according to the protest paradigm.

Narrative structure.

Table 6: Narrative Structure in Coverage of the Arab Spring

	NBC Nightly News	*CBS Evening News*	**Al-Jazeera English**
Stories Demonstrating Protestors vs. Police Code	4/5 (80%)	5/5 (100%)	4/5 (80%)
Total			13/15 (86.7%)

NBC Nightly News relied on violence as a narrative structure in the majority of stories. Rather than the police versus protestors as a central theme, the stories pitted the "regime" against the protest movement, a group which would include the secret police, military, and political powers controlled by Mubarak. "A 'Disastrous Day' for all Egyptians," Ambassador Nick Burns describes how protestors were attacked "blatantly and brutally" by the military. Ambassador Burns is the primary source referred to in the story, sharing his belief that Mubarak's secret police forces are behind recent attacks on "peaceful protestor." The quotes selected from Burns portray the regime as responsible for violent acts: "for nine days these protests had been largely nonviolent." "Calm Inside, Unrest Outside Tahrir Square" uses both word choice of the reporter and images portrayed to create a narrative structure centered on violence. The correspondent says the "wounded are everywhere" and tells viewers how there were "hundreds injured" in the recent protests. The camera shows footage of protestors being covered with bandages and refers to a man with a wounded eye as a source. The word choice uses military language

to describe protestor behavior. The correspondent moves to the outskirts of the square

and explains how protestors are "ready for siege warfare of a primitive kind." The camera

shows footage of tanks, homemade catapults, and protestors throwing rocks at Mubarak

supporters. The final story, "Egypt's Protestors Brace for Second Major Battle," does not

show imagery of protestors at all. The report features only Brian Williams and

correspondent Richard Engel, who speaks about what is happening among the protestors.

Engel says the protestors are "making weapons, fashioning crude helmets" in preparation

for "renewed urban battles." Again the language of warfare is used to describe protestors'

actions.

All five stories from *CBS Evening News* contained violence as a theme in the

narrative structure of stories. Three of five stories were centered predominantly on a

theme of protestors versus the regime, coded as images of violence and wounded

protestors and the language of war and violence used by both reporters and sources.

"Tahrir's Liberation Square Turns Violent" is a particularly strong example. Katie Couric

uses phrases such as "It's been a bloody day here in Cairo," describes protestors

"chopping up pavement" to use as weapons, "brandishing weapons, throwing rocks," and

using Molotov cocktails as weapons. She talks about the protests as "today's violence."

The images of fighting show protestors fighting, throwing rocks, making makeshift

weapons, or lying injured on the ground. "On the frontlines with Egyptian Protestor" uses

the war of language in the title, calling one section of the protest the "frontline." Other

war language such as "battles with Egypt's riot police," "siege," and "tactical move"

appear as well. "11 Days that Shook a Nation" uses images of violence among the protest

movement as well. Couric here describes violence on the side of the police who used

"rubber bullets, tear gas" against protestors who at the outset "gathered peacefully."

Stories from Al-Jazeera encompassed a wide variety of narrative structures. Four

stories were coded for a narrative structure with violence a central theme. In establishing

the narrative structure, images portrayed were especially important. Footage from Al-

Jazeera was more graphic than United States network news; protestors were shown

wounded and bleeding in the streets, being brutally attacked by police officers, and

assaulting riot police and military tanks. Two of these stories were coded for the narrative

structure of police versus protestors, focusing on violence as a mutual battle between

police and protestors. "Egypt Protests Press On" showed images of a burning building

and smoldering cars that had been "torched by protestors." The reporter describes how

"they [the protestors] didn't spare any vehicles." Captions on screen describe how 15

protestors have been killed by police in Suez, showing military tanks lined up on the

street. Violence is portrayed as mutual aggression between protestors and police.

"Demanding Change in Egypt" was also coded for a narrative structure of police versus

protestors, focusing more on the protestors as the enactors of violence and the police as

victims. The reporter says protestors "attacked police vehicles and set them on fire," and

describe how "police were attacked" as "stone-throwing youth pelted security vans."

"Egypt's 'Unprecedented' Protests" and "Police Attack Praying Egyptians" were also

coded for a narrative structure with violence as a central theme, but framed the police as

the attackers and protestors as the victims rather than a mutual struggle. The title "Police

Attack Praying Egyptians" implies the innocence of protestors engaging in daily prayer.

The continues with graphic footage of police in riot gear spraying unarmed protestors with hoses, shooting tear gas, and physically assaulting protestors. Viewers hear the natural sound of sirens and screaming men and women in the street. The reporter describes police using "brute force" in a "crackdown" on protestors. "Egypt's 'Unprecedented' Protests" includes similar footage of police attacking and pepper-spraying protestors, tanks rolling through the streets, and wounded and protestors trying to escape the fighting. The sound of sirens is heard throughout the story. The reporter uses the language of war – "central Cairo, a battlefield" – and describes "choking tear gas-filled air" in the streets of Cairo. The reporter also states that "the police moved in" on protestors and that although the police "initially showed some leniency, they decided not to break with tradition after all," alluding to the history of military and police violence against the people.

Official sources.

Table 7: Official Sources in Coverage of the Arab Spring

	NBC Nightly News	CBS Evening News	Al-Jazeera English
Number of Official Sources Referred to out of Total Sources	3/10 (30%)	6/17 (35.3%)	0/5 (0%)
Total			9/32 (28%)

NBC Nightly News uses a larger number of protestor than official sources overall, although two of the stories use no sources at all and have only the journalists as the "official" source of information on the protests. Two of the other stories do refer to official sources. The official sources, however, are United States officials rather than

Egyptian politicians or police officials – who are not referred to at all by NBC. "A 'Disastrous Day' for all Egyptians" is a single voiceover commentary from U.S. official Ambassador Nick Burns. In this story, Burns also refers generally to Obama's policy in Egypt as an official source while viewers see a clip of Obama's speech on the issue. "Egypt Revolt Spreads to Workforce" uses an excerpt from a statement by Joe Biden asking the Egyptian government respond to the demands of the protestors.

CBS Evening News used protestors as the majority of sources, but still relied more heavily on official sources than *NBC Nightly News. CBS* included official sources who were both in favor of the protest as well as official sources denouncing the protestors. "Tahrir's Liberation Square Turns Violent," for example, used Health Minister Ibrahim Kamel as a source who denounced the movement. Kamel claims that the protestors do not represent the majority of Egypt, but rather are a small group of loud dissidents. The same story also used an official source from the United States, White House Press Secretary Gibbs, who denounced the Egyptian government for supporting violence against the protestors. "Cairo Protestors Show no Signs of Backing Down" used a politician from the opposition as an official source to bolster the legitimacy of them movement. "11 Days that Shook a Nation" used a quote from President Obama in support of the protestors as well. Finally, "Expert: Mubarak's Speech was a Push for Violence" relied completing on an interview with a well-known Egyptian journalist and blogger, Mona Eltahawy, who shares her opinion on the protest. Eltahawy supports the protestors, claims they are the voice of the people, and accuses Mubarak of deliberately trying to incite violence within the movement in order to legitimize his own retaliation.

Stories from Al-Jazeera did not use any official sources. Three stories interviewed no sources at all while the other two used only protestors as sources. Al-Jazeera interviewed a diverse cross-section of protestors as well. A total of five protestors were featured in "Egypt's 'Unprecedented' Protests" and "Millions Rally to Oust Mubarak." Protestors interviewed were both male and female, ranging in age from young adult to past middle-aged. Protestors expressed their desires to have their voices heard by the regime and demanded justice for the people of Egypt. Both protestors featured in "Egypt's 'Unprecedented' Protests" appeared visibly angry – one man clearly wounded and bleeding on camera. Protestors featured in "Millions Rally to Oust Mubarak" similarly demanded rights and for the Mubarak regime to step down. These sources appeared calmer and also stressed the desire among the protestors for non-violence. One advantage of AJE was the ability to interview Arabic speaking protestors and translate responses into English. All sources from United States television news were English-speaking.

Invocation of public opinion. *NBC Nightly News* invoked public opinion in the form of verbal generalizations alluding to mass support for the protest movement. Reporters tended to refer to the protestors as "the people" – implying not only general support for the movement but also mass participation in the protests. "Among Protestors; Tea, Not Tear Gas" stated that "everyone is expressing something" and "everyone is a volunteer, everyone is a leader, everyone is in charge." The reporter on scene also referred to walking among the protest as being "out with the people." In "A 'Disastrous Day' for all Egyptians," Ambassador Burns says that protests "encompassed a broad

cross-section of Egyptian society…older people, students, workers" and that the movement "seemed to represent Egypt as it is." A few of the reports included estimates of the crowds at protests, but no exact statistics or opinion polls were presented to demonstrate public opinion. "Egypt Revolt Spread to Workforce" used the invocation of public opinion to show how the movement had spread beyond protests in the square to the workplace: "people's revolt spreading to other fronts," "the revolt is spreading." Finally, NBC demonstrated the public opinion code through images of massive crowds in four of five stories.

CBS Evening News used language and statistical estimates in order to equate public opinion with support for the protests in the majority of cases. "Tahrir's Liberation Square Turns Violent" and "11 That Shook a Nation" both refer to estimated numbers of supporters to demonstrate public support for the protests, mention how there were "hundreds still here" at the end of the day, and how thousands of protestors had taken to the streets. Stories also used word choice to generalize public support for the protests and to imply that the protests represented the opinion of the majority. In "11 Days that Shook a Nation," Couric describes the diversity of the movement – "young and old, rich and poor" – that has "inspired the people to make their voices heard." "Cairo Protestors Show no Signs of Backing Down" describes the movement as "truly popular." Mona Eltahawy urges the military to "choose Egypt," which she equates with joining the protest movement. The one counter example from *CBS Evening News* is from "Tahrir's Liberation Square Turns Violent," where Health Minister Kamel claims "those people

standing in the square are not Egypt." He says that they are a "minority" and that their

voices are not the collective voice of the people.

Al-Jazeera English included the invocation of public opinion in all five stories, in

all cases implying that public opinion was on the side of the protestors through the

language of the reporters and anchors, as well as through estimates of the number of

protestors present. "Police Attack Praying Egyptians" equates the protestors with the

general population of Egypt: "the people remain undeterred," "ordinary Egyptians from

all walks of life." "Egypt's 'Unprecedented' Protests" mentions "thousands of people still

gathered" at the end of the day" and that "ordinary Egyptians, not just activists are taking

to the streets." The protestors are referred to as "the Egyptians" again in "Demanding

Change in Egypt," a story which also estimates the crowds at "tens of thousands of

Egyptians in the capital." Finally, "Millions Rally to Oust Mubarak" alludes to the

overwhelming support in the title of the story. The reporter emphasizes "*one million* have

turned out" to protest, also telling viewers that protests "aren't just confined to Cairo."

The story shows an image of a map of Egypt, visually highlighting the expansion of

protests to Al Arish, Alexandria, Suez, Tanta, Mansoura, and other Egyptian cities.

Citizen journalism.

Table 8: Citizen Journalism in Coverage of the Arab Spring

	NBC Nightly News	*CBS Evening News*	**Al-Jazeera English**
Stories Incorporating Citizen Journalism	0/5(0%)	3/5 (60%)	1/5 (20%)
Total			4/15 (26.7%)

NBC Nightly News did not incorporate citizen journalism into any of the five stories. In one story, "Egypt's Protestors Brace for Second Major Battle," Brian Williams mentions that restrictions on journalists have limited the coverage of the protests, but the story does not replace NBC original footage with user-generated content from citizen journalists. Instead the story features medium shots of Brian Williams and correspondent Richard Engel.

CBS Evening News directly used user-generated content from Twitter in three stories, and referred to Twitter and Facebook as organizational tools for the protestors themselves in one other stories as well. In "Tahrir's Liberation Square Turns Violent," Couric reads a tweet from a protest participant translated into English saying "oh my god, oh my god, we are in Tahrir Square, they are killing us, they have killed us," in reference to police action against protestors. A protestor featured as a source in "On the Frontlines with Egyptian Protestor" also reads a Tweet during the story to demonstrate how the protestors are telling their stories on social media and using Facebook and Twitter to organize protests. A Facebook page showing a wounded protestor who became a popular symbol for the movement, Kahled Said, is displayed in "11 Days That Shook a Nation." Finally, "Expert: Mubarak's Speech Was a Push for Violence" references Twitter during her interview, although she does not read or a quote an exact tweet. Mona Eltahawy refers to tweets from a prominent protestors account urging young people not to abandon the movement.

One story from Al-Jazeera English was coded for citizen journalism. "Egypt's 'Unprecedented' Protests" includes images of Facebook pages created by protestors. The

reporter explains how the content of these pages – shown in Arabic – has been used to organize protestors and spread the word about the movement.

The Circus.

Table 9: Circus Code in Coverage of the Arab Spring

	NBC Nightly News	*CBS Evening News*	**Al-Jazeera English**
Stories demonstrating the Circus Code	0/5 (0%)	1/5 (20%)	1/5 (20%)
Total			2/15 (13.3%)

NBC Nightly News did not demonstrate the circus code. Protestors were not portrayed as cultural or social outsiders in Egyptian society. As aforementioned, the protests were equated with the opinion of the general public.

Neither did *CBS Evening News* use the circus code with as much frequency as coverage of the Occupy Wall Street Movement. The movement was generally described as diverse and inclusive and as expressing the sentiments of the people. The code did appear in one story – "Tahrir's Liberation Square Turns Violent" – when Health Minister Kamel portrays the movement as a social outsiders and deviants. According to this course, the protestors are a minority group, do not represent the Egyptian people, and are responsible for inciting violence.

The circus code was found in one story from Al-Jazeera English: "Demanding Change in Egypt." The actions of protestors are described as "acts of deviance," framing protestors as a deviant group in society responsible for acts of violence. The same story also refers to mass support for the protests and refers to protestors in general as "the

Egyptians," singling out a subset of protestors as "stone-throwing youths" responsible for

the violent acts.

Disorganization.

Table 10: Disorganization Code in Coverage of the Arab Spring

	NBC Nightly News	*CBS Evening News*	**Al-Jazeera English**
Stories Demonstrating the Disorganization Code	3/5 (60%)	4/5 (80%)	3/5 (60%)
Total			10/15 (66.7%)

NBC Nightly News demonstrated the disorganization code in three out of five

stories. In contrast to NBC stories on the Occupy Wall Street movement where the

disorganization code was manifested in references to the lack of goals, the

disorganization code in stories about the Arab Spring was demonstrated through

depictions of chaos. Chaos as a form of disorganization or disunity was demonstrated

through images portrayed and the language of the reporter. Images of chaos in "A

'Disastrous Day' for all Egyptians," "Calm Inside, Unrest Outside Tahrir Square," and

"Egypt Revolt Spreads to Workforce" show protestors moving in mobs, yelling, pushing,

and fighting. "A 'Disastrous Day'" also claims that the regime "has lost control of the

streets" where chaos has taken over the protests. In "Egypt Revolt Spreads to

Workforce," Engel describes protestors as "deviant past the point of return" and describes

how "we were surrounded" as protestors approached his camera crew. "Among

Protestors: Tea, not Tear Gas" stands in stark contrast to the stories demonstrating the

disorganization code, however. This story describes the highly organized economy that

has emerged to serve the protests, creating a narrative about the civilized nature of the

protests who serve tea, have a system of checkpoints, and check the identification of

visitors. Engel explains how "we've gone from an unorganized protest to a hyper-

organized protest."

Disorganization as chaos was coded for in four out of five stories from *CBS*

Evening News as well. Images of chaos among the protestors created a sense of disunity

and disorganization in the protest movement itself. Footage of fighting, yelling, running,

and pushing in the streets appeared in "Tahrir's Liberation Square Turns Violent," "11

Days That Shook a Nation," "Cairo Protestors show no Signs of Backing Down," and

"Expert: Mubarak's Speech a Push for Violence." "11 Days That Shook a Nation"

described protests as a "somewhat raucous display." Two stories also contained the code

for disorganization in word choice referring to a lack of hierarchy or leadership among

protestors. Reporter Elizabeth Palmer spoke about how there were "still no formal

leaders" for the movement in "Cairo Protestors Show no Signs of Backing Down." "On

the Frontlines with Egyptian Protestor" claims the movement seemed to be "making it up

as they go," also referring to the lack of formal leadership by saying the protest "needs a

leader…and some structure." A source in the story describes the movement as "not

organized," himself a protestor.

Disorganization was coded to a lesser extent in Al-Jazeera English coverage than

in United States coverage of the Egyptian protests, but appeared in three of five stories.

Disorganization was coded in images portrayed and natural sound included in video

coverage. "Police Attack Praying Egyptians" showed footage of protestors retreating

from police in riot gear, being sprayed down with industrial hoses, and police throwing

tear gas cans. The natural sound of sirens and protestors screaming accompanied footage.

Similar footage was included in "Egypt's 'Unprecedented' Protests," including protestors

running from and climbing on tanks and protestors wounded in the streets. One protestors

is shown being pepper-sprayed by an office in riot gear. "Demanding change in Egypt"

shows protestors shaking police vans, police and protestors physically fighting and

yelling, buildings and cars set aflame, and protestors throwing stone at pro-Mubarak

forces.

Discussion

A comparative textual analysis of United States network television news from

CBS and NBC and international satellite news from the Middle East-based news outlet

Al-Jazeera English shows distinct differences in the framing of social protest as a form of

political participation both between news outlets and across protest issues. These

differences are significant because, while the audience is responsible for interpreting

information from news media, frames "promote a particular interpretation, evaluation,

and/or solution" (Entman, 2004, p. 5). News frames influence public opinion through

particular patterns of selection, emphasis, and exclusion in the presentation of news

stories (Ryan et al., 2001). The way that news outlets frame protest issues may affect the

success of these movements, as well as public opinion about social protest as a form of

political participation (Boykoff, 2006). Because of these consequences, actors within the

protest movements, governments, and economic and social elites who have a stake in a

protest issue engage in "a battle over meaning," each attempting to promote competing

frames that further their interests (Gamson, 1989). The aim of this study was to evaluate

how various television news sources frame social protest issues in order to understand

who is able to have their voices heard in the framing process and how this might affect

public opinion about social protest.

The results of this study suggest that United States network television news tends

to favor political, social, and economic elites in the framing process, making television

news the voice of hegemony. Allowing those with power greater access to the framing

process leads to coverage that relies on elite-support for legitimacy, often leading to the

denial of protest as a form of legitimate political participation (Murdock & Golding,

1989). This is especially true in coverage of the Occupy Wall Street movement, a

movement protesting corporate greed and therefore posing a direct threat to the interests

of political elites, corporate sponsors of television news, and media conglomerates.

United States television news portrays social protest as a violent and chaotic activity,

often participated in by social and cultural outsiders. In the case of the Arab Spring

protests in Egypt, United States network television news framed protestors in a more

positive light in some stories, potentially because the movement had support from

political elites in the United States and was not a direct threat to the economic interests of

domestic elites. However, United States coverage still relied more heavily on elite and

official sources to bolster the legitimacy of protest as a form of political participation,

rather than giving voice to protestors themselves. Al-Jazeera English, in contrast to the

United States network television news coverage, consistently acted as counter-hegemonic

voice in the coverage of social protest in the United States as well as in covering the Arab Spring in Egypt. Al-Jazeera English favored protestors as sources and portrayed protest movements as popularly-supported, diverse, and inclusive. Differences between the two protest movements led to differences in the appearance of some codes between the two issues, but in both cases protest was framed as a legitimate form of political participation that gives voice to ordinary citizens.

Framing of Occupy Wall Street

Network television news coverage from NBC and CBS tended to portray the Occupy Wall Street movement in a way that undermined protest as a legitimate form of political participation. Protest was framed as a violent activity conducted by counter-cultural, social outsiders. Al-Jazeera English, in contrast, framed protest as a way for a diverse cross-section of the population to have their voices heard by means of a legitimate form of democratic participation.

The different economic and institutional structures of United States news networks and Al-Jazeera English potentially cause differences in the frames presented. The frames presented by elite actors, meaning those with money and power resources, are more often included in news stories from the United States (Ryan et al., 2001; Lewis & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2004). Television news frames issues in favor of the status quo, which promotes stability and therefore benefits those who have positions of power in society (Fornaciari, 2011; Ryan et al., 2001). Lewis & Wahl-Jorgensen (2004) suggest that Western media in particular tends to allow those with institutional power to shape television news.

One specific example of Western media favoring the voice of the powerful in television news is corporate bias. Corporate bias, defined as the "news media framing issues to fit the perspective of business interests," is a result of the advertising revenue model and the conglomeration of news media companies (Mittell, 2010, p. 140). Media companies are more and more subject to conglomeration under giant parent corporations (Mittell, 2010). For example, Comcast owns the NBC network. CBS Corporation owns television, radio, production, and distribution functions as well (Mittell, 2010). Protest movements are a threat to private interests of economic elites. Global corporations that own media outlets influence how issues are framed in the outlets they own (Mittell, 2010). Whether or not these companies are directly involved in the news making process, journalists understand that "generating negative publicity for their parent corporations will not be rewarded" (Mittell, 2010, p. 140). Beyond media conglomeration, the advertising model of television contributes to corporate bias as well (Mittell, 2010). As Mittell (2010) discusses, television is overtly commercial and "the primary goal of most broadcasters is to make money," thus programming decisions are made to maximize profit more than serve public interest (p. 17). Network television news in the United States has an interest in delegitimizing the Occupy Wall Street movement in order to please advertisers and thus maintain or increase profits. The criticism of corporate greed and consumer culture by the Occupy Wall Street movement could offend advertisers, who are themselves private interests as well. Framing the Occupy Wall Street movement as violent or abnormal promotes the status quo, thus appeasing advertisers, parent corporations, and political elites.

Al-Jazeera English has a different economic and institutional structure than

United States network television news. For this reason, AJE may abide by different

journalistic norms and constraints. Al-Jazeera English is, first of all, not subject to either

the media conglomeration or the advertising model that lead to corporate bias in United

States network television news (Power & el-Nawawy, 2009). Al-Jazeera does not rely on

advertising because it is fully funded by the Emir of Qatar, the Middle Eastern country in

which the network is based (Sieb, 2005). Thus, the network does not have to consider

offending advertisers who benefit from consumer culture in coverage of the Occupy Wall

Street movement. Al-Jazeera English is also an independent network, not owned by a

larger corporate sponsor like NBC and CBS in the United States (Sieb, 2005).

Sponsorship by the Emir of Qatar, however, has not led to elite bias in news coverage

from Al-Jazeera English, which remains editorially independent from the Emir and the

state of Qatar (Seib, 2005; Wojcieszak, 2007). Allowing Al-Jazeera to operate free from

government censorship and in a manner that promotes democracy in the region is good

for the reputation of the Qatari regime (Pintak, 2008). The Emir of Qatar considers it in

the interest of the Qatari regime to allow Al-Jazeera considerable freedom in reporting

news on the Middle East and providing a voice for the Arab people (Seib, 2005;

Wojcieszak, 2007). This economic structure provides Al-Jazeera English the freedom to

frame protest in a more positive light than United States network television news

coverage.

Not only is Al-Jazeera not subject to economic constraints on the coverage of

social protest issues, Al-Jazeera is also deliberately counter-hegemonic in its news

coverage (Fornaciari, 2011; Sieb, 2005; Pintak, 2008; Power & el-Nawawy, 2009). Al-Jazeera English "distances itself from the centers of power by focusing on the popular point of view" (Fornaciari, 2011, p. 227). When it was originally established, Al-Jazeera made its explicit mission to provide a voice to the Arab people in international news (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009). Included in the mission statement of AJE is the goal of providing a "voice to the voiceless" (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009, p. 270). While United States media provide a voice to the powerful, AJE "wanted nothing less than to break the Western monopoly on the telling of history, by expanding the spectrum of perspectives participating in the…discussion of world issues" (al-Najjar, 2009, p. 1). The anti-institutional spirit of the Al-Jazeera network may lead to frames that support activities that challenged the status quo, such as social protest.

Narrative structure. The most common narrative structure across both United States networks was the idea of protestors versus police. A majority of stories – eight of ten – were coded for the narrative structure of protestors versus police, creating the perception that the majority of protests involved violence or criminal activity. The images and video footage of protestors being arrested and clashing with the police were particularly important in establishing this theme. Television is by definition a visual medium and the images used have a powerful effect on viewers (Mittell, 2010). Television news elicits an emotional response from audiences through the use of vivid imagery (Mittell, 2010). Vivid images and video of violence at protests and protestors attacking police and being arrested may stigmatize protest as a violent and unacceptable activity. NBC and CBS also had a tendency to quantify violence by referring to the

numbers of protestors arrested. These statistics frame the protestors as the perpetrators of violence against police and thus as criminals. Narrative structures that focus on violence or criminality delegitimize protest because activities leading to arrest are inherently illegitimate. This narrative structure also frames protestors as a social out group involved in illegal or deviant activity.

Al-Jazeera English only contained the protestors versus police narrative structure in one story, and actually framed the protestors as potential victims of violence in this story. Violence is referred to as a "deliberate police tactic" used against protestors, rather than protestors as enacting violence against police who act as keepers of the peace . It is the police who are destroying the encampments that had become like homes to the protestors. More common narrative themes were protest as a form of political participation and collective action. According to the sources and reporters from Al-Jazeera English, protest gives ordinary citizens a voice in politics and allows them to assert their rights as citizens. Al-Jazeera English even draws a direct comparison between Occupy Wall Street and the right-wing Tea Party movement, capitalizing on the legitimacy of the Tea Party movement to frame Occupy in a more positive light. These framing techniques are consistent with the mission of Al-Jazeera to be the voice of the people rather than the police (Power & el-Nawawy, 2009). Al-Jazeera tries to act as "a force that facilitates sociopolitical changes by criticizing and challenging institutionalized structures" (Wojcieszak 2007, p. 116). Framing the Arab Spring in a positive light is an example of the counter-hegemonic perspective typical of AJE.

Official sources. CBS and NBC also utilized official sources significantly more than Al-Jazeera English. The United States networks referred to a total of nine official sources, including both police and politicians. The majority of these official sources speak out against the Occupy Wall Street Movement, accusing protestors of violent or disruptive activity. CBS and NBC thus demonstrate what is referred to as "official bias" by news scholars, or the tendency of journalists to "put more weight on official sources: the voices of government, military authorities, business executives, and other leaders" (Mittell, 2010, p. 141). The reliance on official sources by NBC and CBS creates an asymmetry of power between elites, who become the voice of power and authority, and protestors who are not granted access to the news-making process (Witteboles, 1996).

As aforementioned, Al-Jazeera English did not have a tendency to refer to official sources in coverage of the Occupy Wall Street movement. The only official source referred to in coverage of the Occupy Wall Street Movement was a political analyst who spoke in favor of the protests as a means for citizens to reclaim their rights. Al-Jazeera prides itself on being the voice of the people, a claim which is supported by the coverage of the Occupy Movement (Pintak, 2008). By favoring protestors as sources, Al-Jazeera demonstrates its commitment to provide counter-hegemonic perspectives that provide a voice for the Arab people in the world of global news. AJE actually encourages citizens to be politically active by giving them a voice in the media: "The channel has provided a platform for the vocal public from which to communicate with policy-makers" (Wojcieszak, 2007, p. 122). Al-Jazeera provides a voice to the people and to the movement by using protestors rather than official sources in its coverage.

Invocation of public opinion. CBS and NBC tend to invoke public opinion against the Occupy Wall Street movement, generalizing "the city" or "neighbors" as an abstraction of the general public. The protestors are categorized as an out-group whom the general public is either offended by or fed up with: "the city has had enough," or the neighbors are complaining about the disturbances cause by protestors. CBS also uses a man-on-street interview as a more concrete invocation of public opinion, also denouncing the protests. In both cases, public opinion is invoked to delegitimize protests and frame protestors as trouble-makers and social outsiders.

Al-Jazeera English reverses the invocation of public opinion code in order to use generalizations of public opinion to support the protest movement. Rather than turning to man-on-street interviews or referring to "the city" as an enemy of protest AJE refers to the protestors as "the people," AJE bolsters the legitimacy of the protest by implying that the protestors speak to the opinion of the general public. Al-Jazeera English further demonstrates the network's commitment to providing a counter-hegemonic perspective by equating public opinion with the opinion of protestors.

Citizen journalism. Neither *NBC Nightly News* nor *CBS Evening News* utilized user-generated content in covering the Occupy Wall Street movement. This result can potentially be explained by two concepts: 1) United States network news outlets had easy access to coverage of the Occupy movement by professional news crews, making the incorporation of user-content unnecessary, 2) the tendency of United States news to favor elite sources (Mittell, 2010; Ryan et al., 2001). NBC and CBS would be less likely to incorporate content from protestors acting as journalists if the content would conflict with

the interests of network sponsors or media conglomerates (Mittell, 2010; Ryan et al., 2001). Lewis & Wahl-Jorgensen (2004) have observed the reluctance of Western media to incorporate citizen journalists into a traditionally top-down news-making process. The absence of the citizen journalism code is consistent with the idea that "the routines and practices of journalism might actually contribute to producing a passive, disengaged citizenry" (Lewis & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2004, p.153).

More surprising was the lack of user-generated content (UGC) from Al-Jazeera English, a network that prides itself on being the voice for the people (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009). According to a study by Miladi (2011), AJE has been particularly savvy when it comes to incorporating user-generated content: "Al-Jazeera, has become the refuge of people who look for uncensored information" (p.115). Al-Jazeera English did, however, include one story in which all footage was user-produced with only a voice-over from an AJE reporter ("New York Police Evicting 'Occupy' Protestor"). Similar to United States coverage, the lack of UGC may be partially explained by the ease of access to the protests by AJE news crews. Rather than incorporating amateur content from protestors, AJE was able to interview protesters – such as Robert Segal in "Camping Out in New York Park" – in-depth. So central is Segal to the story, it is as if Segal himself were the journalist on scene guiding viewers through the daily workings of the camp. A second explanation for the lack of UGC may be the small sample size of the study. A sample of more than five stories may be necessary to further explore how Al-Jazeera English incorporate citizen journalists into the news-making process.

The Circus. A code that emerged during the research process was the circus. The circus refers to depictions of protestors as counter-cultural social outsiders, focusing on odd behavior rather than the issues involved in protest or goals of protestors. The circus code is relevant to this study because it shed light on the idea that while using protestors as sources may add diversity to a news story, it is how the protestors are used that is especially important. NBC and CBS both utilized many protestors as sources, but selected sources, quotations, and images that framed protestors in a derogatory manner. "Occupy Los Angeles" from *NBC Nightly News* is one of these two stories and an interesting example of the circus code. This story uses only protestors as sources and emphasizes the non-violent nature of the movement, even thanking city hall for being cooperative and sending ponchos. The protestors selected as sources and quotations used, however, portray the protestors as social oddities in a circus side-show fashion. The protestors sing and play guitar, share meals and express their love for each other, have long hair, and dress in a counter-culture style. Although protestors are not framed as deviant or violent, as the circus code implies they are still framed as countercultural or social outsiders. The story makes no reference to the goals of the movement or the issues involved. Framing protestors as social outsiders keeps viewers from relating to the movement and further delegitimizes protest as a form of political participation.

Al-Jazeera English did not demonstrate the circus code in coverage of the Occupy Wall Street movement, in contrast to 100% of NBC stories and 40% of CBS stories. AJE utilizes protestors as sources who speak eloquently about the goals and future of the movement and demonstrate the diverse and inclusive nature of the protests. Al-Jazeera

English used a diverse cross-section of protestors: male, female, middle aged, young, etc.

The word choice of stories from Al-Jazeera English was also used to highlight the rights-

seeking behavior of protestors, rather than to cast them outsider the sphere of legitimate

political participation. "'Occupy' Protestors Spread to US Capital," "Wall Street

Protestors Have Little Faith in American Democracy," "and "Comparing Movements on

the US Left and Right" all use the language of civil rights to describe protestors actions, a

concept that is highly valued in American society. The inclusive nature of the sources and

word choice in AJE portray protest as a form of political participation that gives all

citizens a voice in the political process.

Disorganization. A final code that emerged during the research process was the

disorganization code. The disorganization code delegitimizes protest by framing protest

as unorganized, ineffective and thus illegitimate. The disorganization code was present in

stories from both NBC and CBS, creating an image of the Occupy Wall Street movement

as a disorganized, nonsensical movement rather than legitimate political and social

movement. The disorganization code presented itself through references to the lack of

goals or unity among the movement, diverting attention from the issues involved in

protest and focusing instead on the disjointed nature of the movement. A poignant

example is how "Pushed Out, Occupy Movement Plans Next Move" from *CBS Evening

News* references the transition from protest to political organization as Occupy having

"gone legit." The implication of this statement is that protest movements are inherently

illegitimate. This story refers to the decision to rent office space as "political

organization," which also implies that protest itself is not a form of legitimate political

organization. The message of this code is that protest is a chaotic and often violent

activity participated in only by social outsiders, not a form of legitimate political

participation.

Al-Jazeera English was not coded for disorganization code in coverage of the

Occupy Wall Street Movement. Quite the opposite, Al-Jazeera English used narrative

structures, sources, and word choice to frame protest as a goal-oriented political strategy.

Protestors from the Occupy Wall Street Movement are interviewed to speak about the

long-term goals and next steps for the movement. Protestors discuss the possibility of

allying themselves with other politicians and parties, emphasizing the ultimate goal of

participating in the policy-making process. One protestor tells Al-Jazeera English that

protest is a central part of American democracy: "dissent is the most patriotic thing you

can do" ("Wall Street Protestors Have Little Faith in American Democracy").

"Comparing Movements on the US Left and Right" further legitimizes the Occupy

movement through a comparison to the highly organized Tea Party movement, stating

that "both believe they can empower ordinary citizens to take back control of their banks

and government." According to AJE, protest is an organized and politically effective

means for citizens to assert their voice.

Framing the Arab Spring Protests in Tahrir Square

United States network television news coverage of the Arab Spring protests from

NBC Nightly News and *CBS Evening News* was more favorable towards Egyptian

protestors than coverage of the Occupy Wall Street movement. On the other hand,

coverage was still comparatively less favorable than Al-Jazeera English and still

demonstrated a reliance on those in power to guide the framing process. Elite and official

sources were more common in U.S. news coverage of the movement. Protest was also

still often portrayed as an inherently violent and chaotic activity, and thus a challenge to

the status quo. The more favorable aspects of coverage – including the absence of the

circus code in coverage and the invocation of public opinion in favor of the protestors

rather than the regime – can potentially be explained by the support from U.S. officials

and by the fact that the Arab Spring protests were less threatening to the economic

interests of corporate sponsors and media conglomerates than the domestic Occupy Wall

Street movement. The Occupy Wall Street movement was a domestic protest issue that

directly targeted corporate greed and consumer culture, whereas the Arab Spring was a

foreign protest issue that targeted the Mubarak regime specifically. The Arab Spring

protests had massive word-wide support, including from United States officials and were

viewed in public opinion as the dawn of democracy in the Middle East (Hanska-Ahy &

Shapour, 2013). Even in light of these differences, United States news coverage still

portrayed some aspects of social protest as violent, disorganized, and lacking formal

leadership and goals. In other words, although the Tahrir Square protest movement may

have been framed in a comparatively more positive light, protest itself is still in some

ways inherently illegitimate because of the violent and chaotic nature of the activity.

NBC and CBS remained the voice of hegemony in the covering the Egyptian protests.

Coverage of the Arab Spring protests in Tahrir Square from Al-Jazeera English

was relatively consistent with coverage of the Occupy Wall Street movement. Al-Jazeera

English continued to portray protest is a positive light and as a form of legitimate

political participation. Because the Arab Spring protest movements are a unique protest issue from the Occupy Wall Street movement, certain differences in coding did appear. In analyzing these codes however, it is vital to keep in mind the context of the codes as well as the statistical changes. For example, violence as a part of narrative structure and disorganization codes both appeared more frequently in coverage of the Arab Spring protest movement, but in both cases the police and military forces were portrayed as the root cause of violence and chaos, rather than the protestors themselves. Al-Jazeera English continued to provide a counter-hegemonic voice by favoring protestor-oriented coverage that emphasized the inclusive and participatory nature of the Arab Spring in Egypt. Like coverage of the Occupy Wall Street movement, this is best explained by the institutional structure of the Al-Jazeera English network and the unique history and mission of the station. Al-Jazeera English proclaims itself to be a voice for the voiceless and has been historically committed to providing counter-hegemonic perspectives in world news (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009). Al-Jazeera is an ally of civil society, providing a voice to the people and framing social issues in ways that benefit the citizens rather than those who have power in society: the Mubarak regime, the military, etc.

Narrative structure. Overall, coverage of the Arab Spring protests in Egypt focused more on violence than coverage of the Occupy Wall Street movement. Approximately 87% of Arab Spring protest stories, compared to 47% of Occupy Wall Street stories, included violence as a part of the narrative structure. For *NBC Nightly News* and *CBS Evening News,* these results were fairly consistent because of the predominance of the police versus protestor code in coverage of Occupy Wall Street.

NBC and CBS tended to use military language to refer to interactions between the police and protestors, referencing actions by both the protestors and military or police forces as acts of warfare or as battles. While these types of actions may be legitimate for military actors, it is presumed to be illegitimate for citizens to take up arms against the military or police. NBC and CBS continue to portray protest as a violent activity and protestors as participants in violenve rather than political agents. On the other hand, both NBC and CBS had exceptions to this dominant framing as well. In some cases, NBC and CBS portrayed the regime as using violence against protestors unnecessarily or unfairly. In these cases it is the regime that is portrayed as illegitimate and the protestors who are portrayed as justified in their response. However, even if the violence is justified, United States network television news still frames protest as a violent and dangerous activity rather than a form of acceptable political participation.

Al-Jazeera English included images and language of violence in four of five stories about the Arab Spring in Egypt, a significant difference from the one story that was coded for protestors versus police in coverage of the Occupy movement. In covering the Arab Spring, however, it was the police who were framed as guilty of violence against protestors in the majority of stories, rather than protestors as enacting violence against the police. The story title "Police Attack Praying Protestors" is a telling example. Protestors are generally the victims of police and military violence in AJE stories. The predominance of the violence theme in AJE stories may also be partially explained by the graphic nature of Al-Jazeera English coverage. New ethics in the United States are much more strict in terms of showing images of violence.

Graphic footage from Al-Jazeera English made coverage appear to emphasize the violence. The presence of violence as a narrative theme in coverage of the Arab Spring movement and not the Occupy Wall Street movement is not necessarily a shift in the framing process, but rather may be due to the violent nature of the Egyptian Revolution as compared to the Occupy Wall Street movement. All three networks, not just AJE, demonstrated an increase in the amount of stories that included references to violence in the narrative structure.

Official sources. *NBC Nightly News* and *CBS Evening News* once again included a significantly larger number of official sources than Al-Jazeera English coverage. In fact, only NBC and CBS referred to official sources in coverage of the Arab Spring. In contrast to coverage of Occupy Wall Street, many of the official sources actually spoke out in support of the protests -- such as Ambassador Burns, White House Press Secretary Gibbs, Barack Obama, and Joe Biden – rather than to condemn protestors. While the political elites interviewed supported the movement, the use of official sources still points to the existence of official bias in news coverage (Mittell, 2010). Network television news coverage favors the voice of the elites and relied on official sources rather than the protestors themselves to bolster the legitimacy of the protest movement. United States network news thus acted as a voice of hegemony even in cases where the movement was framed positively.

Al-Jazeera English, on the other hand, did not use any official sources in covering the Arab Spring protest movement. All sources referred to were protestors, encompassing both genders, a range of ages, and English as well as Arabic speakers. The use of

protestor sources once again highlights the counter-hegemonic nature of Al-Jazeera

English coverage (Wojcieszak, 2007; Powers & el-Naway, 2009). AJE indicates that it is

committed to news coverage from the perspective of the people rather than the elites.

      Invocation of public opinion. All three news sources displayed a similar pattern

in the invocation of public opinion, referring to a generalized support for the protests

among the Egyptian public. While this is consistent with Al-Jazeera English coverage of

Occupy Wall Street, it is a reverse of NBC and CBS coverage in which both networks

invoked public opinion against the Occupy Wall Street movement. In covering the Arab

Spring, *NBC Nightly News* and *CBS Evening News* refer to the protestors as "the people"

and emphasized the diverse and inclusive nature of the protest movement. There are two

factors that potentially contribute to this shift in coverage. One, the actual size of the

movement was much larger and more concentrated in Egyptian protests than the Occupy

Wall Street movement. The Arab Spring protests in Tahrir Square in central Cairo

brought in hundreds of thousands of participants according to all of the news sources,

even one million for one particular march according to Al-Jazeera English ("Millions

Rally to Oust Mubarak"). Another factor that may contribute to a more positive

invocation of public opinion in the case of the Egyptian protests is the fact that the Arab

Spring is not a domestic protest issue and is for this reason less of a threat to the United

States status quo. The Occupy Wall Street movement directly targeted corporate greed in

the United States, thus threatening the interests of corporate owners of network television

news stations as well as advertising sponsors (Mittell, 2010). The Arab Spring, however,

was not only a continent away, but was also targeting a repressive political regime rather

than the domestic economic elites of the United States. As United States officials came

out in support of the Egyptian revolution – as demonstrated by U.S. official sources used

by both NBC and CBS – *NBC Nightly News* and *CBS Evening News* could

simultaneously frame the protests as an activity supported by public opinion while also

acting as the hegemonic voice of the U.S. elites.

     As aforementioned, Al-Jazeera English presented results consistent with coverage

of the Occupy Wall Street movement, invoking popular opinion in favor of the protests

and referring to the protestors and opponents of the regime as the people or as "Egypt."

AJE referred to generalized statistics and word choice to emphasize the size and

inclusiveness of the protests. These results are consistent with the positive framing of

protest by Al-Jazeera English in the case of Occupy Wall Street and with the counter-

hegemonic voice AJE gives to coverage of social and political issues in general: "The

channel has targeted corruption within monarchical regimes, scrutinized abuses within

national militaries, served as a forum for various national opposition movements and as a

voice of dissent for minority groups" (Wojcieszak, 2007, p. 121).

     Citizen journalism. Similar to coverage of the Occupy Wall Street movement,

user-generated content from citizen journalists appeared only in a minority of stories –

26.7% of stories about the Arab Spring in Egypt. Al-Jazeera and NBC remained the

same, including one and zero instances of the code respectively. CBS increased from one

to three stories that incorporated UGC into the news content. CBS incorporated content

from social media sites Facebook and Twitter briefly into stories, either showing a

popular page or reading a translated Tweet. This shows a willingness by CBS to rely on

citizens in the production process, a growing trend in the news production process as

citizens – and in this case protestors – learn how to use social media as a tool to influence

not only the organization and success of movements, but also the portrayal of social

movements in the mainstream media (Miladi, 2011; Hanska-Ahy & Shapour, 2013).

Hanska-Ahy & Shapour (2013) argue that protest movements are learning how to

promote positive frames by providing content that adheres to journalistic norms.

      NBC, in contrast, did not incorporate citizen journalism into stories, even in cases

where restrictions on journalism left *NBC Nightly News* with a lack of visual content to

use in coverage. Brian Williams mentions that the restrictions on journalism have limited

NBC coverage in "Egypt's Protestors Brace for Second Major Battle", but NBC still does

not incorporate UGC to fill these gaps. The limited nature of user-generated content in

this case shows the contradiction between emerging norms in journalism – such as the

incorporation of the UGC – and the traditional reliance of United States network

television news on elite sources (Hanska-Ahy & Shapour, 2013; Mittell, 2010; Ryan, et

al, 2001). While UCG in general is becoming more common, Western journalistic norms

may impede the process: "Media sociologists have long agreed that journalism offers

little room for the voices of citizens, and is generally focused on the doings of the

powerful" (Lewis & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2004, p. 154).

      The lack of citizen journalism from Al-Jazeera English is more surprising,

although consistent with coverage of the Occupy Wall Street movement. Only one story

from AJE included images and references to a protestor-created Facebook page. For

network that prides itself on being the voice of the people and providing a counter-

hegemonic perspective on world affairs, it would seem natural for Al-Jazeera English to

incorporate UGC. In fact, Miladi (2011) studied coverage of the Tahrir Square protests

and found that "mobile phones, blogs, YouTube, Facebook pages and Twitter feeds

became instrumental in mediating the live coverage of protests" (p.114). One potential

explanation is the reliance of AJE on protestors as sources in lieu of content actually

generated by citizens. Al-Jazeera English referred to a diverse group of protestors for

their perspective on the movement. It is also important to note that Al-Jazeera English is

a much newer news source, founded in 2006, and is still in the process of establishing a

positive reputation: "AJE is trying to become a popular media outlet in the western world

and is competing with mainstream western media" (Fornaciari, 2011, p. 232). Using

professional quality content and adhering to journalistic norms is an important part of this

process and may affect the decisions about whether to incorporate amateur content into

stories (Fornaciari, 2011). AJE also appears to have had more access to protest

movement, in contrast to United States news sources. Journalists from Al-Jazeera were

able to obtain vivid and moving footage without the aid of UGC. Perhaps in a larger

sample size this trend could be further explored.

      The Circus. The circus code was demonstrated to a significantly lesser extent by

NBC Nightly News and *CBS Evening News* in coverage of the Arab Spring protest

movements. Whereas all five stories (100%) from *NBC Nightly News* were coded for the

circus in coverage of Occupy Wall Street, not a single story about the Tahrir Square

protests demonstrated the circus. CBS also only demonstrated the code in one story,

where official source and Egyptian Health Minister Kamel referred to the protests as a

deviant, minority group. Despite this one prominent example from CBS, the absence of the circus code may be explained by the nature of the Arab Spring movement as compared to the Occupy Wall Street movement. As mentioned in the discussion of the invocation of public opinion code, the Arab Spring protests in Tahrir square were less of a threat to the status quo in the United States as a foreign protest movement targeting a specific political regime. While corporate and official bias may explain the negative framing of protest in the case of Occupy Wall Street, the Arab Spring protests had support from United States elites and were less of a threat to private interest.

Al-Jazeera English produced similar results in coverage of the Arab Spring protests as the Occupy Wall Street movement, with only one story being coded for the circus code in coverage of the Egyptian protests. Once again, Al-Jazeera results are consistent with the supportive framing of protest as legitimate form of political voice and democratic participation in the case of the Occupy Wall Street movement. Al-Jazeera English seeks to provide a voice to the Arab people in particular and to counter Western-centric news that portrays Arabs and the Middle East in a negative light (Fornaciari, 2011; Wojcieszak, 2007; Power & el-Nawawy, 2009). For AJE, portraying popular movements, such as the pro-democracy Arab Spring protests, in a positive light is one way to compete with western media outlets and "provide a non-American nor European-based voice" in world news (Fornaciari, 2011, p. 232). Rather than social outcasts and non-conformists, protestors are a diverse group of citizens with a wide base of public support, engaging in a form of political participation.

Disorganization. The disorganization code was present more frequently across all three news sources, a result which may point to differences in the protest movements themselves rather than differences in the respective stories. The disorganization code also appeared in stories aired by all three networks through similar word choice and imagery portraying physical chaos in the movement. In covering Occupy Wall Street, *NBC Nightly News* and *CBS Evening News* generally invoked the disorganization code through references to the lack of goals and formal organization, a pattern which continued but with less frequency in coverage of the Arab Spring. CBS mentions the lack of hierarchy in the leadership of the movement, claiming that the movement was in need of a leader and more structure in "On the Frontlines with Egyptian Protestor." A concern with hierarchy and formal leadership would be expected from network television news that tends to rely on official and elite sources for the legitimacy of a movement (Mittell, 2010). On the other hand, a counter-example from NBC described the movement as "hyper-organized." Across all three networks the disorganization code appeared in footage demonstrating the disorder and commotion on the ground amidst the protest movement. This similarity in the appearance of the disorganization code, especially when compared to the radically different results in coverage of the Occupy Wall Street movement, may suggest that the Arab Spring protests in Tahrir Square were inherently more chaotic and disordered than the Occupy Wall Street movement.

Al-Jazeera English demonstrated the disorganization code in three stories, as compared to none in coverage of Occupy Wall Street, but still fewer stories than United States' coverage of the movement. The code did not appear in verbal condemnations of

the protest as disorganized or lacking in goals, though. The code appeared in footage of

protestors being attacked in the streets, generally as victims of police violence. Protestors

were not disorganized because of a lack of leadership and unity, but rather because of

illegitimate police and military violence enacted against them. Context is incredibly

important in the demonstration of the disorganization code in this case; disorganization as

chaos is not necessarily a condemnation of protestors or the legitimacy of the movement

itself but rather may point to the injustice on the part of the regime. Al-Jazeera English

demonstrates the disorganization code through footage of chaos in the protest movement

while still acting as the voice of the people and portraying protestors in a positive light.

Conclusion

Television news coverage of social protest and the dominant frames portrayed by

various actors in the television news production process have the ability to help or hinder

the success of these movements and to affect public opinion about social movements and

about social protest in general (Adoni, et al., 1984). Negative television news framing of

protest threatens the success of protest as a means of democratic participation available to

the public (Ryan et al., 2001). Understanding the framing process – who has access to the

television news production process, the role of journalistic constraints on framing, how

the institutional structure of television news networks affects frame selection – is thus of

vital importance. According to the findings of this study, the United State network

television news institutions act as a voice of hegemony in the framing of social protest

issues. Both NBC and CBS news favored institutional elites in the framing process, often

leading to negative portrayals of protestors and of protest as a political activity. While

foreign protest issues that had gained the support of the political elites – such as the Arab

Spring protests in Egypt – were framed in a more positive light, protest was still

portrayed as a violent activity and, in the case of the Occupy Wall Street movement in

particular, an activity participated in by social outsiders rather than ordinary citizens.

Protest is a threat to the status quo and therefore is delegitimized by the institutional elites

who have access to the framing process (Ryan et al., 2001). Al-Jazeera English, on the

other hand, provided a counter-hegemonic voice in the coverage of social protest that was

overwhelmingly supportive of social protest in both the case of the Occupy Wall Street

movement in the United States and the Arab Spring protests in Egypt. Because of

significant funding from the Qatari government, Al-Jazeera English is free from the

burden of corporate and official bias that leads to negative coverage of protest issues in

U.S. news coverage. Al-Jazeera English was able to pursue its historic mission of

providing a voice not only to the Arab people, but to all who challenge the status quo, an

inherent characteristic of protest movements. This study supports the idea that "exposure

to and awareness of the multiple perspectives presented in Al-Jazeera's coverage has

destigmatized dissent, encouraged public dialogue and challenged citizens of Arab states

to question the status quo (Wojcieszak, 2007, p. 122).

There are, of course, limitations to this study that could be improved in future

research. First of all, there was only one coder conducting research. Having multiple

coders would decrease the likelihood of coder bias in analyzing news clips and allow for

checks on inter-rater reliability. Other coders may also introduce fresh perspectives and

discover other emergent codes. Second, the sample size of 30 total news clips is relatively

small. A larger sample size would make results more accurate and more generalizable.

The emergent codes from this study could be more thoroughly developed in a larger

study as well. A third limitation was the lack of availability of news clips from NBC,

CBS, and Al-Jazeera English. These networks provide a limited amount of full news

stories to the public free of charge. While the study relied on a random number generator

to select stories in order to maintain the integrity of the study, the pool of stories was a

convenience sample of those I was able to access free online from news archives and the

network YouTube sites.

There is room for future research in the area of television news coverage of social

protest that would help to both corroborate the findings of this study and also to explore

other facets of the relationship between television news and political participation. As

aforementioned, this study had a small sample size and single coder. Further research

utilizing larger samples and multiple coders could potentially expand upon this study and

make more impartial and generalizable results. Another area for further research would

be to include cable news channels as well as network television news. Cable news

channels such as CNN and Fox News are an increasingly important news source for the

American public (Morris, 2005). Fox News has been gaining in viewership compared to

network news competitors in recent years (Morris, 2005). Fox News is also unique in the

use of political pundits as sources, which may affect the frames portrayed in news stories

(Mittell, 2010). Including cable news sources would enhance the generalizability of the

study and provide a comparison for the network television news sources. Along with

American cable networks, future research could also include other international news sources as a basis for comparison. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has an institutional and commercial model that is different from both the United States advertising model and the Qatar-funded Al-Jazeera network (Fornaciari, 2011). The BBC is partially funded by the British government with the goal of providing news in the interest of the public (Fornaciari, 2011). Including the BBC in future research may further inform how the institutional structure of television news affects the framing process. Finally, expanding research to include audience reception would be beneficial as well. While textual analysis is important in order to understand how frames are created and presented in television news, studying how audiences interpret frames is also important. Framing is an active audience theory, meaning audiences actively decode the messages included in the media they consume (Baran & Davis, 2011). This study is limited to reasoned speculation about how frames might affect audience perceptions about social protest. Further research could apply framing theory to how news frames effect viewers given their preconceived beliefs and previous experiences with protest and the issues involved with protest movements.

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