A Textual Analysis of Media Frames: The Coverage of the Shooting of Trayvon Martin

by

Andrea K. Andrus

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Master of Arts
Department of Journalism and Media Studies
College of Arts and Sciences
University of South Florida St. Petersburg

Major Professor: Paul Wang, Ph.D.
Monica Ancu, Ph.D.
Robert Dardenne, Ph.D.

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Abstract

This study explores the media's framing of the Trayvon Martin shooting incident, as well as Trayvon Martin and George Zimmerman, the individuals involved. Grounded in framing theory this study uses a qualitative textual analysis to examine the employment of five identified news frames in the coverage of the shooting of Trayvon Martin: conflict, attribution of responsibility, human-interest, racial and legal. The analysis of articles from two television news websites, perceived conservative network foxnews.com and perceived liberal network cnn.com revealed that there are both inconsistent and consistent ways in which the stories were framed. Although the presence of the frames in all the articles is similar, the usage of the frames is different: a different attribution of responsibility – foxnews.com attributed responsibility to Zimmerman less often than cnn.com and cnn.com attributed responsibility to Martin less often than foxnews.com: also, a diference in using race – cnn.com used the racial frame more often than foxnews.com, focusing a majority of the articles analyzed on race; and, finally, an inconsistency in using legal frame between the two sources.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

"It began as a routine police-blotter item, a journalistic afterthought" (Farhi, 2012). On the evening of February 26th, 2012, in Sanford, Florida, a small town north of Orlando, Trayvon Martin, a 17-year-old high school student was found shot and killed. According to the Sanford police report, George Zimmerman, 28, shot Martin in self-defense. Zimmerman was appointed the neighborhood watch captain in the community where he lived, since there had been numerous burglaries and the residents wanted more protection than what they were receiving from the police department according to news reports. While Zimmerman was "on-duty" one night he saw Martin, whom he said was acting suspiciously. Zimmerman immediately called 911, and the 911 operator told him to keep his distance from Martin – that police would be sent. What happened next only Zimmerman knows, but there was a confrontation between the two and Martin was declared dead on the scene from a single gunshot. Martin had no weapons on him and now infamously is remembered carrying only a pack of Skittles and a bottle of AriZona iced tea. Zimmerman reported a bloody nose and back of the head at the scene, he said inflicted by Martin.

The police report classified the incident as a homicide under Statute 782.11[1] for the "Unnecessary killing to prevent an unlawful act" (Statute 782.11), but the media

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[1] Florida Statute **782.11 Unnecessary killing to prevent unlawful act.**—Whoever shall unnecessarily kill another, either while resisting an attempt by such other person to commit any felony, or to do any other unlawful act, or after such attempt shall have failed, shall be deemed guilty of manslaughter, a felony of the second degree, punishable as provided in s. 775.082, s. 775.083, or s. 775.084. **History.**—s. 13, ch. 1637, 1868; RS 2388; GS 3213; RGS 5043; CGL 7145; s. 719, ch. 71-136.

storm that followed has invoked many opinions of what actually happened that night. Although it took nearly two weeks, and much persistence from the Martin family, their lawyers and their public relations executive, Ryan Julison, this story dominated public news (Farhi, 2012). Julison tried to pitch the story to different networks until finally two – Reuters and CBS News – picked it up (Farhi, 2012). The Trayvon Martin shooting was the first story of mainstream media in 2012 to surpass the exposure of the election ("Trayvon Martin Killing Is Public's Top News Story," 2012). The case focused on race relations, such as nationwide protests and attention from civil rights leaders, including the Rev. Jesse Jackson. The other focus in the coverage of this case was the legal aspect in which gun laws and the value of the "Stand Your Ground Law" have been in question. In this study the researcher will examine the ways in which the shooting incident, as well as the key individuals involved, Martin and Zimmerman, were framed by the media.

Justification of Problem

Mainstream media, including national and local networks, have extensively covered the story in part because of the involvement of race, gun laws and the "Stand Your Ground" law. Gun laws in this country have been debated for a long time, with conservatives and liberals typically on different ends – right wing groups preferring less gun control, left wing wanting more control. The "Stand Your Ground" law is a law that has also been debated with undertones of gun control laws, again with conservative and liberal parties armed with different views. A comparison of the coverage by two national media outlets coverage will be examined to understand the differences that may exist in the frames. Framing theory is important to consider when covering a situation that can be

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presented in several ways and in turn influences the way the audience thinks about an issue. The analysis of framing of the incident would help journalists cover similar crime stories that have prominent racial and legal components.

Moreover, the media framing the legal aspects of the incident is important to study because of the possible long-term effect of changed laws in Florida and the rest of the country. The law that has gained the most attention in the incident thus far, is the "Stand Your Ground" law – Florida Statute 776.013, Title XLVI (Crimes), Chapter 776 (Justifiable Use of Force). According to the first line of this Florida Statute, "A person is presumed to have held a reasonable fear of imminent peril of death or great bodily harm to himself or herself or another when using defensive force that is intended or likely to cause death or great bodily harm to another" (FLA. STAT. § 776). This case could have an impact on similar laws in 24 other states. Gun laws have also been examined and leaders in gun regulation have used this incident for momentum, such as The Brady Campaign[2]'s Dan Gross and Larry Pratt, Executive Director of Gun Owners of America. Many politicians have also been involved including: Rich Morthland and Michael Zalewski, members of the Illinois House of Representatives and Perry E. Thurston, Jr, member of the Florida House of Representatives, to name just a few. For instance, gun-regulation advocators attempts to use Martin's death to push federal legislation that would force states that have fewer requirements to obtain a concealed weapons permit to recognize the negative effects, such as what happened to Martin, and ultimately make it more difficult to acquire a permit (Gross, 2012).

Finally, Trayvon Martin's ethnicity, African-American, was a focal aspect of the

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[2] According to their website, the Brady Campaign works to pass and enforce sensible federal and state gun laws, regulations, and public policies through grassroots activism, electing public officials who support common sense gun laws, and increasing public awareness of gun violence.

media's coverage. Also, George Zimmerman's race has been in question. Zimmerman was depicted as White, Hispanic[3] and Jewish by various media outlets. Many prior studies examined the media coverage of race and the impact of racial stereotypes (Dixon & Linz, 2000; Entman & Rojecki, 2010; Roskos & Monahan, 2007). Research suggests that mass media can contribute to sustaining and even strengthening prejudicial attitudes through different forms of bias, stereotypes and frames (Roskos & Monahan, 2007), which further exemplifies why race in the media is an important issue that must continuously be studied.

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[3] Hispanic origin can be viewed as a heritage, nationality group, lineage, or country of birth of the person or the person's parents or ancestors before their arrival in the United States. People who identify their origin as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish may be any race. (U.S. Census Bureau)

CHAPTER 2

Review of Literature

The first section of this chapter identifies the major principles of framing theory. The second section reviews studies about how ethnic minorities, particularly African Americans and Hispanics, are often framed by the mass media as perpetrators and victims and the effects of the coverage. Finally, the third section reviews the legal content that is framed in the coverage of this incident, including Florida's "Stand Your Ground Law," gun laws and Zimmerman's right to a fair trial.

Framing Theory:

Framing refers to the process through which people develop a certain conceptualization about an idea or they reorient their thinking as it pertains to an issue (Chong & Drockman, 2007). Framing theory explains that an issue can be viewed from more than one perspective based on its presentation, thus multiple inferences can be drawn from a single issue. Although many different definitions of framing exist (Matthes & Kohring, 2008), Entman (1993) provides one that is more widely accepted "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (p. 52).

A frame in a communication "organizes everyday reality" (Tuchman 1978, p. 193); it can aid the audience in understanding a story. Although journalists do not

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necessarily use frames to purposely misrepresent a story to the public, seemingly small changes in the frame of a news story can have big effects on the audience's perception. For example, when asked whether they would favor or oppose allowing a hate group to hold a political rally, 85 percent of respondents answered in favor if the question was prefaced with the suggestion, "Given the importance of free speech," whereas only 45 percent were in favor when the question was prefaced with the phrase, "Given the risk of violence," (Sniderman & Theriault, 2004 in Chong & Drockman, 2007). Frames allow for different biases. Cultural or racial frames are often unconscious when representing different ethnicities, including African-Americans, or the extreme right or left, or Jewish people or Muslims, or so forth in the news and the result is a consistent kind of unconscious representation or bias in stereotyping the groups. Within framing theory there is a process that occurs, starting with frame-building and then frame-setting, which addresses what influences the creation of media frames by journalists (de Vreese, 2005). Frame-building is a term borrowed from agenda-setting research and addresses the question of what kinds of factors of the media system can influence the framing process (Scheufele, 1999). The first part of frame-building addresses the journalist-centered influence, such as ideology, attitudes and professional norms (Scheufele, 1999). The second aspect is the selection of the type of political or organizational orientation of the medium; and the third factor consists of external influences, such as authorities, interest groups and other elites (Scheufele, 1999). Factors that have an impact on the creation of a news piece can include journalists' individual social norms, values, political orientations and their professional routines, and news values and audience considerations. According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996) often the journalist has the least influence on frames; the

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most powerful influences are cultural and ideological frames, as they are more difficult to overcome than our own personal prejudices. Other influential factors, which can frame a story, include organizational influences such as pressure and constraints from economic and political goals and outside pressures from policy-makers, interest groups or advertisers on the journalist or network (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Frame-setting is recognized in some literature as second-level agenda setting and deals with the salience of issue attributes, compared to the salience of issues alone, as with frame-building (McCombs & Reynolds, 2002). It focuses on information processing effects, attitudinal effects and behavioral effects (de Vreese, 2005).

Frames in the news deal with issue-specific frames and generic frames. Issue-specific frames are only important to specific events or topics and the frames provide a penetrating level of specificity to the issue under investigation (de Vreese, 2005). The Pew Research Institute conducted a study on the coverage of the Trayvon Martin shooting and the specific events represented. It found that MSNBC spent a majority of its time discussing gun control issues and Florida's "Stand Your Ground" law when covering the incident. CNN.com covered these topics in the following order, Martin, Zimmerman's defense and straight news accounts of the incident. Finally, foxnews.com primarily featured Martin's past and statements in defense of Zimmerman, followed by attention to how the media are handling the story ("Trayvon Martin Killing," 2012). Event-specific frames are important to study, but are also limited on what it provides from a thematic framing perspective. Generic frames "transcend thematic limitations and can be identified in relation to different topics, some even over time and in different cultural contexts" (de Vreese, 2005). Generic frames, compared to issue-specific frames

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can be advantageous for research purposes as the more broad analysis can be more easily compared and used empirically for theory building (de Vreese, 2005). The present study examines news frames from a thematic framing perspective using generic frames. News frames are defined as "conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information" (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 60). "The framing of the presentation of events and news in the mass media can thus systematically affect how recipients of the news come to understand these events" (Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1995, p.4).

Although it is possible for journalists to utilize a multitude of frames, most literature indicates four ways in which news stories are commonly framed: *conflict,* which emphasizes conflict between people or parties; *attribution of responsibility*, which gives credit, responsibility or blame to a person, institution or government; *economic consequences,* which emphasizes the financial burden placed on the audience; and *human-interest,* which focuses on a person as an example or by emphasizing human emotion frames to personalize and dramatize the situation to gain audience attention and retention (Valkenburg, de Vreese & Semetko, 1999). Three of the commonly found frames are used in this study; conflict, attribution of responsibility, and human-interest. The economic consequence frame was not utilized in this study since the analysis only covers the immediate coverage and the financial burden placed on the audience, due in part to court costs and modifications to law, will continue to change and increase during the course of the trial and will be more effectively studied at the conclusion of the media coverage.

In addition to these four main frames, racial frames are also found in past

literature. The *racial frame* exists in various studies, often in association with politics and elections (Caliendo & McIlwain, 2006; Rhodes, 1999; Squires & Jackson, 2010). One study about minority candidates representation by the media found that electoral races that included Latino and African American candidates were more likely to focus on race and were more dependent on the use of an overall racial frame than the coverage of elections that only had white candidates (Caliendo & McIlwain, 2006). It is important for the present study to recognize how the media focus on the racial component during the coverage of the incident. Entman and Rojecki (2010) remind journalists that media framing has the opportunity for eroding or building racial comity and the journalist can make the choice how to proceed.

Framing of Race in the Media

According to a USA Today/Gallup Poll, African-Americans are paying much closer attention to the news of the Martin shooting incident, and a majority believes that Zimmerman is guilty of a crime in which racial bias was a major factor. The African-American majority in this poll also believes that Zimmerman would already have been arrested had the victim been white (Newport, 2012). A 2010 Pew Research Center study found that a majority of African Americans are very critical of news coverage of their race (Views of Law Enforcement, Racial Progress and News Coverage of Race, 2012). Fifty-one percent of African Americans also felt that the media did not devote enough time to race relations, compared to 24 percent of whites (Views of Law Enforcement, Racial Progress and News Coverage of Race, 2012).

The past research that pertains to racial framing in the media helps to identify the

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types of racial frames that could exist in the coverage of the Martin shooting incident. The attributes of race and ethnicity in the United States can often be difficult to define and frame since researchers are not always consistent in their findings (Chavez & Guido-DeBrito, 1999). In the past, the concept of racial identity was defined in terms of biology – physicality, genes or character qualities. Today, research focuses on a social construct, which "refers to a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common heritage with a particular racial group" (Helms, 1990, p.3). Racial identity is a frame that one uses to categorize another person, typically based on skin color; it seems most often to be a frame in which individuals identify consciously or unconsciously with those with whom they feel a common bond because of similar traditions, behaviors, values, and beliefs (Ott, 1989). Journalists all have their own personal identities that could become a part of how or what they write. Additionally, research suggests that a person's own ideology and previously held beliefs can be the strongest factor for negative racial attitudes. Sigelman et al.'s (1995) findings suggest that

> "… evaluations ultimately depend on what traits specific racial or ethnic stereotypes suggest minority group members should have, what traits they do have, and what evaluative significance is attached to these assumed and individual traits, as influenced by their desirability and correspondence with expectancy." (p. 243)

> "In 1866 the legislature passed a Civil Rights Act which declared that all persons born in the United States were citizens thereof, and that citizens of every race and color . . . shall have the same right . . . This may have been the first occasion that Congress used the word race to designate groups in this way, and to refer to the protection of

constitutional rights without distinction of race or color" (Banton, 1998, p.1). Although Congress passed an act declaring all citizens are equal, race can still create a bias in media representations. Bias in news refers to favoring one side in a dispute or sympathizing with one cause (Williams, 2010). Arguments for bias in media often center on political coverage being too left or too right or with inaccurate or unfair portrayals of races (Williams, 2010); both of these biases will be studied in the present research.

Stereotyping is also an important concept in media analysis and its effects are frequently studied (Williams, 2010). Stereotypes, also known as characterization frames, make generalizations about a person or a group based on assumptions (Burgess, 2003). Walter Lippmann was recognized for first introducing the modern concept of stereotyping into the field of social sciences in 1922; his observations suggest that the media stereotypes groups in three ways: underrepresented, overrepresented, and misrepresented. Lippmann suggested that the media dictate over the creation of pictures in our head; he believed that the public reacts not to actual events but to the pictures in our head (Wilson & Wilson, 2001). Studies show that African-Americans fall into these categories in that they are typically overrepresented in regards to crime news and then also misrepresented as violent criminals (Entman & Rojecki, 2010). The prominence of African-Americans in crime in the media is likely to worsen the existing stereotypes that exist for African Americans in the United States. Some research suggests that mass media can contribute to sustaining and even strengthening prejudicial attitudes (Roskos & Monahan, 2007) through different forms of bias, stereotypes and frames.

Dixon and Linz (2000) conducted research on southern California's broadcasting news to determine how African-Americans, whites and Latinos were framed in the media

and found that African-Americans and Latinos would appear as victims less often than whites on television news and African-Americans and Latinos would appear as perpetrators at a higher rate than as victims. African-Americans, however, are depicted as criminals at a much higher rate than Latinos, and whites are more often shown as victims, than as perpetrators (Dixon & Linz, 2000). The research is relevant to this study, as Martin is African-American and Zimmerman, whom some say was also a victim, is Hispanic.

A study by the National Institute of Public Health Access (NIHPA) in 2010 was conducted to answer questions about the sources of representations of racial-ethnic portrayals and how these vary for perpetrators versus victims and their results do not align exactly with the Dixon and Linz research (McLaughlin, Hatzenbuehler, & Keyes, 2010). The study first compared the relative incidence of the reported ethnicity or race of non-white perpetrators to whites to determine if an initial disproportion exists in the reporting of these characteristics of perpetrators relative to a races representation in the population (McLaughlin, et al., 2010). The study found that African-Americans are not significantly more or less likely to be reported as perpetrators than whites, while both Hispanics and other races are less likely to be reported than whites (McLaughlin, et al., 2010).

Finally, it is important to recognize that a person's understanding of a race outside his or her own is often only reachable via mass media, such as news reports or television. The subtle framing of news stories using racial cues can have a great impact on the representation of a given race. For example, reading a newspaper story concerning crime resulted in greater stereotyping of African Americans and Hispanics on certain

characteristics such as lazy, unintelligent or violent, but only when the newspaper featured racial cues such as drive-by shootings or inner cities (Roskos & Monahan, 2007). Although the amount of literature available pertaining to race and the media is dense, the present study selected a representative number of studies that embody the mass of available research.

Legal Framing in the Media

"Stand Your Ground" law that has been commonly referred to in regards to this case falls under Chapter 776 of the Florida Statutes. Additionally, a new bill is on Capitol Hill to nationalize Florida's vigilant mentality (Gross, 2012). The proposed bill, S.2213, is known informally by the title, "Respecting States' Rights and Concealed Carry Reciprocity Act of 2012" and formally as, "A bill to allow reciprocity for the carrying of certain concealed firearms" (S.2213).[4] Much more informally, many have coined this bill the George Zimmerman Armed Vigilante Act (Gross, 2012).

The "Stand Your Ground" law went into effect on October 1, 2005 (FLA. STAT. § 776.013). Before this law was enacted, Florida had a combination of common and statutory law for self-defense (Jaffe, 2005). At the time Florida Statute 776.012 stated that "a person was justified in the use of deadly force in self-defense 'if he or she reasonably believed that such force was necessary to prevent imminent death or great bodily harm (FLA. STAT. § 776.012)' " (Jaffe, 2005). The statute did not specify a requirement to retreat, but under Florida common law it established the duty (Jaffe,

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[4] S.2213; A bill to allow reciprocity for the carrying of certain concealed firearms - Sponsor John Thune, Republican Senator of South Dakota and 33 other co-sponsors, submitted the bill on March 19, 2012. The last noted action as of April 27, 2012 was on March 20, 2012 when it was initially reviewed twice and submitted to the Committee on the Judiciary (opencongress.org)

2005).

It is significant to recognize that the issue of self-defense with force is not a newly debated issue and certainly not specific to Martin and Zimmerman. The case *Wilson v State*[5] in 1892 addressed the issue of whether threats of violence by the deceased against the accused are admissible at trial (11 So. 556). The court stated "it was not unmindful that ones home is the castle of defense for himself and his family, and that an assault upon it with an intent to injure him, or any of them, may be met in the same way as an assault upon himself, or any of them, and that he may meet the assailant at the threshold, and use the necessary force for his and their protection against the threatened invasion and harm" (11 So. 556). There were numerous cases such as *Pell v. State, State v. Bobbit* and more, between 1892 and 2005 that contributed to the law we have to "Stand Your Ground" today.

The final incident that caused the bill to pass took place in North Florida after Hurricane Ivan in 2004. A 77-year-old man and his wife were living in an RV next to their home due to the aftermath of the hurricane. The man heard an intruder and went outside, the man pursued toward the alleged intruder and he shot him. After several weeks of deliberation the court decided not to press charges against the elderly man and from this shooting, the bill was enacted and then passed through the Senate unanimously

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[5] 11 So. 556 (Fla. 1892). Defendant contended that he acted in self-defense and that the victim had made threats of violence against defendant on the day before the crime was committed. The court found that threats of violence by the victim against the accused were admissible where the question of whether the victim or the accused commenced the encounter was in any doubt, even though the threats were not brought to the knowledge of the accused. The court determined that the principle of the threats were to prove that the victim had the intention of attacking defendant at the time of the meeting. The court held that the trial court erred in determining that no prejudice was suffered by defendant when it refused to admit testimony of the victim's uncommunicated threats to defendant. The court found that the trial court had the duty to admit all relevant testimony in order that the jury could discharge its exclusive function as to the credibility and weight of the evidence. The court reversed the judgment of the trial court and remanded the cause.

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(Jaffe, 2005). During the process of the bill passing many debates took place, with conservatives and liberals holding opposing views and with many having a suspicion that the underlying issue here was really gun control (Jaffe, 2005).

The shooting of Trayvon Martin by George Zimmerman created a major media frenzy in the months following the incident. Once it was determined that Zimmerman would be arrested and possibly face trial, it became important to understand the possible effects from the media on his right to a fair trial. *Sheppard v. Maxwell*, 384 U.S. 333 (1966) was a landmark case decided by the United States Supreme Court half a century ago. This case was important to journalists as it examined the right of freedom of the press from the First Amendment and the right to a fair trial as outlined in the Sixth Amendment. In this case, Dr. Samuel Sheppard, a prominent doctor, was convicted of murdering his wife in a highly publicized and controversial case (Pavlik, 1999).

Several factors contributed to the reversal of the Shepard case, which included the prejudicial conduct of law enforcement prior to Sheppard's arrest, inappropriate relations with the media by the police and court, the release of incriminating evidence by the media that never came to existence and the coverage and domination of the trial by the media in the courtroom (Pavlik, 1999). The reversal of Sheppard's case was mandated due to an overwhelming prejudice before and during the trial. The news media played a significant role in Sheppard's fate, in part because of the intense coverage, as well as the framing of guilt by the media. Due to the similarly intense and widespread national news media coverage of George Zimmerman, he could face comparable issues to Sheppard.

Historically the press has focused on sex, murder and scandal trials during the "Jazz Journalism" period of the early 1900s. But, why do some criminal cases receive

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more media attention than others? Research suggests that it may depend less on the legal aspects and more on the entertainment focus (Fox, Steiger, van Sickel 2007). In addition to celebrity interest, cases involving youth, beauty, race, location and brutality or oddity will generate more publicity. For example, the coverage of a Miami man who ate 75 percent of a homeless man's face has garnered national attention because of the unusual and brutal incident; it has been coined by media as, "a zombie apocalypse" (Newcomb, 2012). According to the *Tampa Bay Times*, there have been over 140 cases since 2005 that have used Florida Statute 776.013 for defense. Although most of them appear legitimate according to this report, 11 seem to share similarities to the Martin shooting incident, and none of those have received comparable coverage (Montgomery, 2012). According to past research, starting around 1990, Americans began to concentrate on high profile, often celebrity-centered criminal trials and investigations (Fox et al., 2007). The increased coverage of these legal stories is associated with the transformation in the framing of most legal and political news. "Legal news today is dominated by a presentation style that focuses on status, personality, score-keeping, and sex/violence titillation, rather than on legal rules, institutions, processes, and context" (Fox et al., 2007, p. 1). In the area of crime news, Iyengar (1991) has differentiated between thematic coverage, which employs statistics, context, and discussion of general trends, and episodic coverage, utilizing largely surface-level legal stories. Studies show that the framing of legal news, either in episodic or thematic terms, has led citizens to interpret distorted conclusions about the appropriate course of action with regard to crime policy (Fox et al., 2007). A crime story's ability to generate news depends upon how many people find it appealing or significant and how much publicity surrounds it. Coverage of

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incidents, similar to this one, where an unarmed African-American person was shot by a white person of authority gain publicity since they will often start riots and generate protests. As previously noted, public relations professional can also impact the amount of publicity a story receives, such as the one studied in the present research.

The risk for prejudicial publicity has greatly increased today due in part to the media's attention to high-profile cases, but also because of the various forms of media available (Flynn, 1993). Although the attention to high-profile cases has existed in journalism since the early 1900s, it is now easier to become very involved in all aspects of a case; a person can now continuously seek out stories they are interested in via social media sites, including Twitter, Facebook and blogging, as well as traditional news networks' websites. New media theory refers to this advent of technology for people as "living in a global village" (Williams, 2010, p. 213). Globalization emphasizes the role of the media in that "media technologies today are creating qualitative changes in the nature of global communication" (Williams, 2010, p. 223).

Not only does the Internet allow news media to be more accessible, it is also changing the content and frames of the news, in part because people are producers of their own information now (Pavlik, 1999). Also, technology can allow for evidence and other trial-related coverage to very quickly be disseminated, often without time for adequate fact checking (Whitebread & Contreras, 1996). Take for example the case of the *Dallas Morning News* online edition, which published information from a secret service agent about the Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky scandal that had to be taken down later that day because of untrue information (Pavlik, 1999). Another example was when during the O.J. Simpson trial a local news station erroneously reported that DNA tests

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had concluded that socks retrieved from defendant's bedroom were "spotted with the blood of his slain ex-wife" (Whitebread & Contreras, 1996). At trial the next day, the court countered the accuracy of the media's statement. There are copious situations that are similar and they can have negative impacts legal and social ramifications. Another result of technology is that journalists now face a relative loss of authority due to the dissemination of inaccurate information. A journalist's published article can end up next to a bloggers opinion piece in a Google search and people do not always distinguish between the differences in the sources – news outlet vs. personal blogger.

Based on the literature reviewed and the coverage of the incident covered, the present study asks the following research questions:

RQ 1: How did perceived conservative network foxnews.com and perceived liberal network cnn.com.com frame the coverage of the incident using the five identified frames: conflict, attribution of responsibility, human-interest, legal and racial?
RQ 2: How does the framing differ between liberal and conservative coverage?

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

A qualitative textual analysis was used to examine the frames used by various media organizations in the coverage of the Martin shooting incident to examine the media frames in the texts of articles covering the shooting in Sanford, Florida. By analyzing the language of the journalists, textual analysis allows a close study of the way journalists propagated their thoughts about the incident to the public. This chapter will first define a qualitative textual analysis and explain that this method was appropriate for this study because the focus was on textual data interpretation, not to understand the effects of media frames on audiences. The section will also provide an example of the way the analysis was performed in the present study specifically, using Pan and Kosicki's table method (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). The next section discusses the sampling method. Coding for the study is addressed in the following section. The final section explains the time periods used by the researcher in the analysis of the articles.

Qualitative Textual Analysis

Qualitative analysis is "a process of examining and interpreting data in order to elite meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p.1). Research that is qualitative in nature includes theoretical or interpretative studies that evaluate, use concepts to explicate, focus on aesthetics in texts and can lead to an evaluation (Berger, 2011). Stuart Hall (1996) first developed textual analysis as an alternative research method to content analysis. Textual analysis is different from content

analysis because it uses an interpretative method, which allows the researcher to examine all aspects of the text, including stylistic language, omissions and visuals (Lester-Roushanzamir & Raman, 1999). Also known as discourse analysis, textual analysis is a method to critically examine cultural artifacts or texts to establish meaning (Flener, 2008). This type of analysis also can examine the effectiveness of the presentation of the argument. Textual analysis examines questions such as: what issue is being addressed, what position does the author take, what is the writer's claim and is it justified, and who is the intended audience, among others. The three identified steps in a textual analysis, are defining the potential frames, closely reading the text, and interpreting the findings (Flener, 2008). For the first step, this study used three generic frames from past research: conflict, attribution of responsibility, human-interest, and defined two new emergent frames for this study: racial and legal. The method for identifying the five frames is found in the coding section. It also sought to identify any new thematic frames that existed in the articles.

In the next step of the analysis the researcher closely read the text using van Dijk's (1991) "superstructure" schema as a reference for analyzing text. According to van Dijk, "news reports follow a hierarchical schema, consisting of such conventional categories as Headline, Lead, Main Events, Context, History, Verbal Reactions, and Comments" (p.114). Other studies have used a simple method to break down news stories for discourse analysis. They rely on van Dijk's "macro structure" for identification of story taglines, while also providing a way to break stories into "micro-units" (Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Flener, 2008). The researcher, using Pan and Kosicki's table method, was able to clearly identify the different elements of each article once it was broken down into

structural elements of a story including the syntax, script, theme and depiction (see table

1). Not all statements consisted of a frame or had a biased viewpoint; when no existence

of opinion or bias was identified the researcher categorized the statement as "neutral."

**Table 1 – Example of Analysis Table Used in the Textual Analysis to Identify
Structural Elements of the Articles on cnn.com (or foxnews.com). Specific dates,
February – April, 2012.**

Sentence(s)	Syntax	Script	Theme	Depiction	Potential Frame
1	Lead paragraph	Actors, Context	Martin attacked Zimmerman, according to father.	Zimmerman's life was threatened and he acted in self-defense	Conflict
2	Supporting paragraph	Setting	Zimmerman's dad will give the reader his perspective of what happened	Martin was at fault and here is why	Conflict
3	Supporting paragraph	Setting	Media firestorm after incident	Zimmerman's emotional dealings because of media	Human – Interest
4-5	Supporting paragraphs	Context	Stand Your Ground law explanation	Zimmerman claiming self defense and explanation of law	Legal
6-7	Supporting paragraphs	Actors, Context	Many don't believe Zimmerman's story, believe race is a factor	Racial profiling took place	Racial

The final step in the textual analysis consisted of an interpretation of the findings.

This is where key elements of societal structure made its way into the analysis (Flener,

2008). Journalists who covered the Trayvon Martin shooting used various societal scripts

they derived from general social knowledge, whether it be race, socio-economic status,

and education, etc. The present study examined any connections between the textual

elements and the societal structure at the time of the incident in order to determine and

interpret the article (Flener, 2008) to determine the frames journalists used, as shown in Table 1 in the right column. If more than one reference to conflict, human-interest, attribution of responsibility, legal and racial framing are found in one article it is counted the applicable number of times because the researcher is interested in how often frames are utilized and not just in how many articles they can be found. For example, if a journalist discusses the shooting incident using race-related terminology such as racially divided, civil rights and color of skin all in the same article – then each separate reference to race is noted. This enables the researcher to determine how often each network utilizes a specific frame, and not just in how many articles they can be found.

Sampling

Two television network websites were analyzed in this study: perceived liberal network cnn.com and perceived conservative network foxnews.com. The use of online websites is becoming more important and more popular for academic research, as well as the average reader; over 30 million Internet users go online for their news every day ("How blogs, Twitter, and mainstream media have handled the Trayvon Martin case," 2012). The specific articles were found online using search engines within each media organization's individual website based on search terms and dates. The search term used was "Trayvon Martin." The dates used fell within one of three established time periods, which are explained in greater depth below: February 26th – March 29th, March 30th – April 9th, April 10th – April 16th. Since some articles were updated and subsequently had new published dates, estimations were necessary and used in certain incidences. For each website the researcher selected the third article during each time period, until reaching

five articles per time period, per source. If the quota was not met, then the succeeding search term used was "George Zimmerman" and then the same selection process was applied until fifteen articles in total were selected for all three websites.

To ensure similar style articles were reviewed on each website, articles that were not written by a staff writer for each network were avoided. Articles not in English, in question and answer format, letters to the editor, blogs and live chats were not used in this study. Even though they were not utilized, that a very substantial number of articles featured on the Foxnews.com website were by the Associated Press. Also, on the cnn.com website a large percent of the stories section consists of articles by Reuters Wire Service, and those were also not used in this study. A total of 30 articles were analyzed in this study.

Coding

The study focused on the identification and subsequent use of generic frames and potential emergent frames. In order to complete the potential frame column in the structural element table, each paragraph in every news article was examined for the existence of five defined frames. Three of the generic frames represented in most literature, *conflict, attribution of responsibility* and *human-interest* frames were utilized (Valkenburg, et al., 1999). This study also looked at the potential use of *legal* and *racial* frames, which the researcher hypothesized, could exist due to the type of incident and the ensuing coverage in the media.

The conflict frame is defined as a frame that emphasizes the conflicting nature of the issue by accentuating the schism between people, groups, institutions or ideologies

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(Camaj, 2010). Research shows that conflict in news media sells, and thus it can be critical to a journalist when writing a news story (de Vreese, 2004). An example of a question asked to identify a conflict frame in an article was, "Does the statement or quotation or paragraph reflect disagreement among parties or individuals? If so, in what capacity?" For example, most of the articles used in the present study began with explaining the incident that occurred between Martin and Zimmerman. The depiction of the incident acted as a conflict frame because the sources chose to emphasize the difference in perception of what happened that night between Martin being shot and killed and Martin being murdered.

Attribution of responsibility is a frame that focuses on the responsibility of a situation or a problem to a person, institution or government (Camaj, 2010). The U.S. news media are often credited with shaping the public's understanding of who or what is responsible for causing certain incidents or problems (Valkenburg, et al., 1999). An example of a question asked to identify an attribution of responsibility frame in an article was, "Does the statement or quotation or paragraph suggest that someone is responsible for the incident or issue? If so, whom?" While there are articles that do not attribute responsibility to only Martin or Zimmerman, there are those that choose to attribute guilt. For example, some articles represent Zimmerman as the victim – stating he was beaten and had no choice but to shoot Martin in self-defense or he would have been killed himself. In other articles, Martin is the victim – a young, African-American boy being racially profiled, stalked and then shot and killed by Zimmerman.

The human-interest frame brings the human element to stories by focusing on people who are or will be affected by an issue. This frame brings an emotional element to

the presentation of an event (Valkenburg, et al., 1999), which is a way for a news network to personalize and dramatize the situation to gain audience attention and retention. An example of a question asked to identify a human-interest frame in an article was, "Does the statement or quotation or paragraph emphasize how individuals or groups are affected by the incident? If so how and what?" Due to the nature of the incident being covered, the presence of emotionally charged language is found more frequently and exists predominantly in quotations from family members. Direct quotations from Robert Zimmerman, the father of George, and Tracy Martin and Sybrina Fulton, the parents of Trayvon, are prominent in much of the coverage of the incident.

The racial frame focuses on the attention devoted to race in each article. Racial frames categorize a person, typically based on skin color and it seems most often to be a frame in which individuals identify consciously or unconsciously with the person they relate to the most. An example of a question asked to identify an attribution of responsibility frame in an article was, "Does the statement or quotation or paragraph emphasize how race affected or played a role in the incident? If so, how?" The researcher should identify not only that there is a presence of race in an article, but also what was the affect overall, was the article perceived differently because of the level of racial terminology? In the coverage of Martin and Zimmerman, since both represent different minority races, the prominence of race mentioned in the articles is found.

Finally, the legal frame emphasizes the legal impacts recognized and discussed within a story. A legal perspective could bring perceived credibility to an article when experts and historical data are quoted. An example of a question asked to identify a legal frame in an article was, "Does the statement or quotation or paragraph mention legal

issues that exist now or will exist in the future because of this incident, and what the result will be?" The major laws that are present in the coverage are about gun control and the so-called "Stand Your Ground" law. Each source tended to portray one view of each of the laws, and that singular representation frames the law and the article differently. The framing of the legal issues often aligned with the political beliefs of the national news websites in regards to either an agreement or disagreement with the law.

Time Periods

The 51-day time period researched in this study began the day Martin was shot and concluded until the day after Zimmerman's arrest; it followed the major turning points that occurred the day of and subsequent to the incident. The first stage, February 26th – March 29th, covered the breaking news through when national news coverage picked up the story. This stage represented the longest time period, but it was unavoidable due to the extreme lack of immediate coverage succeeding the incident. The amount of attention given to this incident did not heighten until weeks after the shooting, due predominantly to the Martin family hiring a public relations executive, their attorneys, and the luck of finally having two media sources pick it up. The next stage from March 30th – April 9th included national and local coverage of the social, cultural and legal attention the incident received, including the Million Hoodie March, signings of online petitions, commentary from the president, school walk outs, and review of the Florida Statute for the "Stand Your Ground" law, among others. The final stage from April 10th – April 16th, was the time surrounding the arrest and incarceration of George Zimmerman. The defined time

periods allowed the researcher to define an acceptable quantity and unbiased selection of

articles for analysis and assist in reproducibility for future research.

CHAPTER 4

Results and Analysis

Thirty articles from foxnews.com and cnn.com.com were analyzed: 10 in the first period, 10 in the second period and 10 in the third period. The textual analysis of the two news websites reveals consistencies and differences pertaining to the themes and patterns. Five identified frames, conflict, attribution of responsibility, human-interest, racial and legal, as well as one new emergent frame, justice were used to frame the coverage of the Martin shooting incident.

RQ 1: How did foxnews.com and cnn.com.com frame the coverage of the incident using each of the five identified frames: conflict, attribution of responsibility, human-interest, legal and racial?

Conflict. The conflict frame is a frame that emphasizes the conflicting nature of the issue by emphasizing the division between people and ideas. The articles all began with a presentation of the conflict that exists from the shooting of Trayvon Martin. Simply starting an article with a presentation of the conflict does not imply framing was used, but terminology and descriptions can cause different frames to exist. Conflict frames did exist throughout most of the articles, including legal and racial conflicts. Typically the conflict frame was first found in the lead paragraph while providing a brief description of the background of the incident. Each network's articles described the setting for the

incident through a range of phrases, most often as, "shooting death," but also with descriptions such as: "tragic death," "killing of an unarmed teenager," "slain Florida teen" and "shot dead." The words "unarmed" and "teen" could imply innocence and the age of Martin is represented in almost all the articles analyzed. Even though each article referred to what happened within the first few paragraphs, the reader might analyze the rest of the article differently based upon which description of the shooting took place – a perceived shooting death or a murder.

In addition to framing the initial conflict, descriptions and quotations found throughout the articles emphasized an article's particular vantage point. Take for example the coverage of Robert Zimmerman's interview about his son George, and what happened the night of the incident. More than 20 paragraphs in the article by foxnews.com quote Robert and are in defense of George, until the final four paragraphs which quote Martin's attorney and are in his defense. The placement of the paragraphs can be as important to framing and article that what is actually said, since articles are not always read until the end. The opening paragraph states,

> "In the moments before Florida neighborhood watch volunteer George
> Zimmerman fatally shot 17-year-old unarmed African-American teenager
> Trayvon Martin, the teen slammed Zimmerman's head into the ground and
> threatened his life, Zimmerman's father claims" ("Department of Justice Opens
> Investigation," 2012).

Even though the sentence clearly states that this is a claim made by his father, it still provides the reader with one very strong view right at the beginning, Martin was at fault – and that same viewpoint continues for almost the entirety of the article.

CNN.com also wrote an article about Robert Zimmerman's interview, but with a different twist. The opening paragraphs in this article are similar to foxnews.com, in which they cover Robert Zimmerman's perspective – but that is about all that is similar between the coverage of the conflict from cnn.com and foxnews.com. The cnn.com article consisted of 38 paragraphs. Even though the article was about Robert Zimmerman's interview where he defended his son, only 11 presented the conflict in a way that was beneficial to Zimmerman, whereas a higher number of paragraphs, 13, were positive for Martin. Framing the conflict from different perspective leads into the next frame, which actually can attribute guilt to a person based on an article's presentation.

Attribution of Responsibility. Attribution of responsibility involves the use of descriptive words and phrases to suggest responsibility, whether positive or negative, of a situation to someone or something. The articles utilized several different descriptions and quotations by both sides to imply responsibility to either Trayvon Martin or George Zimmerman. The framing ranges from using terminology that paints a certain picture in your mind such as "murder," versus "self-defense," as well as questioning Zimmerman's claim of self-defense and the injuries he actually obtained from Martin the night of the incident. These can all be implications of guilt or responsibility through framing of the article.

Some of the references and quotations that provided an attribution of responsibility were more blatant than others in the articles. For example, the lead paragraph from an article published on cnn.com states, "Supporters of slain teen Trayvon Martin and his acknowledged killer continued Tuesday to battle over the significance of evidence in the case" ("Zimmerman Supporters Say," 2012). The journalist's decision to

refer to Martin in a victim-only role, and then Zimmerman as a nameless murderer, provides the reader with an immediate assumption of responsibility. Foxnews.com also displayed more obvious examples of attribution of responsibility framing in an article about the incident from Zimmerman's point of view. The article discussed self-defense and Florida's so-called "Stand Your Ground" law in a positive light that could imply that it was the right choice for Zimmerman to make. The article states that there "had been multiple break-ins in the area" by young African-American men, which could support the frame that Zimmerman had legitimate reasoning for responding the way that he did ("George Zimmerman's Father," 2012). Similar statements about the break-ins were identified in other articles, which could also support the idea that because of the past issues with African-American people in the area, it gave Zimmerman reason to be suspicious of Martin. This article, however, follows the break-in statement with more evidence about Zimmerman doing the right thing by calling police and following Martin only so he could obtain an address to give to police. It then goes on to quote Robert Zimmerman saying that Martin attacked his son and beat him.

Finally, the coverage of what actually happened to incite the incident the night of the shooting can provide an attribution of guilt to either Zimmerman or Martin. The most straightforward account of what occurred is that Zimmerman was acting as a neighborhood watch captain for the community in which he lived. Zimmerman saw Martin and called 911 stating that Martin appeared suspicious. The 911 operator then told him to keep his distance from Martin – that police would be sent. Martin was shot by Zimmerman and killed and Zimmerman was reported to have several wounds on his head from Martin. The question that is at the focal point of this case is what actually did

happen? Did Zimmerman feel reasonably threatened with serious harm? Only George Zimmerman knows these answers, but the presentation and placement within the article of this sequence of events can alter the inferences drawn about the incident. Framing the presentation of the incident with an attribution of guilt can be found in both news websites. One example is from a foxnews.com article that states the police told Zimmerman not to follow Martin. This is a factual statement that is found in most of the articles analyzed in the present study. The difference is that the statement in is entirety says, "Police told George Zimmerman not to follow Martin, and asked him where he was. However, because he was behind the town homes he could not see the nearest address" ("George Zimmerman's Father, 2012). The statement is framed in a way that makes Zimmerman's actions seem justified – that he had no choice but to follow Martin in order to answer the 911 operator's question of his whereabouts.

In addition to the coverage of the actual account of the events leading up to the shooting, the placement of this coverage within the article is also important to the framing. Take for example one cnn.com article that explains what happened from a simple, factual standpoint.

> … Zimmerman, 28, saw the teen and called 911 to report a suspicious man, authorities said. The 911 dispatcher told Zimmerman not to confront Martin, but by the time police arrived, the teenager lay dead with a gunshot wound in the chest." (Kuo, 2012).

The opportunity for framing an attribution of guilt in this situation occurred when the journalist chose to follow this statement with a quote from Martin's family attorney, Benjamin Crump who addresses the incident by saying, "When you add it up, it just

doesn't even make sense" (Kuo, 2012). Additionally, the remainder of the article continues to only quote Martin's camp, stating that numerous attempts to contact Zimmerman were unsuccessful. Although the journalist did not blatantly state that Zimmerman was at fault and Martin was not, the placement of quotations and descriptions frames the perspective of the article.

Human-Interest. Human-Interest frames are used by the news media to bring the human element to stories by focusing on people who are or will be affected by an issue; this frame brings an emotional element to the presentation of an event. Due to the nature of the incident being covered, the use of emotionally charged language is extremely high and found frequently. Quotations were the most common method the journalists in the studied articles used to achieve human-interest. In addition to direct quotations, the articles analyzed also featured emotionally charged language such as, "bitter disappointment" and "the anger in this case is deserved," to invoke an emotional response.

When quotations are utilized they can spur an emotional reaction and they are found in defense of both Zimmerman and Martin. For example, one article began by stating that Zimmerman is missing and that his attorney's fear for his safety. Hal Uhrig, Zimmerman's former attorney, said, "He's largely alone" and "emotionally crippled" (Keating, 2012). The article then goes on to showcase the Martin family's feelings, quoting their feelings, "The family is deeply concerned that George Zimmerman is currently unaccounted for… they are worried…" (Keating, 2012).

Each family is consistently quoted with emotionally charged language in the

articles analyzed. In one article, Martin's mother Sybrina Fulton said, "I cry every day because I just don't understand… my son is gone…" (Pearson, 2012). In another article, his father, Tracy Martin, is quoted referring to the screams recorded on the 911 tape, "It's heart wrenching, because those actually were my son's last words. And to hear his last words being cries of help is devastating. It tears me apart as a father" (Pearson, 2012).

The Martin's are not the only ones quoted about the emotional aspect of the incident. Zimmerman's father is also quoted, he in defense of his son, and specifically about the same screams heard on the 911 tape. "All of our family, everyone who knows George, knows absolutely that is George screaming. There's no doubt in anyone's mind" ("George Zimmerman's Father," 2012). Robert Zimmerman, commenting on the emotional affects of the incident said, "Tough was being in Vietnam and other things in my life. This is way beyond anything I can imagine" ("George Zimmerman's Father," 2012). Also in the article, referencing George, Robert says, "Currently he is not doing well. I don't know if those injuries are physical or mental, but he's not in good shape."

In addition to family quotes, quoting a person that could be considered an expert on the incident can also be a way to provoke an element of human-interest. Take for example an article by cnn.com that attempts to parallel Rodney King's story to what happened to Trayvon Martin. "The horrifying sound of a young African-American male screaming for his life on a 911 call reminded me of my horrifying scream on a videotape 20 years ago. At that time, I thought I was going to die. Very, very gratefully, I survived. Unfortunately, Trayvon Martin did not" ("Rodney King Pleads," 2012).

Racial. Racial frames focus the article on race and racial elements and typically

categorize a person or incident based on skin color. A previous study found that when a story is about white people only than the mention of race and race-related focus is lower (Caliendo & McIlwain, 2006). The race-related terms found in the articles listed in order of frequency of usage are: "African-American," "profiling or racial profiling," "race," "African-American," "Hispanic," "white," "civil rights," "racial tension," "racially divided," "color of your skin," "colorblind," "unconscious racism," "multiracial" and "stereotyping." Although the usage of "African-American" and "white" alone do not imply a racial frame, the amount of focus given to races can influence an individuals association to the issue as one that is racial in nature. Specifically in the coverage of this incident, the fact that Martin was African-American has been a key part of why this story is as widely covered as it is. It is not only implied, but also stated, in many of the articles that if the situation was reversed, and Martin, a African-American boy, shot Martin, a white and Hispanic man, that the aftermath would have been very different. Benjamin Crump, a Martin family attorney said:

> "If the situation was reversed, Trayvon Martin would have been arrested day one, hour one. We believe Zimmerman should have been arrested and put in jail… this situation is a luxury that Trayvon Martin doesn't have and never would have had." ("Zimmerman Speaks, Raises Funds," 2012)

Both cnn.com and foxnews.com featured very similar quotations by Crump. In addition to the aforementioned example of race, other articles chose to focus on the division of the country on this topic. A cnn.com article stated:

> "The country hasn't been this racially divided since the O.J. Simpson trial in 1995. And as with that trial, how you see these events seems to have a lot to do

with the color of your skin." ("Nation Divided Over Trayvon," 2012)

When the topic of race is mentioned so often in media coverage of a case, the researcher assumed several situations could occur. One, regardless of guilt or innocence, right or wrong, an incident that may not have been racially motivated originally is now regarded as primarily racially motivated. Two, the constant focus of African-American versus white, almost forces people to choose a side based on the color of their skin, rather than on the facts. As stated previously, individuals identify consciously or unconsciously with those with whom they feel a common bond because of a common heritage with a particular racial group (Helms, 1990 & Ott, 1989). If the media did not choose to emphasize race when reporting on this incident the nation would have had a better chance to be unified rather than divided – and in the cases where division still existed it would be on personal ideologies, not race.

Legal. The legal frame emphasizes the legal impacts recognized and discussed within a story and one of the focuses of the coverage of the incident is the legal component. State gun laws, as well as Florida's so-called "Stand Your Ground" law have been discussed from the beginning of the coverage, however mentioning these laws alone does not imply framing is present. Gun laws were mentioned very infrequently and typically in a neutral capacity. If framing of this were to exist, it would be in one article by cnn.com that quoted gun control advocates and did not obtain an opinion from the other side.

> "… gun control advocates plastered the state with fliers bearing warnings to tourists. Be careful, the fliers said. Florida had become a 'shoot first' state."
> ("Florida Shooting Renews," 2012)

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The law that has overwhelmingly received the most attention and does have more positive and negative attributes in the articles analyzed, is the "Stand Your Ground" law. More often than not, the purpose of the law is defined within the article in a "neutral" capacity – which the researcher determined as factual information only. For example, when an article states that the "Stand Your Ground" law allows people to use deadly force if they have reasonable fear of serious harm, it was considered "neutral." Although positive representations were few and far between in all of the articles analyzed, an example of a more "positive" portrayal of the "Stand Your Ground" law is from a foxnews.com article that quotes Florida Rep. Dennis Baxley where he is explaining that the law wasn't written to give people the power to pursue and confront others.

> "That's not what the 'Stand Your Ground law] does. Unfortunately, every time there is an unfortunate incident involving a firearm, they think it's about this law, and it's not." ("Department of Justice," 2012)

The researcher determined this to be a "positive" representation for the law since the state representative is defending the ability of the law to be affective, and that it is being unfairly victimized in this incident.

Much more prominently showcased are the negative portrayals of the "Stand Your Ground" law. An example of a "negative" representation of the law is from an article by a cnn.com writer, where after the journalist defines the "Stand Your Ground" law from a "neutral" perspective, he follows up in the following paragraph with statements that say since the enactment of the law the number of justifiable homicides has increased substantially. The writer does not provide an explanation for the increase, simply implying it is because of the law itself. He then follows up with a quotation from

an anti-gun advocate about the law, "… people carrying loaded guns on the street, shooting first and asking questions later" ("Florida Shooting Renews," 2012). Although the journalist himself does not state his opinion of the law, he uses quotes and particular facts to frame the law negatively.

Finally, one emergent thematic legal frame that exists in both networks is the theme of justice. Almost half of the articles analyzed between foxnews.com and cnn.com included references to "justice." Some of the stories were straightforward in stating that justice was needed for Martin. In one article by cnn.com, from the headline to the lead paragraph to the body of the article, justice for Trayvon is not only demanded, but all questioned in the United States. The author used quotations about justice from protestors, other people, a reporter and his own writing. Additionally, pictures of protestors accompanied some of the articles and can be seen carrying signs with a picture of Martin in his hoodie and the slogan, "Justice for Trayvon" (Saba, 2012). Other articles discussed that protestors and activists were rallying in support of Martin. Overall, when justice was included the articles framed the incident as being an example of lacking justice; the articles did not utilize the justice frame as a positive theme.

RQ 2: Is the framing consistent between the liberal and conservative coverage?

The results reveal the type of frames found between both networks are consistent, but there are differences in the way they framed this incident. The legal frames used showed the least difference between foxnews.com and cnn.com, while the other four frames were less similar.

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Each article whether written and published by foxnews.com or cnn.com began with a conflict frame, which consisted of a brief background of the incident. The inconsistency is the way in which each network framed the conflict. In all but two of the articles by foxnews.com, the incident was referred to as the "shooting death." cnn.com used more variety in describing the incident, including foxnews.com's premier reference of "shooting death," among other descriptions (see Table 2). Even though each article included a reference to what happened within the first few paragraphs, the reader now has the potential to look at the rest of the article differently. Upon reading the foxnews.com article a person may assume there was simply a shooting that resulted in death because of their almost exclusive use of "shooting death"; but if reading cnn.com there is a higher likelihood the reader will assume the shooting was a murder due to the terminology used – "slain," "killing," etc. Specific choices of word usage can alter the meaning of a sentence, which is what was found in the articles analyzed. Due to the implications of the varying use of terminology, the researcher concluded that each national website chose to frame the incident with a different conflict frame, with cnn.com implying a murder took place more often than foxnews.com, which could impact the overall impression of the Martin shooting incident, as well as the individuals – Martin and Zimmerman.

Table 2 – Descriptions Identified that Represent the Martin Shooting Incident from Sample Articles of foxnews.com and cnn.com, dates.

foxnews.com	cnn.com
Shooting death	Shooting death
Fatally shot	Tragic death
Fatal shooting	Killing of an unarmed teenager
Dead	Shot dead
Shot	Shot and killed
	Killing
	Slain

The next frame the researcher compared was the attribution of responsibility frame, which is where articles utilized different descriptions and quotations by both sides to imply responsibility to either Martin or Zimmerman. Although this is not a quantitative study, the number of times certain terminology was used played a partial role in determining the existence of the attribution of responsibility frame. First, the researcher determined the number of times each network used the term "self-defense" or "defense" versus "murder" or "killing" to explain the incident. When "murder" was used in reference to legal charges such as "second-degree murder," it was not included in the count, it was only acknowledged when used in reference to what happened in regard to the shooting incident. The reason these terms were chosen is because each implies a different reason for Martin's death and ultimately a type of attribution of responsibility. The researcher found that foxnews.com used the word "self-defense" or "defense"18

times total in all the articles, compared to "killer" or "murder," which was used 11 times. cnn.com had a greater disparity between term usages with "self-defense" or "defense" appearing 12 times compared to "murder" or "killer" found 27 times. The disparity between singular term usages is much higher in the cnn.com articles than foxnews.com, however individual articles on each network tended to predominantly show similar favoritism to the same person: cnn.com with Martin and foxnews.com with Zimmerman. CNN.com utilized quotes by Martin's attorneys in almost all of their articles, while Fox tended to publish quotes by Zimmerman's father and his friends or Sanford officials. Due to the implications of the varying use of terminology, as well as quoted sources and different descriptions of people and the incident, the researcher concluded that each national website chose to frame the incident with a different attribution of guilt, with foxnews.com implying guilt toward Zimmerman less often than cnn.com.

There was also a difference in the way foxnews.com and cnn.com chose to frame the coverage of the events that lead up to the incident, specifically when the 911 operator told Zimmerman not to pursue Martin. The researcher found that foxnews.com articles, more often than cnn.com, if the article referred to 911 operator's recommendation not to follow Martin it followed up the report with an explanation of why he did still follow. Examples of explanations used by foxnews.com include; Zimmerman was just trying to keep him in view, that he was looking for an address to give the police or that he shot him in self-defense after his life was threatened ("Affidavit Alleges," 2012; "George Zimmerman's Father," 2012). CNN.com, more often than foxnews.com, addressed the 911 operator's request in the article and placed this information close to the beginning.

Much like the other frames, the human-interest frame has consistencies and

inconsistencies between liberal and conservative coverage. CNN.com and foxnews.com both chose to use many direct quotations in their articles about the incident and ensuing coverage. One of the most commonly quoted statements in both networks during the second week of April was pulled from Zimmerman's website. As stated in the previous frame section, quotes had a dominant presence in many of the articles. Quotations can be easy ways for a journalist to not only invoke an emotional feeling from the reader, but also emotion toward the person or incident he chooses. Once again, cnn.com utilized quotes by Martin's attorneys in almost all of their articles, while foxnews.com tended to publish quotes by Zimmerman's father and his friends or Sanford officials, which framed the incident and each person involved from different perspectives; foxnews.com predominantly gave Zimmerman more human-interest elements, compared to cnn.com, which focused on Martin.

Another frame that is found consistently throughout a majority of the articles is the racial frame. Race is mentioned using similar terminology in both the cnn.com and foxnews.com articles, with only a few differences. Foxnews.com and cnn.com both consistently used "African-American" to reference race more than any other ethnicity, however the term "African-American" was referenced substantially more often in the liberal coverage with the frequency as high as seven in two articles and five in one article. The highest usage of "African-American" in a foxnews.com article was three in two articles and then twice in two articles. "White" was used just as often as "Hispanic" in the foxnews.com articles, whereas cnn.com only mentioned "white" in three articles, while "Hispanic" was found in eight articles. In addition to looking at how often racial terms were used, the researcher analyzed how the articles used race to frame an article.

There were more similarities than differences between the two websites, but overall cnn.com framed its stories about race and racial factors more often than foxnews.com. This is important because one news source can bolster, and even change, a component to an incident. Discussing race in terms of ethnicity can add to a story, but it can also take away if that is what the focus becomes. Additionally, racial issues in the United States, and Sanford specifically, are already very sensitive and dramatic, so adding to the existence, especially in a negative fashion should not be perpetuated. Both foxnews.com and cnn.com stated that the incident could have been due to racial profiling or motivation. The research found the difference was that cnn.com chose to frame most of their articles from a racial theme, compared to foxnews.com, which racial frames were found less often.

Legal framing was identified in the analysis, but there was not a significant finding or difference between foxnews.com and cnn.com. Both news websites more often featured "neutral" portrayals of the "Stand Your Ground" law and almost equal total representation of the law, which the researcher did not find framed the article (see Table 3.1). Furthermore, both foxnews.com and cnn.com did not discuss gun laws nearly as much as the "Stand Your Ground" law (see Table 3.2). Since foxnews.com is a perceived conservative station, the researcher was surprised that the typically considered "right wing" laws were not portrayed more positively in the articles, or contrarily, more negatively in "left wing" cnn.com articles.

Table 3.1 – Variation of Framing of the "Stand Your Ground" Law from Sample Articles of foxnews.com and cnn.com, dates.

Time Period	foxnews.com			cnn.com		
	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
2.26 – 3.29	1	1	3	8	3	2
3.30 – 4.9	1	2	2	0	0	3
4.10 – 4.16	0	0	5	0	0	4

Table 3.2 – Variation of Framing of the Gun Control Law from Sample Articles of foxnews.com and cnn.com, dates.

Time Period	foxnews.com			cnn.com		
	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
2.26 – 3.29	1	1	0	1	0	0
3.30 – 4.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.10 – 4.16	0	0	0	0	0	0

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CHAPTER 5

Discussion

The final chapter includes a discussion of findings, as well as recommendations for future research, research limitations and the role of the researcher.

Findings

This study is significant for several reasons since mainstream media, including national and local networks, have extensively covered the story. The present study sought to identify the existence of five identified frames – conflict, attribution of responsibility, human-interest, racial and legal – and to determine if perceived conservative network foxnews.com and perceived liberal network cnn.com would utilize the frames differently. Framing is important because how an issue is framed can determine how the public defines a person or incident, whom the public believes is ultimately responsible, and what the resolution will be. Although the media do not actually try cases in the court of law, they do try people in the court of public opinion (Holt & Major, 2010) and as noted previously, that can impact the legal proceedings. The researcher conducted the study using a qualitative textual analysis to examine all aspects of the text, including stylistic language, omissions and visuals (Lester-Roushanzamir & Raman, 1999).

Several key findings emerged from this study. First, both foxnews.com and cnn.com used the five identified frames, including the three generic frames found in past research (Valkenburg, et al., 1999). Next, both networks used the racial frame the most,

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a large majority of the articles analyzed mentioned race-related terms or references often; it could be because race is such a hot-topic in this country still and generates high interest. Since the incident involved two people, Martin and Zimmerman, that both represent different minority races, the researcher concluded that the prominence of race mentioned in the articles could also be higher than in the coverage of a white-only crime. cnn.com used the race frame more frequently than foxnews.com, which the researcher concluded could be because its audience is more ethnically diverse and thus, have more interest in a story involving African-Americans' and Hispanics'. One Pew Research study determined the ethnic backgrounds of people in each political group and then which political groups preferred which news network. The study found that although there is little racial or ethnic variation among Republican groups, each is three-quarters or more white non-Hispanic, Democratic groups differ considerably in their ethnic composition. Democratic groups are more evenly made up of a white, African-American and Hispanic audience ("Beyond Red vs. Blue," 2011). When race is constantly focused on in the news media it can actually perpetuate race discrimination and prejudices. News media decided race was going to be the major focus of the coverage and so every article included some sort of racial reference. At this point it is impossible to be sure that race played any role in what happened between Zimmerman and Martin, but it would be very difficult for anyone to know that while reading the subsequent coverage. This is a disservice to all the people that work so hard everyday to reduce the racial tensions that exist in this country, since all people can think about when discussing this incident is that it is a black/white thing: Martin was killed because he was African-American.

Overall, foxnews.com framed Zimmerman differently than cnn.com, in that the

guilt association was lower. Foxnews.com accomplished this by quoting Zimmerman's camp including his family, Sanford police and friends, more often than Martin. CNN.com on the other side quoted Martin's family, his attorneys and public officials in favor of his side more often, which results in a perception that Martin was not at any fault. Both websites situated the quotations in favor of either Zimmerman or Martin closer to the lead paragraphs, which results in a higher likelihood of that opinion being read. Thus, the most prominent finding from this study is that the coverage of the incident and the people involved varied significantly depending on which website was visited – foxnews.com or cnn.com. Furthermore, quotations seemed to have the highest impact on framing the story by both websites. Since both websites are from television-based sources, it is possible that the use of quotes found is higher than print-based sources and should be evaluated in future studies.

The findings in this study are important to the news media industry because ultimately journalists can determine the public's opinion about a person or an incident, and it can vary from news source to news source. This is a major responsibility that a journalist must live up to every day and it is imperative that journalists act according to the Society of Professional Journalists Code[6] (SPJ Code) during all situations, including highly publicized situations such as this one, because it is not his or her duty to determine how a person or an incident is perceived. The SPJ Code states that: "The duty of the journalist is to… seek truth and provide a fair and comprehensive account of events and issues. Conscientious journalists from all media and specialties [should] strive to serve

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[6] According to their website, the SPJ Code of Ethics is voluntarily embraced by thousands of journalists, regardless of place or platform, and is widely used in newsrooms and classrooms as a guide for ethical behavior. The code is intended not as a set of "rules" but as a resource for ethical decision-making. It is not — nor can it be under the First Amendment — legally enforceable.

the public with thoroughness and honesty. Professional integrity is the cornerstone of a journalist's credibility" ("SPJ Code of Ethics," 1996). Framing of a situation or a person, by a journalist can greatly impact the audience's perception, thus a journalist must attempt to eliminate any bias in their reporting. Additionally, when actual governmental laws are covered in the media, this study showed that the framing of the laws could impact the perceived worthiness of a law and possibly its existence in the future. Specifically, due to the news media's coverage of this incident, the "Stand Your Ground" law is under review in Florida, and organizations such as The Brady Campaign are attempting to bring negative attention to gun control laws nationally.

The media sources analyzed had a choice of how to frame Zimmerman – as a hero who protected the neighborhood from another burglary or as a racist criminal. We may never know what actually happened that night, but what is known is the criminalization of George Zimmerman by the news media, more often by cnn.com, will have life long repercussions for him and his family. In the future, we hope the legal system will work and the public will discover what actually happened that ominous night in February 2012 in Sanford, Florida between neighborhood watch captain Zimmerman, and the high-school student, Martin. This study, however, attempted to shed light on the bigger story, the media depictions and framing of the incident and the affects of the coverage that can impact a person's life, the legal system and race relations in this country.

Agreements and Disagreements with Past Research

There is agreement between past academic research and the current study in regard to the presence of frames in news stories, and the types of generic frames that are

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often found. Three generic frames were used in this study from past research – conflict, attribution of responsibility and human-interest – and they were all identified in the analysis (Valkenburg, et al., 1999). Agreement was also found with a previous study conducted by the Pew Research Center. The present study and Pew both discovered differences in the coverage of the incident by foxnews.com and cnn.com, although Pew's study focused on television news. Pew Research Center found that:

> "The leading theme of CNN's coverage of the case involved questions about Trayvon Martin and the defense of Zimmerman, followed closely by straight news accounts. On Fox, questions about Trayvon Martin's past and statements in defense of George Zimmerman also garnered the most attention by far. That was followed by attention to the media's handling of the story" ("How Blogs, Twitter," 2012).

The present study is in agreement with Pew that foxnews.com focused on the defense of George Zimmerman in its coverage and that Trayvon Martin was the primary focus on cnn.com. In addition, the researcher found that the type of coverage of Martin on cnn.com focused on his innocence. No disagreements in past literature were identified, but the present study identified two frames not typically found: legal and racial.

The Associated Press stylebook, along with other journalistic guides such as the SPJ Code, state that race should be mentioned in a story only when relevant. For example, crime stories where the criminal has not been arrested and the police are requesting assistance from the public in identifying the person, mentioning race would be considered very relevant to the story. However, when covering a crime story such as the Martin shooting incident, where the victim and perpetrator are identified, the need to

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identify either person by race is less important to the story. This study found that Martin was identified by his race, African-American, more often than Zimmerman, who is white and Hispanic. This finding is in agreement with past research that suggests African-American's race is identified more often than other races (Woods, 2002).

Finally, within the legal frame, the theme of justice was identified, which is new to the present studies pertaining to the coverage of the incident. This study has shown that syntax, terminology, quotations, repetition and depictions gave journalists the opportunity to frame the coverage of the Trayvon Martin shooting.

Future Research

Future research could be studied comparing local and national coverage of the incident, as well as visual elements. Local coverage could have different frame usage from national coverage for several reasons including; having more access to sources, being more familiar with the history and racial climate of the area, and possibly more freedom to find different perspectives (Holt & Major, 2010). Although the present study did not include any local coverage research questions, an additional analysis comparing the frames used in national networks, foxnews.com and cnn.com, with local news, the Orlandosentinel.com, was preliminarily studied and it revealed both inconsistencies and consistencies in the frames utilized within its content.

Similarly to what was found in RQ 2, almost every article whether written and published by a foxnews.com, cnn.com or Orlandosentinel.com writer, began the article with a conflict frame, which consisted of a brief background of the incident; the inconsistency is the way in which each network framed the conflict. When comparing

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the local coverage from the Orlandosentinel.com with national coverage, there is a consistency with one of the networks – cnn.com. The Orlandosentinel.com chose to use more variety and very similar framing of the incident to cnn.com such as: "fired the shot that claimed the life of Trayvon," "killed at age 17," and "17-year-old African-American boy was found dead." The single phrase all three networks used consistently was "shooting death," but the difference was Fox used it primarily and cnn.com and the Orlandosentinel.com used it much more infrequently.

Attribution of responsibility framing was identified in the Orlandosentinel.com articles as well, and used similar terminology to the national coverage. The articles utilized several different descriptions to imply responsibility to either Trayvon Martin or George Zimmerman. The researcher determined the number of times each network used the term "self-defense" or "defense" versus "murder" or "killing" to help explain the incident since each term implies a different reason for Martin's death and ultimately an attribution of responsibility. One national website, foxnews.com, and the local website, the Orlandosentinel.com, consistently used "self-defense" less often than "killing," whereas cnn.com's national coverage was the opposite. Foxnews.com used the word "self-defense" or "defense" 18 times; cnn.com was at 12 and the Orlandosentinel.com at 15. The national network cnn.com used "killer" or "murder," substantially more often with 27 appearances, than foxnews.com, 18, and the Orlandosentinel.com, 15. Overall, the local coverage applied less language that implied an attribution of responsibility than the national coverage and future studies could determine why that is and what are the audience effects.

The Orlandosentinel.com identified human-interest frames preliminarily in the

coverage. The local coverage was similar to the national networks, in that it used direct quotations primarily as its source of human-interest framing. Overall, the local coverage tended to more neutral in it's reporting of both the Martin and Zimmerman family's feelings and opinions. CNN.com and foxnews.com both featured human-interest framing that supported one view – cnn.com and the Martin camp, foxnews.com and the Zimmerman camp.

The racial frame is also preliminarily found in all three networks and is mentioned using similar terminology in both national and local coverage. All three networks consistently used "African-American" to reference race more than any other ethnicity. Also, local coverage described Zimmerman as Hispanic only once in all the articles, and white once as well, which is substantially lower than with the national coverage; fonews.com with 10, cnn.com with 12. Furthermore, overall, local coverage applied less racially charged language than the national coverage. Overall, local coverage used less racially charged language the national coverage; the orlandosentinel.com used 53 separate race references, foxnews.com used 60 and cnn.com utilized the most with 76 race-related terms.

The orlandosentinel.com did not identify legal framing in the preliminary analysis of the local coverage. The existence of discussion about gun laws and the so-called "Stand Your Ground" law were identified, but not in a way that framed either law. National news coverage identified some presence of legal framing, although not as much as with the other frames, but local news only featured "neutral" portrayals of the "Stand Your Ground" law and gun laws. In summation, it would be beneficial for future research to study the differences between local and national coverage after the incident.

Additionally, the visual elements should be studied as the use of photographs gained much attention in the present coverage of Martin and Zimmerman.

Finally, episodic vs. thematic framing could be studied for the Martin shooting incident. Based on the analysis of this study, the researcher noted that although each article briefly mentioned the background of the case – Zimmerman shot and killed Martin – unless the consumer read every article, they would be missing pertinent information. For example, if one of the very few articles written about the website Zimmerman created was not read than the average person would not know this ever happened. Thus, the researcher found the coverage of the Martin shooting incident to be primarily episodic in nature and the results of episodic framing versus thematic framing could be studied to understand the differences in framing in future research.

Limitations

The present study is limited to articles pertaining to the shooting of Trayvon Martin in Sanford, Florida on February 26th, 2012 until the day following the arrest of alleged perpetrator George Zimmerman on April 12th. This study is not meant to be representative of all media coverage of this incident as the study only researches articles selected using the methodology previously stated, from two media sources during a predetermined time period; cnn.com and foxnews.com. Since some articles were updated and subsequently had new published dates, time estimations were necessary and used in certain incidences. Furthermore, no firsthand interviews or research were conducted with those persons directly involved with the situation.

Role of the Researcher

I have been a resident of Florida for twenty-six years, seven of which were spent in Orlando and two of those were in Sanford. Although I did not live in Sanford or Orlando during the shooting incident, I was aware of the high racial tensions that existed within the community.

Definition of Terms

- Media -   All forms of mass communication including television, radio, websites, etc. For this study new media will only be researched during February 26, 2012 – April 14, 2012.

- Hispanic – All Hispanic, Latin and Latin American races will be categorized under one uniform terminology in this study.

- Bias – Depictions, in writing or visually, with a result of misleading or distorting the facts.

- The Martin shooting incident – In this paper, the incident refers to the shooting and killing of Trayvon Martin by George Zimmerman on February 26, 2012

- Local coverage – The greater Orlando area will constitute local coverage; Sanford is located just north of the city of Orlando

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Analysis Table of Structural Elements

The researcher used the following table, based on Pan and Kosicki's (1993) table layout, for analysis. This analysis table was used to break down the sentences at a micro-level; the syntax, scripts, themes, depiction, and potential frames were identified in each sentence or group of sentences and helped to identify the major frames evident in the articles.

Table: A1

Time Period: March 21-April 9
Published: March 29
Article 1
Overall: This article primarily is from the perspective of George Zimmerman's father utilizing many direct quotes. He ultimately attempts to defend his son's character, as well as his decision to shoot Martin in self-defense that evening. We are given context for the setting from Zimmerman's dad's perspective such as what happened, the previous break-ins in the neighborhood and the effects of the media coverage on Zimmerman and his family. The article sums up with the perspective of the Martin family in the final two paragraphs.

Sentence(s)	Syntax	Script	Theme	Depiction	Potential Frame
1	Lead paragraph	Actors, Context	Martin attacked Zimmerman, according to father.	Zimmerman's life was threatened and he acted in self-defense	Conflict
2	Supporting paragraph	Setting	Zimmerman's dad will give the reader his perspective of what happened	Martin was at fault and here is why	Conflict
3	Supporting paragraph	Setting	Media firestorm after incident	Zimmerman dealing with media	Human Interest

4-5	Supporting paragraphs	Context	Stand Your Ground law explanation	Zimmerman claiming self defense and explanation of law	Legal
6-7	Supporting paragraphs	Actors, Context	Many don't believe Zimmerman's story, believe race is a factor	Racial profiling took place	Racial
8-12	Quotations, Supporting paragraphs	Setting, Context, Action	Background of what happened and why from dad	Bc of previous break ins in the neighborhood Zimmerman pursued Martin	Attribution of responsibility
13-23	Quotations, Supporting paragraphs	Setting, Context, Action	Dad states that Martin beat him, threatened his life "You're going to die"	Martin was going to kill Zimmerman if he didn't shoot him, according to dad	Attribution of responsibility, Human Interest
24-28	Quotations, Supporting paragraphs	Setting, Context, Action	Discuss screams from 911 tape, dad says they were Zimmermans	Zimmerman was screaming for help	Human Interest
29-31	Quotations, Supporting paragraphs	Context	Doubts Martins gf was on the phone with him	Martins gf is lying about involvement	Conflict
32-35	Quotations, Supporting paragraphs	Setting, Context	Discusses Zimmermans injuries, physical and mental	Zimmerman was hurt on many levels by this incident	Human Interest
36-37	Quotations, Supporting paragraphs	Setting, Context	Discusses his own hardship and his background	Zimmerman's dad also affected by the incident	Human Interest
38-39	Supporting paragraphs	Context	Dad says Zimmerman was an altar boy, mentored African-American kids and is colorblind	Zimmerman is a good person, not racist	Human Interest
40	Supporting paragraph	Setting, Action	States that Zimmerman was shown handcuffed on video after incident	Zimmerman was arrested	Attribution of responsibility
41-44	Quotations, Concluding paragraphs	Setting, Context	Martins group states that Zimmerman is lying about injuries	Zimmerman was not injured by Martin	Attribution of responsibility

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Racial References Frame Tables

Though this study is not quantitative in nature, it can be helpful to recognize the repetition of terminology used in an article when analyzing potential frame usage. Below are the number of racially charged terms, as well as which terms were used by each network during the defined time periods.

Table A 2.1, cnn.com:

Time Period:	African-American	White	Hispanic	Total Terms:	Terminology*
Feb. 26 – Mar. 29	4	1	1	10	African-American, white, African-American, profiling, color of his skin, Hispanic, multiracial, civil rights
Mar. 30 – Apr. 9	18	0	4	36	African-American, white, Hispanic, African-Americans civil rights, racial profiling, profiled, race, racial slur, racially motivated, slave, New African-American Panther Party, race-baiters
Apr. 10 – Apr. 16	14	3	3	30	African-American, white, Hispanic, race, African-American, racially profiled, racially divided, civil rights, stereotyping, color of your skin, racial tension, unconscious racism, racial stereotyping
TOTALS:	**36**	**4**	**8**	**76**	

Table A 2.2, foxnews.com:

Time Period:	African-American	White	Hispanic	Total Terms:	Terminology*

Feb. 26 – Mar. 29	9	2	2	26	African-American, white, Hispanic, civil rights, racial profiling, not racist, race, colorblind, African-American Panther Party, racially motivated, racial slur, multiracial, 100 African-American Men of America
Mar. 30 – Apr. 9	7	2	2	18	African-American, white Hispanic, Congressional African-American caucus, racial, racially profiling, race
Apr. 10 – Apr. 14	6	1	1	16	African-American, white, Hispanic, racial injustice, racially charged, racially motivated, race, racist, alleged racial profiling, civil rights, profiled
TOTALS:	**22**	**5**	**5**	**60**	

*In addition to African-American, white and Hispanic, some terms from the terminology column are used more than once. The total number is represented in the total term column.

Attribution of Responsibility References Frame Tables

Though this study is not quantitative in nature, it can be helpful to recognize the

repetition of terminology used in an article. Below are the numbers of terms that are

associated with terminology used in association with an attribution of responsibility.

Table A 3.1, cnn.com:

Time Period:	Self-Defense	Murder/Killer
Feb. 26 – Mar. 29	6	6
Mar. 30 – Apr. 9	2	11
Apr. 10 – Apr. 16	4	10
TOTALS:	**12**	**27**

Table A 3.2, foxnews.com:

Time Period:	Self-Defense	Murder/Killer
Feb. 26 – Mar. 29	6	5
Mar. 30 – Apr. 9	7	2
Apr. 10 – Apr. 14	5	4
TOTALS:	**18**	**11**