

“Frustrated Crusaders” or “Outside Hoarders”?
Coverage and Framing of Occupy Wall Street by *The New York Times*

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To My Parents: For Your Unconditional Love.

“Love Liberates.” – Maya Angelou

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INTRODUCTION

Occupy Wall Street (OWS), about a year and a half since its inception, has presumably changed the discursive landscape concerning political economy, social movements, and the democratic potential of mass protest. This paper addresses factors that influences print media, specifically *The New York Times*, which has come to portray the Occupy movement in both positive and negative lights, as resulting from the exogenous factors such as the role of political actors, the police, and the movement itself. Occupy Wall Street is relatively new, but has been established as a phenomenon to be scrutinized by the media and generally in public discourse. On top of this, OWS provides fertile ground for researchers in better understanding contemporary social movements and contentious politics, as well as what societal change may have occurred as a result. This research in particular focuses on how mainstream print media frames deploys various “media packages” (Gamson and Modigliani 1989) in response to contemporary social movements such as Occupy Wall Street, thus providing valuable insight into the role media continues to play in the representation of social movement activity.

As such, this research seeks to understand why media frames social movements in either positive or negative perspectives as a result of exogenous factors. My driving research question is *what are the underlying mechanisms of and around Occupy Wall Street that lead to either positive or negative representation by The New York Times over a fourteen week period?* This paper contributes to the discipline of sociology, the study of social movements, and to the area of collective behavior in general, in that it provides not only a case study based on a newly emergent, historically contingent type of movement, but that it builds on previous theory concerned with the interplay between media and social movements. Through rhetorical analysis of articles published within the period of interest, I expand on theoretical understandings of the

role that media plays in social movements. That is, how the media fosters public understanding of social movements, and in turn, how social movements play a role in the production of media and of the narrative portrayed.

The first section of this paper includes a review of relevant literature in conjunction with an explication of my three major hypotheses. This is followed by a defense of methodological choices. The heart of the paper demonstrates how and why *The New York Times* has frames OWS either positively or negatively through various media packages, each based on three distinct exogenous factors. Ultimately, this paper contributes to social movements literature by articulating factors in which media representations are a result of movement activities and other external variables.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The overall goal of this paper is to advance theoretical conceptions concerning media framing of social movements. As previously stated, this research specifically seeks to identify positive and negative framing of Occupy Wall Street by *The New York Times* as a result of the movement's dynamics. Because Occupy Wall Street is a hotbed for new and ongoing series of contentious politics, I will briefly review the sparse literature that has specifically addressed OWS within the study of social movements. Next I will review social movements literature concerning framing, and more specifically, how external forces such as the media are able to portray social movements to the general public and display them in particular ways. From these literatures, I develop three main hypotheses, each with two sub-hypotheses, concerning the portrayal of OWS in response to external factors around the movement, as well as to the movement itself. These hypotheses draw upon previous authors' research, but offer conceptual and theoretical contributions for better understanding more loosely based contentious politics (Tilly and Tarrow 2007), as well as innovative framing mechanisms that have arisen in relation to more global social movements, and to a more globalized and concentrated media discourse.

I consider three major factors that contribute to the media packages deployed by *The New York Times* which include the role of political actors such as politicians, the role of the police, and the role OWS itself plays in the overall framing of the movement through varying media packages. I utilize Gamson and Modigliani's (1989) concept of *media packages* as distinct but embedded within *media framing*. They define media packages as "interpretive packages that give meaning to an issue" which "at its core, is a central organizing idea, or frame, for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue" (pg. 3). Thus in this paper, I analyze media packages as the interpretive frame around a particular issue (e.g. political actors, police, or

OWS), and then analyze whether those media packages contribute to either positive or negative media frames as a whole. In the following sections I will provide a brief overview of scholarly work that has paid attention to OWS, then review literature that conceptualizes media framing of social movements, and finally theorize media perspectives of OWS concerning three major factors embedded within multi-organizational fields (Fernandez and McAdam 1988; Rucht 2004); these factors are political actors, the police, and Occupy Wall Street activities and tactics.

2.1 Occupy Wall Street in Scholarship

Occupy Wall Street (OWS), which began in September 2011, has been a highly visible movement in large part because of its mass presence during the “occupation” in New York City’s financial district. Additionally, it was not long before many other Occupy movements began to spring up in other cities around the United States, and around the world. Because OWS is a relatively recent phenomenon, and because it is ongoing in the form of many smaller occupy movements, there has until now been little scholarship in regards to OWS. Additionally, because of temporal proximity to the events of the OWS movement, there is little data as to how OWS has been received by the public or how the media has represented OWS. This paper will seek to establish valuable contributions to the study of social movements by using media coverage of OWS as a case study.

Occupy Wall Street, since early in its inception, has often been likened to the Tea Party movement, but rather from the political *left* instead of the *right* end of the political spectrum. In October of 2011, Sidney Tarrow declared Occupy Wall Street to not be a social movement per se, but rather more of an “outcry.” He likened OWS to be more in line with the “new women’s movement of the 1970’s.” He writes:

When that struggle emerged in the wake of the civil rights movement, it shocked conservatives and befuddled liberals. The first saw the activists as a bunch of bra-burning anarchists; the second considered them unladylike, or, well-meaning liberals gone off the reservation. Although the leaders of the new women's movement had policies they wanted on the agenda, their foremost demand was for recognition of, and credit for, the gendered reality of everyday life. Likewise, when the Occupy Wall Street activists attack Wall Street, it is not capitalism as such they are targeting, but a system of economic relations that has lost its way and failed to serve the public. (Tarrow 2011)

While Tarrow considers OWS to be more of a social clamor than a proper social movement, he does argue that "...one thing is certain: we are hearing a wake-up call to a complacent corporate sector and its Washington enablers, signaling that there is a new force demanding change at the grassroots of American society" (Tarrow 2011).

Similarly, Jackie Smith and Bob Glidden (2012) compare an offshoot of Occupy Wall Street, Occupy Pittsburgh, with the World Social Forum. They argue that OWS can *learn* from other active social movements – such as the World Social Forum – in an effort to strengthen their pursuits of social change. Citing Polletta (2004), they claim that “whether activists recognize it or not, particular relational structures inevitably shape group practices and affect activists’ ability to realize participatory democracy” (Smith and Glidden 2012). As such, OWS will need to develop new ways in which to realize participatory democracy, while also establishing more concrete means to address their grievances.

Scholarship on Occupy Wall Street is limited given that the movement is only about a year and a half in its infancy, which allows for scholars to analyze OWS not only as a case study, but as a contemporary social movement, with contemporary representations. That is to say, this research contributes to social movements literature both in the uniqueness of the case, but more importantly in the current representation of the movement by the print media. This research seeks to fill part of this gap in analyzing the ways mainstream media, in this case *The New York Times*, has responded to OWS – including events and tactics, interactions with the state, and

perceived societal contribution.

Part of Occupy Wall Street's high visibility comes from its sheer physical presence. Because OWS is very much based on special location, visibility, and contentious politics within close proximity to symbols of power (Wall Street, government buildings, etc.), I invoke the work of William Sewell (2001) on contentious politics within the built environment, as well as that of Holly McCammon (2003) to demonstrate the importance of a social movement's visibility to the public. Space is crucially important to OWS, especially if the goal is explicitly to "occupy" a location that is a symbol of financial power in order to call attention to the financial abuses of the power of Wall Street financiers, let alone to growing inequality in the United States and the world.

In this sense, the space in which OWS occupies is "coded" (Sewell 2001:57) in that there are cultural meanings attached, and that it is politically charged and powerful. The spaces that are coded for occupation have the capacity to elicit emotional responses from protesters, including angst. OWS's special presence is also important concerning perceived threat. Because of the location near New York's financial district, it appears that protesters are actively changing the coded nature of Wall Street – they are actively and intentionally disrupting the "spatial routines (Sewell 2001:62) of the people that normally move through that district on a day to day basis. Thus, space will likely be an important factor in media representation of OWS.

Similarly, as McCammon (2003) shows, visibility of suffragists was key to movement success. There is a parallel between the women's suffrage movement and Occupy Wall Street, in that less conventional tactical methods were utilized. This not only amplified the effectiveness of the movement, but also complicated conventional understandings of protest. Thus, movement tactics will also likely be an important factor in media representation of OWS. Visibility is also a

matter of media coverage in that often times the public may have little access to a social movement beyond the mainstream media. This paper focuses the attention to mainstream media, but rather than an investigation into the effects that media has on the social movement outcomes or to public perception of social movements, this paper seeks to uncover why *The New York Times* deploys particular media packages that in turn create positive or negative framing of OWS.

2.2 Conceptualizing Media Framing of Social Movements

In the study of social movements, much of the focus concerning *framing* is in regards to how the social movement organization seeks to represent itself within larger societal discourse (i.e. media representation) (Benford and Snow 2000; Snow, Rochford Jr., Worden, and Benford 1986). Understanding the agency social movements have in framing their grievances, goals and tactics has become increasingly important for understanding social movement outcomes (McCammon, Muse, Newman, and Terrell 2007; McCammon 2009; Moore and Roberts 2009; Taylor, Kimport, Dyke, and Anderson 2009). However scholars also identify the ways in which those external to social movements have the power to frame those movements in certain ways. Andrews and Caren (2010) for instance, argue that the media has increasingly brought social movement activity to mainstream awareness, and has the ability to shape “public agenda by influencing public opinion, authorities, and elites” (pg. 841).

Todd Gitlin’s (2003) *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media and the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* shows just how influential the media can be in shaping public opinion about social movements. In particular, this entails how much power the media has in trivializing movements through negative coverage, or simply no coverage at all. The news has power to formulate frames about a movement, despite whether or not that movement identifies or even

agrees with those frames. He argues that "...people as producers of meaning have no voice in what the media make of what they say or do, or in the context within which the media frame their activity" (pg. 3). While this may be true for Gitlin's case, given the proliferation of social media including Twitter and YouTube, it may be the case that movements such as OWS will have chances for more agency in shaping public discourse. This is at least suggested in more recent social movements literature which incorporates the concept of new media into social movement conceptualizations (Earl and Kimport 2011; Earl, Kimport, Prieto, Rush, and Reynoso 2010; Van Laer 2010; Walgrave, Bennett, Van Laer, and Breunig 2011).

Gitlin (2003) shows that the media plays a very powerful role in the dynamic of social movements – for one the media has the power to frame movements in the public eye – and this means that actually a movement can be trivialized by the media to the point of dismantling it. Media, as such, is a powerful force which has the power to either boost or pull to pieces the messages of a social movement. In the context of this study, I argue in this paper that the media not only has the power to frame movements that are beyond the control of movement actors, but that the media can deploy media packages that frame "desirable" and "undesirable" aspects of the movement or its members.

Gitlin's (2003) work does provide for this analysis a framework as to how mainstream media frames social movements for the public. That is, a framework that shows the ways in which media can either praise movements through positive portrayal, or negatively frame movements based on trivialization, emphasis on internal dissention, marginalization, and disparagement (Gitlin 2003:27-28). I build on this framework by analyzing why media outlets such as *The New York Times* deploys media packages that in turn frame OWS in either positive or negative ways. While this research looks at the framing process of OWS, it is less focused on

what that framing then leads to within the movement itself (i.e. movement politics, etc.), or how media representation changes public opinion about OWS, but rather seeks to uncover mechanisms that lead to positive and negative frames about OWS by the print media.

One more clarification must be made before further review of the literature in order to set up hypotheses. That is, the heuristic difference between media packages and media framing as used in this paper. Drawing on Gamson and Modigliani (1989), I use media packages to be the bits of “interpretive” information that are put forth in order to “give meaning to an issue” (pg. 3). These packages become the basics for coding the articles (as will be explicated in my methods section), as they contain the “central organizing idea... for making sense of relevant events” (Gamson and Modigliani 1989:3). These media packages, at least for the purposes of my argument, are then embedded within larger media frames. These frames are broader themes that can be analyzed across articles, and can be determined to be positive, negative or neutral in nature. In this sense, media packages are the essential components that make up the broader concept of media framing.

2.3 Theorizing Exogenous Factors that Influence Media Perspective

Social movement scholars have long understood that social movements “do not exist in a vacuum” (Fernandez and McAdam 1988), and as Deiter Rucht (2004) argues, “...arise, and assuming they survive, continue to exist in a situation of conflict” and that they are often “complex social entities with vague and shifting boundaries” (pg. 197). Similarly, Fernandez and McAdam (1988) argue often times “social movement organizations... consist of other social movement organizations” wherein “ties among organizations are an important channel through which they mobilize resources” (p. 358). These arguments are essentially based on the notion that social movements occur within surroundings that preceded it, and that movements must

engage with those surroundings to the best of their ability and most efficiently. As Rucht (2004) points out, “social movements can only be understood in *relational* terms” (p. 197).

While Rucht (2004) and Fernandez and McAdam’s (1988) focus of theorization is on how social movements interact with the other social movement groups as well as surrounding organization, this paper seeks to understand how a social movement as well as surrounding organizations influence media representation of the social movement. As Rucht (2004) writes:

The media also represents a kind of mirror or platform, though one with gatekeeper roles. Due to the tremendous role of modern mass media in providing information and influencing people’s minds, virtually all actors engaged in political struggles try to occupy some space in the media by various techniques, such as distributing press releases or staging events that are particularly designed to attract the media’s attention. (pg. 201)

This is where the linkage between my hypotheses and the concept of multi-organizational fields lies. I argue that the media engages with information from many sources, including the social movement actors as well as political actors and the police, and in turn deploys media packages that “give meaning to an issue” (Gamson and Modigliani 1989:3).

Thus, my three hypotheses are embedded in the notion that the media is also functioning within multi-organizational fields, one of which being OWS, and media representation deploys particular media packages that in turn frame OWS either positively or negatively. The following sub-sections outline three external factors, based on previous literature, that influence the deployment of certain media packages. Out of these, I develop three hypotheses.

2.4 The Role of Political Actors in NYT Media Packages

The first area of social movements literature which I draw on in setting up my first hypothesis, is in the general area of political opportunity. This is a key concept for social movement scholars, as a major component of many social movements is that they seek to make

change at a political level by directly influencing the political structure. OWS as a social movement seeks to exact some sort of social change through non-institutional tactics, however, in doing so may be able to gain certain political opportunities that increase public support of the movement, as well as decrease the chance of state-repression (McAdam 1999). However the goal of this paper is not to look directly at the political opportunities OWS seeks to gain, but rather, why the media frames OWS in particular ways.

Because OWS is generally founded on a cultural malaise with government and large financial institutions, it can be argued that the mere presence of OWS will garner support from political actors. McCammon et. al (2001) suggest that one way in which the women's suffrage movement was successful, was in that there was a burgeoning cultural shift in the beliefs and attitudes about gender. In the case of OWS, I would argue that the large-scale malaise and anger with Wall Street will tend to function in a similar way.

Citing Gamson and Meyer (1996) on their work concerning political opportunity structures, Kriesi (2004) notes:

mass media are another component of political opportunity structure – a component that has both structural and dynamic elements. The structure of the media and the way they operate (their norms and practices) affect the opportunities and constraints under which movements operate. (pg. 86).

In this sense, the media itself can act as both a structuring agent of political opportunity, and as a reaction to political opportunity. I hypothesize that with the popularity of OWS even since its infancy, as seen by its wild-fire like spread throughout the country and to other metropolitan areas around the world, media will deploy media packages that frame OWS when political actors make commentary on the movement, which is representative of increased political opportunity. As such I present my first hypothesis concerning media representation of OWS as a result of political actors' involvement.

Hypothesis 1: Media framing will be dependent on responses from political actors within government positions.

Hypothesis 1a: Media framing of OWS will be positive when political actors show support for the movement.

Hypothesis 1b: Media framing of OWS will be negative when political actors show contempt for the movement.

This hypothesis is based on the concept of political opportunity that OWS might gain because of a cultural distrust of Wall Street and the banking industry, but moreover seeks to uncover why media deploys varying media packages if and when OWS does gain political opportunity. The following section sets up my second hypothesis, related to the role of the police in the deployment of media packages by *The New York Times*.

2.5 The Role of the Police in NYT Media Packages

There is a good deal of scholarship on the role of both state-sponsored and nongovernmental repression in social movements. This research is particularly concerned with how interactions between OWS and the police have influenced the media to deploy particular media packages, which then frame the movement as either positive or negative. Christian Davenport's (2010) book *Media Bias, Perspective, and State Repression* which focuses on the Black Panther Party and the ways in which media and the state represent different and sometimes conflicting views on social movements, which can lead to, as it does for the Black Panther Party, a great deal of state repression. In Davenport's analysis, the "Rashomon effect" is dependent on the "similarity in political orientation of the observers" (i.e. media) and social movement actors, as well as the "source's physical proximity to the events in question" (73).

Because it is more difficult to pinpoint the degree to which *The New York Times* is politically oriented to OWS, this aspect of Davenport's work will be less helpful. However, the proximity of *The New York Times* with OWS is clearly relevant, in that the movement was highly visible to the media outlet, thus potentially increasing coverage of the movement, in relation to

media outlets with less proximity.

Also, Davenport's (2010) analysis concerning state repression will be key to my analysis of Occupy Wall Street. In contrast to his argument that a media source's political orientation will determine the extent and degree to which repression is reported, I argue that *The New York Times* will instead report repression of OWS in a negative light. While outside of the possibility for analysis here, this is likely due to a few causes. First, there are clear differences in racial, socioeconomic, and political groupings in the makeup between the Black Panther Party and Occupy Wall Street, *as well* as the historical meanings each represent. Second, the two movements seek different ends, and utilize different tactics. What is useful for my analysis, however, is that the reporting of repression is likely shaped by the ways in which events may become violent during demonstration.

While social movement scholars have investigated the effects of repression on social movement organizations (Brockett 1993; Rasler 1996), as well as the mechanisms which either encourage or suppress violent state repression (Davenport, Soule, and Armstrong 2011; Earl 2003; Earl and Soule 2006; Earl, Soule, and McCarthy 2003), few have investigated how repression is reported on, and the way in which the reporting is shaped by repression. While Earl, et. al (2003) use *The New York Times* as their data source for analyzing repression, their focus is not to analyze the *ways* in which the newspaper reports on repression and more importantly *why* they do so as a result of OWS, as I am able to do in my analysis.

Hypothesis 2: The direction of media framing will be dependent on interactions between OWS and the police.

Hypothesis 2a: Media framing of OWS will be positive when the police act violently against OWS

Hypothesis 2b: Media framing of OWS will be negative when OWS acts violently against the police

This second set of hypotheses is specifically directed towards investigating why the media

frames OWS in different ways as a result of another organization in the field – the police. The following section outlines the role OWS itself plays in influencing media portrayal of the movement, and sets up the third set of hypotheses.

2.6 The Role of OWS in NYT Media Packages

The third aspect of this paper is to understand how *The New York Times* reports on Occupy Wall Street in response to their perceived social contribution (or lack thereof). Employing Gamson and Modigliani's (1989) findings pertaining to the formation of public opinion based on media representation, I offer another dimension in the process of the formation of media representations – that is, that media represent social movements in light of the perceived and potential societal contributions of them. While the present research is less focused on how the public responds to media representations, it is very helpful in understanding how shifts in media occur based on events external to social movements. In this respect, I hypothesize that *The New York Times* is not just responding to OWS, but is also responding to key events related to OWS, as well as to structural shifts such as political changes and increasing economic inequality.

Hypothesis 3: The direction of media framing will be dependent on representation of OWS' societal impact.

Hypothesis 3a: Media framing will be positive when OWS is represented as making valuable contributions to society.

Hypothesis 3b: Media framing will be negative when OWS is represented as making invaluable contributions to society

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS

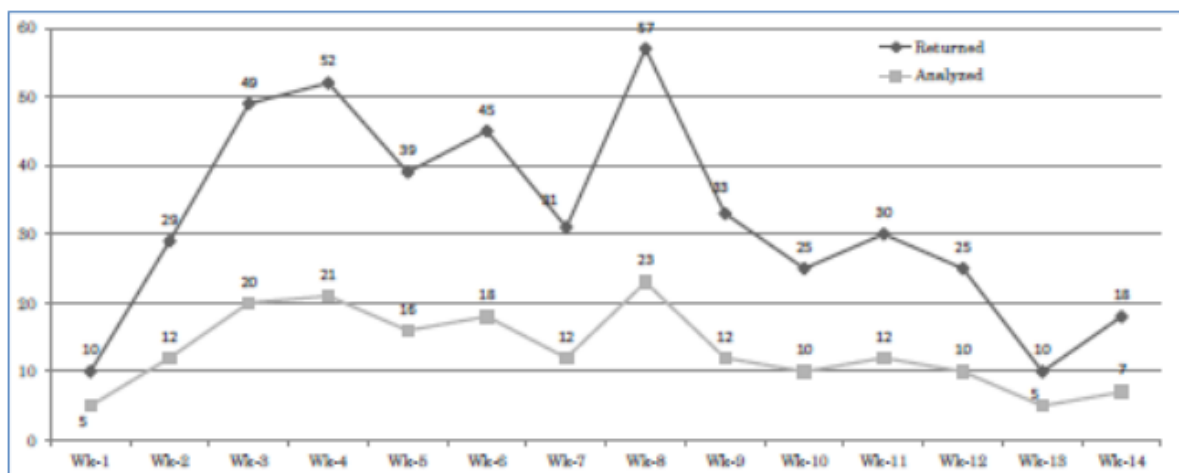
In order to address my research question, what are the underlying mechanisms of and around Occupy Wall Street that lead to either positive or negative representation by *The New York Times* over a fourteen week period, I collected each article published in *The New York Times* which contained the search term “Occupy Wall Street” between the dates September 18, 2011 and December 31, 2011. In the following sections I will describe my data source as well as justify the use of *The New York Times*, review the process of creating a sampling frame and random sample of articles to analyze, and explicate my methods of analysis including how and why I operationalized concepts in the way I did.

3.1 Data Source and Collection

My decision to use *The New York Times* as the data source in large part due to a) its more global reporting and perspective than other local papers, b) its proximity to Occupy Wall Street, and c) its large scale readership. Despite the limitations of selection and description biases from using newspaper coverage as a data source (Earl, Martin, McCarthy, and Soule 2004), the goal of this research is in fact to determine description biases in media representation of a social movement; this research seeks to identify the “impressions and inferences of journalists and commentators” (pg. 72) in the reporting of OWS. That is to say, this research identifies moments where media represents Occupy Wall Street from either positive or negative perspectives, as a consequence of three particular exogenous factors embedded in multiorganizational fields. I also defend this data source using the research of Amenta et.al (2009) in that they compared coverage and “measures of movement size and activity” with other major newspapers and finding little differentiation among them.

In order to build my sampling frame, I employed the search term “Occupy Wall Street” in

Figure 1: Weekly Frequency of Returned and Randomly Sampled Articles



LexisNexis News between the dates of September 18, 2011 and December 31, 2011, which returned a total of 453 articles in the fourteen week period. Figure 1 represents the total number of articles per week (represented by the solid line), illustrating the peaks and lulls of mentions in *The New York Times* over the fourteen weeks. In an effort to simultaneously reach a potentially saturated sample, as well as one that would be manageable for analysis, I used a random number generator to select 40 to 50 percent of articles *per week* to be used for analysis¹. This provided me with a random sample of 184 articles to analyze over the fourteen week period.

Figure 1 also shows the number of randomly selected articles in my sample (represented by the dotted line). I chose to sample based on weekly distribution of articles in an effort to represent key events that may have happened during those seven-day periods. Doing so allows one to make a causal argument between events and outcomes – that is, exogenous factors and the resulting deployment of media packages – as the frequency of reporting during a week is often based on events that occurred during that week.

Because this project began in early 2012, I chose to cut off data collection at the end of

¹ I over-sampled two weeks (one and thirteen) in an effort to maintain a representative sample. For these weeks, which returned only ten articles using the search term, I randomly sampled at 50 percent. For these weeks I had five articles for analysis.

2011. This decision was in order to make an already large data set more manageable, but it also was due to the extreme drop in mentions of “Occupy Wall Street” in *The New York Times* after that period. This may be due to shifts in attention (which I will discuss further), as Occupy Wall Street specifically was evicted from Zuccotti Park in November, and the Occupy movement as a whole began to spread to more localized areas around the United States. This means that to continue analysis of Occupy movements in the future, other search terms will need to be utilized to access that data.

While I include all articles that were randomly selected from my sampling frame, it should be noted that some were not specifically about Occupy Wall Street, but either mentioned the movement in meaningful ways that can still be coded as positive or negative framing, and only 21 were coded as being irrelevant². Thus, my total sample resulted in 163 articles which were analyzable to address the research question.

3.2 Methods of Analysis

This research is dependent on frame analysis, wherein social movement organizations seek to articulate meaningful representations of their grievances, goals and potential outcomes within competing and agentic ways (Benford and Snow 2000). However in this paper, I seek to analyze not the representations of grievances, goals and hopeful outcomes of OWS, but rather how OWS comes to be portrayed in *The New York Times* as a result of external factors. As such, my units of analyses are not what OWS is doing or saying, but rather, the media packages that *The New York Times* deploys in response to OWS, political actors, and police activity. Each article may contain multiple media packages that “give meaning to a particular issue” and

² These included articles coded merely as “mentions”. Many articles that mentioned OWS, but were not the focus of the article still did so with a valuation of the movement, and thus were coded as either positive or negative portrayal. Some articles, however, were not evaluative in this sense, and were thus deemed irrelevant for analysis.

contain the “central organizing idea... for making sense of relevant events” (Gamson and Modigliani 1989:3). Thus, while the articles themselves are not the unit of analysis, it was more common than not to find articles tended to deploy media packages of the same orientation overall (either positive or negative). This allowed me to not only compare the deployment of media packages within and across articles, but also to analyze the degree to which articles used either predominantly positive or negative media packages.

In order to effectively operationalize different types of media packages, the basis for my coding scheme, I draw heavily from Todd Gitlin’s (2003) research on media coverage of the New Left. Gitlin provides valuable frames with which *The New York Times* as well as other media outlets were able to negatively frame social movements. Because these frames were negative portrayals of movements, I used a contrasting definition to code for positive portrayal of OWS. Also, some of the frames he discovered are historically specific to his case, thus not useful for understanding OWS (e.g., emphasized reporting on the flying of the Vietcong flag, and the presence of Communists). Thus, I draw from those frames that are most helpful in explaining the media representation of Occupy Wall Street in terms of their historical non-specificity, and the broad function of the frames (see Table 1). These are overarching frames used to code media packages within the articles. For the sake of ease in coding large amounts of data, the computer software Atlas.ti was used to assist in sorting and keeping track of codes and schema. Detailed descriptions of operationalization are in order.

3.3 Operationalization and Coding Media Packages

Specifically from Gitlin’s (2003) work, I use *disparagement* to code moments where OWS is framed as being ineffective, and the corollary *validation* when OWS is given validation for their effectiveness. I also use Gitlin’s concept of *fragmentation* to code when internal

Table 1: Coding Scheme for Media Packages

<i>Positive Frames</i>	<i>Negative Frames</i>
Validation [VALID] In contrast to DISP: Demonstrators are given validation for their effectiveness.	Disparagement [DISP] "Disparagement by effectiveness" (Gamson 2003:28)
Cohesion [COHE] In contrast to FRAG: Demonstrators are shown to have a cohesive/collective purpose, goal, or grievance.	Fragmentation [FRAG] In Gamson's (2003:27) terms, "emphasis on internal dissention"
Representative [REPRE] In contrast to MARG: Demonstrators are shown as representative of larger movement; not deviant.	Marginalization [MARG] "Showing demonstrators to be deviant or un-representative" (Gamson 2003:27)
Progressive [PROG] In contrast to REGR: Demonstrators are shown to be fighting a progressive cause, not problematic or disruptive.	Regressive [REGR] The movement is categorized as regressive, problematic, or a disruption. (Not a judgment on effectiveness)
Victimization [VICT] In contrast to PERP: the party in question is referred to being the victim of a crime or violence. Divided into codes for police [VICT_POL] and protesters [VICT_PROT].	Perpetrator [PERP] The party in question is regarded as perpetrating a crime or violence. Divided into codes for police [PERP_POL] and protesters [PERP_PROT]
Peaceful [PEACE] In contrast to VIOL: the party in question is reported to have acted peacefully and lawfully. Divided into codes for police [PEACE_POL] and protesters [PEACE_PROT].	Violent [VIOL] The party in question is reported to have acted violently, aggressively, or unruly. Divided into codes for police [VIOL_POL] and protesters [VIOL_PROT].

dissention within OWS is emphasized by *The New York Times*, and the contrasting concept of *cohesion* when OWS is portrayed as having a cohesive or collective purpose, goal, or grievance. I also employ *marginalization* from Gitlin's work when there is an emphasis on fringe or deviant participants, and the contrasting concept of *representative* when demonstrators are shown to be representative of the larger movement or deviance is downplayed.

These media packages, and in turn, codes, were derived from Gitlin (2003), however in order to code for positive reporting of OWS, I simply reversed those definitions to code for positive representation (See Table 1 for a brief summary). Data coded as falling under these categories will help me specifically address my first and third hypotheses, in that they deal with effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) in creating political opportunity, and that they are concerned with the societal impact of OWS.

I also draw on the literature concerning police and protester interaction, particularly concerning violence (Davenport, Soule, and Armstrong 2011; Earl 2003; Earl and Soule 2006),

in order to analyze how instances police and protester clashes are reported positively or negatively in *The New York Times*. Thus, I code for *violence* as either being carried out by the police or protesters, and in contrast for representations of either group being *peaceful*; I then code for which group was deemed as either violent or peaceful. Similarly, I code for instances where the media portrays either protesters or the police as being *perpetrators*, or conversely as *victims*, and again coding for which group was identified as either.

Finally, I included a set of codes that would identify instances where *The New York Times* portrayed OWS as being either *regressive* or *progressive*. The former is applied in instances where OWS is characterized as being problematic for social life in general (such as for city officials, being a burden, or being troublesome to non-participants), while the latter indicates times when *The New York Times* portrays OWS as being productive in their efforts (for example, as contributing for a greater good, or fighting for a good cause). Data coded under these categories will help to address my second and third hypotheses, as they deal specifically with the role of police, as well as the societal impact of OWS. These codes and their descriptions are also shown in Table 1.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS

Analysis is divided into three sections, each dealing with their respective hypothesis. For each, I present predominant media packages that came forth while analyzing the data, as well as offer highlights from the articles to exemplify those media packages. I then outline the ways in which overall framing was positive or negative in each section, providing evidence based on media packages deployed. I first describe the influence of political actors in the deployment of media packages, followed by the influence of the police, and finally the influence of OWS itself.

4.1 Influence of Political Actors on OWS Media Packages by *The New York Times*

First of all, the movement seems to have influence on the political structure and garnered political opportunities through the ways in which some politicians seem to have been paying attention to the grievances raised by OWS. Thirty-six articles attributed shifts in political discourse to OWS, either through politicians responding to their grievances, or simply by mentioning OWS as having legitimate political grievances. One instance of this is displayed in an article concerning the Senatorial election between Elizabeth Warren and Scott Brown:

Ms. Warren, a law professor and consumer advocate who has described herself as an intellectual godmother of the Occupy Wall Street movement. Ms. Warren's relentless manner and withering attacks on predatory lenders have won her enemies from Wall Street to Washington, where as a member of an oversight panel she helped usher in the largest expansion in decades of federal oversight of the financial industry. (Article 1, Week 8)

With Elizabeth Warren championing herself not only as an advocate for bringing oversight to Wall Street, but also as the “godmother” of OWS, we see politicians in high places paying attention to the movement, what it has to say concerning the role of Wall Street in politics and the country, and translates them into political action. Another article stressed the pressure being placed on then New York Gubernatorial candidate Andrew Cuomo’s insistence that taxes

would not be raised: “many of Mr. Cuomo's fellow Democrats, reinforced by the Occupy Wall Street movement, have urged him to reconsider his decision to allow an income tax surcharge on high earners, a so-called millionaires' tax, to lapse this month.” (Article 2, Week 10). These examples consistently represented OWS as being successful in gaining political opportunities through the influence of political discourse.

Of all the articles in the sample that discussed politicians response to and the changing nature of political discourse because of OWS, eleven were coded as representing OWS positively, three were coded as negatively representing OWS, and three remained neutral. A final example of political figures aligning themselves with Occupy Wall Street comes from a New York City Council member:

As the Occupy Wall Street movement sets off a national conversation about protests and social change, Christine C. Quinn, the City Council speaker and the best-known of the likely Democratic candidates, has gone out of her way to say that she has been arrested "numerous times" for civil disobedience and therefore understands the importance of protecting free speech rights. Ms. Quinn, who routinely faces questions about whether her efforts to woo the business community have weakened her allegiance to liberal causes, had particular reason to emphasize her history of being handcuffed for a cause. (Week 5, Article 6)

These examples show the way in which the political influence had on changing and shaping political discourse were more often than not, coded as positive representations of the movement. Beyond this, they show how OWS was able to gain political opportunities through having their grievances echoed in mainstream political debate. The following section details some of the ways OWS was also able to gain positive representation by *The New York Times* when their grievances became apparent in the lives of everyday people, thus giving credence to their movement.

4.2 Influence of the Police on OWS Media Packages by *The New York Times*

Heightened police aggression seems to be the most prominent cause for positive framing

of Occupy Wall Street by *The New York Times*. When police aggression was high, coverage tended to take a sympathetic tone towards OWS, particularly when reporting that protesters were engaging in peaceful action. Fifteen articles simultaneously reported on police violence and suppression of protesters, and reported non-violent action on the part of protesters. This is compared to three articles which identified both police and OWS protesters as violent or unruly. Overall, when there was a high degree of police aggression protesters were not perceived in a negative light, and if so, it was drastically overshadowed by the negative attention paid to police actions.

The first and most highlighted form of police aggression took place in the early stages of Occupy Wall Street, when a group of protesters were corralled into nets and aggressively pepper sprayed by deputy-inspector Anthony Bologna, despite the protesters being non-violent. An article from the first week of reporting had this description of the event:

It got kind of weird around Union Square," Ms. Elliott said. "That's when they tried to corral us into those nets. The march had ended. I was exhausted -- I just wanted to walk back to Wall Street." She was standing in one of the nets, occasionally screaming when someone was arrested. Then a deputy inspector, a senior rank in the Police Department, walked up to the corral, quickly doused several people standing there with pepper spray, and just walked off. It stunned the protesters and police officers standing around them. "I was in a state of shock," Ms. Elliott said. "The officer I was talking to said, 'Thanks for the warning.'" (Article 1, Week 1).

By presenting the story from Ms. Elliott's perspective, and by emphasizing that the protesters were not acting out of line or violently, this article as a whole shed a sympathetic light on Occupy Wall Street. In fact, the article also denigrates the New York police department in their actions, citing that they could do little to justify their actions because numerous videos had already gone viral. The article then described the incident as if the deputy inspector Anthony Bologna "looked as if he were spraying cockroaches." The use of Ms. Elliot's quotes, on the other hand, portray protesters as having been engaged in civil protest, then when they were

through they would have just gone back to their encampment.

All of the articles on this incident took a very negative tone towards the police, while portraying protesters in a much more positive light. Another article from the same week demonstrates this, despite attempted justification by the police spokesperson:

Paul J. Browne, the Police Department's chief spokesman, defended the use of pepper spray as appropriate and added that it was "used sparingly." But Councilman Peter F. Vallone Jr., chairman of the City Council's Public Safety Committee, said that in the video clips he had seen, the use of pepper spray "didn't look good," although Mr. Vallone cautioned that he wanted to know if any interactions had occurred between the officers and the women in the minutes before pepper spray was used. (Week 1, Article 2).

This quote offers a few key elements. First, it highlights that the police were both defending their use of force, and downplaying the amount of force used. The Chief Spokesman, however, is caught in what appears to be a lie when he argues that the pepper spray was “used sparingly” as this article, among others, make it clear that the spray was not used sparingly, and was not used justifiably. But there is another element to this last quote that deserves attention. There is question as to whether there may have been an altercation before footage of the event was taken. This is one of a few examples where the motivations of the police were shown as potentially justifiable, *if* the protesters had acted in an unruly way. Another example of this, in the cases where the article highlighted aggressive police tactics, protesters may have been identified as illegally protesting because they did not have a permit to march (in three articles), but that is the extent to which there was a negative portrayal.

The New York Times followed this same pattern again weeks later when Occupy Oakland had experienced a very heavy crackdown by the police. One article focused on a twenty-four year old veteran who had served two tours of duty in Iraq, who was critically injured in late October by police, “when he was hit in the head with a projectile thrown or shot by law

enforcement officers combating protesters trying to re-enter a downtown plaza that had been cleared of an encampment earlier in the day” (Week 5, Article 2). The same article later calls into question the “oddity of a Marine who faced enemy fire, only to be attacked at home” in the protest. While this article specifically focuses on a veteran, someone who would possibly receive higher regard than the average protester in the media, it does not portray the other protesters in a negative light, even though they were attempting to re-occupy an area from which they were previously removed. Instead, it highlights testimonials of other protesters who know the young veteran, and how they helped tend to him after realizing he had been critically injured. It also addressed the Occupiers plan to call for the resignation of Oakland’s interim police chief.

Again, we see that the focus on the highly aggressive police force shapes the reporting in a way that is sympathetic to the protesters. Other articles on the Oakland topic address Occupy Wall Street’s plans to show solidarity with Oakland, including a march where “a group of protesters carried an orange net, the kind the police have used in similar episodes to block protesters’ movement before arrests” (Week 5, Article 3). By addressing the tactics of protesters, and their reference to the first incident of intense police violence, the article gives a nod to the protesters, frames them as victims of police violence, and in turn represents the protesters in a positive light.

4.3 Influence of OWS on Media Packages by *The New York Times*

This section provides two ways in which *The New York Times* portrayed OWS as a result of their effect on societal impact, one largely positive, and the other negative. These are, respectively, Occupy Wall Streets’ ability to identify and challenge issues of social inequality that in turn changed discourse about inequality in the United States, and the other is that OWS neglected to put forward clearly stated goals and were then represented as being a public

nuisance.

Surfacing social inequality as highlighted by OWS

Occupy Wall Street generally received positive media attention from *The New York Times* when there were signs of inequality at a local or national level that reflected the grievances of OWS. *The New York Times* tended to suggest that Occupy Wall Street had important collective grievances that ought to be taken seriously, thus giving the movement positive representation. Of the articles that identified a connection between OWS and rising social inequality, thirty-six articles portrayed OWS positively through deploying media packages of *validation* and being *progressive*. These articles concerning inequality would either identify Occupiers as being in tune with very real inequities that had previously been invisible to many, or attribute a new focus on inequality in the U.S. and in the world to the grievances that OWS has raised.

One example of this third media package is found in an article that deals with inequality in New York City specifically as suggested by the very title: “There’s a Reason the Protesters Chose New York.” The article itself is not about Occupy, but gives OWS recognition in making inequality in New York visible:

When the federal income tax was first imposed in 1913, the richest 0.1 percent of households reaped 8.6 percent of the nation's income. In 2007, as the recession began, the share going to that sliver of megarich Americans was 12.3 percent. And an even more exclusive club – the top 0.01 percent of households -- is collecting a greater share of total income than ever before recorded. *Those numbers suggest that the Occupy Wall Street protesters can make a compelling case when they complain that the economic scales are unfairly tilted toward the wealth [emphasis added].* The megarich hold more of the nation's wealth and collect more of the overall income today than at any time since right before the Great Depression. Certainly, the protesters picked the right city in which to start their campaign. (Week 5, Article 8).

The article continues to describe the historical growth of a “mega-rich” class in New York City, and the inequality that has stemmed from it. Another example of this comes from an article from

week 14, which discusses the potential strike of 22,000 unionized janitorial workers in many of the city's towers. Citing Ed Ott, "a consultant and a lecturer at the City University's Graduate Center," the article emphasizes the power Occupy Wall Street has in building political strength and altering discourse towards the recognition of large-scale inequality. He stated,

This is a crucial negotiation that started out with a discussion about cuts and savings... After Occupy Wall Street, the discussion became one about good jobs and income.... I think both sides are trying to work toward a good settlement. This is one of the few blue-collar jobs left in the city where you can come in as an immigrant worker and end up making a decent living. (12/30/2010)

The New York Times does provide validation for OWS particularly through bringing to light the ways in which the movement has had a progressive impact on social life, and particularly on discourses of inequality. One article even goes so far as to suggest, "the Occupy Wall Street movement is right to decry the increasing power of the 1 percent as a threat to democracy. (12/19/2011). Thus, there are three overarching ways in which *The New York Times* has come to represent Occupy Wall Street from a positive perspective: first of all when OWS is the victim of violent police repression, secondly when OWS gains strength and political opportunities and finally, when instances of social inequality, either at a local, national, or global scale surface as important matters of discourse.

OWS portrayed as ineffective and a public nuisance

Media packages that were most deployed in this category were disparagement, marginalization and regressive. Articles that referred to Occupy Wall Street as being somewhat of a joke due to fringe and deviant participants tended to be highlighted as representative of OWS, the portraying the movement in a negative light. Particularly through disparagement and marginalization in my analysis, *The New York Times* was able to negatively frame OWS. Twenty articles used disparagement in this regard, and thirteen articles used marginalization. Of the total

thirty-three articles that used these frames, seven used *both* simultaneously. One article that represents this well, from week one of the occupation focused on one deviant participant, using both disparagement and marginalization:

By late morning on Wednesday, Occupy Wall Street, a noble but fractured and airy movement of rightly frustrated young people, had a default ambassador in a half-naked woman who called herself Zuni Tikka. A blonde with a marked likeness to Joni Mitchell and a seemingly even stronger wish to burrow through the space-time continuum and hunker down in 1968, Ms. Tikka had taken off all but her cotton underwear and was dancing on the north side of Zuccotti Park, facing Liberty Street, just west of Broadway. Tourists stopped to take pictures; cops smiled, and the insidiously favorable tax treatment of private equity and hedge-fund managers was looking as though it would endure. (Week 1, Article 4).

By emphasizing this protester who “calls herself” Zuni Tikka, and by focusing on her actions and others’ reactions, there is a delegitimizing process at work. It sets the stage for seeing the Occupy Wall Street movement as nothing more than a carnivalesque, almost hedonistic gathering rather than a movement that might have actual and sustaining political force. By focusing on the more eccentric protesters, there seemed to be a push to delegitimize OWS as comical. The same article describes the many origins of protesters (emphasizing the fact that they are *not* New Yorkers), the many musical instruments they brought along, and the description of another protester couched in a rather sarcastic tone, emphasizing the dramatic look of his attire:

Most of those entrenched in Zuccotti Park had indeed traveled from somewhere else; they had come from Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Missouri, Texas and so on with drums, horns, tambourines and, in the instance of one young man, a knee-length burlap vest, fur hat, ski goggles and tiny plastic baby dolls applied to the tips of his fingers.” (Week 1, Article 4)

Another tactic employed by some journalists, who used disparagement to frame OWS as being an unintelligible mass (intentionally or not), was again to call into question the intelligence and the motives of protesters themselves. One article was particularly quick to trivializing the voice of protesters as incoherent, uninformed and even as violent, as shown in the following

excerpts:

I am in favor of the return of the guillotine," she told a newscaster, in reference to bankers, with a straight face. "I first would allow the guilty bankers to pay, you know, the ability to pay back anything over \$100 million," she said, before adding that they should go to "reeducation camps and if that doesn't help, then being beheaded.

[...]

Edward Heath, 36, of Chicago, who is unemployed, said he was participating in the protest, in part, to ensure a more fair tax regime. When I asked about his views on Warren Buffett's "Buffett Rule," he replied: "I really can't comment because I haven't heard of him.

[...]

Ms. Evans, who said she has made a career of participating in protests, said she had just flown to New York from Los Angeles to join Occupy Wall Street. How did she get here, I asked. "Virgin America," she replied with a smile. But doesn't Virgin America represent the corporations you are trying to fight? "No," she insisted. Referring to Richard Branson, she said, "He's working on creating solar planes." (Week 2, Article 9)

These types of trivializing tactics employed by *The New York Times* are an interesting response to the burgeoning movement. While the authors of articles who use these tactics may or may not have a more conservative bent, the lack of importance they attribute to OWS is a response to a movement they do not see as worthy of positive attention, and quite possibly as mere hedonistic street theater. This leads to a similar, yet distinct form of trivialization wherein protesters are reported as not having a specific set of goals and demands that would *justify* their presence and their actions (such as undressing or wearing "tiny baby dolls" on one's finger tips).

OWS was also portrayed negatively when reporters were not able to discern a holistic goal or set of grievances from OWS. Beyond focusing on the carnivalistic aspect of the street theater approach to some OWS protesters, *The New York Times* also trivialized the movement as whole by accentuating the notion that Occupy Wall Street *cannot* be taken seriously, as they have yet to clarify goals and demands to which they seek retribution. One article, for example, refers to OWS as "the city's newest tourist attraction" which first deemphasizes their presence,

then goes on to argue that the protesters “have made an infinite number of decisions about taking in donations, buying supplies, cooking food and mining the social media.” However, “what they have not done, as the watching world knows, is to come up with any political platform more specific than a *general ticked-offedness about the way the rich keep getting richer while the poor can't pay their student loans*” [emphasis added]. (Week 2, Article 2)

By highlighting the ways in which OWS is incoherent in their message, media representation in *The New York Times* emphasizes the inability for OWS to be effective. One article from the eleventh week of the occupation, compares OWS with the more cohesive use of art in the 1968 student movements:

Unlike the Occupy Wall Street movement, which has yet to find a coherent graphic identity, May '68 was "illustrated" by distinctive ad hoc lithographs and silk-screen prints posted throughout Paris with slogans and images (many picturing the helmeted national police and a comic de Gaulle) devised by an assortment of painters and graphic artists under the umbrella Atelier Populaire. (12/04/2011).

This type of comparison functions to discredit the effectiveness of OWS, in that they have yet to adhere to a coherent identity, graphic or otherwise. Even while highlighting the mass presence of OWS and its effect on discourses of inequality, also made clear that the Occupy movement did not have a singular voice, and were therefore incoherent.

This was particularly amplified in instances where an article was covering decision making processes among OWS demonstrators. The following excerpt is one of a few protester responses to city officials plea for protesters to find a new location, each of which emphasized the factionalism participants faced in decision making processes: People are really split about it," said Tamar Boehm, 23, one of the protesters who has taken part in the discussions with the city. "One faction doesn't want anything to do with the city. The other faction is willing to try to find some middle ground and keep negotiating." (11/23/2011)

In bringing to light the factionalism among OWS members, *The New York Times* is able to emphasize ways in which the movement is not cohesive among its member, and reinforces the notion that OWS lacks of a stated set of goals. A clear example of this utilizes academic commentary that effectively renders OWS as seemingly goalless, and ultimately doomed to failure:

With little organization and a reliance on Facebook, Twitter and Google groups to share methods, the Occupy Wall Street campaign, as the prototype in New York is called, has clearly tapped into a deep vein of anger, experts in social movements said, bringing longtime crusaders against globalization and professional anarchists together with younger people frustrated by poor job prospects. "Rants based on discontents are the first stage of any movement," said Michael Kazin, a professor of history at Georgetown University. But he said it was unclear if the current protests would lead to a lasting movement, which would require the newly unleashed passions to be channeled into institutions and shaped into political goals. (10/04/2011)

Commentary such as this questions the legitimacy, effectiveness, and cohesiveness of Occupy Wall Street, thus representing the movement in a negative and dismal light. Additionally, by introducing public opinion about Occupy Wall Street, *The New York Times* reiterates that OWS has yet to relay a solid message that is capable of winning over national discourse: "the large majority – 63 percent – said they did not know enough about the Occupy goals to say whether they approved or disapproved. In the early days of the Tea Party movement, a similarly large percentage did not know much about it" (10/22/2011). By questioning the validity of the movement in reporting on it, and by emphasizing the seemingly incoherent nature of OWS, *The New York Times* portrays the movement in a rather negative light. In the following section, I present findings that further trivialize OWS by identifying the ways in which it is regressive, or problematic for social life.

A third way in which *The New York Times* portrayed OWS negatively was through their representation of the movement as being a public nuisance. Particularly under the media

packages of *disparagement* and *regressive* coding scheme, OWS as well as Occupy Wall Street offshoots in different cities, were framed negatively. Twenty of the articles did so using disparagement, eleven of the articles did so using the regressive media package, and four used both simultaneously. Interestingly, these media package were deployed at times when OWS was relatively tame and inactive. That is, when they were simply occupying their respective spaces without engaging in contentious dissention.

Although the sentiment of OWS as being a burden began to appear as early on as the first few weeks of the occupation (which may be related to the perception of Occupy as a joke or incoherent mass), it was in later weeks that the negative attribution of Occupy as a burden became more prominent. An example from early on both trivializes and represents the occupiers as messy and as a public nuisance: “The Occupy Wall Street encampment in Lower Manhattan is covered with damp sleeping bags, interspersed among piles of wet, abandoned clothes. Molding stuff is everywhere. It looks like a scene from "Outdoor Hoarders." (Week 2, Article 2). This frames OWS as being *regressive* in that they are burdensome to New York City, and are represented as “hoarders” who have turned their political presence into a disgusting and unhealthy public disturbance.

Some articles emphasized the burdens OWS was placing on the city in terms of sanitation, tax money of constant police presence, and other ways in which the occupation was a public nuisance. Because the members of OWS were simply “camping out” in the park, rather than engaging in contentious political action, the movement began to be questioned as far as its effectiveness, or even regressive in nature (i.e. moving backwards). For example, this excerpt highlights not only potential health problems that might be arising out of to the occupation, but generally denotes a tone of disgust:

As the weather turns, the protesters in Zuccotti Park, the nexus of the Occupy Wall Street protests in Lower Manhattan, have been forced to confront a simple truth: packing themselves like sardines inside a public plaza, where cigarettes are shared and a good night's sleep remains elusive, may not be conducive to good health.” (Week 7, Article 2).

This article, called “A Petri Dish of Activism, And Germs”, is of course reporting on very real circumstances of what it means to live in close quarters in an urban center without proper sanitation, however it also consistently shed a negative light on the occupation as burdensome for the city, as well as for the protesters themselves. Another example from this same article highlights this:

Many protesters recognize the threat the conditions could pose to the optics of their occupation. Earlier this week, a man at an Occupy New Orleans encampment was found dead in his tent -- and had been dead at least two days, authorities said. If similar news were to come out of Lower Manhattan, some protesters have said quietly, the camp's reputation could suffer significant damage. (Week 7, Article 2).

Beyond this, other articles emphasize the growing resentment of New Yorkers towards the occupation. For example, a week 8 article focuses on the noise caused by Occupy Denver:

What, for example, is a person really doing when honking while driving by a sidewalk protest in Denver, or any other city where "honk and wave" has become a kind of social compact between protesters and the public? Is it noise – and therefore a public nuisance – or protected free speech in support, or perhaps sometimes condemnation, of the protesters? Does it matter whether the sound comes in a tentative tapping toot or a hard laying on of the palm in full drive-by blare, or during the night when people are trying to sleep? (Week 8, Article 2).

The article continues posing questions about honking horns and free speech, even citing legal scholars who “say the line between making a point and making a pointless ruckus has never been very clear.” This type of disparagement of Occupy movements is negative in a few ways.

First, it portrays the occupation as merely troublesome for “those trying to sleep” (again, possibly a very real concern for some city dwellers *not* invested in the movement), but it is also calling into question the constitutionality of a protest that encourages horn-honking. Other articles, however, highlight more insidious problems that the occupation has caused, including

deaths (as seen in the quote above), fighting, sexual abuse, and the harassment of police. While these are not positive characteristics of the occupation, some articles during weeks four through eight (a time of relative stability), tend to focus their attention and emphasize these events.

An example from week seven provides some evidence for this:

A few have gotten into fights or have been accused of assaults, including Tonye Iketubosin, a 26 year-old man from Crown Heights, Brooklyn, who frequented the park for about a week and whom the police charged on Wednesday with sexually abusing an 18-year-old woman in a tent there. On Thursday, a Florida man was arrested after being accused of punching a protester in the eye.
(Week 7, Article 12)

While there is nothing positive about assault, sexual or otherwise, the article does state that this is only brought about by “tiny fringe” of the occupiers. This reporting is unfortunate for members of the movement, in that despite claiming these instances are caused by fringe members, the article’s main focus is to bring attention to those problematic “fringe” elements.

These predominant themes highlight the exogenous factors that lead to the deployment of various media packages deployed by *The New York Times* concerning Occupy Wall Street. As it has become clear, when political actors are involved, and when police are acting violently against protesters, *The New York Times* utilizes media packages that tend towards positive framing of OWS. On the other hand, when OWS is being described first-hand, media packages that disparaged and marginalized the movement became more prominent. When covering OWS, then, exogenous factors that *were not* OWS itself, tend towards more favorable representation. Ironically, the media’s response to OWS as an exogenous factor, tend towards more negative representation overall.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

This paper has sought to excavate the ways in which media representation, specifically that of *The New York Times*, has portrayed Occupy Wall Street as a result of exogenous factors. Through identifying common media packages deployed based on exogenous factors, and thus positive and negative framing mechanisms in the reporting on OWS, this research has been able to parse out how media representation can be an outgrowth of movement characteristics themselves. On one hand, positive framing of OWS resulted from the garnering of political opportunity through support of political actors, from police violence wherein protesters came to be regarded as victims of state repression, and finally as OWS surfaced inequalities in public discourse, and gave the public a sense of power in voicing their grievances concerning inequality. Each of these findings support their respective hypotheses (1a, 2a, and 3a).

On the other hand, this paper also uncovers the mechanisms that led to negative framing of Occupy Wall Street, but were more specific to the third hypothesis concerning events and tactics within OWS itself, rather than by political actors or police. These include first, when *The New York Times* highlighted and emphasized fringe and deviant participants, thus trivializing the whole movement by focusing on marginal participants. Secondly, media portrayal was negative when it there was difficulty even among OWS participants, to identify a coherent, singular purpose or agreed upon goal.

Finally, Occupy movements were negatively regarded in times when there was little activity, which translated into representation of the movement as being a public nuisance. Thus, only hypothesis 3b can be supported in terms of negative representation of OWS, as the media packages deployed that led to negative media framing, were overwhelmingly in response to movement characteristics of OWS, rather than by disparagement by political actors (hypothesis

Table 2: Analysis Results and Review of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1	Media framing will be dependent on responses from political actors within government positions.	Marginally Supported
H1a	Media framing of OWS will be positive when political actors show support for the movement.	Supported
H1b	Media framing of OWS will be negative when political actors show contempt for the movement.	Not Supported
Hypothesis 2	The direction of media framing will be dependent on interactions between OWS and the police.	Marginally Supported
H2a	Media framing of OWS will be positive when the police act violently against OWS	Supported
H2b	Media framing of OWS will be negative when OWS acts violently against the police	Not Supported
Hypothesis 3	The direction of media framing will be dependent on representation of OWS' societal impact.	Supported
H3a	Media framing will be positive when OWS is represented as making valuable contributions to society.	Supported
H3b	Media framing will be negative when OWS is represented as making invaluable contributions to society.	Supported

1b) or by violence towards the police (hypothesis 2b). These findings build upon previous scholars' notions of positive and negative framing, such as Gitlin (2003) whose case was particularly historically contingent. Table 2 provides a glance at my findings in relation to my hypotheses.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This paper contributes to social movements literature, particularly in terms of how media representation of movements comes to shape public discourse. Because social movements tend to address the ways in which mainstream media reacts and represent their goals, particularly in a time when movements tend to be more loosely guided and ephemeral, this paper addresses the ways in which social movements are either positively or negatively represented, depending on certain characteristics of the movement.

This research does however harbor a few limitations. First, Occupy Wall Street is a relatively new phenomenon, as well as one that is continually spreading and changing form. We see Occupy movements not only taking shape and claim to ordinances such as cities, but to universities (e.g. Occupy Vanderbilt³) and corporate institutions (e.g. Occupy Monsanto⁴). Occupy movements may then be a social movement and cultural turn, wherein grievances can be articulated along a number of paths, but each seek to redress issues of inequality. This is a limitation in the sense that it can be difficult to discern Occupy Wall Street from subsequent Occupy movements. On the other hand, this may be a fruitful avenue for social movement scholars to take heed in, and attempt to better understand.

A second limitation is in the sole use of *The New York Times*. While I have defended my use of this data source for this research, it is entirely plausible that other media outlets will frame OWS in different ways. While a limitation, this also opens a door for researchers to investigate multiple media outlets. One can even imagine moving beyond mainstream media sources, and investigating the aggregate of social media's take on OWS and other movements; this is possibly an even more reliable and democratic source of perception. Despite these limitations, there are

³ <http://www.facebook.com/occupyvanderbilt>

⁴ <http://www.facebook.com/occupymonsanto>

numerous avenues for my own research, as well as for other scholars in the field. Occupy Wall Street embodied a quality that was attractive to other movements. That quality, as indicated in the support of my third hypothesis, was in its ability to make positive societal contributions, as well as to garner political opportunities in an effort to various forms of social justice.

Because Occupy Wall Street is a relatively new phenomenon, as well as an enduring one in the form of other Occupy movements, this research helps set the stage for better understanding how social movements function in contemporary social life, how globalized political-economy might produce such large-scale movements, and of course why media outlets respond in the ways that they do. It is my hope that this research helps to build a stronger foundation for studying globally diverse and geographically, conceptually and temporally dispersed social movements such as Occupy Wall Street, Occupy Pittsburgh, Occupy Nashville, Occupy Denver, and any other Occupy movement world-wide.

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