Media Coverage of Black Lives Matter

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Abstract
In 2014, events in Ferguson, Missouri were discussed so frequently on social media that #Ferguson became the most-tweeted hashtag in what was then Twitter's ten-year history. After Brown's shooting, political activists added the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter (BLM) to #Ferguson tweets, and it became the third most-tweeted hashtag in the same time span. Despite the Twitter-trending status of #Ferguson and #BlackLivesMatter, public opinion data from the Pew Research Center (PEW) revealed that 55.2% of respondents had little to no knowledge of BLM or its goals, introducing a need to examine traditional media coverage. The purpose of this paper is to explain the movement, to ascertain the extent to which newspaper coverage echoed Twitter patterns, and to assess whether newspaper coverage reflects a partisan bias by state.

On August 9, 2014, Darren Wilson fatally shot an unarmed Black man, Michael Brown, in Ferguson, Missouri, setting off a media firestorm that would place Ferguson at the epicenter of American race relations[1]. The events of Ferguson, including protests that erupted in response to Brown's death, were discussed so

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frequently on social media that #Ferguson became the most tweeted hashtag in what was then Twitter's ten-year history[1]. Racial tensions and animosity toward police officers were already high. In 2014, the police issued 32,975 arrest warrants to a population of 21,000 residents and held an average of 567 non-traffic related court cases per 1,000 residents. By comparison, St. Louis, located just twelve miles from Ferguson, had just 80 non-traffic related court cases per 1,000 residents.[2] After Brown's shooting, political activists created the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter. Adding #BLM to tweets referencing Ferguson and similar incidents, the movement expanded to include themes of police shootings, police brutality, and a racially biased criminal justice system.[3]

The explosion of activism around the Black Lives Matter movement provoked a backlash with two intertwined Twitter response movements: #AllLivesMatter and #BlueLivesMatter[4]. #ALM first appeared on Twitter in August 2014.[5] #BlueLM usage began after two New York police officers were killed in their squad car in December 2014.[6] Between July 13, 2013 and July 7, 2016, #BLM, #ALM, and/or #BlueLM were tweeted 13.3 million times[7].

Despite the Twitter-trending status of #Ferguson and #BLM, public opinion data from the Pew Research Center (PEW) revealed that 55.2% of respondents had little to no knowledge of BLM or its goals. Given such a seismic gap, the level of coverage about the movement by traditional news outlets must be examined. [8] Additionally, the PEW study found that #BLM was tweeted at an 8:1 ratio to #ALM and #BlueLM, raising the question of whether traditional media echoed this pattern.[9] The purpose of this paper is to explain the movements, to ascertain the extent to which newspaper coverage echoed Twitter patterns, and to assess whether newspaper coverage reflects a partisan bias by state.

Background

"Black Lives Matter" was first posted on Facebook in July of 2013 by Alicia Garza, a co-founder of the BLM organization, in response to

George Zimmerman's fatal shooting of Trayvon Martin.[10] Between the disorder in Ferguson in 2014 and July 7, 2016, #BLM was tweeted approximately 11.8 million times.[11] Usage of the hashtag spiked after each high-profile death or court decision noted in Figure 1.[12]

       #ALM was tweeted 1.5 million times during the study, most occurring after two police officers were killed in their patrol car in New York (Figure 1).[13] In 2016, 144 police officers died, 63 of which were by gunfire.[14] At least ten of the 63 victims were targeted and killed for being police officers. Mainstream media extensively covered five police officers killed in Dallas, three killed in Baton Rouge, and two killed in Des Moines.[15]

       #ALM and #BlueLM proponents overlap and are often combined in this paper.[16] PEW published an update in August 2016 that included an analysis of the tone of post-Dallas tweets. The majority of the #BlueLM tweets from the time of incident until July 17, 2016 were positive in tone (supportive of police).[17] During this same time period, negative tweets (critical of #BLM) using #BLM nearly quadrupled, portraying a major shift.[18] Before the Dallas
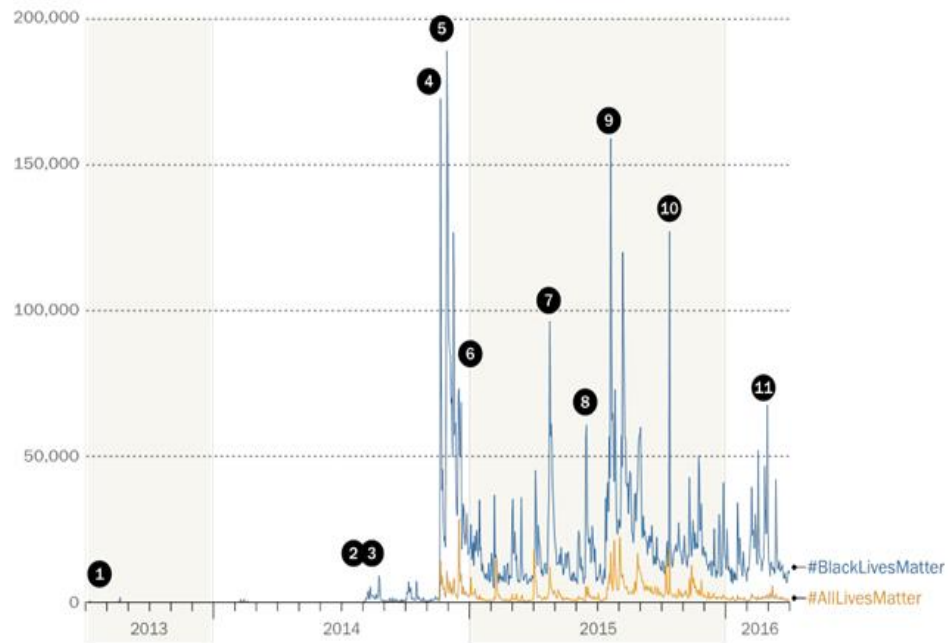
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Figure 1. PEW tracking of frequency of #BlackLivesMatter and #AllLivesMatter

Source: *http://www.pewinternet.org/2016/08/15/the-hashtag-blacklivesmatter-emerges-social-activism-on-twitter/#fn-16486-8*

1. 7/13/13 #BlackLivesMatter first appears on Twitter
2. 7/17/14 Eric Garner dies in N.Y. after being arrested
3. 8/9/14 Michael Brown is killed during an encounter with police officer in Ferguson, MO.
4. 11/22/14 Tamir Rice is killed by police in Cleveland while playing with a toy gun
5. 11/24/14 Prosecutor announces there will be no indictment in Michael Brown case.
6. 12/20/14 Two police officers are killed in N.Y. while sitting in their patrol car
7. 3/19/15 Freddie Gray dies in Baltimore while in police custody

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8. 6/17/15 Shooting at predominantly Black Church in Charleston, S.C. kills 9 people
9. 7/13/15 Sandra Bland is found hanged in Texas jail cell
10. 10/13/15 Bernie Sanders defends #BlackLivesMatter in debate
11. 2/28/16 2016 Oscars (#OscarsSoWhite)

shootings, 75% of #BLM tweets were positive or supportive of the movement.[19]

       Animosity spiked after Dallas. BLM supporters argue that the "Blue Lives Matter" and "All Lives Matter" concepts whitewash problems of mass incarceration and police brutality against Blacks. ALM supporters believe BLM is exclusionary, divisive, or as Mayor Giuliani phrased it, "inherently racist."[20] BlueLM proponents claim to support police officers, who have difficult jobs and face the risk of death. However, BLM supporters note that the issues are asymmetrical because police deaths are very low in comparison to Black deaths from police shootings.

       The total number of Black fatalities and fatal police shootings is difficult to ascertain because no federal governmental agency officially documents them.[21] While larger events gain media attention, the lack of a national database complicates empirical analysis.[22] Fortunately, *The Washington Post,* mappingpoliceviolence.org, and others have created databases to track said fatalities and are used in this paper.[23]

       The BLM movement sought to achieve its goals without becoming affiliated with either major political party, waiting to endorse Hillary Clinton until just two weeks before the 2016 election.[24] Democrats included both Blacks and police officers in their platform, stating, "We will push for a societal transformation to make it clear that Black lives matter…" and "Across the country, there are police officers inspiring trust…demonstrating that it is possible to prevent crime without relying on unnecessary force. They deserve our respect and support."[25] The Republican Party made no mention of BLM or Blacks in its platform and signaled support for ALM and

BlueLM with, "The Republican Party, a party of law and order, must make clear in words and action that every human life matters."[26] Additionally, in an interview during the Republican Convention, Trump criticized the BLM movement for instigating violence against police and called the group a threat.[27]

Although police forces do not publicly associate themselves with a particular political party, the National Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) endorsed Donald Trump in the months leading up to the 2016 election.[28] Neither Barack Obama nor Mitt Romney received said endorsement in 2012.[29] This support may have been the result of the pro-police position taken by the Republicans, in contrast to the Democrats' more balanced position.

Public opinion data collected by PEW reflects a racial and partisan divide. Supporters of BLM are largely minorities, whites younger than 30, and Democrats (67% of surveyed Democrats were at least somewhat supportive of BLM).[30] Whites older than 65 and Republicans were least likely to support BLM (only 20% of surveyed Republicans were somewhat supportive of BLM).[31]

Social media usage patterns may contribute to this gap. PEW published the following studies on #BLM/BLM and #ALM/#BlueLM-ALM/BlueLM: Hashtag usage collected between July 2013 and February 2016 and public opinion data collected from February 29 through May 8, 2016. The data revealed that 30% of whites older than 50 have heard nothing about BLM. While roughly 18% of American adults report using Twitter, only 6.4% of Americans over 50 do.[32] Because the BLM movement largely began on Twitter, older Americans may have had little exposure to its goals. We must examine traditional media to address this gap.

Newspapers are a significant news source for Americans over 50.[33] Young adults are less likely to retrieve news from print newspapers; however, 39% of adults aged 30-64 get their news from online news services, including digital newspapers.[34] While no academic consensus exists on the extent to which news

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conglomerates impact opinion formation, research has established that it has a dominant agenda-setting power. A study published in 2014 asserts that traditional media primarily sets the issue agenda, frames the issues, and determines which attributes of issues are emphasized.[35] However, depending on the issue, mutual and reciprocal "causality" between social media and traditional media can emerge.[36] The study revealed that social issues are reported and discussed on social media at an 8:3 ratio to traditional media.[37] BLM is a social issue. This paper analyzes newspaper coverage, the primary source of information for many Americans.

Method

I conducted LexisNexis keyword searches by month of US newspapers from August 1, 2014 to March 31, 2017 and collected state-level data on the two-party presidential vote, the frequency of police-perpetrated Black fatalities, and the Black population. The first search used keywords "Black Lives Matter" or #BlackLivesMatter" for articles about #BLM. The second search for articles pertaining to #ALM and #BlueLM used search terms "Blue Lives Matter," "Police Lives Matter," "All Lives Matter," "#AllLivesmatter," "#bluelivesmatter," or "#policelivesmatter." I included "Police Lives Matter" or "#policelivesmatter" because articles (included in my BlueLM figures) also use these terms to refer to the Blue Lives Matter phenomenon. I coded the articles for #BLM/BLM and #ALM/#BlueLM/ALM/BlueLM by title, date, state of origin, and publication. Sorting articles by date creates a daily frequency chart mimicking that of PEW for hashtag usage. I also used these data to create frequency charts by state.

The assessment includes the overlap of #ALM/#BlueLM/ ALM/BlueLM and #BLM/BLM in certain articles, as well as the following elements by state: the Democratic (Clinton) and Republican (Trump) candidates' percentage share of the 2016 popular vote;[38] counts of police-perpetrated Black shooting fatalities

from August 2014 to March 2017; and the population percentage of Blacks.

Newspaper coverage data in the LexisNexis Academic database has limitations. First, the data only cover newspapers, excluding other print, broadcast, cable, or digital media. Second, newspapers from Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, Hawaii, Nebraska, New Jersey, Rhode Island, South Dakota, and Tennessee are excluded. Third, of states included, the number of newspapers varies from one newspaper in most states to 22 in California. Thus, the analysis should be interpreted as a measure of frequency of coverage in papers in a sample determined by licensing agreements and not by random sampling.

The data for police-perpetrated fatalities were obtained from mappingpoliceviolence.org and the *Washington Post*, which may not have identified all relevant events. State and local law enforcement agencies do not consistently report fatalities to federal agencies. Variations in state and local reporting of police killings may result in imperfect measurement. Finally, the timeframes of the Twitter and newspaper data differ. The PEW study ends in February 2016 while the other data continue through March 2017.

Results

The preceding discussion yields two hypotheses.

H1: States that meet or exceed the Black Lives Matter National Coverage Average **(BLMNCA)** of 83.8% article frequency will fall into one or more of the following categories: state majority voted for Hillary Clinton, large urban population (over 80% state total), high percentage of Black residents (13% or higher), and/or have disproportionately high Black fatalities in comparison to the state's Black population.

H2: States that meet or exceed the All/Blue Lives Matter National Coverage Average **(ALM/BlueLMNCA)** of 16.2% article frequency will fall into one or more of the following

categories: state majority voted for Donald Trump, small urban population (under 80% state total), low percentage of Black residents (13% or lower), and/or have disproportionately low Black fatalities in comparison to the state's Black population.
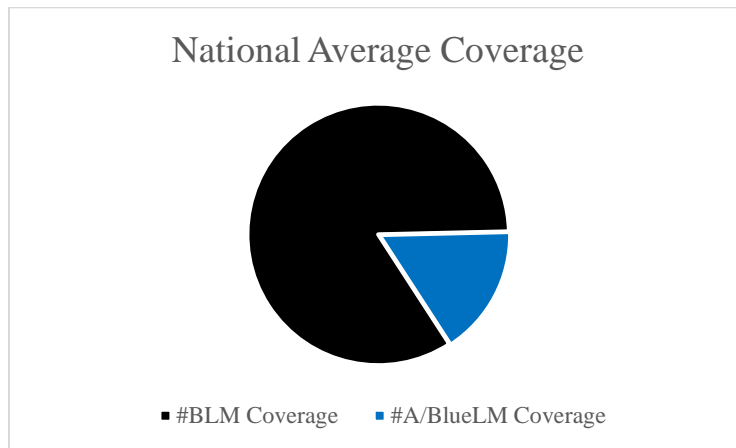
National Average Coverage

- #BLM Coverage   ■ #A/BlueLM Coverage

Figure 2: National Average Newspaper Coverage of BLM/#BLM vs. ALM/BlueLM/#ALM/BlueLM

Overall, of the articles covered in the analysis, 83.8% pertained to BLM, while those mentioning ALM/BlueLM, and/or Police Lives Matter accounted for 16.2% of data (Figure 2). PEW uncovered an 8:1 ratio for tweets including #BLM versus tweets including to #ALM. Because PEW counts mentions of #BLM and #ALM, not tweets just mentioning one hashtag or the other, this study will use the 83.8/16.2 figures for means of comparison. By adding #BlueLM and #policelivesmatter data content to #ALM, the

ratio for articles discussing #BLM and/or BLM versus #ALM, #BlueLM, ALM/BlueLM, #policelivesmatter, and/or Police Lives Matter was 8.4:1. My data revealed a parallel to PEW's findings. My search found 11,891 articles addressing these movements in comparison to 13.3 million tweets. Articles published represented 0.89% of tweet volume. However, a 140-character tweet has less impact than a 500-word newspaper article with a guaranteed audience. The 2014 Neuman study found that traditional media and social media exist on a foundation of "interdependence."[39] Spikes in social media attention "are as likely to precede traditional media as to follow it."[40]

Figure 3 shows newspaper data in the top panel and Twitter data in the bottom panel. The alignment of coverage ratios overall suggests that the "buzz" created by social media was assimilated enough into traditional media for newspaper media to echo it. Spikes in subject matter of newspaper articles versus tweets do not correlate. While Twitter data reflects reactions to viral videos of fatal police shootings as well as two officers' deaths in a police car, newspaper coverage details BLM protests and interruptions of primary campaign rallies (labeled spikes 1-7 and 9-11), with the fatal shooting of five Dallas Police officers creating a spike at data point 8 (Figure 4)

This analysis reviews newspaper coverage by state using four statistical categories: partisanship (based on general election two-way popular vote), the percentage of population living in an urban center, the percentage of Blacks fatally shot by police relative to the total fatal shootings by police, and the percentage of Black population.[41] States with 80 percent (the national average) or more people living in urban centers are large urban states, and those lower than 80 percent are small urban states.[42] The percentage of Blacks fatally shot by police will be compared to the Black population's state percentage to assess disproportion. I use the 27 available months (Jan 2015-March 2017) of the *Washington Post's* fatal police shootings data combined with 5 months, August 2014-December 2014 of *Mapping Police*
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Violence as the base in my calculations.[43]   Using 10-state snapshots, overall data trends are outlined by state through correlations between each H1 category and BLM percentage coverage and each H2 category and ALM/BlueLM coverage. I use the analysis of variance (ANOVA) statistical assessment to distinguish the significance of the four H1 and H2 factors in BLM or ALM/BlueLM respective coverage.
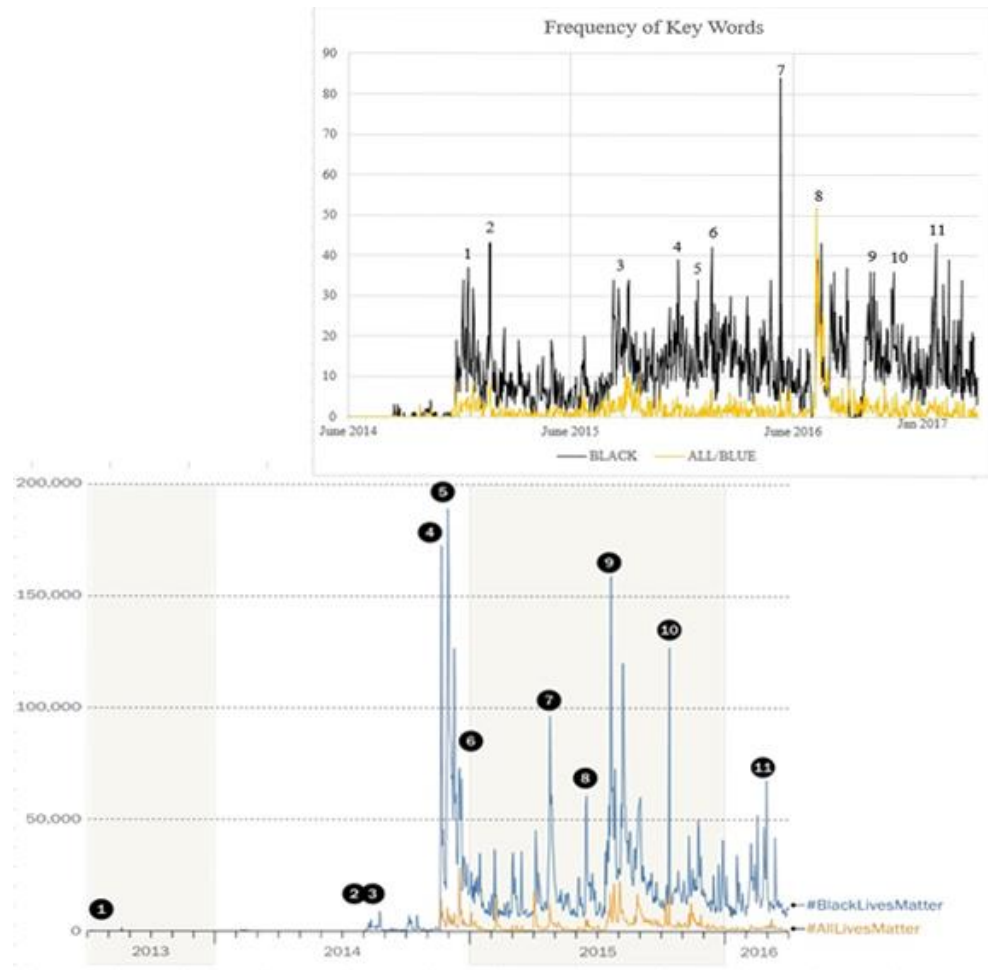
Figure 3: Newspapers (top) versus Tweets (bottom)

Frequency of Key Word in Newspaper Articles

Figure 4: Frequency of "BLM" and #BLM versus "ALM," "BlueLM," "Police Lives Matter," #ALM, #BlueLM, and #policelivesmatter By Day (August 1, 2014-March 31, 2017)

1. 12/14/14 BLM protesters stage "Die-ins" across the country/march on D.C.
2. 1/19/15 Protests across country on MLK Day
3. 8/10/15 Sanders campaign interrupted with BLM protest
    8/19/15 Hillary Clinton meets with BLM
    9/3/15 BLM organizer arrested/protesters back bill to address police shootings
4. 11/25/15 Minneapolis BLM protesters are shot at
5. 12/27/15 Articles reflect on shootings of 2015/reviewing 2015 with mentions of #BLM
6. 1/19/16 MLK Day BLM protests

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7. 5/11/16 Obama says BLM has made organizational progress, wagers on Clinton versus Sanders Black vote, and Trump discussion in relationship to Black vote.

8. 7/9/16 Dallas police officers are shot and killed at what was scheduled to be a peaceful community gathering.

9. 10/5/16: Flash Black Lives Matter protests around the country

   10/11/16: Ava DuVerney releases documentary *13th*.

10. 11/13/16 "Million Student March" and "Day of Rage" nationwide BLM protests.

11. 1/21/17 Anti-Trump protests across the country.
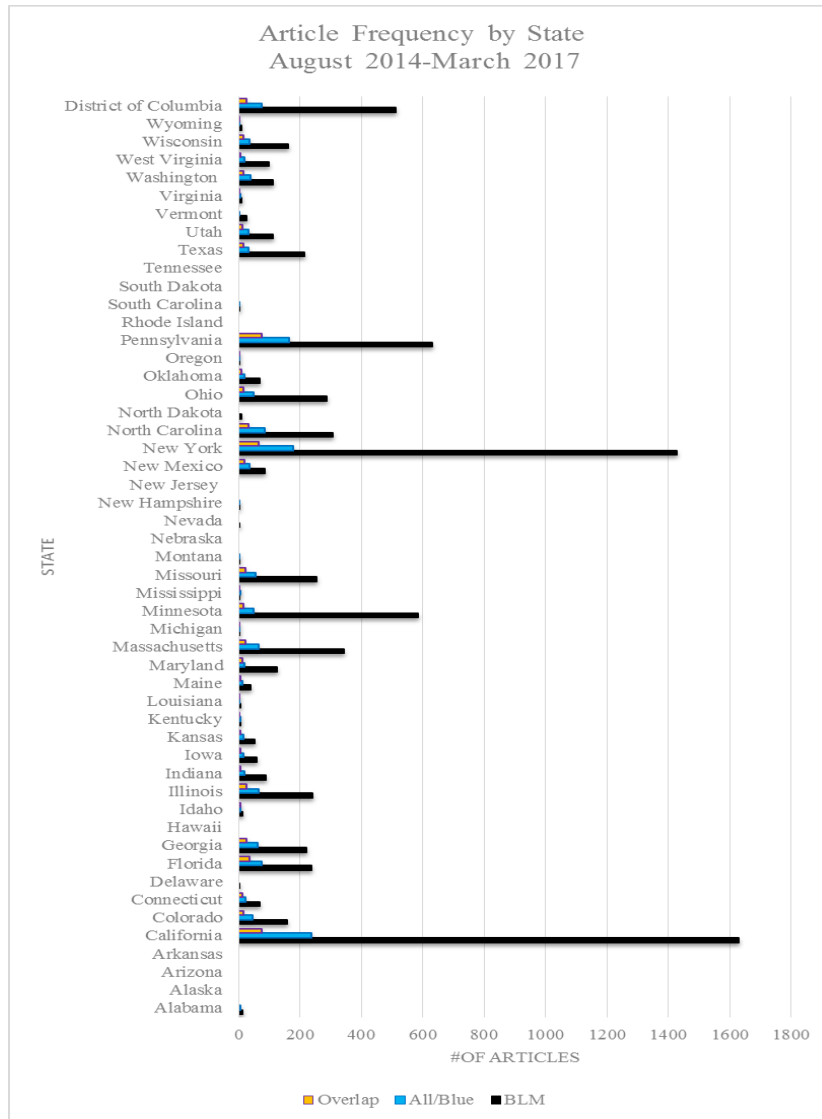
Figure 5: Article Frequency by State

Top 10 Clinton states with the highest percentage popular vote: Only Washington and Illinois fell short of the 83.8% BLMNCA and therefore do not support H1 (See Table 1). Overall, Clinton vote and BLM percentage newspaper coverage are loosely correlated and have an ANOVA regression significance of 0.09.

Newspaper Coverage in top Clinton-voting states

State	% HRC	BLM	All/Blue	% Coverage BLM	% Coverage All/Blue
District of Columbia	95.7	513	74	87.4	12.6
Hawaii	67.5	-	-	-	-
California	65.3	1628	236	87.3	12.7
Vermont	65.2	25	1	96.2	3.8
Massachusetts	64.5	344	64	84.3	15.7
Maryland	63.2	124	20	86.1	13.9
New York	61.1	1426	179	88.8	11.2
Washington	58.7	110	38	74.3	25.7
Illinois	58.4	241	66	78.5	21.5
Rhode Island	58.2	-	-	-	-

Table 1: Newspaper Coverage in Top Clinton-Voting States

Tables Key: figures shaded black met or exceeded BLMNCA

Figures shaded blue met or exceeded ALM/BlueLMNCA

States shaded in blue voted for Clinton

States shaded in red voted for Trump

Rows shaded in grey contain states/data unavailable in LexisNexis and *will not be discussed*

Values shaded in orange are for data less than the median article frequency (MAF) of 52 for BLM and 14 for ALM/BlueLM and *will not be discussed*

Top 10 states with the largest urban population: Only Florida and Utah fall below the BLMNCA. Both voted for Trump in the 2016 election, perhaps explaining their failure to meet the BLMNCA. A type of partisan media bias may be at play. Overall, urban population and BLM percentage newspaper coverage by state are

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moderately correlated and have an ANOVA regression significance of 0.03.

Newspaper Coverage in States with Large Urban Populations					
State	% Population Urban	BLM	All/Blue	% Coverage BLM	% Coverage All/Blue
District of Columbia	100.0	513	74	87.4	12.6
California	95.0	1628	236	87.3	12.7
New Jersey	94.7	-	-	-	-
Nevada	94.2	1	0	100.0	0.0
Massachusetts	92.0	344.0	64.0	84.3	15.7
Hawaii	91.9	-	-	-	-
Florida	91.2	237.0	74.0	76.2	23.8
Rhode Island	90.7	-	-	-	-
Utah	90.6	113.0	31.0	78.5	21.5
Arizona	89.8	-	-	-	-

Table 2: Newspaper Coverage in States with Large Urban Populations

Top 10 high percentage Black states: Here, part of H1 is largely disproven. Only District of Columbia, and Maryland exceed the BLMNCA (Table 3). Georgia and North Carolina exceed MAF and qualify for the Trump-voting provision of H2. H1 is in part built upon the assumption that states with a high concentration of Black residents would have a higher interest in the movement—BLM—whose principle aim is to address the inequities associated with Blackness in contemporary America. Coverage does not reflect this assumption. Overall, Black population and BLM percentage newspaper coverage by state are not correlated and have an insignificant ANOVA regression.

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Newspaper Coverage in States with High Percentage Black Population					
State	% Black	BLM	All/Blue	% Coverage BLM	% Coverage All/Blue
District of Columbia	50.1	513	74	87.4	12.6
Mississippi	37.3	1	7	12.5	87.5
Louisiana	32.4	7	3	70.0	30.0
Georgia	31.4	222	63	77.9	22.1
Maryland	30.1	124	20	86.1	13.9
South Carolina	28.5	2	4	50.0	50.0
Alabama	26.4	11	7	61.1	38.9
North Carolina	21.6	306	84	78.5	21.5
Delaware	21.0	1	0	100.0	0.0
Virginia	19.9	10	6	62.5	37.5

Table 3: Newspaper Coverage in States with High Percentage Black Population

Top 10 states with disproportionately high fatal shootings of Blacks: Only Minnesota and Massachusetts exceed BLMNCA (Table 4). This provision of H1 is built upon the assumption that higher disproportion may attract more media attention. Of the remaining five states, all but one, Illinois, were won by Trump in the general election. Illinois, a state that reliably votes Democratic in presidential elections and voted for Clinton at 58.4%, is a slight anomaly. While it drops just 5.3% behind BLMNCA, its political leanings, urban population, Black population, and disproportion in fatal police shootings of Blacks would presumably cause its coverage to exceed BLMNCA. Figure 6 further illustrates Black population density and the number of fatal shootings. Overall, high fatal shootings of Blacks and BLM percentage newspaper coverage are not correlated and have an insignificant ANOVA regression.
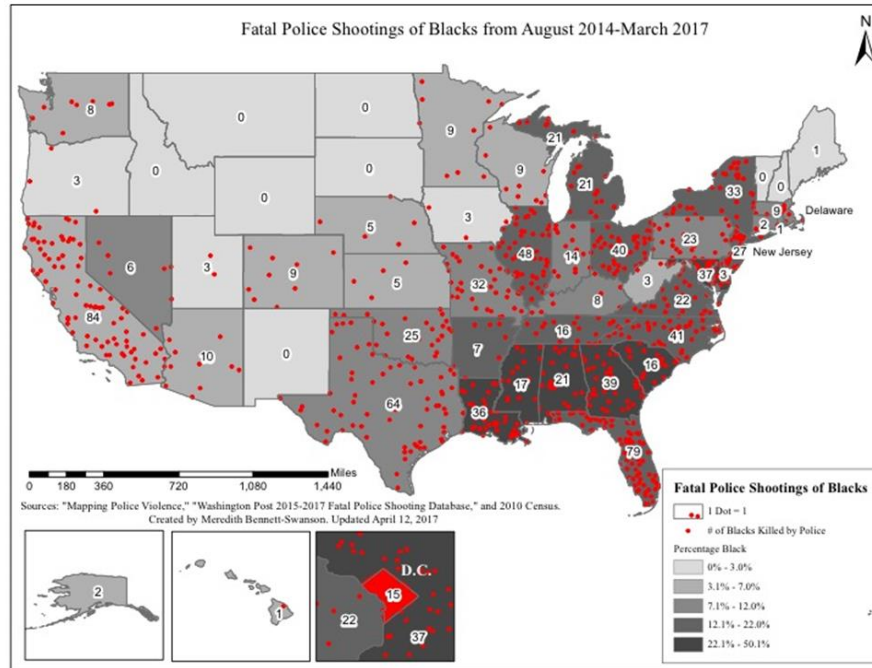
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Figure 6: Black Population Density and Fatal Police Shootings of Blacks August 2014-March 2017

State	ratio	BLM	All/Blue	% Coverage BLM	% Coverage All/Blue
Utah	7.9	113	31	78.5	21.5
Maine	6.8	40	13	75.5	24.5
Iowa	6.7	58	15	79.5	20.5
Nebraska	5.3	-	-	-	-
Minnesota	4.8	583	50	92.1	7.9
Rhode Island	4.4	-	-	-	-
Illinois	4.0	241	66	78.5	21.5
Wisconsin	4.0	162	34	82.7	17.3
Massachusetts	4.0	344	64	84.3	15.7
Missouri	3.7	255	55	82.3	17.7

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Table 4: Newspaper Coverage in States with High Fatal Police Shootings of Black Population

Top 10 Highest percentage BLM coverage: here, elements of H1 are supported. Eight of the ten states voted for Clinton (Table 5). Texas voted for Trump, yet exceeds the BLMNCA, causing it to be inapplicable to H2. Texas may have exceeded BLMNCA because of its high urban population. New York, District of Columbia, California, and Maryland were won by Clinton, suggesting partisan reinforcement of information. Clinton earned 50.2% of the vote in Minnesota. The bulk of the press was generated from Minnesota news coverage of Black Lives Matter-related protests, one at the Mall of America and one during the Twin Cities Marathon.

State	BLM	All/Blue	% Coverage BLM	% Coverage All/Blue
North Dakota	8	0	100.0	0
Nevada	1	0	100.0	0
Delaware	1	0	100.0	0
Vermont	25	1	96.2	4
Minnesota	583	50	92.1	8
New York	1426	179	88.8	11
District of Columbia	513	74	87.4	13
California	1628	236	87.3	13
Texas	215	33	86.7	13
Maryland	124	20	86.1	14

Highest Percentage Newspaper Coverage Black Lives Matter

Table 5: Highest Percentage Newspaper Coverage of Black Lives Matter

Top 10 Trump states with the highest percentage popular vote: West Virginia and Oklahoma are noteworthy because of the raw number of BLM articles published and the coverage percentage. West Virginia is 0.6% lower than BLMNCA, and Oklahoma is 6.5% lower. In West Virginia and Oklahoma, Blacks are fatally shot by police using ratios of 3.4 and 2.6 to 1 respectively. Each state has a

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low Black population and has a below-average urban population. Both states satisfy H2 and ALM/BLUELMNCA, likely due to their partisan leanings. Overall, Trump vote and ALM/BlueLM percentage newspaper coverage are slightly negatively correlated and have a significant ANOVA regression of 0.09.

Newspaper Coverage in top Trump-voting states					
State	% DJT	BLM	All/Blue	% Coverage BLM	% Coverage All/Blue
Wyoming	75.7	8	3	72.7	27.3
West Virginia	72.2	99	20	83.2	16.8
North Dakota	69.7	8	0	100.0	0.0
Oklahoma	69.3	68	20	77.3	22.7
Idaho	68.2	11	6	64.7	35.3
South Dakota	66.0	-	-	-	-
Kentucky	65.7	7	6	53.8	46.2
Alabama	64.5	11	7	61.1	38.9
Arkansas	64.1	-	-	-	-
Nebraska	63.9	-	-	-	-

Table 6: Newspaper Coverage in Top Trump-Voting States

Top 10 states with small urban populations: West Virginia is the only state above MAF. Overall, urban population and ALM/BlueLM percentage newspaper coverage are moderately negatively correlated and have a significant ANOVA regression of 0.03.

Newspaper Coverage States with Small Urban Populations

State	% Population Urban	BLM	All/Blue	% Coverage BLM	% Coverage All/Blue
Maine	38.7	40	13	75.5	24.5
Vermont	38.9	25	1	96.2	3.8
West Virginia	48.7	99	20	83.2	16.8
Mississippi	49.4	1	7	12.5	87.5
Montana	55.9	2	3	40.0	60.0
Arkansas	56.2	-	-	-	-
South Dakota	56.7	-	-	-	-
Kentucky	58.4	7	6	53.8	46.2
Alabama	59.0	11	7	61.1	38.9
North Dakota	59.9	8	0	100.0	0.0

Table 7: Newspaper Coverage in States with Small Urban Populations

Top 10 states with low percentage Black populations: Utah exceeds ALM/BlueLMNCA and meets the Trump-voting criteria of H2. Overall, low Black population and ALM/BlueLM percentage newspaper coverage by state are not correlated and have an insignificant ANOVA regression.

Newspaper Coverage in States with Low Percentage Black Population

State	% Black	BLM	All/Blue	% Coverage BLM	% Coverage All/Blue
Montana	0.7	2	3	40.0	60.0
Vermont	0.9	25	1	96.2	3.8
Idaho	1.0	11	6	64.7	35.3
Maine	1.0	40	13	75.5	24.5
North Dakota	1.1	8	0	100.0	0.0
South Dakota	1.1	-	-	-	-
New Hampshire	1.2	3	2	60.0	40.0
Utah	1.3	113	31	78.5	21.5
Wyoming	1.3	8	3	72.7	27.3
Oregon	2.0	2	3	40.0	60.0

Table 8: Newspaper Coverage in States with Low Percentage Black Population

Top 10 disproportionately low fatal police shootings of Black population: Only New Mexico qualifies for discussion. In terms of H1, Clinton won 54.7% of the popular vote in New Mexico, yet it falls 13.3% below BLMNCA. New Mexico is <3% Black, perhaps explaining this trend. Overall, low fatal police shootings, Black population and ALM/BlueLM percentage newspaper coverage are not correlated and have an insignificant ANOVA regression.

Newspaper Coverage in States with Low Fatal Police Shootings of Black Population					
State	ratio	BLM	All/Blue	% Coverage BLM	% Coverage All/Blue
Idaho	0.0	11	6	64.7	35.3
Montana	0.0	2	3	40.0	60.0
New Hampshire	0.0	3	2	60.0	40.0
New Mexico	0.0	86	36	70.5	29.5
North Dakota	0.0	8	0	100.0	0.0
South Dakota	0.0	-	-	-	-
Vermont	0.0	25	1	96.2	3.8
Wyoming	0.0	8	3	72.7	27.3
South Carolina	1.2	2	2	50.0	50.0
Mississippi	1.2	1	7	12.5	87.5

Table 9. Newspaper Coverage in States with Low Fatal Police Shootings of Black Population

Top 10 highest percentage coverage ALM/BlueLM: no states exceed MAF, so no discussion is possible.

Highest Percentage Newspaper Coverage Blue/All/Police Lives Matter				
State	BLM	All/Blue	% Coverage BLM	% Coverage All/Blue
Mississippi	1	7	13	87.5
Montana	2	3	40	60.0
Oregon	2	3	40	60.0
South Carolina	2	2	50	50.0
Kentucky	7	6	54	46.2
New Hampshire	3	2	60	40.0
Alabama	11	7	61	38.9
Virginia	10	6	63	37.5
Idaho	11	6	65	35.3
Michigan	2	1	67	33.3

**Table 10. Highest Percentage Newspaper Coverage
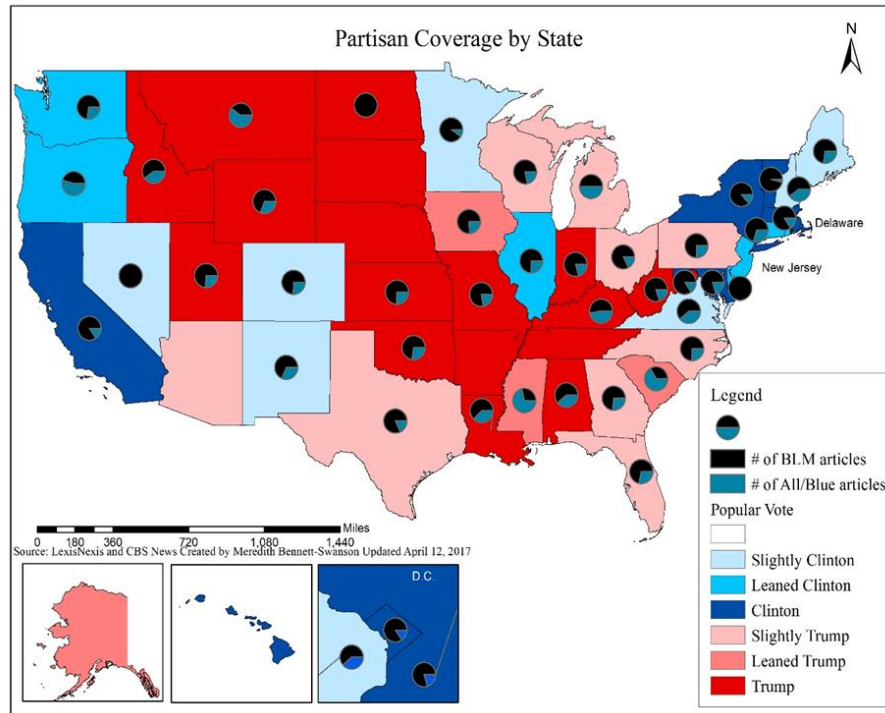Blue/All/Police Lives Matter**

Figure 7: Partisan Coverage by State Vote

Conclusion

As seen in Figure 7 (above), partisanship had some predicting power over BLMNCA; however, it was inconsistent with certain elements contained in H1 and H2. Of the four statistical categories (popular vote, urban population, percentage Black, and disproportional Black fatalities), Clinton popular vote wins and urban population most directly predicted how closely percentage coverage matched BLMNCA versus ALM/BLUELMNCA. Correlations and ANOVA tests suggest coverage of *either* BLM *or* ALM/BlueLM corresponds to states that voted Clinton and urban population. These results indicate that BLM may be interpreted as an urban problem

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and may be largely ignored by newspapers in rural and/or Republican areas. Because of the collection limits, nothing resoundingly conclusive can be drawn. However, the importance of the BLM movement cannot be understated. Newspaper coverage of the issues diverges from tweet coverage. High frequency tweets responded to viral videos of police brutality—both in support of #BLM and in the defense of all lives with #ALM—while high frequency newspaper articles responded to BLM events—protests and rallies—with the exception of the Dallas Police shooting (Figure 1). This exception is notable because the newspapers covered the Dallas Police shooting more than the fatal shootings of Blacks. Coverage of events responding to the movement rather than about the context of #BLM may be the reason that more than half of Americans do not understand the goals of BLM, have never heard of it, or have not commented. Most concerning is the extent to which partisan alliances formed "sides," suggested by party platforms, around an issue that demands cooperation.

As Chief of the Daytona Beach Police Department (DBPD), Mike Chitley, who is now County Sherrif, made the model police a reality in the city he served. Chitley required all officers to learn about the racial history of the United States and, in congruence with this history, to discover their own biases.[44] In a city of 62,000 people, only four police shootings occurred in 2016.[45] Officers were instructed to engage in community policing in accordance with DBPD guidelines, which included knowing which members of the community suffer from mental illness (1/5 fatal police shootings take mentally ill victims).[46] Their knowledge helped them exercise caution and patience in incidents involving community members. Additionally, in order to prevent misfires and create time to assess situations fully, DBPD officers were taught to anchor their trigger fingers on the side plate of their guns, rather than on the trigger, when pulling their guns.[47] In 2016, DBPD officers arrested and issued tickets to citizens nearly in congruence to their population

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samples; sixty percent of those arrested and/or ticketed were white, and forty percent of those arrested and/or ticketed were Black.[48]

      Sheriff Chitley is a member of the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF), comprised of police chiefs and sheriffs across the country whose guiding principle is "the sanctity of human life."[49] Eight months after criticizing PERF's principles, members of the FOP adopted portions of them.[50] The conversation about police reform is taking root in certain instances, even though police chiefs and sheriffs represent only a fraction of the problematic criminal justice system. Progress demands recognition of the issues and cooperation in seeking solutions. Media attention, regardless of form, is an important catalyst in the ongoing dialogue for reform.

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