Political Processes and Local Newspaper Coverage of Protest Events: From Selection Bias to Triadic Interactions[1]

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Political processes affect both protest and news coverage of protest, but past research has failed to examine these interactions. Data from one city reveal the interaction of political process, news value, and news routine factors in news coverage of protest versus other message events. Protests about legislative issues received the most coverage. Controlling for issue type, protest forms were covered less when the legislature was in session, while other forms (largely ceremonies and speeches) were covered more. Yearly variations in coverage rates of nonlegislative protests distorted the apparent shape of the protest cycle. Other predictive factors include size, police involvement, conflict, counterdemonstrators, amplified sound, Monday event, religious sponsorship (negative), and annual or holiday event.

INTRODUCTION

There is a triadic relation among politics, protest, and the news media, but this triad has usually been studied only one side at a time. The news

[1] We would like to thank Lt. Michael Smith of the Madison Police Department; Chief Michael Metcalfe, Sue Barica, and Walter Peterson of the Capitol Police Department; Mikele Stillman of the Street Use Committee; Lt. Glen Miller, Jeffrey Bender, and Pat McGuire of the University of Wisconsin Police Department; and Frank Denton and Dave Zweifel, editors of the *Wisconsin State Journal* and the *Capital Times*, respectively, for their generous help and cooperation with this research project. We would also like to thank Daniel J. Myers, who collected the Madison Police Department data; Winn Collins, Elizabeth Engstrand, Sheridan Bearheart, Maureen MacDonald, and Scott Zdrazil for their diligent work as undergraduate research assistants; and Ivan Ermakoff, John D. McCarthy, and the *AJS* reviewers for their comments in the process of revision. This research was funded by National Science Foundation grants (SBR-9511748 and SBR-9819884). Direct correspondence to Pamela Oliver, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, 1180 Observatory Drive, Madison, Wisconsin 53706-1393. E-mail: oliver@ssc.wisc.edu

0002-9602/2000/10602-0006$02.50

media are not neutral unselective recorders of events. Rather, the news media are part of politics and part of protest, the three of them inextricably intertwined in ongoing events. We all know this, but there has been little recognition in published research of the complex interactions among these three. Instead, prior research has explored only one or two of these actors at a time. The research upon which this article is based began as a simple dyadic "selection bias" study examining the factors that determine whether an event receives news coverage in a particular city. But as we dug into the data, we came to recognize that newspaper coverage of protests is shaped by institutional politics and political cycles, as well as by news value and news routine factors. These results point to important new ways of theorizing the interplay of protest, politics, and the media in creating and communicating issues and in affecting public policy. Pulling all these strands together and weaving a whole new tapestry is beyond the scope of this one article, but we are able to give results that identify most of the strands and to weave a small sampler.

There are substantial literatures on the dyadic relations among politics, protest, and the media. Research in the political process tradition has long shown how protest arises from and feeds back into institutional politics.[2] Protests never arise in a vacuum—they are a response to other events or problems. Politicians make speeches, introduce bills, and take other actions that may lead to protests. Military actions provoke antiwar protests. Welfare reform bills provoke pro-welfare protests. Proposals to increase tuition provoke anti-increase protests. Other protests are more proactive, designed to bring attention to previously neglected problems. Protests and protest cycles are always deeply embedded in normal politics and political cycles. Scholars of European politics have shown that protests are affected by the relationship between the protesters and the party in power (Fillieule 1998; Kriesi et al. 1995), with movements generally but not always tending to demobilize when they are allies of a party in power. Protests are often stimulated by external events, and many of these events are proposed pieces of legislation.

Protests are also known to be affected by electoral cycles, although the relationship is not simple. On the one hand, the competition for votes presents an opportunity for protesters to have influence. On the other hand, the election itself competes for time and attention, and a candidate's sympathizers sometimes refrain from protesting to avoid antagonizing potential voters. Tilly has long argued that protests and demonstrations developed in tandem with electoral democracy, and he shows that contentious gatherings reported in contemporary publications increased

[2] A huge literature discusses this point. Some of the major works in this tradition are by McAdam (1982), Tarrow (1988, 1998), and Tilly (1978, 1986, 1995).

around election times in Great Britain in 1758–1820 (Tilly 1997). Fillieule (1998) argues from police data that protests generally increased in France in the 1980s during elections, but sometimes declined. Meyer (1993, 1995) reports from newspaper and case study data that antinuclear protests in the United States declined during elections. Olzak (1992) found that, for 1882–1919 in the United States, lynching of blacks by whites reported in newspapers decreased in national election years, unless there was a strong Populist challenge.

Both political scientists and media scholars have devoted substantial attention to the ways in which the news media cover institutional politics, and this voluminous, diverse, and often contradictory literature is largely beyond the scope of this article. In general, scholars have been concerned with determining the ways in which the news media and politicians interact in setting public agendas, creating issues, and shaping policy. In a recent review, Edwards and Wood (1999) argue that both politicians and media outlets are dominated by substantial "inertia forces" from external events and prior events and commitments but that they also exert mutual influence on each other. There has been significant discussion of the ways in which officials use the media to transmit messages and of the fact that more powerful people and institutions have more ready access to the media (e.g., Goren 1980; Shoemaker 1988). Research on elections emphasizes the extent to which electoral news coverage focuses on campaign strategy and personalities, rather than issues (Dalton, Beck, and Huckfeldt 1998). Numerous case studies of news coverage of particular issues or events have identified ways in which news coverage can implicitly support one side in a conflict despite a veneer of balance or objectivity. Different news outlets have different audiences and different patterns of "tipping" one way or the other in their coverage (Hackett 1984). It is argued that political coverage often emphasizes elements of conflict and competition over substantive considerations of issues or policies (e.g., Jamieson, Waldman, and Devitt 1998).

Many of these same issues have been raised regarding news coverage of protests. The impact of protests on public opinion and public policy is conditioned on receiving news coverage. Research on media coverage of protests can be roughly divided into two groups. The first has emphasized the ways in which news coverage selects and is said to distort the portrayal of protest events (e.g., Gitlin 1980; Herman and Chomsky 1988; Molotch 1979; Parenti 1986) and the ways in which the glare of publicity affects protest campaigns (Gitlin 1980). The second group has sought to identify the predictors of an event's receiving news coverage in the characteristics of the event. Scholars of the media have long rejected the hypothesis that the media are passive "channels" or neutral recorders of events (e.g., Gans 1980; Herman and Chomsky 1988; Shoemaker and

Resse 1991). Empirical studies that compare media outlets to each other (Danzger 1975; Franzosi 1987; Mueller 1997; Snyder and Kelly 1977) or to police records of protest events (Fillieule 1998; Hocke 1998; McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith 1996; McCarthy et al. 1998; Oliver and Myers 1999) find that an event's size, disruptiveness, level of conflict, proximity to the news organization, and location in an "issue attention cycle" (Downs 1972) affect its likelihood of coverage and also that different news organizations vary in their attentiveness to different kinds of events and issues.

Researchers have been well aware of the risk of selection and distortion in news coverage of protests, but they have been unable to measure the magnitude of distortion. Without information to the contrary (but also no information in favor), researchers have operated under the assumption that the patterns of distortion in news media selection of events are relatively stable across time and issues, so that changing numbers of protest events about particular issues reported in the news could be assumed to track true increases and decreases in the underlying population of actual events. A few influential examples are Gurr (1968), Jenkins and Eckert (1986), Jenkins and Perrow (1977), Kriesi et al. (1995), Lieberson and Silverman (1965), McAdam (1982), Olzak (1992), Shorter and Tilly (1974), and Spilerman (1970, 1976).

Finally, even though a fixed "news hole" (the amount of space available for news in a newspaper or news broadcast) is one of the central features of the news business, scholars have rarely if ever considered the contextual effects of the prevalence of other newsworthy items on any particular event's chances of making the news, even though this elementary and well-known fact of life in the news business would logically imply varying selection rates in news coverage across time. An event that would ordinarily be news can be crowded out by bigger news, and when news is "slow," events get covered that would ordinarily be considered to have little news value. Some of the news competition comes from relatively random events (natural disasters, dramatic deaths of famous people), but much of it comes from the relatively predictable cycles of institutional and political life.

TOWARD A THEORY OF THE POLITICS-PROTEST-MEDIA TRIAD

Treating the whole politics-protest-media triad requires attending to the effects of political processes and cycles on news making and the coverage of public events. It requires recognizing that news media are organized to cover institutional politics with electoral and legislative "beats" and that news organizations and their audiences alike believe that institutional politics is an essential component of "news." Normal institutional processes make some issues more newsworthy than others. An election typ-

ically heightens the salience of some issues for the news media and reduces the salience of others, while the election itself necessarily competes with other events for space in limited news holes. Legislative proposals attract news coverage, although some proposals obviously attract more news coverage than others, and protests about legislative proposals may increase their news value. Protests are part of politics, and there is every reason to expect that political and electoral processes will affect the ways in which the news media report on protest events, and every reason to expect that the patterns of media coverage of protest events will change across time and be sensitive to ongoing political processes. The old assumption of relative temporal stability in the structure of news media selection of events has to be false. There is, instead, an urgent need to understand the way in which political and electoral cycles affect protests and media coverage of protests, both as an end in itself, and to aid in the interpretation of research that uses newspapers as a data source.

The Routinization of Protest

The relations among protest, politics, and the news media need to be understood in the context of the routinization of protest that has occurred in the United States since 1970. In both the United States and western Europe, police agencies have shifted toward permitting and negotiation and away from confrontation and repression in dealing with protests (Della Porta 1996*a*, 1996*b*; Della Porta and Reiter 1998; McCarthy and McPhail 1998; McCarthy, McPhail, and Crist 1999; McPhail, Schweingruber, and McCarthy 1998; Meyer and Tarrow 1998). These developments have reduced the novelty and disruptiveness of protest. As a result, successful protest campaigns have increasingly featured formal organizations engaging in more routinized actions (Lofland and Fink 1982; McCarthy and McPhail 1998; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Oliver and Marwell 1992; Staggenborg 1988; Tarrow 1994). Disruptive protests play a smaller role in movements' repertoires, and the boundary between "movement" organizations and other kinds of interest groups or advocacy groups may become blurred.

Connections between reporters and protest organizers are often similarly routinized. Experienced activists understand reporters' constraints and standards of newsworthiness, and seek to create an event with a timetied "peg" or intrinsic news value, time the event appropriately for deadlines, notify the media about the event, and prepare press releases that can be the basis for a story (Cohn and Gallagher 1984; Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; Meyer and Tarrow 1998; Ryan 1991; Salzman 1998; Wolfsfeld 1984). News organizations are set up to receive incoming press releases (these days by fax) and use them to plan their reporters' schedules. Even

for an unpermitted disruptive protest, experienced activists appoint someone to notify news organizations as the protest begins, have a press release ready to distribute to the print reporters, and create a "visual" that will make for interesting television footage.

As protest has routinized and many protest forms have become legal and even normative ways to express opinions, the boundaries around "protest" have become permeable and fuzzy. Protests are often symbolic statements with important elite or institutional support, not disruptive challenges to public order. Some protest messages are delivered through nonprotest forms such as ceremonies, speeches, displays, or lobbying days. As the protest forms (rallies, marches, vigils, and pickets or leaflets) become legal and normative, they can carry nonprotest educational or awareness content. In short, protest *forms* and protest *content* cannot be directly equated, nor can it be assumed that protests are disruptions of normal institutional processes. Instead, we must separately investigate the roles of form and content in the triadic relation among protest, politics, and the media.

News Coverage in a Political Context

Past theories about how media processes affect news coverage of protests need to be expanded to take explicit account of the institutional political context and political cycles, as well as of the routinization of protest and the imperfect relation between protest form and protest content. Oliver and Myers (1999, pp. 45–47) identify three sets of factors affecting the news coverage of events: journalistic norms and standards for assessing the news value of events and issues, the mundane routines of producing news reports to deadlines, and the predispositions of news organizations or particular reporters regarding certain kinds of events or issues. Each of these factors as well as news holes are affected by political context.[3]

News value.—All commentators agree that journalistic norms and standards for assessing the news value of events are central to news coverage. A standard prescriptive list of news value criteria taught to journalism students generally includes prominence or importance, that is, the number of people affected and magnitude of the effect; human interest and human drama; conflict or controversy; the unusual; timeliness; and proximity, that is, a preference for local events over distant ones (Shoemaker and Resse 1991).

The news value of institutional politics is rarely stressed, presumably because this is taken for granted by those who study media coverage of

[3] Citations to the research literature for this discussion are given in full in Oliver and Myers (1998, pp. 45–47).

politics. We are aware of no studies that have attempted to compare news coverage of institutional politics to coverage of other arenas, but norms of civic responsibility among journalists clearly emphasize public decision making. For this reason, political processes and political context affect the news value of issues and events. Issues are more newsworthy when they are being debated in a legislative body or electoral candidates disagree about them. News workers generally believe that one of the most important civic roles of a free press is to provide information on important issues of public debate. News workers and audiences alike believe that institutional politics should be news and that issues being debated in political institutions are newsworthy. Thus it is plausible to expect that protests tied to institutional politics are generally more newsworthy than other protests.

News routines.—News coverage is also affected by the mundane constraints of a reporter's job, specifically the problems of getting information and writing to a deadline. Reporters are assigned to beats. Gitlin (1980) argues that news coverage of the early 1960s protests was shaped by the fact that they were covered by the crime reporters whose beat was the police station, where they would check the day's arrest records: "Five arrested at antiwar protest" became the prototypical lead. Similarly, politics is a beat. There are reporters assigned to cover the capitol. During elections, there are reporters assigned to candidates. Protests linked to the capitol or election beat are likely to be covered by the reporter assigned to the beat. Most legislatures, including Congress and the Wisconsin legislature, do not meet on Mondays, even when they are in session, thus contributing to the well-known "slow news" pattern for Mondays and opening space in the news hole for other events that occur on Mondays.

Predispositions.—Comparisons among specific news organizations often find that the overt editorial policies of a newspaper find expression in the selection of events that receive attention in the news sections. In particular, more left-wing newspapers cover more movement-related events (e.g., Franzosi 1987; Kriesi et al. 1995, p. 256; Oliver and Myers 1999). Oliver and Myers (1999) find that protest seems to fare well in news coverage compared to other more orderly or consensual types of events, such as social events or performances, because of the news value of conflict or controversy, and they report that the more liberal newspaper covered more protest events than the more conservative newspaper.

The links among protest, protest routinization, and institutional politics suggest that news editors may respond to protests differently depending on the specific issues addressed as well as the linkage of those issues with larger political processes. There are a great many issues about which there are protests, and only a small minority of these represent fundamental challenges to the political or economic order. Covering the controversial

issues arising in institutional politics reaffirms news workers' views of the role of the free press. U.S. newspapers vary in their editorial positions with respect to partisan elections as well as a wide variety of "reform" issues, and the political implications of these varying stances may affect their propensity to cover protests about different issues.

News holes.—The "news hole" is the relatively fixed amount of space available for news stories in traditional news media. The number of minutes of news in a radio or television broadcast is constrained by the length of the broadcast as well as the number of minutes allocated for advertising, sports, and the weather. The total number of column inches of space devoted to news in a newspaper is a more complex function of both the font size and layout as well as the total number of pages of the newspaper. The total number of pages of the newspaper, in turn, is, in part, a function of the amount of advertising. Newspapers need enough pages for the ads, but cannot run only pages of ads. Although a newspaper's news hole may vary by day of the week or season of the year, on any given day, it is fairly fixed. Thus, the chance of any particular event getting in the news is a function not only of its own news value, but of the sheer number and news value of other potential news events that day. Institutional politics generate events with high news value that compete with other events for space in the news hole. Additionally, political processes create new issues and draw attention to old issues in ways that impact the potential competitive news value of events addressing other issues.

Protest and Institutional Politics

Political process theorists have long analyzed protest as "politics by other means" and have shown how protest flows from institutional politics and feeds back into it. Splits among political elites and elite sponsorship have long been recognized as important factors affecting the mobilization and success of protest movements (McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1988, 1994, 1998; Tilly 1978). There has been less detailed examination of the multiple ways in which movements and political elites could be linked and how the news media are intertwined with these links. By influencing public opinion, including the opinions of political elites, news coverage can create political opportunities for protest. The content of news coverage has a major effect on the information available about issues and events and on the ways that issues and events are framed and interpreted. At times, the news media have influence through their overt advocacy for particular issues. At other times, influence comes through less overt decisions about what makes the news.

Constituencies vary in the extent to which they use protest to gain

influence. Some groups privately lobby legislators or other elites and are often more likely to succeed if there is not a great deal of public attention to their efforts. Protest is sometimes used to bring indirect pressure to bear on decision makers by affecting public opinion and thus depends upon news coverage for its effects. Politicians may even support or encourage protest at times as a way to draw news attention to issues. Legislators and other elected officials often speak at legal protest rallies and sometimes engage in ritualized civil disobedience. Both the issue and the legislators benefit from the news exposure of such a protest.

But, of course, not all protests are directed at issues that are directly linked to legislative action. Some are directed at ongoing or chronic conflicts or concerns, such as racism, violence against women, abortion, or animal rights. Others are directed toward issues with no institutional target. In these cases, the purpose of the protest is to draw public attention to an issue of concern through attracting news coverage of a protest event around that issue. But the lack of a direct link to institutional politics may make these events less newsworthy and thus reduce their chances of news coverage, despite the central importance of news coverage to their purposes.

In nearly all cases, then, protests need news coverage to succeed, but their relation to institutionalized politics will influence the way the news media respond to them. The present study cannot provide a full account of all these relations, but it can demonstrate some previously unrecognized relations and, thus, orient future inquiry.

THE MADISON STUDY: METHODS AND SOURCES

This is the second major report from the study of media and police records in Madison, Wisconsin. The previous analysis (Oliver and Myers 1999) focused on all types of public events in one year and assessed the selection factors for media coverage of protests and other message events in comparison with social, entertainment, athletic, and business events. Events with conflictual messages were shown to have much higher rates of news coverage than social or entertainment events of comparable size. Events in certain central locations had much higher rates of news coverage than events elsewhere, and the type of organization sponsoring the event had a major effect on the prospects for coverage. Methodologically, the initial study assessed various police records as sources of information about protests and demonstrations.

For the present study, we broadened our temporal focus to consider four years, 1993–96, and restricted our substantive focus to what we call message events, that is, events whose purpose is to influence the opinion

or actions of persons other than the participants.[4] By restricting attention to message events only, we are able to assess the impact of the content of events as well as their form.

As details of the study site and data sources are published elsewhere (Oliver and Myers 1999), we provide only key details here. Madison is the Wisconsin state capital, a city of about 200,000 in a county of about 300,000. The capitol and other government buildings lie at one end of State Street, and the University of Wisconsin lies at the other. Most protests tend to center on the capitol, although student protests tend to gather at the other end of State Street either on the university's main green (Bascom Hill) or Library Mall.

Three police agencies have jurisdiction over parts of this area: the Capitol Police over the capitol and other state property, the University of Wisconsin Campus Police over the campus, and the Madison Police Department over the rest of the city. As documented elsewhere (Maney and Oliver 1998; Oliver and Myers 1999), each agency maintained records according to a different logic. Police records studied include the following: (1) Capitol Police permits, which provided a comprehensive and standardized record of permitted events on state property and which we obtained in a computer download; (2) the Capitol Police log, which consisted of a computerized record of all officers' radio reports to dispatch with linked reports, from which we located potentially relevant events through keyword searches; (3) the UW Campus Police log, generated by officers' calls to dispatch, from which we obtained a downloaded list of potentially relevant event types and read paper and computerized report files for further information about events deemed potentially relevant from the disposition;[5] (4) Madison Police Department (MPD) parade permits, which recorded events that might disrupt traffic on a public street;[6] (5) the MPD log, which consisted of 130,000 entries in the paper copy of the 911 log

[4] We included parades that were judged to have messages (e.g., by labor unions or celebrating Brazilian culture) but excluded entertainment parades (e.g., Thanksgiving parade) and also excluded displays and ceremonies that were tied to purely recreational events or that appeared to be oriented only toward employees in the building. Wedding ceremonies were excluded, but memorials and military ceremonies were retained. Events occurring outside Madison were also excluded. We did not attempt to collect data for other years from some of the official agency sources we used in 1994 after concluding that the payoff in events for effort expended was unacceptably low. We also do not include "mixed" events that combine messages with social or entertainment activities because these are principally represented in the MPD permits, which were unavailable for 1993, and rarely carried protest content.

[5] Campus police do not maintain systematic records of peaceful permitted protests.

[6] These are considered temporary records, and the permits for 1993 had been discarded when data collection began in 1994. Extrapolating from other years, there were probably five to ten marches in 1993 that are not in the data.

book for 1994;[7] and (6) the Street-Use Committee records for 1994.[8] The committee's director also kept records of downtown events as handwritten notes in planning diaries; these records are very incomplete and overlapped somewhat with other permit records but also included records of 44 message events across these four years that are not recorded elsewhere, principally rallies and ceremonies.

Madison has two daily newspapers, both listed as "Midwest regional sources" by NEXIS. The *Capital Times* (*CT*) is a locally owned afternoon paper that does not publish on Sunday and circulates principally in the Madison area. The morning *Wisconsin State Journal* (*WSJ*) is owned by Lee Enterprises, has about three to four times the circulation (this was changing during the study period), and is distributed more broadly across southern Wisconsin. The papers share production facilities (which are managed by a jointly owned holding company) but were founded separately and have distinct editorial policies and reporting staff. Editorially, the *WSJ* defines itself as moderate and politically independent, endorsing both moderate Republicans and moderate Democrats. The *CT* defines itself as progressive and liberal Democratic. Rigorous computerized searches for events were conducted with the NEXIS database, using all descriptors appearing in the police record as keywords, including actions, locations, participating individuals or groups, and synonyms for these. Every article that explicitly mentioned the event was saved and coded, regardless of its length, location in the newspaper, or detail in describing the event.[9]

An event is considered to have received coverage if there is at least one unambiguous reference to it in either newspaper during the 12-month interval from six months before the event to six months after. Of the 220 events (excluding displays) that received any newspaper coverage, 70% were covered by both newspapers, 13% were covered only by the *WSJ*, and 18% only by the *CT*. (For the 30 displays that were covered, 50% were covered by both, 23% only by the *WSJ*, and 27% only by the *CT*). The selection logics of the two newspapers were very similar. The text explains those few cases where they differed.

[7] Because it took 200 hours to gather these data, this source was not used for other years. It is plausible to assume that there were at least as many unpermitted protests in other years that would have been located by further searches of the MPD log.

[8] Other years were not coded due to the low "payoff" of this data source.

[9] Subsequent analyses will consider the content and framing of news coverage. The first step is simply to determine the factors that lead an event to receive any mention at all.

Results 1: Form, Content, Timing

In this study, protest form is distinguished from protest content, so that the effect of each may be assessed. At the gross level, content rather than form appears to be the most salient factor in predicting news coverage, although as the analysis proceeds, we find key interactions between form and content and the way events interact with political cycles.

Form.—We examine eight event forms. As much as possible, we relied upon the language of police reports to categorize event forms. Four are recognized protest forms: rallies, marches, vigils, and unpermitted protests. Sociologists use the term "protest" to refer to any expression of grievance, but in the context of these data, the term "protest" means "unpermitted protest."[10] Very few of these were violent or extremely disruptive. A "rally" is a stationary temporary gathering. A "vigil" is an event in which people stand or sit quietly (often holding candles or praying) in a silent expression of concern, which may have political content or may be purely religious. A "march" is an event in which participants move together from one location to another. The three nonprotest event forms are ceremonies, speeches, and a residual group of other events (mostly displays plus ceremonies, but also a few lobbying days and Take Your Daughter to Work Day). A "ceremony" presents an award, inaugurates or announces something, or memorializes someone in front of a gathered audience.[11] Most of the speeches in our data set appeared in the campus police log when officers provided crowd control for a large audience gathered in a university auditorium to hear a public address by a prominent person, usually a politician or movement spokesperson; others were speeches from one of the outdoor podiums, and a few symposia or hearings were also included in this group.[12] Protests are fairly common at such speeches. When such protests occurred, they were treated as distinct events and classified as unpermitted protests. We also examined the nonevent "displays," conveying messages through posters or other artifacts placed in public places.

Table 1 shows the frequencies and overall rates of newspaper coverage for these eight forms. As a group, the standard protest forms received coverage 46% of the time, somewhat lower than the 56% for the nonprotest forms, but higher than the 29% for displays. There are year-to-year fluctuations in the numbers of each event type, but the only consistent

[10] Police records provided too few details to permit us to subdivide unpermitted protests according to their tactics or actions.

[11] We grouped the small number of press conferences as ceremonies because they are structurally similar: a small number of people address an audience to convey information that they hope the press will write about.

[12] Classroom lectures and closed meetings were not included in the data set.

TABLE 1
FREQUENCY OF EVENT TYPES AND PROPORTION OF EVENTS OF EACH TYPE RECEIVING NEWS COVERAGE, BY YEAR

	FREQUENCIES					PROPORTION COVERED BY ANY NEWSPAPER				
	1993	1994	1995	1996	Total	1993	1994	1995	1996	Total
Protest forms ...	48	49	68	77	242	.42	.47	.62	.35	.46
Rally	20	9	23	19	71	.40	.78	.70	.21	.49
March	7	11	20	16	54	.43	.55	.65	.50	.56
Vigil	5	5	3	2	15	.40	.20	.00	.50	.27
Protest	16	24	22	40	102	.44	.38	.59	.35	.42
Other forms	64	46	42	42	194	.55	.57	.62	.50	.56
Ceremony	38	30	26	26	120	.53	.60	.54	.50	.54
Speech	14	11	14	15	54	.71	.45	.79	.54	.63
Others*	12	5	2	1	20	.42	.60	.50	.00	.45
Displays	29	20	26	30	105	.17	.35	.27	.37	.29
All events	141	115	136	149	541	.43	.49	.55	.40	.46

* Most are displays + ceremony.

trends appear to be a larger number of standard protest events in 1995 and 1996 relative to 1993 and 1994 and more events of other forms in 1993.

Activists often try to draw attention to their issue by protesting at an event gathered for a different purpose. Although there are not enough of them for more detailed analysis, our original coding did distinguish unpermitted protests at other scheduled events (e.g., at a speech or athletic event) from "stand-alone" unpermitted protests, which were events in themselves. The results suggest that what matters is the kind of event at which you protest. Of the 72 "stand-alone" unpermitted protests, 40% received news coverage. By contrast, the 15 protests at other message events (speeches or hearings) received news coverage 60% of the time, while only 33% of the 15 protests at social or entertainment events were covered—a differential that is roughly comparable to the difference in the rates of news coverage for message events versus social and entertainment events (Oliver and Myers 1999).

Table 1 also indicates that the protest forms were more likely to be covered in 1995 than in other years and less likely to be covered in 1996. These year-to-year variations in the coverage of protest events cast immediate doubt on the assumption that news coverage of protests can be assumed to be a stable proportion of events across time. Analyses not shown indicate that the *CT* covered ten more events and three more displays than the *WSJ* in 1994, and four more events than the *WSJ* in 1993. Otherwise, variations between papers were relatively small and exhibited no consistent patterns in their coverage by the event's form.

Content.—Issues differed markedly in the extent to which they received news coverage, and these differences are much larger than the differences among various forms of action. Madison police records do not systematically record the issue or content of public events, but it was possible in all but 19 (3.5%) cases to use police descriptions of events and organizational sponsors to infer the general issue the event concerned. Roughly 100 issue arenas were refined into the 24 groups shown in table A1 in the appendix. The table distinguishes conflictual and nonconflictual issues within each issue arena and shows the amount of coverage events of each type received for each issue arena. Despite their differing editorial policies, there are few differences between the two newspapers in their coverage of these broad issue arenas. For only three issue arenas is the difference in the number of events covered by the newspapers greater than two events. The largest difference is that the *CT* covered nine more events around the collection of "other public issues": of a total of 42 events, both papers covered 40%, neither covered 38%, and the *CT* alone covered 21%, while there were no events covered only by the *WSJ*. The *CT* also covered four more events around union or occupational interests (of a total of 31 of which 48% were covered by both, 39% by neither, and 13% only by the *CT*), and four more military and government ceremonies (of a total of 52, of which both newspapers covered 37%, neither 48%, the *WSJ* only 4%, and the *CT* only 12%). The greater coverage of occupational interests and contentious public issues seems consistent with editorial differences. The *CT*'s greater coverage of military and government ceremonies occurred in 1993 and 1994, when it tended to cover all kinds of events somewhat more often than the *WSJ*.

Perusal of this table suggests that issues differ sharply in the news attention they receive. Conflictual issues appear generally to receive more news coverage, but some conflictual issues received relatively little coverage, particularly animal rights and abortion. It is also worth noting that religion as an issue received zero news coverage, except for Madison's annual conflict over religious and atheist symbols in the capitol rotunda.

Nearly all issue arenas were represented in both standard protest forms and other event forms.[13] Protest forms are much more likely to involve conflict than other forms, but about 17% of the events involving protest *forms*, particularly marches and rallies, involved nonprotest *content* (i.e., did not involve conflict). Conversely, there was conflictual *content* in 41%

[13] The exceptions are all the special categories that captured both form and content, including particular protest campaigns that were distinguished from larger issue arenas (proposed mine, welfare reform, disability funding, anti-abortion) and the special categories for the Martin Luther King Day events and Madison's annual war of the seasonal symbols. All of these events were judged to involve conflict.

of the nonprotest event forms and 33% of the displays. Or, considering issues as the base, although only 6% of the legislative issues involved nonprotest forms, fully 42% of the other conflict issues were expressed in nonprotest forms (29% in events and 13% in displays). Conversely, 18% of the consensual messages were expressed in the standard protest forms of marches or rallies.

Campaigns and event cycles.—Activists often stage a series of events to try to draw attention to an issue. A variety of measures were constructed to capture patterns of relationships among separate events addressing the same issue. These are shown in the top section of table 2, along with the media coverage of events with these patterns. Overall, there is little evidence that the news coverage of an event is affected by it being part of a series of events around an issue. *Multidate events* are those that spanned more than one continuous day. A *campaign* is defined as two or more events addressing the same issue occurring within a few weeks of each other. A *cycle* is defined as three or more events addressing the same specific issue occurring periodically within a year. A *multiyear cycle* was defined as a series of five or more events around the same specific issue occurring across more than one year. As table 2 indicates, none of these measures appears important for predicting coverage. Two of the issues involving large number of events in multiyear cycles (abortion and animal rights) received very little coverage. In contrast, other issues that had many events in a multiyear cycle and were linked to major legislative initiatives had very high rates of coverage. Again, the specific issue content appears to matter more than the form.

Years and political cycles.—Preliminary findings of sharply different rates of news coverage from year to year were the impetus for the investigation of political cycles that has become the core of our analysis. A search for the sources of this pattern led us back to issues of form and content. The result of this inquiry can be summarized in figure 1, which plots the frequencies and news coverage of protest forms, speeches and ceremonies, and displays by year. The yearly variation in news coverage of protest forms is large enough to mask the protest cycle. While the plot of actual protest events shows protests rising sharply in 1995 and rising again in 1996, newspaper coverage makes it appear that protests peaked in 1995 and declined back to previous levels in 1996. Both newspapers show this pattern, although the *WSJ* is slightly more extreme in the 1995 rise and the 1996 decline than the *CT*. Coverage of ceremonies and speeches also declined in 1996, although to a lesser extent, while coverage of displays actually increased.

After rechecking the data to rule out a methodological error or artifact (our first hypothesis for the striking difference between 1995 and 1996), the second most obvious candidate for explaining this difference is elec-

TABLE 2

NEWS COVERAGE OF MULTIPLE EVENTS ON THE SAME ISSUE, BY EVENT FORM

	PROTEST FORMS		OTHER FORMS		DISPLAYS	
	Any News	*N*	Any News	*N*	Any News	*N*
One-day events	.46	240	.57	175	.24	33
Multidate events	1.00	2	.47	19	.31	72
Not part of campaign*	.47	192	.56	181	.29	103
Part of campaign	.42	50	.54	13	.00	2
No. events in campaign:						
1	.47	192	.47	181	.29	103
2	.39	33	.39	8	.00	1
3 (workers' protest, women general, Bosnia, abortion)	.67	9	.67	3		
4 (women general)	1.00	1	1.00	2	.00	1
7 (abortion)	.14	7				
Not part of cycle†	.46	226	.56	190	.29	105
Part of cycle	.44	16	.25	4		
No. events in cycle:						
1	.46	226	.56	190	.29	105
3 (peace, UW tuition, death penalty)	.22	9				
4 (UW investment policies)	.50	4				
7 (gay/lesbian)	1.00	3	.25	4		
Not part of multiyear cycle‡	.46	178	.56	189	.29	105
Part of multiyear cycle	.48	64	.60	5		
No. of events in cycle:						
1	.46	178	.56	189	.29	105
7 (welfare reform)	.86	7				
8 (mining)	.63	8				
15 (animal rights)	.17	12	.33	3		
18 (funding for disability care)	.69	16	1.00	2		
21 (abortion)	.33	21				

NOTE.—Proportions given are of events that received any news coverage.

* Campaign = two or more events on same issue within a few weeks of each other.

† Cycle = three or more events on same issue occurring periodically within a year.

‡ Multiyear cycle = five or more events on same issue occurring across years.

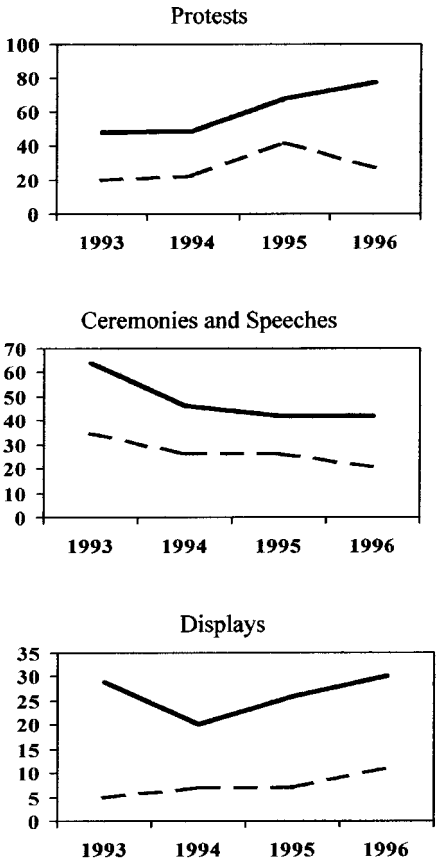

FIG. 1.—Total events actually occurring (top solid line) as compared with those mentioned in news accounts (bottom dashed line), by type of event. The plot of ceremonies and speeches includes a few other event forms. News accounts make protest appear to be declining in 1996 when it is not.

toral and political cycles, specifically the proactive welfare reforms of the Republicans after their 1994 electoral victory, and the news competition from the presidential election in 1996. This was our first indication that the news coverage of "protest" could be tied to political processes. This guess led us to code political variables and classify issues by their relation to the political system.

The specifications in figure 2 reveal the complex interactions between form and content in the way news coverage responds to external events. Figure 2 breaks the events down by type of content (legislative conflict,

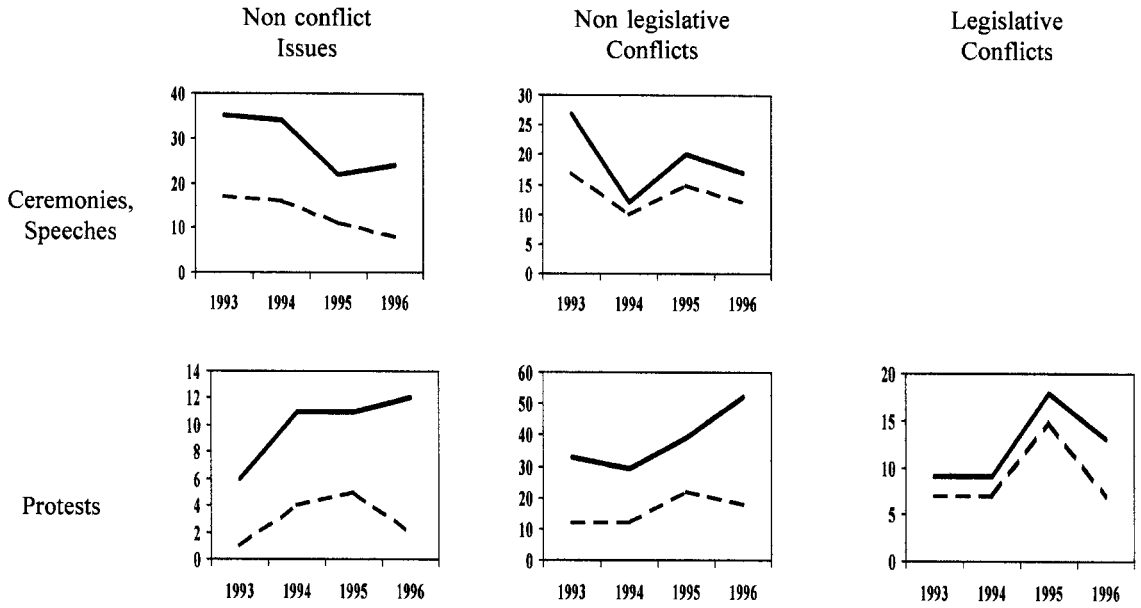

FIG. 2.—Total events actually occurring (top solid line) as compared with those mentioned in news accounts (bottom dashed line), by type of event and type of issue. (Three ceremonies and speeches involving legislative conflicts are excluded.) Protest about nonlegislative issues increased sharply in 1996 while news coverage of them declined.

other conflicts, consensual) as well as by form (distinguishing protest forms from the other forms, which are mostly ceremonies and speeches). Protests about legislative issues do peak in 1995, and the newspapers track the peak fairly accurately, although their coverage rate is somewhat lower in 1996. Ceremonies and speeches about conflictual issues decline somewhat in 1996 and, again, the newspapers correctly track this decline. However, the news coverage of protests about all *other* conflicts greatly distorts the protest cycle: protests about nonlegislative issues actually went up substantially in 1996 relative to 1995, but news accounts would give the impression that such protests had declined. Both protest and nonprotest event forms around consensual issues also increased somewhat between 1995 and 1996 but also appear in newspaper accounts to be declining. More detailed analyses not shown indicate that the coverage decline for protest forms from 1995 to 1996 is consistent across specific forms (rallies, marches, vigils, unpermitted protests) as well as issue types.

This pattern of shifting attention of the news media to different kinds of issues across time is methodologically significant, because it means that the newspaper records distort the time trends in the *mix* of issues people are protesting about as well as trends in the overall frequencies of protest. It is theoretically significant because it points to the ways in which newspapers are substantially shaping the public perceptions of the quantity and content of protests. Thus, we organize our analysis around specifying the variety of factors that feed into news coverage and then controlling for them as we seek to understand the complexities of the politics-protest-media triad.

Results 2: Bivariate Analysis of Factors Affecting News Coverage

Having established the general pattern that the content of a message event seems to influence its coverage more than its form, and that there is a substantial increase and then decrease in the coverage of protest forms in 1995–96 linked to political processes, it is important to assess the predictive value of news value and news routine factors in determining which events are covered, so that these may be controlled and assessed in understanding how the news media interact with political systems and protest.

Size.—It is well established that the size of an event is a major predictor of its media coverage, making a control for size essential in this research. Unfortunately, 66% of the police records lacked even indirect size information, so we coded a categorical subjective size variable on the basis of whatever information or impressions we had about the likely size of the particular event from police comments, the sizes of other similar events, or our own knowledge of local events. The numerical coding scheme is

TABLE 3
NEWS COVERAGE OF EVENTS BY ESTIMATED SIZE OF EVENT, BY EVENT TYPE

		PROTEST FORMS		OTHER FORMS		DISPLAYS	
CODING	ESTIMATED SIZE*	Any News	*N*	Any News	*N*	Any News	*N*
0	Zero (displays)		0			.29	94
1	Tiny, 1–5	.18	22	.33	6	.33	3
2	Very small, 6–15	.21	39	.50	6	.20	5
3	Small, 16–30	.39	56	.38	60	.33	3
4	Modest, 31–99	.58	80	.52	42		
5	Medium, 100–499	.64	36	.70	64		
6	Larger, 500–1,500	1.00	6	.79	14		
7	Large, 2,000–10,000	1.00	2	1.00	2		
8	Very large, >10,000†	1.00	1		0		
Total ...			242		299		

NOTE.—Proportions given are of events that received any news coverage.
* See text. Event size was subjectively estimated using any available information and refers to number of people present at event. Size variable in multivariate analysis combines the three smallest and two largest categories.
† Includes events in the tens of thousands.

essentially a linear transformation of the logarithm of the midpoint of the categories. As table 3 shows, preliminary analysis indicates that the effects of size occur within intermediate ranges: size makes little difference for protests under size 15 and over size 500, and for other events under size 30. When the smallest events and displays are grouped together at the low end, and the largest events are grouped at the high end, rates of news coverage increase linearly with the size category ($R^2 = .998$), thus permitting us to control for size in our multivariate analysis.

News value.—Given the diversity of factors identified as giving an event news value, we coded all information that appeared in a significant share of police records that might conceivably influence the newsworthiness of an event. Table 4 shows the news value factors we were able to code and their effects on news coverage. The presence of conflict, and for protests, especially legislative conflict, has a strong effect on news coverage. This is consistent with both the importance of "drama" for news value and the implicit news value of institutional politics. An event is coded as involving counterdemonstrators if there were protesters from opposite sides at the same event; the few events with counterdemonstrators had higher rates of coverage. Mention in the permit of electrical amplification of sound is an indirect indicator of expecting to communicate to an audience or television cameras. Amplified events had much higher rates of coverage than events with no such mention. Because of the news value of proximity, an event was coded as having a nonlocal organizer if the address and telephone number of the contact person listed in a permit record was from

TABLE 4
NEWS COVERAGE BY NEWS VALUE FACTORS AND EVENT FORMS

	PROTEST FORMS		OTHER FORMS		DISPLAYS	
	Any News	*N*	Any News	*N*	Any News	*N*
No conflict	.30	40	.45	115	.20	70
Other conflict	.42	153	.71	76	.46	35
Legislative issue	.73	49	.67	3		
No counterdemonstrations	.46	230	.46	191	.27	103
Counterdemonstrations	.58	12	.58	3	1.00	2
Local organizer	.46	227	.56	182	.27	96
Nonlocal organizer	.53	15	.53	12	.44	9
No vehicles	.46	232	.55	193	.29	102
Vehicles	.60	10	1.00	1	1.00	3
No amplifier	.40	191	.50	117	.29	103
Amplifier	.71	51	.64	77	.00	2
No disorder	.44	155	.56	193	.29	105
Disorder	.51	87	.00	1		
No. police:						
0	.40	149	.53	174	.29	105
1	.53	15	.78	18		
2	.44	32	1.00	1		
3	.63	19		0		
4	.57	7		0		
5	.50	6		0		
6–10	.88	8		0		
11–20	.67	6	1.00	1		

NOTE.—Proportions given are of events that received any news coverage.

outside the Madison metropolitan area. A few unpermitted protest events were also given this code when the record indicated protesters were from out of town (e.g., "buses of protesters arriving" indicates the protesters have come as a group from elsewhere, usually Milwaukee). Contrary to expectations, the bivariate effect of a nonlocal organizer is weakly positive. Another dummy variable indicated whether the event involved vehicles of any kind; this also has a weak positive effect on news coverage for protest forms.

It is widely believed that disruption or disorder are newsworthy. An event was coded subjectively as involving "disorder" if there was any mention of problems or disruption in police logs. Protests involving disorder do have higher coverage rates; disorder was almost nonexistent in the other forms. An indirect indicator of disruption is the number of officers mentioned in the police records about a particular event, and there is a tendency for both protest and nonprotest forms to be covered more when there are more police involved, although the police involvement is clearly greater with protests.

TABLE 5
MEDIA COVERAGE BY NEWS ROUTINE, COMPETITION, AND TIMING FACTORS BY EVENT FORM

	PROTEST FORMS		OTHER FORMS		DISPLAYS	
	Any News	*N*	Any News	*N*	Any News	N
Not annual, not holiday	.43	216	.52	152	.21	92
Not annual, holiday	.67	3	.50	8	.71	7
Annual, not holiday	.78	18	.73	11	1.00	2
Annual, holiday	.80	5	.74	23	1.00	4
Time of day:						
All day	.24	17	.58	33	.28	79
Morning	.40	25	.44	25	.30	10
Midday	.50	76	.51	47	.60	5
Afternoon	.67	52	.64	28	.00	1
Evening	.35	72	.59	61	.20	10
Day of event:						
Sunday	.35	17	.44	16	.22	9
Monday	.63	30	.72	36	.29	31
Tuesday	.64	25	.59	27	.18	17
Wednesday	.38	29	.61	28	.38	16
Thursday	.38	42	.46	24	.25	16
Friday	.42	33	.56	32	.43	7
Saturday	.45	66	.42	31	.33	9
Legislature:						
Not in session	.49	148	.51	115	.37	71
In session	.41	94	.62	79	.18	34
Events within 31 days, average (total):						
1.16–1.49 (36–46)	.47	74	.58	65	.34	47
1.49–1.82 (47–56)	.50	112	.56	104	.25	44
1.82–2.15 (57–66)	.37	41	.50	22	.22	9
2.15–2.48 (67–77)	.40	15	.33	3	.20	5

NOTE.—Proportions given are of events that received any news coverage.

News routines and timing.—Table 5 presents the independent variables capturing news routine and timing effects. One important news routine factor is the ability to plan ahead for the event. Dummy variables indicate whether the event is linked to a holiday or anniversary,[14] and whether an event is an annual event, which is defined as an event that occurred annually within the data or that was referred to as "annual" in the police records. Table 5 clearly indicates that annual events receive higher cov-

[14] Holidays include Christmas-related events, New Year's Eve, Martin Luther King Day, Independence Day, St. Patrick's Day, Veteran's Day, Memorial Day, Flag Day, Women's Equality Day, the anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*, and the fiftieth anniversary of D-day.

erage than other events, and that nonannual events tied to holidays receive more coverage than other nonannual events. Since annual and holiday events overlap considerably and have similar effects, in multivariate analyses annual and holiday events are combined and contrasted with those that are neither.

The timing of an event is often cited as affecting news coverage, although Oliver and Myers (1999) found no time-of-day effects in Madison. Different kinds of events occur at different times of day. Permits to march or rally at the capitol on weekdays are granted only for midday (11 A.M.–1 P.M.) or late afternoon (4 P.M.–6 P.M.). Using these rules as a starting point, the starting and ending times for events were used to classify them into the categories shown in the table.[15] Events occurring in the afternoon appear to have higher rates of newspaper coverage than other events. Although one newspaper is published in the morning and the other in the afternoon, there are no differences in their time-of-day effects. Protest forms and other forms have similar time-of-day patterns, except that evening protest forms have relatively low rates of news coverage, while other evening events have relatively high rates of coverage.

By contrast, the day of the week appears to make a substantial difference in the rate of news coverage. Consistent with Monday's reputation as a "slow news day" and the lack of legislative activity on Mondays, Monday events are more likely to receive news coverage. The bivariate effects for other days vary somewhat between protest forms and other forms, with protest forms receiving higher coverage if they occur on Tuesday, while coverage is higher for other forms if they occur on Wednesdays or Fridays. The two newspapers have similar day-of-week patterns, except that the *CT*, which does not publish on Sunday, is more likely to cover events that occur on Sunday.

Cycles of politics, protest, and competition.—It is well recognized that political events and cycles influence protest, but the importance of political factors for the way the news media cover protests has not previously been recognized. The Wisconsin legislature passes biannual budgets with the heaviest political activity occurring in the early months of odd-numbered years; it adjourns and reconvenes often. A dummy variable coded from the *Wisconsin Blue Book* indicates whether the legislature was in session on any particular day. It was in session on 36% of the days in our data set (ranging from 54% in 1993 and 45% in 1995 to 25% in 1994 and 20% in 1996). It should be noted that weekends and Mondays are included in

[15] All day events begin before 10 A.M. and last past 3 P.M. Morning events begin before 10 A.M. and are over by 1 P.M. Midday events begin after 10 A.M. and are over by 2 P.M. Afternoon events begin after 1 P.M. and are over by 7 P.M. Evening events begin after 12 P.M. and end after 7 P.M.

date ranges coded as "in session," even though the legislature does not actually meet on those days. A disproportionate 50% of the events around legislative conflicts occurred when the legislature was in session, clearly indicating the way in which some protests are tied to political cycles. By contrast, the frequency of events around consensual and other conflict issues was largely unaffected by legislative sessions: 36% and 38% respectively occurred when the legislature was in session.

But the legislature not only attracts protests, it competes with them for news space. Table 5 indicates that protest forms are less likely to receive news coverage if they occur on a day the legislature is in session. Although the bivariate difference is modest, cross-tabulations not shown indicate that the bivariate relation is suppressed by the fact that legislative conflicts (which receive more coverage) are more common in odd numbered years and on days when the legislature is sitting. Controlling for these factors reveals that for all three issue types (consensual, other conflictual, legislative) across all four years, events involving protest forms are more likely to be covered when the legislature was *not* in session on the day of the event.[16] Displays are also much less likely to be covered when the legislature is in session. By contrast, the nonprotest events (ceremonies and speeches) are *more* likely to be covered when the legislature is in session.

Another source of competition for the news hole is among the different events in our data set. A series of bivariate tests (not shown) for the effects of the number of competing events within a given time period reveal that the 31-day average number of events has the strongest bivariate relation to news coverage. Substantively, this suggests that events compete for coverage with other events occurring two weeks before and after. The magnitude and character of this effect can be seen in table 5, where the range for this variable is divided into equal-sized intervals. The average number of events in a 31-day period when multiplied by 31 gives the total number of events in that period: the ranges for total number of events are given in parentheses to aid in interpreting this variable. The highest category covers a single peak of events in April of 1996, while the other three categories cover ranges in all four years. The competition from other events appears to have an effect, although this effect does not appear to be linear: the lowest two categories of competition always have higher rates of media coverage than the higher two categories, but the

[16] There were only two minor exceptions. In 1993, the fairly small number of legislative conflicts had the same coverage rate regardless of whether the legislature was in session. In 1994, "other conflicts" received more coverage when the legislature was in session, but this is due to a larger number in that year's data of unpermitted protests away from the capitol on days the legislature is not in session. When location is controlled, the negative effect of the legislature being in session holds.

TABLE 6
NEWS COVERAGE BY LOCATION AND EVENT FORM

	PROTEST FORMS		OTHER FORMS		DISPLAYS	
	Any News	*N*	Any News	*N*	Any News	*N*
At the capitol (inside or outside)	.53	129	.58	121	.41	68
Move from capitol/campus to elsewhere	.66	35	.60	5		
Inside UW building	.20	15	.64	42	.00	1
Inside elsewhere	.29	14	.55	14	.06	33
Campus area outside	.24	29	.13	8	.00	3
Elsewhere outside	.30	20	.14	7		

NOTE.—Proportions given are of events that received any news coverage.

effects are not consistently linear across the categories and appear to be generally fairly weak in the bivariate tables.

Location.—The proximity of an event to a news organization is well recognized as influencing news coverage. Location effects were strong in the study of 1994 Madison events. Preliminary analysis of detailed coding of the exact location of each event led to the creation of the categories shown in table 6, which groups together locations that are conceptually similar and have similar rates of media coverage.[17] That the capitol was the primary central location confirms our expectation that institutional politics affects news routines and, therefore, coverage of protest. The low rate of news coverage for events outdoors at the university (and for protest forms indoors at the university) has surprised some local observers but is consistent with some news workers' statements that there is little news value in student protests. The two newspapers are very similar in their patterns of coverage by location, except that the *CT* covered somewhat more outdoor events in the UW campus area.

Sponsoring organization.—Oliver and Myers (1999) reported significant effects of the type of sponsoring organization on news coverage. The name(s) of any organization mentioned in the police record(s) were recorded, and sponsoring organizations were classified into the groups

[17] Nearly all police records contain information about the location of each event. Six events listed in the mall coordinator's diary did not have specific location information. In these cases, an educated guess was made about the event from the nature of the event, the location of similar events, and the knowledge that the mall coordinator only handles events in the mall area, and any event on the capitol grounds would require a Capitol Police permit.

shown in appendix table A2.[18] For each type of organization, table A2 shows the frequency of events sponsored, the proportion of those that involved standard protest forms, involved any conflict, and involved a legislative issue, and the proportion of events of each type receiving any news coverage. Table notes indicate news coverage proportions that are based on one or two events. News coverage ranged from a high of 77% for event-specific organizations to a low or 9% for local service organizations (and 0% for the three events sponsored by a Libertarian candidate). Organizations differed markedly in their proclivity to sponsor protest event forms and to offer conflictual messages. Organizations that sponsored both protest and nonprotest events tended to have roughly the same coverage rates for both kinds of events. Only a few organizational types addressed legislative issues: of 52 such events, local and national social movement organizations accounted for 16 (31%), and another 24 (46%) had no organization listed in the record.

Results 3: Multivariate Analysis

Because many of the factors under consideration are correlated, a careful multivariate analysis is necessary for determining the most salient factors in predicting media coverage. A preliminary analysis indicated that protest forms and other forms had different relations to political cycles (see figs. 1 and 2), making it desirable to analyze these two types of events separately. We also wish to assess the effect of issues and organization types, but the very large number of dummy variables capturing these factors requires careful treatment. To focus attention only on those issues and organization types that differed markedly from the others, and to permit the models for the protest and other forms to be comparable, the specific omitted reference categories for these variables were chosen to have intermediate rates of news coverage and high frequencies for both types of events. The omitted category for issue is "other environmental issue" and for organization is "event-specific organization." The full models for logistic regressions treating any news coverage as the dichotomous dependent variable for protest forms and other event forms are shown in table A3 in the appendix. Logistic regression models are not estimable if any variable perfectly predicts success or failure, and coefficients are unstable if there are too few cases in a category, so issue and organization type

[18] Classification of organizations into types was based on our knowledge of the groups and their purposes, supplemented by on-line searches of news articles, organizational directories, and Web pages to determine the stated purposes and scope of each organization. In most cases, we were able to gain enough information to classify the groups, although in a few cases, the classifications are guesses.

categories were grouped as explained in the table notes. Even with these adjustments, the large numbers of organization types and issues makes the coefficients in the full models unstable.

The restricted models shown in table 7 capture the stable effects in the data. The logic of the analysis is to enter all factors besides issue and organizational sponsor first, and then add those specific issues and types of organizational sponsors that significantly add to the predictive value of the models. Because of the large number of independent variables relative to the sample sizes, a wide variety of specifications were tested to confirm that reported coefficients are tapping broad patterns in the data and not being driven by a few cases. As part of this process, independent variables with low predictive value were dropped from the model. No matter how the models are specified, it is clear that at least a few issues and types of organizational sponsors receive more or less news coverage than would be expected from the other event characteristics. Table notes clarify variables dropped or merged for estimability and particular relations underlying certain coefficients. In all cases, significance tests indicate that the reduced model loses no explanatory power over the comparable full model, and the particular issues and organization types add explanatory power over and above other event characteristics.

Some of the factors predicting news coverage are the same for both protest and nonprotest forms and are consistent with the analyses reported in Oliver and Myers (1999). Consistent with prior research, the size of an event is a strong predictor of news coverage for both event forms, as is the number of police mentioned in the records and the use of amplified sound. Events involving counterdemonstrators are relatively rare but have very high rates of news coverage. Conflict is also important, but table 7 shows that this is specified by event type. Among "other" forms, events involving conflictual issues are much more likely to be covered than other events.[19] Among protest forms, it is legislative conflicts that receive high news coverage: other types of conflicts are not significantly more likely to be covered than consensual issues. Among news routine factors, the major effect is that events occurring on Mondays are especially likely to be covered. Finally, events sponsored by religious organizations are less likely to be covered.

There are some differences in the news routine predictors. Protest forms but not nonprotest forms were much more likely to be covered if they were annual or on a holiday and much less likely to be covered if they had a nonlocal organizer. The nonprotest forms were less likely to be

[19] Legislative conflicts cannot be separately analyzed for the other forms, because there are only three of them. Of these three, two received coverage—a rate higher than for the other conflicts.

TABLE 7

LOGISTIC REGRESSION OF ANY NEWS COVERAGE ON INDEPENDENT VARIABLES (RESTRICTED MODELS)

	PROTEST		OTHER	
	Coefficient	SE	Coefficient	SE
Constant	−1.297	1.490	−2.783	1.799
Size	1.025****	.216	.404**	.196
Conflict	−.181	.625	1.562****	.485
Legislative conflict	1.608**	.759	[a]	
Counterdemonstrators	3.021****	.925	[b]	
Nonlocal organizer	−1.800**	.840	.308	.851
Annual or holiday	2.149***	.777	.195	.529
Amplified	1.365***	.521	1.153**	.508
Legislature in session	−1.060**	.429	1.245***	.461
No. police	.160**	.080	2.268**	.931
No. in 31 days	−1.551**[c]	.790	.022	.968
Campaign	−.255	.484	−1.561*	.825
Cycle	.142	.803	−1.257	1.350
Outside at UW or not downtown	−.483	.777	−1.872*	1.042
At capitol	−.692	.729	.294	.566
1994	.331	.649	.706	.584
1995	1.564***	.577	−.607	.668
1996	−.805	.660	−.408	.621
Midday	−.324	.452	−1.317**	.535
Monday	1.561***	.569	1.134**	.534
Organizations:[d]				
Miscellaneous nonpolitical [e]	−1.836*	.964		
Religious	−3.604**	1.460	−2.163*	1.230
Issues:[d]				
International			−1.362*	.755
Occupational	.953	.589	−1.875	1.145
Volunteers, charity, arts			−1.022	.678
Business promotion			1.950**	.976
No issue in record	−2.104*	1.234		

NOTE.—For protest forms, $N = 242$; log likelihood = −98.192667; $\chi^2 = 137.76$; $df = 23$; $P = .0000$. Test comparing to full model in table A3: χ^2(difference) = 158.50 − 137.76 = 20.74; df(difference) = 61 − 23 = 38; $P = .9898$. For other forms, $N = 194$; log likelihood = −94.721493; $\chi^2 = 77.00$; $df = 22$; $P = .0009$. Test comparing to full model in table A3: χ^2(difference) = 102.46 − 77.00 = 25.46; df(difference) = 62 − 22 = 40; $P = .9642$.

[a] Three cases of legislative conflict merged with other conflicts; two received news coverage.

[b] Dropped; five cases all covered, three are Christmas symbols.

[c] This effect remains significant although weaker if cases from the peak in April 1996 are dropped from the analysis; the effects of all other variables remain essentially unchanged.

[d] Organizations and issues added to models in forward stepwise procedure with $P > .15$ after other variables were entered.

[e] Includes local and national service, military, nonprofit, business, university.

* $P < .1$, two-tailed.

** $P < .05$.

*** $P < .01$.

**** $P < .001$.

covered if they occurred outside, away from the capitol, and if they occurred at midday.

The two groups of event types also show important differences in their relations to other events and in kinds of issues covered. Nonprotest forms were somewhat less likely to be covered if they were part of a campaign or if the issue was international, while business promotion issues were especially likely to be covered. There seem to be few news hole competition effects for the nonprotest events. Net of controls, the nonprotest event forms are significantly *more* likely to receive news coverage when the legislature is in session, and there is no effect of the number of other events occurring in the same time period.

By contrast, the "contextual" and news hole variables are important predictors of the coverage of protest. Protests are much less likely to be covered when the legislature is in session and when there are a greater number of other events occurring within the same 31-day period. Events for which the issue could not be discerned in the police record were somewhat unlikely to receive news coverage, as were protest-form events sponsored by the grouping of miscellaneous noncontentious organizations that normally do not put on protest-form events. Protest forms and other forms also have different patterns of coverage across the four years. Protest forms were significantly more likely to receive coverage in 1995 than in any other year, while there are no significant differences across years for the nonprotest forms.

Putting this all together, the multivariate data suggest that the protest forms are especially intertwined with political processes: they are especially likely to be covered if they address legislative issues, but they also compete with the legislature for space in the news hole. Although interpretation of the yearly differences needs to be tentative, it is highly suggestive that the coverage of protests but not of other forms went up in 1995 in the wake of Republican victories and then declined in 1996 during a national election year. Each year had a different mix of issues, so it is not possible entirely to disentangle year effects from issue effects. However, several tests strongly suggest that the year effects on coverage of protest forms are "real" and not just due to the mix of specific issues or specific event forms in different years. First, the full models in table A3 were rerun without the dummy variables for years. Chi-square tests reveal that year adds significant explanatory power for the protest forms ($P = .0021$), but not for the nonprotest event forms ($P = .2886$). Second, the year effect is consistent across specific event forms (rallies, marches, unpermitted protests) within an issue type.[20] Third, protest events in 1996 are on average the same size or somewhat larger than those in 1995. News

[20] There are too few vigils to analyze.

coverage of the largest events (size 100 or greater) did *not* vary by year, but smaller events were more likely to be covered in 1995 than in 1996. Fourth, inspection of the coverage received by specific issue arenas across years reveals that 10 of the 13 issue arenas that had more than one event in both 1995 and 1996 received substantially lower coverage in 1996 than in 1995. Only occupational issues had higher coverage in 1996 (71%) than in 1995 (60%), while two issues had essentially the same coverage: gay and lesbian issues, which had 100% for both years, and the collection of other contentious public issues, which had 50% for 1996 and 54% for 1995. Similarly, the coverage of four of the five multiyear cycle issues was lower in 1996 than in 1995; the fifth had only one event in 1995. However, issues varied greatly in their rates of news coverage between 1993 and 1995: some were higher before 1995, and others were lower. Time trends between 1995 and 1996 about how much total protest activity was occurring were clearly distorted across all levels of action except for the largest events (size 100 or more). In addition, variations between issues in the extent to which their events were covered in different years also would give distorted impressions of the yearly variations in the mix of issues of concern to protesters. However, apart from the apparent overall effect of the decline in 1996 relative to 1995, the factors explaining these variations are not clear.[21]

Focusing more closely on the interplay among event form, year (which appears to track an institutional political cycle), and legislative cycles, table 8 shows the interactions among type of issue, event form, whether the legislature is in session, and year. There are several patterns. With only one exception, within each issue type and year, protest forms receive less news coverage when the legislature is in session. Displays also consistently receive much more news coverage when the legislature is not in session. By contrast, the other event forms (ceremonies and speeches) receive more coverage when the legislature is in session. This effect is particularly strong and consistent for conflict messages. Additionally, with only a few exceptions, across all years and regardless of whether the legislature was in session, the nonprotest event forms—ceremonies and speeches—were more successful in attracting coverage than protest forms.

However, the difference between event forms is heavily confounded with the differences among organization type as organization types vary greatly in the mix of protest and "other" forms they sponsor, and very few sponsor both forms of events at comparable levels. Cell *N*s are too

[21] Organizational changes do not appear to explain these variations. The chief editors and common ownership of both newspapers remained the same. The only change—a new publisher of the *CT*—occurred very early in the period under examination (August 1993).

TABLE 8

PROPORTION OF EVENTS RECEIVING NEWS COVERAGE BY ISSUE TYPE, EVENT FORM, WHETHER LEGISLATURE IS IN SESSION, AND YEAR

	CONSENSUAL						OTHER CONFLICTS						LEGISLATIVE			
	Protest		Other		Displays		Protest		Other		Display		Protest		Other*	
	IS	NIS	IS	NIS	IS	NIS	IS	NIS	IS	NIS	IS	NIS	IS	NIS	IS	NIS
All years ...	.20	.33	.49	.43	.15	.23	.35	.46	.81	.64	.00	.59	.67	.80	.50	1.00
1993	.00	.33	.46	.55	.09	.00	.33	.42	.71	.54	.00	.57	.80	.75	.50	
1994	.00	.44	.75	.38	.20	.38	.50†	.39	1.00	.78	.00	.50	.50	.86		
1995	.50	.43	.50	.50	.13	.22	.42	.70	.89	.64	.00	.80	.77	1.00		
1996	.00	.18	.29	.35	.50	.26	.21	.39	.83	.64		.56	.25	.67		1.00

NOTE.—IS = legislature in session; NIS = legislature not in session.

* Only three events.

† This anomaly is due to the *Capital Times*; the *Wisconsin State Journal* covered many fewer protests about nonlegislative conflicts than the *CT* in 1994, and covered fewer when the legislature was in session. There are six events in this cell, one covered by both papers (a helmet rally), and two covered only by *CT* (union leafleting and an abortion protest).

small for detailed analysis, but a check of the three-way relation among organization type, issue type, and event form suggests that there is generally very little difference between event forms in the level of news coverage when organization type is controlled. When the issue involved a nonlegislative conflict, movement organizations received a third more news coverage when they sponsored protest events than when they sponsored ceremonies or speeches, and local advocacy groups received a bit more coverage for protests than for ceremonies and speeches. Events with no listed sponsor were considerably more likely to be covered and those sponsored by an event-specific organization were somewhat more likely to be covered if they were ceremonies or speeches rather than protests. Otherwise, different kinds of groups specialize in different kinds of event forms. Overall, we reiterate our larger conclusion, that there is no a priori advantage to protest over less disruptive forms, but rather different types of organizations seeking news coverage for different specific issues using different kinds of routinized forms and having different kinds of relationships to institutional politics. Having carefully designed this research to avoid a priori assumptions about the specialness of protest forms, the data lead us back to the conclusion that protest seems to have a relatively antagonistic and competitive relation with institutional politics, while the nonprotest forms are chosen by groups with a more cooperative relation with institutional politics.

CONCLUSIONS

Obviously, this analysis of the news coverage of public events in one small city over a particular four-year period cannot be used to provide definitive information about how the news media cover events in all times and all places. To the contrary, there are many results that point to the significance of particular local and historical circumstances on the patterns of news coverage. But these very particularities, especially when compared to the results from other times and places, are of critical importance for illuminating the kinds of context-specific factors that must underlie the news coverage of events in any time and any place. As we come to terms with the reality of these details, we are forced into a wholesale rethinking of our understanding of the interplay among protest, politics, and the news media. We have opened new questions rather than given definitive answers to old ones. Many of the naive methodological assumptions that have undergirded past research on protest need to be discarded, and the empirical results based on these assumptions need to be questioned. The good news is that this rethinking points to much sounder theorizing about the triadic relationship among protest, politics, and the media.

Let us begin with the methodological implications. The verdict is in.

After this study and that of McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith (1996), it is simply not possible to assert, in the absence of data, that the patterns of selection in news coverage of protest events should be assumed to be relatively stable across time or locale or issue. McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith found a huge difference in the rate of media coverage of Washington D.C. protest events between 1982 and 1991; this study found huge between-year differences, especially comparing 1995 and 1996. In the present study, the year-to-year difference in news coverage of protests was large enough to completely distort the apparent shape of the protest cycle. It appears that political or electoral cycles caused these differences in the present study, but two data points are obviously insufficient to permit a larger generalization. Hocke (1998) found much smaller year-to-year variations in the newspaper coverage of protests in Freiburg, Germany. What can and must be concluded, however, is that much more information is needed about temporal and other variations in patterns of media coverage if newspaper archives are to be treated as a valid source of information about underlying rates of protest. We did find that the news coverage of the very largest protest events around nonlegislative conflicts (size greater than 100) did appear to be fairly consistent across years. Nonetheless, these large events were a very small minority of all the protest events and did not accurately represent all of the issues about which people were protesting.

Because newspaper archives are the most readily accessible and continuous source of data, there is obviously an urgent need for more studies of the factors affecting news coverage rates for different kinds of protest events in many different locales. It is very clear that we can answer these new questions only by widening the scope of data collection. Inventories of events taking place over extended periods of time must be compiled using a wide variety of official sources and news sources. In turn, each source must be assessed against the others to determine its selection logic (Maney and Oliver 1998).[22]

Recognition of the possibility of large temporal variations in news coverage needs to be combined with a greater recognition of the long-established proximity effect, that any news organization covers a higher proportion of the events that occur close to it. It has been well established that so-called "national" newspapers give more attention to events in their own metropolitan area, while Mueller (1997) demonstrates a similar effect internationally. This study and that of Oliver and Myers (1999) demon-

[22] Social historians such as Tilly (1986, 1975) have drawn from multiple sources to improve the comprehensiveness of their data. While discussing and evaluating the accuracy of their sources, these studies do not systematically analyze the data collection logic of each source.

strate that the proximity effect is replicated within a city, as well, with newspapers being more attentive to events in certain central locations. For message events, this central location is also the site of institutional politics, thus confounding locale and political significance.

Beyond these patterns of temporal and spatial variations in coverage, differential sensitivity to particular issues and organizational sponsors, both overall and varying from year to year, means that newspapers cannot be assumed to provide an unproblematic window into the breadth or mix of issues about which people have been protesting, or the mix of organizations that have been sponsoring protests. Although the largest events had fairly stable and high rates of coverage, there was wide temporal and content variability in the coverage of smaller events. Many smaller protests were reported, but those in the news were in no sense a representative sample of all the events that occurred and would give a misleading impression of the amount of underlying activity around different issues.

The methodological need for more actual data on patterns of selection in news coverage of protest events is, however, merely one aspect of a theoretical need to conceptualize the triadic relation among politics, protest, and the media. Social movement scholars have studied the relation between protest and political processes, and media scholars have studied the relation between news media and political processes; however, both have failed to recognize the ways that each of these dyadic relations is affected by the other. Fully developing and elaborating this theoretical conception is obviously the task of another project, but the data in the present study provide a basis for beginning to explicate some of the major relations.

Protests do not arise independently—they are responses to events and ongoing problems. Some protests are directly tied to institutional politics, advocating or resisting proposed legislation. About 10% (52) of the events in these data were directly linked to legislative issues, and the rates of news coverage for them were very high. Most of the other events in the data were linked to ongoing chronic issues in the community or polity: abortion, women's and minority rights, environmentalism, charity, and the like, although a few were tied to specific events or particular local conflicts. Protesters generally sought to have influence by way of news coverage of their events, but their success in obtaining news coverage was dependent on being deemed newsworthy by the mass media. If they were not addressing legislative issues, they had a much harder time attracting attention. What made them newsworthy? The major factors were news value: sheer size, the presence of counterdemonstrators, the number of police involved, being organized by local people, and the use of an amplifier. News routine factors played an additional role: protests were more likely to be covered if they were annual events or on holidays or occurred

on a Monday. All these factors for news coverage are quite consistent with what media analysts say about how the news media operate.

But the news media do not cover protests in a vacuum. Protests compete for space in the news hole with other news stories. There was clear evidence of news competition in the data. Protests (but not other forms) were much less likely to be covered if they occurred in a 31-day period in which many other local public message events were also occurring. Protest forms (but not other forms) were much less likely to be covered if the state legislature was in session on the day the event occurred. This difference was even larger for protests about legislative issues than for protests about other issues. Finally, while the news coverage rate for other forms was fairly stable across the four years, news coverage of protests was much higher in 1995 than in 1993–94 and lower in 1996, an effect unaffected by the specific issues being discussed and net of size, conflict, and other factors that affect coverage. These year-to-year variations substantially misrepresented the shape of the protest cycle. The most likely explanation for the overall decline in coverage of protest forms during 1996 would seem to be the diversion of media attention into the national election, although more data from other places and times would be necessary for more thorough validation of this explanation.

But why the substantial increase in coverage in 1995? An examination of the coverage rates of the two newspapers provides a partial clue. Both newspapers show a sharp drop in coverage from 1995 to 1996. The *CT* covers protest forms about as often in 1994 as in 1995, but the *WSJ* shows a large increase in coverage between 1994 and 1995. In 1995 compared to previous years there is a big jump in protests concerned with social welfare issues, in reaction to proposals from the new Republican legislative majorities to dismantle a wide variety of social welfare programs. In 1995, these proposals are the big political news and, as a consequence, the protests about them are news, especially for the *WSJ*. Again, then, institutional political processes are a major factor in both the generation of protest and the media coverage of it, as well as particular newspapers' agendas in the kinds of news they choose to cover. However, this factor alone does not account for all of the rise in coverage between 1994 and 1995; environmental issues as well received more attention in 1995, as did abortion protests. A simple dearth of other news does not seem to be the explanation, as 1995 was the year of the media-intensive O.J. Simpson trial. Perhaps the large number of protests arising from institutional political processes led to heightened news sensitivity to other protests in that year.

The relative lack of relation of coverage of the ceremonies and speeches to political cycles is also noteworthy in this context. This research was organized around avoiding the confounding of form and content, so that

the effects of each on news coverage could be assessed separately. Doing this yields data that strongly suggests that there is something "different" about the protest forms. Even though some rallies, marches, and vigils concerned consensual issues, regardless of issue type, coverage of these forms seemed to be closely tied to and in competition with other "political" news. By contrast, the yearly variations were much smaller for the coverage of ceremonies and speeches, and they were more likely to be covered when the legislature was in session. This suggests that nonprotest forms might have positive links to institutional politics in ways we cannot measure with data from the police records.

Conflict is news, and protests can be relatively successful in attracting news coverage, although ceremonies and speeches were even more effective than protests in attracting coverage when they addressed controversial issues. Protest forms and conflictual framing of issues do attract news coverage and, thereby, can bring messages into the public sphere and influence public policy and politics. But the institutional political system also takes initiative, and the issues it raises both cause protests and attract media attention to the issues and the protests. Finally, protesters as creators of controversy compete with institutional political actors, often unsuccessfully, for news coverage. Elections may lead to increases or decreases in protest activity, depending on the particular relations between protesters and candidates in particular years, but our ability to detect these protests using newspapers as sources is influenced by the competition of the election itself for attention in the media.

Recognizing the triadic relation among political processes, protest, and the news media points to the need to develop theory that can capture these complex relationships as each affects the others through time. Having seen these results, our project has begun to develop a typology of protest issues in terms of their relation to news routines and political cycles and is collecting data that will allow us to assess the ways that prior news coverage as well as institutional political processes affect both the generation of protest and news coverage of it, as well as assess the impact of protest on news coverage of issues. We believe that these complex interrelations can best be theorized as interdependent diffusion processes (Oliver and Myers 1998). There is substantial data collection and theoretical development work to be done before the these initial results can be fully understood.

APPENDIX

TABLE A1
NEWS COVERAGE BY ISSUE GROUP, CONFLICT

ISSUE	CONFLICT	FREQUENCY	PROPORTION ANY NEWS			
			All Events	Protest	Other	Display
Not given in police record	Yes	13	.00	.00		
	No	6	.17	.33	.00	
International[a]	Yes	24	.38	.36	.40	
	No	8	.25	.00	.40	
Women[b]	Yes	13	.62	.75	.71	.00[c]
	No	6	.17	.00[c]	1.00[c]	.00
Lesbian/gay	Yes	15	.60	.75	.43	
Racial/ethnic minorities[d]	Yes	24	.42	.29	.80	.00
	No	3	.67	.67		
MLK Day ceremonies	Yes	8	.88		.88	
Occupational issues[e]	Yes	28	.64	.64	.67	
	No	3	.33		.00[c]	.00[c]
Politics, politicians, campaigns	Yes	22	.64	.40	.83	
	No	4	.50	.00[c]	.67	
Animal rights	Yes	15	.20	.17	.33	
Mining	Yes	8	.63	.63		
Other environmental issues	Yes	15	.53	.56	1.00[c]	
	No	13	.38	1.00	.67	
Welfare reform	Yes	9	.78	.78		
Crime[f]	Yes	9	.67	.67	1.00[c]	.00[c]
	No	7	.71	1.00[c]	.67	.50[c]
Disability benefits	Yes	17	.71	.69	1.00[c]	
Other social welfare issues[g]	Yes	14	.50	.50	1.00	.00
	No	10	.30	.00	.40	.50[c]
Antiabortion	Yes	21	.33	.33		
Other public issues[h]	Yes	35	.66	.61	1.00[c]	1.00
	No	7	.43	.00[c]	.60	
Religion, miscellaneous	No	9	.00	.00	.00	
Seasonal symbols[i]	Yes	12	1.00		1.00[c]	1.00
Health education	Yes	1	.00	.00		
	No	23	.26	.29	.60	.09
Patriotic, government ceremony	Yes	13	.54		.75	.20
	No	39	.52	.00[c]	.54	.00[c]
Business issues	No	25	.36	.00	.63	.27
Volunteering, charity, arts	No	41	.22	.33	.29	.12
Educational	No	21	.43	.50	1.00[a]	.33
Total		541				

[a] Includes Bosnia, Israel/Palestine, China/Taiwan, Tibet, and peace general.
[b] Does not include violence issues.
[c] Proportions are based on one or two cases.
[d] African-American, Native American, Hispanic, except MLK ceremonies
[e] Mostly labor issues but also includes farmers and professionals
[f] Includes domestic assault, violence against women, sexual assault
[g] Homelessness, education, hunger, community.
[h] Pro-choice, death penalty, helmet law, gun laws, marijuana, alcohol, free speech, drunk driving, national debt, UW tuition, right to die.
[i] Annual capitol displays including a Christmas tree, a menorah, a "separate church and state" banner, and a proreligion counterbanner.

TABLE A2

ORGANIZATION TYPES AND RELATION TO MEDIA COVERAGE

ORGANIZATION TYPE	FREQUENCY	PROPORTIONS			ANY NEWS COVERAGE			
		Protest	Conflict	Legal Issues	All	Protest	Other	Display
None listed in record	101	.89	.88	.24	.45	.43	.55	
Person's name only	7	.71	.71	.14	.29	.40	.00*	.00*
Event-specific or coalition	22	.55	.86	.05	.77	.75	.80	
Government agency	75	.07	.32	.04	.32	.60	.52	.15
University	51	.04	.59	.00	.57	1.00*	.64	.00
Political party/politician	20	.35	.50	.05	.60	.57	.78	.25
Other political party (Libertarian)	3	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00		
Local social movement	41	.83	.93	.29	.54	.53	.40	1.00*
National social movement	42	.60	.90	.10	.55	.52	.44	.75
Local advocacy	17	.53	.53	.06	.53	.56	.80	.00
National advocacy	5	.00	.40	.00	.40		.25	1.00*
Institutional advocacy	6	.17	.17	.00	.33	.00*	.50	.00*
Local service	11	.36	.00	.00	.09	.00	.20	.00*
National service	10	.30	.00	.00	.30	.00*	1.00*	.20
Nonprofit institution	10	.20	.20	.00	.50	.00*	.67	.50*
Military, veterans, police	17	.06	.18	.00	.47	.00*	.54	.33
Ethnic association	16	.38	.75	.00	.69	.67	.70	
Labor union	14	.93	.00	.14	.57	.62	.00*	
Professional association	16	.13	.13	.00	.56	.50*	.50	.63
Religious	22	.55	.41	.09	.27	.08	.17	1.00
Recreational club	5	.40	.40	.00	.60	1.00*	.00*	.50*
UW students	3	.67	.67	.00	.33	.50*	.00*	
Youth group or school	6	.00	.00	.00	.33		.67	.00
Business, particular	16	.13	.13	.06	.31	.00*	.45	.00*
Business association	5	.00	.00	.00	.20			.20
Total	541	.45	.58	.10	.46	.46	.46	

NOTE.— Political parties and politicians are Democrats or Republicans. "National" organizations are the local chapters of national organizations, as contrasted with organizations that exist only on the local or state level. Movement organizations are those that would generally be recognized as such by scholars of social movements, i.e., that focus on advocating for social change in a contentious fashion and are linked to broader social change movements. Advocacy organizations often mix advocacy with direct service or self-help, or advocate for particular constituencies in a less contentious or less wide-ranging fashion. Those classified as "service" organizations did not list advocacy as one of their purposes. "Institutional" advocacy organizations advocate for large institutions, including the Association of School Boards, the Towns Association, the Association of Cooperatives, and the Farm Bureau. Those listed as "nonprofit institutions" are larger organizations that receive public funding for public goals, including the Community Action Coalition, the Children's Museum, the Opera Guild, the Land Conservation Association, Head Start, and public radio and television. Particular businesses are not necessarily advocating their own interests when they sponsor events, as some are in the business of putting on public events for others, and others sponsor public events as a form of public service. Commercial events including sales and business promotional events are not included in the data set.

* Proportions are based on one or two cases.

TABLE A3

FULL MODELS: LOGISTIC REGRESSION OF ANY NEWS COVERAGE ON ALL INDEPENDENT VARIABLES, SEPARATELY BY EVENT TYPE

	PROTEST FORMS		OTHER FORMS	
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	Coefficient	SE	Coefficient	SE
Constant	.564	2.548	−3.161	2.889
Size	1.050****	.281	.567**	.280
Conflict (nonlegislative)	−.423	.923	1.767*	.970
Legislative conflict	2.984*	1.633	[a]	
Multidate	[b]		−.368	.957
Nonlocal organizer	−3.307***	1.168	.809	1.171
Disorder	.704	.664	[c]	
Vehicles	−.707	1.371		
Annual or holiday	2.199**	1.077	1.043	.880
Counterdemonstration	2.820**	1.160	[d]	
Amplifier	2.170***	.791	1.482**	.693
Legislature in session	−1.103**	.539	1.523**	.611
No. of police in records	.176*	.101	3.277**	1.448
Year:				
1994	.587	.859	1.150	.751
1995	1.500**	.757	.105	.898
1996	−1.095	.868	−.092	.750
Time of day:				
All day	−.690	1.012	−.343	.808
Morning	−.390	.870	−1.176	1.232
Midday	−.174	.746	−2.163*	1.103
Afternoon	−.136	.796	.363	.950
Day of week:				
Sunday	−1.035	1.174	.826	1.225
Monday	1.964**	.834	1.759*	.928
Tuesday	.890	.917	.488	.961
Wednesday	−.728	.832	.599	.908
Friday	−.107	.831	.157	.867
Saturday	.521	.757	−.379	.927
No. events within 31 days	−2.327**	1.082	−.712	1.208
Campaign	−.472	.718	−4.002***	1.512
Cycle	1.027	1.166	−3.998	2.878
Multiyear cycle	1.036	2.735	1.788	2.087
Location (in or at capitol omitted):				
Move capitol/campus to elsewhere	.471	.773	−1.325	1.452
Inside at UW	.464	1.355	−1.260	1.248
Inside other	.998	1.218	−.067	1.240
Outside at UW	.923	1.094	−1.830	1.564
Outside other	−.310	.884	−5.221**	2.338
Issues (environment omitted):				
None	−4.175***	1.603	[e]	
International	−2.025	1.490	1.185	2.088
Women	−.716	1.872	5.134*	2.716
Gay, lesbian	−.713	1.830	3.641	3.075
Ethnic/racial	−1.724	1.493	1.567	2.296
Occupational	−.145	1.370	−.558	2.370

TABLE A3 (*Continued*)

Independent Variables	Protest Forms		Other Forms	
	Coefficient	SE	Coefficient	SE
Political	−1.540	1.471	1.850	2.198
Animal rights	−3.746	3.319	[f]	
Mining	−4.820	3.604	[g]	
Welfare reform	−3.142	2.834	[g]	
Violence	−1.622	1.775	4.045	2.602
Disability benefits	−4.377	3.425	[i]	
Social welfare, other issues	−2.985*	1.661	2.742	1.950
Antiabortion	−2.876	3.151	[g]	
Public issues	−2.034*	1.230	3.300	2.342
Religion + seasonal symbolic			2.856[k]	3.059
Health education			2.036	2.343
Patriotic/government ceremonies			1.152	1.975
Business promotion			4.434*	2.285
Charity or public service			1.127	2.082
Educational			1.502	2.115
Consensual issues, religion	−2.034[l]	1.601		
Organization type (event-specific omitted):				
None	.091	1.650	.174	2.070
Government agency	.854	2.306	−1.291	1.812
Political party or politician	.196	2.103	.342	2.060
Local social movement	−.930	1.714	.559	2.413
National social movement	.332	1.781	−2.896	2.107
Local service			−1.391	2.001
National service			[m]	
Religious	−3.109	2.216	−4.221	2.643
Union	−.514	2.080	[n]	
Ethnic	1.988	2.092	−1.096	2.066
Military, police			−.928	1.848
Business organization			−2.050	1.833
University			−.505	1.969
Nonprofit institution			.069	2.833
Professional	−2.352	7.224	−.813	.892
Advocacy	−.604[o]	1.921		
Local advocacy			−2.412	2.502
National advocacy			−.990	2.922
Institutional advocates			−.069	2.427
Recreation, youth, student	−.261	2.180	−2.860	2.652
Other organizations	−1.405[p]	1.867		

Note.— Protest forms: $N = 242$; log likelihood = −87.8236; $\chi 2 = 158.5$; $df = 61$; $P = 0.0000$. Other forms: $N = 194$; log likelihood = −81.988598; $\chi 2 = 102.46$; $df = 62$; $P = 0.0009$.

[a] For other forms, three legislative conflicts grouped with other conflicts.

[b] Two multidate protests were both covered; variable dropped.

[c] Only one disorderly other form, variable dropped.

[d] Two of three cases of counterdemonstrators received coverage; dropped for estimability.

[e] Three cases grouped with social issues.

[f] Three cases grouped with other environmental issues, the omitted category.

[g] No cases.

[i] One case grouped with social issues.

[k] Covered events are war of seasonal symbols.

[l] Combination of religion and consensual issues.

[m] Two national service organizations combined with local service.
[n] One union-sponsored event combined with professional associations.
[o] All advocacy organizations grouped together.
[p] Includes four local service, three national service, one military, two business, two university, and two nonprofit organizational sponsors.
* $P < .1$.
** $P < .05$.
*** $P < .01$.
**** $P < .001$.

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