

Enriching the Conversation: Domestic violence advocacy's influence on agenda setting
during watershed media moments

Caitlan McCafferty
Spring 2016
Capstone
Advisor: Brenda Foster

® Copyright 2016 Caitlan McCafferty

Table of Contents

1. Executive Summary.....	4
2. Introduction.....	5
3. Literature Review.....	7
4. Research Method.....	12
5. Case Study Results	14
6. Analysis	21
7. Conclusion	24
8. Appendix	26
9. Bibliography.....	30

Executive Summary

This capstone discusses non-profit groups' influence on media agenda setting. The national media agenda is a generally accepted effect from American media. The media decides what is important for the public. This paper explores if non-profit groups have harnessed their influence to keep their issues of interest on the national media agenda. Specifically, this paper focuses on domestic violence advocacy and three watershed, celebrity moments in the media that allowed the non-profit groups an opportunity to enter the national conversation. Through a change over time case study analysis, a conclusion is made that non-profits have become more skilled at media relations over time, but that non-profits aren't successful at keeping the media agenda centered on their issue of interest past the time of the event.

Introduction

In 2016, domestic violence causes strife and concern in American society and the general public generally welcomes domestic violence awareness and prevention. Domestic Violence is defined as a “pattern of behavior used to establish power and control over another person through fear and intimidation, often including the threat or use of violence” (No More Project, 2016). And in the United States, 1 in 3 women and 1 in 4 men experience violence from an intimate partner in their lifetimes. 1 in 3 teens experience sexual or physical abuse from a boyfriend or girlfriend in one year (No More Project, 2016). From these statistics, it is clear that domestic violence is a serious social issue in the United States. Many organizations work towards preventing domestic violence and educating people about the warning signs of domestic violence. But, domestic violence is actually, when compared to other issues of interest, a fairly new subject for advocates. This paper explores how domestic violence advocates have learned to harness influence during watershed moments. Through an understanding of agenda setting and a case study of three watershed moments, a better understanding of non-profit groups influence on the media agenda will be discussed. The three watershed moments that will be explored are: Mike Tyson and Robin Givens; Chris Brown and Rihanna, and Ray Rice and Janay Rice (neè Palmer). Through a change over time comparison of these incidents and the interaction advocacy groups had with each incident, accompanied by a clear understanding of agenda setting theory, a non-profit group’s influence on the media agenda will be dissected.

Domestic Violence advocacy was born out of the feminist movement of the 1970s. The National Coalition Against Domestic Violence was created in 1978 and Domestic Violence Awareness Month was first observed in 1987 (VAWnet, 2013). So, when Robyn Givens told Barbara Walters on national television that Mike Tyson hit her, a new conversation about domestic violence was sparked. Tyson and Givens married Feb. 9th 1988. She was a young actress and he was the youngest heavyweight champion in boxing history. In the whirlwind of his success, Givens went public with his abusive behavior. Givens filed for divorce in October of 1988. The situation was enhanced by stories of her alleged golddigging, an assumed suicide attempt by Tyson, and his career woes(ESPN, 2002). Due to the time of the incidents, the media, nor the

advocates, had the tools to talk about domestic violence. But, this begins to change with the story of Rihanna and Chris Brown.

The two young people were treasured by their respective music communities in 2009. They forged a bond because they were both incredibly young and successful. Quickly they started a relationship that was constantly covered in the press. After attending a pre-Grammy party on February 7th, 2009, the young couple was on their way home, and Rihanna confronted Chris about a lie. He became increasingly angry and began to beat her. He is charged with assault. They separated, but were reunited for a short time when they vacationed in Miami amid constant national attention (Benjestorf, 2012). Brown eventually plead guilty to all charges. He is sentenced to five years probation and 1,400 community service hours (Steiner, 2009). The controversy is confounded by fans taking sides, but more harmful to his career. Both Brown and Rihanna spoke out in the media, Brown with an interview on *Larry King Live* and Rihanna with a interview on *ABC News with Diane Sawyer*. But, as the controversy dwindled, both artists desperately moved to separate themselves from the incident. The incident recharged the conversation, but attention increased with the Ray Rice Scandal.

The Ray Rice Scandal was especially powerful in the media and for the public because a video was released of the incident, showing the abuse to the world. It wasn't only a story or one image, the public watched as a woman was knocked unconscious by her partner. On February 15 2014, Ray Rice, running back for the Baltimore Ravens, and Janay Rice (neè Palmer) were vacationing in Atlantic City. Both Janay and Ray, were arrested in Atlantic City. But the true scandal broke out when the security footage of the fight was released in the media. The first video only showed Rice dragging a clearly unconscious Janay across the hotel floor. However, in August 2014, a second video was released to the public. This video showed the entirety of the incident; a clear image of Ray Rice knocking his fiancée out with one strong punch to the face. Rice was terminated from the Baltimore Ravens and suspended indefinitely from the NFL (Van Natta, 2014). The national conversation turned to domestic violence and the responsibility of organizations like the NFL to properly punish people involved. Like the prior incidents, the incident reminded the American public about the special treatment of the rich and famous and the silent suffering that can be ignored for the good of money and corporate greed.

Advocates interacted with each of these incidents differently. Givens' experience inspired her to become an advocate, Rihanna's experience was used as an example for teens, and Rice's experience was the catalyst for a awareness campaign with the NFL. Analyzing each of these incidents and the engagement between the media and non-profits, during these times when domestic violence was on the media agenda will provide greater insight into non-profits' power in influencing the national conversation and their power to produce effectual changes in society.

Literature Review

Celebrity and Domestic Violence

An important facet of each of the incidents analyzed in this case study is their celebrity status. American celebrity worship is an important part of the country's culture. People with celebrity status "are often taken far more seriously than they deserve to be, for example when asked to testify at Congressional hearing about weighty public-political matters of which they know little" (Hollander, 2010). Because they are so often taken seriously, celebrities can be very powerful in the political and advocacy arenas. Celebrity influence is a cultural phenomenon that can be extremely helpful for advocacy groups. Celebrities can attach their name to a cause, and it suddenly gains much more attention and validity. However, there is a complicated relationship between advocacy, politics and celebrity. Research has shown that despite being a tool for advocates, celebrity influence may not be enough to influence agenda setting (Becker, 2103). It is important to note that due to the notoriety of the people involved the event manifests as an opportunity to start a national conversation about domestic violence. For example, after O.J. Simpson was accused of murdering his wife, Nicole Brown Simpson, and his history of domestic violence was exposed, a huge amount of media frenzy was caused surrounding "the trial of the century". This also involved a new national conversation that was occurring almost everyday about domestic violence. The coverage is somewhat responsible for policymakers and advocates gaining enough foothold to pass the Violence Against Women Act in Congress (Enck-Wanzer, 2009). Of course, no policymaker or advocate wants more of these incidents to happen. However, when these watershed moments happen, they provide evidence that the problem is real and needs to be fixed in society.

Media Portrayals of Domestic Violence

Providing general context about how the media deals with domestic violence is crucial to understanding how advocacy groups need to communicate the issue. Domestic Violence has a prevalence world-wide and can be reported in the media at any given time. However, the reporting is not always helpful to the victim. The research is spattered with portrayals that support the abuser and portray the victim in a negative light. More disappointingly, high-profile domestic abuse cases have not shown an increase of domestic violence coverage after the high-profile case is over. Culturally, the news media treats it as a private family occurrence and not an public story to tell. And, often the story is told too late and incorrectly. (Kohlman, 2014). From this reporting, the perception of domestic violence is only categorized

in stereotypes. The stories about domestic violence are usually casted with stereotypical roles. First, the ideal victim is probably “female, vulnerable, and more powerless than the perpetrator and unrelated to the perpetrator” (Easteal, 2015) and the ideal perpetrator being “typically men who are poor, psychotic, uneducated, or recently immigrants (or a combination of these” (Easteal, 2015). These stereotypes contribute to the lack of understanding and the impossible task of anyone who doesn’t fit into the “ideal victim” stereotype to get their story told. Easteal also mentions safety campaigns targeted at women that put the onus on them to avoid violence, as opposed to the responsibility on the perpetrators, which further encourages a victim-blaming culture (2015). In addition, female stories of resistance are rarely reported and that also contributes to the “ideal victim” ideal and victim blaming culture when it comes to violence against women (Hollander, 2014). These trends in reporting shape the way Americans think about domestic violence.

It is important to note that the American media has given the public a frame for understanding domestic violence or sexual assault cases. Bullock defines four frames that are prevalent in domestic violence reporting : one that only describes the event in legal or public safety terms, one that describes the people involved as “other” or so different from the reader/viewer that they can remove compassion from the story, one that makes the abuser evil so that he/she be “easily identifiable” in the world, one that blames the victim for his/her situation” (Bullock, 2007). These frames provide the insufficient and sometimes dangerous context in which the American public thinks about domestic violence.

From this framing analysis, Bullock explores empirical data found in her research of Utah Newspapers domestic violence coverage. Bullock examined how 87 domestic violence cases were reported in 545 articles. Most coverage came from Utah based publications, however, wire services were also included. Only 230 of the 545 articles even used “domestic violence” or abuse” to describe the events. And, if the reports did include that language it was often in a legal context (Bullock, 2007). Bullock also found evidence of the first frame. Many of the reports used the legal frame and failed to mention many of the societal implications of domestic abuse. This reporting leads to the systemic problem of misunderstanding domestic violence and contributes to the larger problem of gender inequality and loss of female agency. Bullock also found evidence for the frame of victim blaming. Using the ideas of blame and exoneration, much of the Utah coverage made excuses for the abuser. The reports often mentioned what problem plighted the abuser, removing blame from him and providing him with an excuse. Bullock found less evidence supporting the two other frames. However, her research is important because it provides empirical proof that the frames that domestic violence is in do not provide the proper understanding to the public. Essentially, her research supports the idea that the media is not well-versed or prepared to talk about the societal plague that is domestic violence (Bullock, 2007). Despite this important contribution, it is important to note that Bullock’s research only provides one case study of media coverage, and is highly affected by the more conservative opinion of Utah’s population.

Carlyle also studied domestic violence portrayals in United States newspapers. However, Carlyle's research stretches over a larger field of study and doesn't focus on one geographical area giving a better picture of how the media portrays domestic violence or as she describes, intimate partner violence. The research was successful in finding many trends in media portrayals of domestic violence. First, domestic violence coverage tends to be more episodic than thematic which further supports Bullock's frames. Also, reasons motivating the abuser were also discussed in the articles studied, as well as the status of the relationship, whether it be dating, separated, married, cohabitating, or engaged. Carlyle found that the majority of stories were about married couples and the conflict was most likely caused by an argument (2008). One of the more interesting findings from the study was that compared to the actual amount of intimate partner violence in the United States, the coverage of these events is quite low. According to Carlyle, "between 1993 and 1998, IPV (intimate partner violence) accounted for 22% of violent crime" (2008). But, only 8.2% of the coverage addressed this issue (Carlyle, 2008). From this research, it can be determined that the media is doing a great disservice to the public when it comes to domestic violence issues. Because the coverage is low and episodic, the public cannot contextualize the larger context. The public is provided with no complex understanding of the problem and is forced to think about the events in the frames aforementioned. This leads to the viewers' ignorance or mislead them to the immature thinking that it will never to happen to them.

Agenda Setting Theory

In order to talk about advocacy groups' strategy to get an issue like domestic violence into the public's consciousness, one must understand agenda setting theory. It is a theory that posits that the media is deciding what the public feels is important. Essentially, the media filters the information of the world through their own ideas and tells the public what to care about the most (University of Twente). The authors of this theory, McCombs and Shaw first studied their ideas about agenda setting at the Democratic National Convention of 1968. They measured the opinions of people living in Chapel Hill, NC. McCombs and Shaw determined that since the mass media was the only primary source of information for the people studied, it was reasonable to determine that the mass media had a significant impact on what they thought was important. Also, they showed that certain things unified journalists, therefore, unifying the media agenda. For example, the guiding news values, such as, proximity, conflict, and familiarity; shape the types of stories being told in the mass media. McCombs and Shaw truly laid the foundation of this research and showed the value of their ideas. Of course, more researchers have continued to explore agenda setting theory and the media's affect on the public since 1972 (Shaw, 1972) .

Further evidence of agenda-setting was expostulated by McCombs and Reynolds. They included research of the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s which further proved the agenda setting effect in American media. They conclude that agenda setting is an important part of the media's three meaningful roles in the public's understanding of society and culture. First, agenda setting is important to the "surveillance role of the media" because it helps to shape the frame in which the public contextualizes the big picture issues in

their worlds. Also, agenda setting plays a part in the social consensus for obvious reasons. The media agenda influences the public's consensus that an issue is salient. Lastly agenda setting is connected to transmission of culture, in that, the agenda is based off a basic set of values the public has about issues on the media agenda (Reynolds, 2009).

However, other factors may affect agenda-setting. An example of this is knowledge of the issue. Agenda setting theory relies on the "casual relationship" between the public and issues. Essentially, an apathetic audience will be affected more by agenda setting and will find issues salient because the media has put them on the agenda (Lee, 2015). But, introducing knowledge of the issue as a mediator, offers an alternative understanding of agenda setting. Her research concluded that knowledge is good indicator of news recall. Essentially, her research found that the difference between exposure to media and actual news recall may account for some of the holes in agenda setting research. For example, receptive audiences were "more likely to show changes in issue salience" (Lee, 2015). It is difficult to measure the difference of issue salience in heavy or light tv watchers, but adding another variable like knowledge provides researchers with a better understanding of agenda setting. The research set forth from the aforementioned sources was attempting to measure media attention, therefore, quantifying the media agenda. In addition, it has also been found that with issues that are "highly-covered" by the news media and experience large attention spikes in the public, a "cohesive national agenda almost certainly exists" (Atkinson, 2014). This research provides empirical data that the national media agenda does exist and affects what is covered on any given news broadcast or in any given newspaper or magazine.

In addition to the media's influence on the public's agenda, it is important to note that agenda setting theory can also work as a two-sided relationship. The media can tell the public what is important, therefore, showing policymakers and interest group leaders what the public cares about or the media's agenda can also show policymakers or interest group leaders to care about the media agenda. First, let's explore the media's influence on policymakers and interest group leaders. Cook's research looks at the reaction to a investigative report on fraud in federally funded home health programs. His method was to interview members of the general public and policymakers before and after watching the report to see if their opinion about the importance of the topic changed. Generally, the findings of the research support agenda setting theory. The subjects did show an increased interest in the topic and thought the issue was important after watching the report. However, the data also supports the assertion that policymakers and interest group elites will consumer information a bit differently (Cook, 2001). Cook found that the policymakers were affected more than the interest group elites, but the general public was affected the most. Cook's research is a bit flawed in that he told his subjects that they would be viewing something after the pre-interview which prepared them to expect to change their opinion. However, his research does successfully show that policymakers and interest group elites react to the media agenda differently than the public (Cook, 2001). This is interesting to consider because often the media is influenced by interest groups, an idea that is explored in the next section.

Agenda Setting and Non-Profit Organizations

The literature on non-profits, also described as advocacy groups or interest groups, and agenda setting provide more insight on the influence non-profits have on media agenda. To start, Miller, provides evidence that the marketing of advocacy groups affects the media agenda. Issue advocacy groups have a sophisticated strategy to garner the media's attention. Her research finds that there is a correlation between issue advertising and the issue being on the media's agenda. Miller only studied one issue advocacy group, and she recognizes in her research that doesn't cement the reality that the influence is real. However, her findings show a trend in the relationship between advocacy groups and media agenda (2006). Another case study by Huckins explores a similar idea to that of Barbara Miller. In his study, Huckins studied the Christian Coalition and their influence on the media agenda. He explains that interest groups are sources for the media. Therefore, they are providing the media with information that the media needs for successful reporting, and if they provide the media with information that aligns with the interest group's agenda, their issue of choice will achieve substantial salience. He studied the Christian Coalition's impact on a publication called *Christian American* when reporting about social issues. It is important to note that more than likely both of these organizations probably already had much of the same value system. It isn't going to take much work convincing a publication called *Christian American* to report positively about the value's trumpeted by the Christian Coalition (Huckins, 1999). However, Huckins' empirical analysis does support the trend that the interest group, or source material, has significant impact on the media outlet's agenda.

Both of the aforementioned case studies, provide one example of how an interest - group can have a influence on the media. These ideas start to build the a trend and continue to pull in more evidence, but it is also important to consider a piece of research that explores a larger field of study. Jacobs and Glass studied a large amount of non-profits in New York City by category, and found factors that may determine which organization is more likely to be covered by the media. They noticed that social justice organizations receive less coverage than cultural organizations. They also concluded that larger organizations receive more new coverage. However, organizations with many chapters are less likely to get coverage. From this data, they discussed the major implication being that large, strong, advocacy groups with the resources to work with public relations professionals are more successful reaching the media than small volunteer based groups (Jacobs, 2002). Another factor in agenda setting and non-profits in news values and which news values are most present in media advocacy that successfully get on the media agenda.

The news values most present in coverage of advocacy groups were conflict and proximity (McCluskey, 2015). Essentially, the research shows that an advocacy group was more likely to be covered if they were in conflict with another group, usually the federal government. The implications of this study is that the news is interested in the democratic ideals of petitioning and freedom of expression; but it also shows how an advocacy group can get themselves to the forefront of the media agenda. The researchers

found that conflict stories were more prominent, elevating their issue salience, thus putting them, the advocacy groups, and issues involved on the media agenda (McCluskey, 2015). Another example of how non-profit groups get on the media agenda is described surrounding the idea of crisis fundraising. Waters and Tindall explored this idea after the 2004 Tsunami that devastated a large portion of Southeast Asia. They conducted an empirical study to see the link between more media coverage and the increase in donation that occurred around the event. The increase in media coverage inspired the American public to care and try to help in a disaster that was far removed from them. Their research found that as the news coverage of the Tsunami increased so did donation dollars. The empirical data showed that agenda setting effects affected the success of non-profit fundraising (2011). Water and Tindall's findings imply that during moments of crisis or simply media attention, the public's attention will be on that cause and if non-profits communicate with the audience that can garner some support for their organizations during this time.

Despite evidence that media advocacy is effective, a criticism of media advocacy comes from Gibson as he explores the idea that advocacy groups reaching out to the media is actually hindering them from making any real change with policy makers or citizens. Gibson explains that the theoretical basis of media advocacy is agenda setting, however, the real goal of advocacy work is to reach the policy and decision makers, not the public. However, the policy agenda is still heavily linked to public opinion, and therefore; heavily linked to the media agenda. Gibson believes that a more participatory media would better benefit advocacy groups. This would encourage more conversation about the topic of interest and would result in more actual change (2010). Gibson provides worthy criticism, however, the evidence is that non-profits are highly influential in putting their issues on the media agenda and increasing their issue salience.

The four sections of this literature review provide the necessary context for the remainder of this project. The information about celebrity, domestic violence, and the media provide information to understand the detrimental frames used to describe domestic violence cases. The literature on agenda setting theory and non-profits' influence on media agenda get to the crux of the research question presented in this paper. This literature provides the theory basis and proof that non-profits can help shape the media agenda.

Research Method

I conducted an analysis of news surrounding the event and the communication strategies of domestic violence advocates during the time of the scandal. The research question used for this analysis is: During watershed public events, how has the influence of domestic advocacy groups in media agenda setting changed over time? The events analyzed will be the Mike Tyson/Robin Givens domestic abuse scandal of 1988, the Chris Brown/Rihanna abuse scandal of 2009, and the Ray Rice/Janay Palmer Scandal of 2014.

In order to achieve this understanding, I looked at newspaper articles covering each of these incidents. I also looked at select broadcast news interviews from the period, specifically, the interviews with

each of the women involved in each scandal. In addition to each of these items from the media, I tried to determine if domestic advocacy groups used strategic tools like press releases, public service announcements, or partnerships with other organizations to quell the interest in their issue and keep the agenda on domestic violence past the celebrity event tipping point.

I recorded my findings via spreadsheet. Please refer to the appendix on Page 26 for this source material. Each different material will have a different checklist.

The newspaper articles provided insight into how the media was covering the events. My focus for this portion is looking for mentions of domestic violence advocates. For the analysis about the newspapers and broadcast interviews, my hypothesis is that domestic violence advocates were more frequently mentioned in the later two events after organizations realized that these were moments of increased awareness.

For the newspaper articles, I asked the following questions:

Informational questions to understand the frame of the article: (Yes/No)

1. Are only the facts of the event mentioned?
2. Is a punishment for the perpetrator of the abuse mentioned in the article?
3. Are past events mentioned? For example, did Robin Givens give interviews during the time of the other two events?

Qualitative Analysis Questions

4. Are any advocacy organizations mentioned?
5. If yes, in what context?
 - a. Are they used as a reference point?
 - i. “If you are experiencing relationship or gendered violence, please seek help from the National Domestic Abuse Hotline”.
 - b. Is their work mentioned?
 - c. Is one of their campaigns mentioned?
 - d. Is the victim of the abuse described as an advocate for the organization?
 - e. Is a new campaign from the advocacy group covered in the media in relation to the event?

Similar to the newspapers, the broadcast interviews show the increased visibility of the issue of domestic violence. Any mention of domestic violence advocates also indicated the advocacy groups utilizing the increased visibility to communicate their message.

For the broadcast interviews:

1. Is involvement with an advocacy group mentioned?
2. Are facts about domestic violence provided during the interview?
3. Is the need for domestic violence awareness a part of the interview?

The non-profit materials are crucial in analyzing advocacy group's role in the media during the times of the events. While analyzing these materials, my focus was determining if they shaped their message through the filter of the event. My hypothesis is that advocacy groups started using these public events as examples of abuse (human-interest stories) over time, and the use increased over-time.

For the non-profit materials:

1. Do they cite the event in their materials?
2. Do the materials position the victim of the event as a spokesperson?

Materials will be gathered in three ways:

1. From Proquest Newstand, a random sample of newspaper articles will be chosen using the following rule: Every 3rd article and if needed, every 2nd article from the results lists. The ideal sample would be ten articles about each incident. The newspaper articles are from the direct time of the incident: Mike Tyson/Robin Givens, 1988; Chris Brown/Rihanna, 2009; and Ray Rice/Janay Palmer, 2014. The search terms are the names of people involved in the incident and "domestic violence".

2. The broadcast interviews are the "exclusives" that were highly publicized during the times of the scandals. Barbara Walters' interview with Robin Givens and Mike Tyson, Diane Sawyer's interview with Rihanna, and Matt Lauer's interview with Janay Palmer. The non-profit materials will come from the organizations themselves.

3. The non-profit materials will be randomly sampled from domestic violence advocates in the United States. They will be found via internet searches and will include material on an organizations web-site, blog, or social media platform. Social media output can include Facebook posts, Twitter posts, and YouTube PSAs.

The results of this research is presented as three comparative case studies. I hypothesize that the results form a narrative showing an increase of domestic violence advocacy groups increasing their influence and visibility in the media during these types of events.

Case Profile

In order to fully understand the change over time, the analyzed results read as follows: first, the materials on Mike Tyson and Robin Givens, next, the materials on Rihanna and Chris Brown, and end with the most recent incident, Ray Rice and Janay Rice (neè Palmer)

Mike Tyson/Robin Givens

Material: Newspapers

Question 1: Are only the facts of the event mentioned?

7 out of 10 articles detailed the events of the domestic violence incident.

Many of the articles about the Mike Tyson/Robin Givens incident outlined the the domestic violence incident, the couples' impending divorce, the Barbara Walter's interview, and Tyson's career troubles. The details of the event were provided by the chief of police of Bernardsville, NJ, where the couple lived. In one article, "Police investigate domestic violence at Tyson's home", police chief, Thomas J. Sciaretta is quoted as saying, "As far as we're concerned, it's over [...]. The man has done nothing wrong. It's his home. He's entitled to do anything he pleases, provided no one is injured". The three remaining articles are examples of the other narratives the media used to describe Tyson and Given's relationship. "Millions of Dollars' - Tyson: Givens Stole From Me" reported on Tyson's press conference about his and Givens' divorce. At the press conference, Tyson accuses Givens of stealing from him and denies that he is contact-

ing her, something she asserted in the media. Another article, “TV life goes on for Givens” discusses Givens continuing her acting career post-Tyson. Lastly, one article, “In a Clinch Over Mike Tyson’s Domestic Woes”, is a letter-to-the-editor piece from the *LA Times*. The letter focusing on Tyson and Givens states: “The media is brushing aside Mike Tyson’s domestic violence so that they can protect his professional violence. I wouldn’t have believed what you wrote if I hadn’t heard the following in a UCLA Extension class: “If Mike Tyson had really beat his wife, her head would look like mush. All it takes in one it to wipe her out and she claims he did it a lot. Ha!”

Question 2: Is a punishment for the perpetrator of the abuse mentioned in the article?

9 out of 10 articles did not mention a punishment for the abuser in this case because Givens never filed a complaint against Tyson. An article that discusses a punishment for Tyson was “TV life goes on for Givens”. It discussed a restraining order that Givens successfully filed against Tyson barring him from coming 1,000 feet from her or the studio where she shot her TV Show, *Head of Class*.

Question 3: Are any advocacy organizations mentioned?

10 out of 10 articles did not mention any advocacy organizations.

Material: Broadcast Interview

Tyson/Givens interviewed by Barbara Walters. Originally Aired: 9/30/1988

Question 1: Is involvement with an advocacy group mentioned?

No.

Question 2: Are facts about domestic violence provided during the interview?

No.

Question 3: Is the need for domestic violence awareness a part of the interview?

No.

Question 4: Is the incident of domestic violence discussed?

Yes. Givens admits that Tyson is abusive on national television. She cites his “manic-depression” and volatile personality as a cause and says, “I don’t want him to seem like a bad guy. He’s not a bad guy”.

Material: Non-profit materials

Not many materials from the period were available. I was unable to find any from the time period that were directly linked to the incident. However, Robin Givens becomes a domestic violence advocate in the 1990s and 2000s.

Chris Brown/Rihanna

Material: Newspapers

Question 1: Are only the facts of the event mentioned?

5 out of 10 articles discussed the details of the domestic violence incident.

Question 2: Is a punishment for the perpetrator of the abuse mentioned in the article?

5 out of 10 articles discussed the details of Chris Brown’s punishment for his crime.

Question 3: Are any advocacy organizations mentioned?

4 out of 10 articles mentioned domestic violence advocacy organizations.

3b. What context are the advocacy groups mentioned?

4 articles mentioned a domestic violence advocate. They usually cited teen domestic violence and the incident between Chris Brown and Rihanna as an example of teen domestic violence. “Nonprofit helps preteens avoid violent relationships” cites Desert Sanctuary, a domestic violence advocacy group, showing images of Rhianna’s beaten face to teenagers as a prevention exercise at a Junior High School. The representative from the organization, Eunice Vargas, is quoted as saying, “The students mostly identify Rhianna as someone that was hurt by her boyfriend, and so I was able to use her to bring across the message that no one deserves to be hurt”. Another article called “Don’t stay, leave an abusive relationship” also referred to teen domestic violence and the New York Domestic Violence Prevention Fund while discussing Rihanna and Chris Brown: “[Discussing a recent *Oprah* episode] The one girl who started dating her abuser in high school had just broken him. He was now in jail and she was pregnant with his kid. Ever since this topic became evident in the situation between Rhianna and Chris Brown, it has been all around”. The other two articles shaped the Rihanna/Chris Brown incident as a teachable moment for people to learn about domestic violence in general. “Rihanna, Chris Brown incident spotlights lessons on

domestic violence, especially choking” states it directly when Brotman writes, “As an educational tool, the case has several valuable aspects. It illustrates the reach of domestic violence into all sorts of lives. It shatters the notion that a successful women cannot be a victim”. The other article is a republishing of a statement from Esta Soler, the president of Family Violence Prevention Fund. She states, “This case is a chilling reminder of how dangerous domestic and dating violence can be, how quickly it can escalate, how badly youth like Mr. Brown who grow up in violent homes need intervention, and how urgently victims need services”.

3c. *Are they used as a reference point?*

In each of the 4 articles, the advocates are used as sources for statistics and information about domestic violence.

3d. *Is their work mentioned?*

In each of the 4 articles, the focus of the organization is mentioned.

3e. *Is one of their campaigns mentioned?*

3 out of 4 of the articles mentioned advocacy campaigns. Desert Sanctuary mentions a high school prevention program they are initiating. The New York Domestic Violence Prevention Program provided information about their White Ribbon Program. The Family Violence Prevention Fund provided information about their “That’s Not Cool” Campaign in addition to Esta Soler’s statement on Chris Brown’s punishment.

3f. *Is the victim of the abuse described as an advocate for the organization?*

No, Rihanna is not announced as an advocate in any of the 10 articles.

Material: Broadcast Interviews

Rihanna interviewed by Diane Sawyer. Aired: 11/2/2009

Question 1: Is involvement with an advocacy group mentioned?

No.

Question 2: Are facts about domestic violence provided during the interview?

Yes.

Excerpt 1:

Sawyer: Right now she is standing at that crossroads where emotion meets reality. Joining that gallery of one half million women in America every year who are abused. Some of them may be watching tonight. Some of them we don’t know and some have already told us how they found their way out.

(Discussing the rumors that her corporate sponsors would drop her if she went back to Chris Brown)

Sawyer: On average, I think it takes a woman seven times before she leaves?

Rihanna: Eight or nine, actually.

Question 3: Is the need for domestic violence awareness a part of the interview?

Yes.

Excerpt 1:

Diane Sawyer: Was it abusive? (Talking about Rihanna’s parents)

Rhianna: Yes

Sawyer: Physically?

Rhianna: Yes.

Sawyer: Severely?

Rhianna: Yes.

Sawyer: Did he hit her?

Rihanna: Yea. On numerous accounts. It was, I don’t want to say normal, but it wasn’t a surprise when it happened. I always anticipated it happening that’s why at night I wouldn’t want to sleep because I was too afraid it would happen. I would pull her away, I would be beating on my dad’s leg the whole time. Just trying to stand in the middle, breaking glass bottle so that they could hear something else and snap out of it.

Sawyer: Was she taken to the hospital? To the doctor? That severe?

Rihanna: No, she never went to the hospital. But, he broke her nose one time. But, she would never go to the hospital. Domestic violence is not something people want anybody to know so she would hide it in the house.

Excerpt 2:

(Brown and Rihanna briefly reunited, Rihanna is talking about how she realized she needed to leave permanently).

Rihanna: I was still attached by love, but I wasn't thinking about the reality of the situation. And I felt like, I built this empire and the man that I love beat me and because I'm going back I'm going to lose it? No. And even then, you see you start lying to yourself again. And, I felt, nah, that's selfish, I can't think like that. That's selfish. What if I am supposed to help him? But, when I realized that my selfish decision for love could result in to some young girl getting killed. I could not be easy with that part. I could not be responsible for telling them, go back. Even if Chris never hit me again, who's to say their won't? Who's to say they won't kill these girls? And these girls are young girls. I could not... I just didn't realize how much of an impact I had on these girls lives until that happened. It was a wake up call.

Excerpt 3:

Rihanna: The thing that men don't realize when they hit a woman, its... The face, the broken arm, the black eye... its gonna heal. That's not the problem, its the scar inside. You flashback, you remember it all the time. It comes back to you whether you like it or not. And its painful, so I don't think he understood that. They never do. They don't know that. They can't know that.

Question 4: Is the incident of domestic violence discussed?

Yes. The details of the assault from Rihanna's account and the police report are discussed.

Material: Non-profit materials

Blog from National Domestic Violence Hotline (NDVH), "National Domestic Violence Hotline on Larry King Live".

The blog is a summary of Robin Givens' interview at *Larry King Live* with Joy Behar. It cites Robin as a spokesperson for the organization and a member of the National Domestic Violence Hotline celebrity board.

Question 1: Do they cite the event in their materials?

Yes, the blog cites the incident as the impetus for Givens' appearance on the show: "Recent coverage of the Chris Brown and Rihanna incident has brought the serious issue of domestic violence into the national spotlights. Many media outlets have been reaching out to the National Domestic Violence Hotline (NDVH) in an effort to bring to light the severity of the issue through use of our statistics and staff commentary on the recent incident".

Question 2. Do the materials position the victim of the event as a spokesperson?

No.

Blog from NDVH, "Chris Brown Guilty Plea" and YouTube Video: "Advice for Rihanna from a Woman Who's Been There".

The blog is from advocate, Leslie Morgan Steiner. She writes about Chris Brown's punishment for his assault against Rihanna. It is also accompanied by a video with Leslie telling her story of abuse.

Question 1: Do they cite the event in their materials?

Steiner writes: Brown pled guilty and was sentenced to five years of probation and 1,400 hours of community service. Rihanna's silence, however, has baffled and frustrated fans, prosecutors, and advocates within the domestic violence community. The horrific post-assault photos of the 21-year-old's cut and bruised face, supposedly leaked by the Los Angeles police department, showed bruises across the singer's face and head [...]. I wish police had treated my apartment as a crime scene the last night I was beaten by my ex-husband, documenting the abuse and pressing charges. Advocates needed to do for me what I could not do for myself. The pursuit of justice would have benefitted me—immediately—and our society over time by taking domestic seriously".

The Youtube video does not mention the events of the Rihanna/Chris Brown incident, but the story is directed to Rihanna and any other woman recently abused.

Question 2. Do the materials position the victim of the event as a spokesperson?

No.

Blog from NDVH, “Rihanna/Chris Brown: Ending Violence Against Women and Girls

The blogs from advocate Kevin Powell, writer of *Open Letters to America*. The blog positions Rihanna as equal to all other victims and takes this opportunity of increased interest to spotlight other women and their stories.

Question 1: Do they cite the event in their materials?

No. But Powell writes: “Let us pray for Rihanna, first and foremost, because no one deserves to be beaten, or beaten up. No one. And let us also pray that Chris Brown gets the help he needs by way of long-term counseling and alternative definitions of manhood rooted in nonviolence, real love, and, alas, real peace. And let us not forget that Rihanna and Chris Brown happen to be major pop stars, hence all the media coverage, blogs, etc. Violence against women and girls happen every single day on this planet without any notice from most of us. Until we begin to address that hard fact, until we all, males and females alike, make a commitment to ending the conditions that create that destructive behavior in the first place, it will not end any time soon. There will be more Rihannas and more Chris Browns”. The writer then writes more about women who aren’t famous pop stars. He also includes a call to action to men to join in advocating for domestic violence victims.

Question 2: Do the materials position the victim of the event as a spokesperson?

No.

Ray Rice/Janay Rice (née Palmer)

Material: Newspapers

Question 1: Are the facts of the event mentioned?

7 out of 10 articles mentioned the facts of the event.

Question 2: Is a punishment for the perpetrator of the abuse mentioned in the article?

4 out of 10 articles mentioned a punishment for Ray Rice.

Question 3: Are any advocacy organizations mentioned?

6 out of 10 articles mentioned advocacy organizations.

3b. What context are the advocacy groups mentioned?

The non-profits are mentioned in different contexts across the 6 articles. In “Ray Rice video shines light on domestic violence”, Michelle Schaunaman of TESSA, a domestic violence advocacy group in Colorado, comments on Janay Rice’s outrage towards the press saying: “This is quite honestly typical behavior of a person who has been victimized. It’s a way to protect yourself. At the end of the day, she (Janay) is going back to him (Ray). She has to protect him and let him know she is on his side”. Another article, “Opinion: Ray Rice video reminds of pain domestic violence cause” mentions the Berks Counseling Center in Pennsylvania. Their CEO, Christine Axford, is quoted as saying: Any video is somewhat irrelevant. We need to hear what women are saying. We shouldn’t need a video to see it”. The next article also refers directly to the importance of the video of the incident. *The Washington Post* released an article entitled “Janay Rice’s pain may help other women escape domestic violence”, which read: Does seeing the punch to Janay Rice’s face matter? Oh, yes, said domestic violence advocates, who think that the elevator video has the power to change everything. ‘It’s been happening since the beginning of time, but this is the first time it’s been caught on camera like this for all the world to see”, said Lauren Vaughan, executive director of My Sister’s Place in the District. ‘Domestic Violence happens behind closed doors. And Ray Rice waited for those elevator doors to close.’” The other articles that referred to advocacy groups speak out about the public’s reaction to the event and the NFL’s response. “NFL Adds Women to Advise on Policy; Move Comes After Criticism of Ray Rice Domestic-Violence Investigation” is about the NFL adding three domestic violence advocates to their team to create a new domestic violence policy for the league. They hired Lisa Friel, former head of the Sex Crimes Prosecution Unit in New York County, Jane Randel, the co-founder of the No More Project, and Rita Smith, the former. Another article, “After Ray Rice, NFL increases domestic violence bans”, included a quote from Esta Soler, the chief executive of Futures Without Violence supporting the new NFL policy: “We particularly applaud your decision to impose tougher penalties, and to give serious consideration to circumstances that may warrant even harsher consequences”. The last article from the sample set is “#WhyIStayed”—Ray Rice

Incident Prompts Conversation About Domestic Violence”. This article is about the social media movement that happened surrounding #whyistayed. Survivors would tell their stories and use the hashtag. The executive director of the Connecticut Coalition Against Domestic Violence, Karen Jarmoc, is interviewed and quoted in the article. She is quoted as saying, “Domestic Violence is a very complex societal issue, and there are various reasons why women stay in a relationship when there’s domestic violence occurring” [...]. She loves him, [and] simply wants the abuse to stop but not necessarily the relationship to end”.

3c. *Are they used as a reference point?*

Each of the 6 articles are used as an information source about domestic violence.

3d. *Is their work mentioned?*

Each of the 6 organizations the group is described as domestic violence advocates.

3e. *Is one of their campaigns mentioned?*

Only one of the articles mentions the work of an organization. In “#WhyIStayed”, it is mentioned that the Connecticut Coalition Against Domestic Violence holds a fundraiser each year because they are not funded by the state government.

3f. *Is the victim of the abuse described as an advocate for the organization?*

No.

Material: Broadcast Interview

Janay Rice and Dayette Palmer interviewed by Matt Lauer. Originally Aired: 12/1/2014

Question 1: Is involvement with an advocacy group mentioned?

No.

Question 2: Are facts about domestic violence provided during the interview?

No.

Question 3: Is the need for domestic violence awareness a part of the interview?

Excerpt 1:

Lauer: When that second tape came out, your daughter became the face of domestic violence in this country. Instantly. And I know you don’t think that is fair.

Rice: No.

Danyette Palmer: I appreciate that. I mean, I know, I understand. I totally understand how people look at that and think that who she is. But, I know her and she’s not.

Excerpt 2:

(Discussing the apology she issued after the incident)

Lauer: And did anyone at the Ravens say, Janay, it would be really good if you issue some kind of apology?

Rice: They suggested it, yes.

Lauer: Did they come up with the wording?

Rice: No, not specifically. Basically, they gave us a general script.

(video of apology shows)

Lauer: That really started it.

Rice: And that was frustrating for me because obviously people took it as, I’m taking light off what Ray did. In no way.

Palmer: Or giving him an excuse.

Lauer: Denial?

Rice: Not at all. I was basically, not doing what I was told, but at the same time, I didn't think it was completely wrong for me to apologize because at the end of the day, I got arrested too. So, I did something wrong too. Not taking any light off of what Ray did cause I agree with everybody else. It was wrong.

Lauer: The Ravens tweeted out that portion of that statement, your apology. And, then they quickly took it down. Because I think they understood, very fast, the reaction to that apology.

Rice: The backlash.

Lauer: Do you think the reaction was warranted? From people around the country?

Rice: I completely understood it. Yes.

Palmer: Me too.

Excerpt 3:

Lauer: But had it not been for the Ravens, urging you or suggesting you apologize, you would have never been at that press conference and you would have never apologized.

Rice: No

Lauer: Do you know what was being said, she's a typical abused woman... She's a woman in denial.

Palmer: I heard everything.

Excerpt 4:

(Discussing the backlash from the public after the apology)

Palmer: But, I know her and we know and she's not. what this has done though, is made us aware about the people who are actually living this everyday. And, you know I feel bad for their parents, their mothers. That they can't get their kids out of this. Or, just challenged with this on a daily basis. So, I understand that.

Rice: There's so many silver linings. God chose me and Ray for a reason. And it was defiantly, to bring awareness to what people are going through everyday. Even though that's not what I'm going through everyday, its defiantly brought this topic to the forefront. And, we're okay with that.

Lauer: It's complicated because it starts a national discussion, and you're happy about that. And at the same time, you don't feel like you're part of that group.

Palmer: Right, and that's a good thing.

Rice: Yes.

Lauer: And, sometimes I've read things that makes it sound like some are saying, you're with us or against us.

Palmer: Right, I don't believe she's against them. Either of we are against them. I'm just saying this is not the type of relationship that she is in. And, no this is not the first thing that is going to happen, and next time. There is no next time. We've already made that clear. There is no next time.

Lauer: The first time we met. You and me (to Palmer). I can't even say it with the same edge you had in your voice, but when I asked you about daughter, you said to me, I did not raise a young lady to be an abused woman.

Palmer: Not at all. And if anybody knows her, she's very confident and she is very forceful, herself.

Rice: I wouldn't allow anyone disrespect me. Especially a man I'm in a relationship with.

Palmer: No, never. She was taught better than that.

Question 4: Is the incident of domestic violence discussed?

Excerpt 1:

Lauer: So, let me just ask you directly and bluntly. Prior to what we have now seen in that elevator, was there ever any incident of violence, in your relationship with Ray, or has there been any incident of violence since that elevator incident?

Rice: No. No.

Palmer: No

Rice: There's no way, he knows what he would have to deal with. You know, if this was something... I'm not going to sit there in silence and let something happen to me. And god forbid, in front of my child. Just let it happen. No way.

Material: Non-profit materials**Blog post from A Woman's Place, a domestic violence shelter in Pennsylvania. "Dear Mrs Rice..."**

The blog is written as a letter to Janay. It is clearly trying to reach out to her in the midst of her saying publicly that she is staying with the man that hit her.

Question 1: Do they cite the event in their materials?

No. It is written as a friend responding to an event, but the event's details are not mentioned: "Please, allow me to begin by saying, I'm sorry. I'm sorry that this is happening to you. You do not deserve this, you are not alone, and this is not your fault. I cannot begin to imagine how it must feel to be you right now. Everyone's journey is different. The paths we travel vary. Even in my experience working

at A Woman's Place, while threads from stories may sound similar and patterns sometimes rise through the murky chaos, there is no one story. "

Question 2: Do the materials position the victim of the event as a spokesperson?

No.

NFL Says No More Ad from the No More Project

The No More Project started a campaign with the NFL in the wake of the Ray Rice Scandal. This ad shows NFL players as advocates for domestic violence awareness.

Question 1: Do they cite the event in their materials?

No.

Question 2: Do the materials position the victim of the event as a spokesperson?

No.

Blog post from the No More Project about Beverly Gooden, the survivor who started #WhyIStayed

In the wake of Janay Rice's decision to stay with her husband, she received criticism from the public and media. One woman, Beverly Gooden, responded to this with a twitter hashtag and her story about why she stayed. The No More Project featured her story in a blog post.

Question 1: Do they cite the event in their materials?

Yes, the blog reads: "'It all started with a simple hashtag'. Thirty-one-year-old Bev Gooden, a human resources manager on the East Coast, was tired of people criticizing Janay Rice for defending Ray Rice after video surfaced of him assaulting her in an elevator'".

Question 2: Do the materials position the victim of the event as a spokesperson?

No.

Analysis

A clear change over time can be observed from the results of this case study. From the time of Givens to the time of Rice, celebrity victims of domestic violence have been cause for conversation and have dealt with their incident of abuse in different ways in the media. However, as time went on, non-profits became more skilled at using that national attention to enrich the national conversation with more information and awareness for victims and survivors.

Beginning at Tyson and Givens, one can notice that this is a developing issue in the media. The majority of the articles skim over the domestic violence issue and focus on the divorce or Tyson's fledgling boxing career. The lack of care for the domestic violence portion is so egregious that the police chief that tended to the incident says, "The man has done nothing wrong. It's his home. He's entitled to do anything he pleases, provided no one is injured"(Police investigate domestic violence at tyson's home,1988). The articles are exhibiting the frames explained by Bullock in the literature review. They are casting Givens as the victim, but blaming her for the situation with many articles talking about Givens stealing money from Tyson. It also evokes the frame of "otherness" explained by Bullock. These people are so far from the audience that this can't be applied to the audience.

It is clear from the Tyson/Givens incident that domestic violence advocate groups were not a part of the conversation within the media coverage of the event. The reason for this is most likely that the domestic violence awareness movement was just beginning. The first Domestic Violence Awareness Month wasn't started until 1987 and it wasn't fully observed by the public until 1989 (VAWnet, 2013). Tyson/Givens happened when domestic violence advocacy was forming. The media used the existing frames to talk about the incident. The articles shaped it as a part of their divorce, and another mistake made by Tyson contributing to his fledgling boxing career. The media did not provide much opportunity for domes-

tic violence advocates to speak up. And perhaps, domestic violence advocates weren't ready to speak on the national stage in 1988. However, it is important to note, that Givens used the media to speak out about the abuse, with her abuser next to her. The interview Tyson and Givens did with Barbara Walters functions very differently than the other two interviews analyzed. The couple sat down with Barbara Walters to discuss the rumors surrounding their relationship after a reported incident in Russia with Tyson attacking Givens and his mother. In the interview, Givens admits that he is abusive, sparking the controversy, their divorce, and his career spiral. No non-profit materials were available from the time of the incident. Overall, Givens started a national conversation about domestic violence. And, throughout the years, she has become a strong advocate for domestic violence victims and survivors. During the research about the later incidents, her name came up often. She partners with non-profits and tells her story. It shows that non-profits recognize her power as influencer and use her influence to keep their issue of interest on the media's agenda. Her story still attracts attention and is a way for the non-profits to get their message on the media agenda. Despite Givens starting the conversation, the incidents involving Rihanna and Rice further show domestic violence advocates that they can join the national conversation surrounding these events in meaningful ways.

During the national controversy surrounding Rihanna and Chris Brown, more domestic violence advocates joined the conversation and used the couple as an example for patterns of dating or domestic violence. From the newspaper articles gathered about this incident, it is clear that non-profit organizations and advocates saw an opportunity to join and direct the conversation. The trend in the articles was that teen dating violence was explained in the context of Rihanna and Chris Brown's incident. Due to Rihanna and Chris Brown's influence on teenagers, non-profits seized an opportunity to be source material and communicate their message while their issue of interest was on the media agenda. For example, non-profits, in a few of the articles, used the platform to announce new dating violence prevention programs in high schools. It is clear from the sample set of newspapers that non-profits were beginning to learn how to turn the national conversation and the media agenda into actual action or donations to their organizations.

Rihanna's interview with Diane Sawyer shows less of a direct influence from advocacy organizations. However, it does show that advocacy organizations are the source information and that they have changed attitudes towards domestic violence. There is a change in attitude between Givens and Rihanna. When Walters questions Givens about her abuse, she sounds sympathetic, but she doesn't sound shocked. She doesn't go into detail about the harm of domestic violence. But Sawyer is more steadfast and supportive to Rihanna. She mentions statistics from advocacy groups, without citing them. But there is a clear difference in that Sawyer talks about domestic violence like it is a scourge on society, not an accepted part of some relationships. She seeks understanding from Rihanna. And, Rihanna is the only woman a part of this study that truly talks about her abuse without protecting her abuser. She accepts her role and the attention she is getting from the incident. She recognizes that abused women or young girls may see her with Brown and think that they should go back to their abuser or stay with their abuser. Rihanna recog-

nizes the validity of the information coming from advocates, and more importantly, she listens to them. The interview is showing advocacy groups' success in education and changing behavior, but it doesn't show their agenda setting power.

However, the non-profit materials created in reaction to the event show their attempt at communicating their message to the media. Rihanna does not commit to be a spokesperson for any of the organizations. But, the organization uses her story to talk about the importance of domestic violence prevention and the danger of domestic violence. Because they are blogs and youtube videos, it seems that they are communicating with their audience directly. From the articles, it is clear that press releases were given to the media from domestic violence advocacy groups, however, press releases were not available for the study of non-profit materials. The non-profit materials just show that advocacy groups were much more aware of the power of celebrity and their opportunity to communicate their message during these watershed moments.

Advocacy groups communication only get better in reaction to the Ray Rice/Janay Rice(nè Palmer). Their was a visceral reaction after the videos of Ray Rice hitting his fiancée were released. It wasn't just a woman admitting the abuse like Givens, or a post-assault picture released like Rhianna; the American public saw one of their heroes beating a defenseless woman. It was a moment that the media reported on constantly, and advocacy groups didn't miss an opportunity to steer the conversation. Despite not having non-profits mentioned in each article, there was a clear force from advocacy groups guiding the conversation. First, advocates were calling for changes from the NFL, a facet of the story that was important in the media coverage. In addition, the coverage with non-profits, was similar to that of the time of Rhianna. It provided expert opinions on the event, contacts for abused people, and information about the advocacy group's work. The interesting part of this coverage was that the media and advocates were being fought by the victim herself. She didn't want to be known as an abused woman, which she also carries into her interview with Matt Lauer.

The interview with Matt Lauer, Janay Rice, and her mother shows the patterns that domestic violence abuse advocates warn people about. Janay spends the interview separating herself from the domestic abuse survivor and advocate community. Lauer doesn't spend time giving any facts about domestic violence, and most her mother even says, "I didn't raise a lady to be an abused woman". Very different from the interview with Rihanna, and it shows that Rice has no interest in being a voice for the community. Despite this, the non-profit materials show that during this time, advocates took the opportunity to push their message to the fore front of this media agenda. The blog from A Woman's Place, a small domestic abuse shelter in Pennsylvania, responds directly to Rice's denial of her position. The director writes a letter to Rice explaining that the domestic violence advocate community will always be there to help her. It is a powerful letter that is applied to the watershed moment, but has the power to inspire other women to speak up. But probably the most important, with the most visibility, is the No More Project's campaign "NFL Says No More", a partnership with the NFL for a domestic violence awareness cam-

paign. The powerful ads showed NFL players saying no to all the excuses used for perpetrators of violence. Not only did it help the NFL fix its image problem, but it also helped No More communicate their message to a larger audience. This ad shows No More's ability to enrich the dialogue and grab the media's attention. The #WhyIStayed social media trend shows similar things. No More took the opportunity to introduce Beverly Gooden to the world. But, the media was already covering the hashtag as a social media phenomenon surrounding the Ray Rice scandal (Lee, 2014).

From the results, a clear change over time is noticed. From 1988 to 2014, non-profit advocate organizations became better at communicating with the media. From the articles, they have a part in the agenda setting because they are used a reference point and their information is source material. This allows the organization to sneak their message in the story or announce a new advocacy campaign. But, it seems that the celebrity influence is still the most important factor when studying the media agenda. The organizations have gotten better at harnessing that power, but they aren't driving the conversation — the celebrity incident is. There is no evidence that the non-profits were able to control the agenda setting to the point where domestic violence was on the media's agenda past the point of the incident. Essentially, the non-profit's message was on the media's agenda until the new news cycle.

Quantitative research could benefit this study greatly. With more resources and time, quantitative research would be a more effective way of measuring agenda setting. At the time of an event like this, surveying people's opinion of what is important and their knowledge of advocacy groups would better answer the agenda setting portion of the research question. However, the qualitative study, shows that domestic violence advocacy has become better skilled at harnessing the power of these moments to create real and lasting attitude changes.

Conclusion

Exhibited through a change over time analysis of three celebrity domestic cases, advocacy groups and non-profits' influence on media agenda setting was explored in this paper. Each case is unique, however, the applied research clearly shows more engagement with the press from the side of the advocates. Media agenda setting is an accepted phenomena in American culture, however, from the literature review, it is learned that non-profits are important source material for the media. The assumption would be that this is the opportunity for non-profits to gain awareness for their issue of interest or their organization's mission. However, from the research, it seems that domestic violence advocates learned to do this as the years went on. The factors that attributed to this slow rise is visibility is most likely the age of the movement. It was only starting to be active. These organizations weren't necessarily new, but they had little experience interacting with the media. This is first noticed with the coverage about Mike Tyson and Robin Givens. The media discusses the incident in terms of their divorce and the domestic violence accusation is a not the main focus of the coverage. Also, no non-profit engagement was analyzed due to the lack of access or the lack of existence from 1988 materials. But when Rihanna and Chris Brown's incident happens in 2009, the research shows a spike in the amount of media coverage using domestic violence as advo-

cates and materials from the advocates addressing Rihanna's situation directly as a example for their audience. This shows that the non-profits are becoming more aware of their power and their influence to drive the progress and awareness to their issue of interest. The non-profits are the most active during the time of the Ray Rice and Janay Rice incident and the scandal that ensued. Non-profits joined with the NFL to achieve two things: 1. Work to fix NFL's soft domestic violence policy, which helped the NFL with an image problem in the media. 2. Help spread awareness about domestic violence to a much larger audience. Despite the excellent work of these non-profits, it seems that the celebrity news factor is still the reason these events end up on the media agenda. More research should be done on this topic. Most importantly, quantitative research should administered during one of these watershed moments to truly gauge non-profit or advocacy group influence during these times. Also, it would be interesting to apply the same questions to different issues of interest.

However, this research implies that advocacy groups and non-profits are becoming more skilled at communicating with the media. The groups are getting better at applying their mission, proposed policy, and message to real life stories. These stories make the organizations ideology relatable to the audience. It also shows that the groups are becoming more important to the national dialogue about these issues and are effecting real change. For example, the new NFL domestic violence policy, is a real change that the No More Project had a great influence on in the creation. The media can over-simplify important issues like domestic violence. Or the media lets the chatter into the story: "She hit him too", "She is a golddigger". But, with the help of advocacy groups, the more difficult parts of understanding an issue can be fleshed out in the media. Advocacy groups are important to the media because they explain complex issues with real life examples. The groups add knowledge and clarity to issues that can confound the media and the public. This insight can be applied to other issues of interest and their respective advocacy non-profit organizations.

Appendix (Organized by case and in the order of selection)

Mike Tyson/ Robin Givens

Newspapers

1. Police investigate domestic violence at tyson's home. (1988, Oct 04). St.Petersburg Times Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/262629782?accountid=8285>
2. 'Millions of dollars' / tyson: Givens stole from me. (1988, Dec 14). San Francisco Chronicle (Pre-1997 Fulltext) Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/302350908?accountid=8285>
3. Givens files for divorce; actress cites differences with tyson after 8 months. (1988, Oct 08). The Washington Post (Pre-1997 Fulltext) Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/307087447?accountid=8285>
4. Actress sues tyson for divorce - says she's afraid of him. (1988, Oct 08). San Francisco Chronicle (Pre-1997 Fulltext) Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/302305574?accountid=8285>
5. Roeper, R. (1988, Oct 05). The tyson scorecard adds up to: 'Help me'. Chicago Sun - Times Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/257356767?accountid=8285>
6. Tyson, manager reconcile. (1988, Oct 04). Houston Chronicle (Pre-1997 Fulltext) Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/295357514?accountid=8285>
7. By, S. L. (1988, Oct 06). Givens fled on doctor's OrdersPolice report details fracas. Newsday Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/278020667?accountid=8285>
8. TV life goes on for givens. (1988, Oct 09). The Ottawa Citizen Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/239190466?accountid=8285>
9. Rosenberg, H. (1988, Oct 17). In a clinch over mike tyson's domestic woes. Los Angeles Times (Pre-1997 Fulltext) Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/280618064?accountid=8285>
10. Gewertz, C. (1988, Oct 08). Boxing's soap opera set for knock-out divorce battle. The Ottawa Citizen Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/239260106?accountid=8285>

Broadcast Interview

1. Mike Tyson and Robin Givens Open Up to Barbara Walters. (n.d.). Retrieved April 12, 2016, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a4eUR-Y9wMk>

Rhianna/Chris Brown

1. Daily dish. (2009, Feb 10). The Sun Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/378914895?accountid=8285>
2. McMullen, R. (2009, Feb 19). People: Los angeles D.A. eyeing felony charges against chris brown. Oakland Tribune Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/352312104?accountid=8285>
3. Blake, M. (2009, Mar 28). Cut through the celebrity noise with kids. The Virgin Islands Daily News Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/594303765?accountid=8285>
4. Graham, A. (2009, Nov 06). Wake-up call. Detroit News Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/404454466?accountid=8285>
5. Pearson, S. (2012, Feb 12). Nonprofit helps preteens avoid violent relationships. McClatchy - Tribune Business News Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/921078840?accountid=8285>
6. Hyla, M. (2009, Apr 07). Dont stay, leave an abusive relationship. The Post - Standard Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/325828385?accountid=8285>
7. Domestic violence expert comments on chris brown plea deal. (2009, Jun 22). *U.S. Newswire* Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/451220600?accountid=8285>
8. Brotman, B. (2009, Mar 11). Rihanna, chris brown incident spotlights lessons on domestic violence, especially choking. *McClatchy - Tribune News Service* Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/456436804?accountid=8285>
9. Zitz, M. (2009, Apr 09). Fans struggle to reconcile two images of brown: Fans struggle to reconcile two images of R&B star chris brown; domestic violence expert says that's not uncommon. *McClatchy - Tribune Business News* Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/456226761?accountid=8285>
10. Anthony, F. (2009, Jun). Chris brown cops to assault. *New York Amsterdam News* Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/390407885?accountid=8285>

Broadcast interview

(2011). Rihanna- ABC 20/20 Interview. Retrieved April 12, 2016, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y-eWE-OXsLg>

Non-profit Materials

National Domestic Violence Hotline on Larry King Live. (n.d.). Retrieved April 17, 2016, from <http://www.thehotline.org/2009/03/national-domestic-violence-hotline-on-larry-king-live/>

Steiner, L. M. (n.d.). Chris Brown Guilty Plea. Retrieved April 17, 2016, from <http://www.thehotline.org/2009/07/chris-brown-guilty-plea/>

C. (2009). Advice for Rihanna from a Woman Who's Been There. Retrieved April 17, 2016, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZEsElsHrvC0>

Powell, K. (2009). Rihanna/Chris Brown: Ending Violence Against Women and Girls. Retrieved April 17, 2016, from <http://www.thehotline.org/2009/09/rihannachris-brown-ending-violence-against-women-and-girls/>

Ray Rice/Janay Rice

1. Banks, S. (2014, Sep 13). Time to learn what love isn't; instead of the hype surrounding ray and janay rice's ordeal, we need a real conversation about the ugly epidemic of domestic violence. Los Angeles Times Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1561601872?accountid=8285>
2. Boren, C., & Maske, M. (2014, Sep 09). Ravens cut ray rice in wake of latest domestic violence video; NFL suspends him indefinitely (posted 2014-09-09 01:38:27). The Washington Post Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1561197725?accountid=8285>
3. Singer, E. (2014, Sep 09). Ray rice video shines light on issue of domestic violence. The Gazette Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1560905374?accountid=8285>
4. Mowery, D. (2014, Sep 15). OPINION: Ray rice video reminds of pain domestic violence causes. TCA Regional News Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1561947551?accountid=8285>
5. Clark, K. (2014, Sep 15). NFL adds women to advise on policy; move comes after criticism of ray rice domestic-violence investigation. Wall Street Journal (Online) Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1561997713?accountid=8285>
6. Wilson, J. (2014, Sep 10). '#WhyIStayed' -- ray rice incident prompts conversation about domestic violence. TCA Regional News Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1560893179?accountid=8285>
7. No excuse for NFL leniency in ray rice domestic violence case. (2014, Jul 31). Bangor Daily News Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1550142129?accountid=8285>
8. Fendrich, H. (2014, Aug 28). After ray rice, NFL increases domestic violence bans. El Paso Times Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1557745504?accountid=8285>
9. Plaschke, B. (2014, Sep 09). The NFL fumbled in rice case; goodell should lose his job if it's proved that the league covered up domestic violence incident. Los Angeles Times Retrieved from

<http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1560708904?accountid=8285>

10. Janay rice's pain may help other women escape domestic violence (posted 2014-09-12 14:15:14). (2014, Sep 12). *The Washington Post* Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1561992672?accountid=8285>

Broadcast Interview

(2014). Janay Rice Speaks Out - Today Show. Retrieved April 17, 2016, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7q07x5owfeE>

Non-profit materials

Aduba, I. U. (2014, September 9). Dear Mrs. Rice... | A Woman's Place. Retrieved April 23, 2016, from <http://blog.awomansplace.org/?p=14219>

NFL Says No More. (2014, October 22). Retrieved April 17, 2016, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?list=PLRH4qMDKG2FGC2eG15yehoAUW2zZHDGXt>

Meet Beverly Gooden, The Woman Behind #WhyIStayed - NOMORE.org | Together we can end domestic violence and sexual assault. (2014, November 13). Retrieved April 17, 2016, from <http://nomore.org/meet-beverly-gooden-woman-behind-whyistayed/>

Bibliography

Agenda Setting Theory. (n.d.). Retrieved February 28, 2016, from https://www.utwente.nl/cw/theorieen-overzicht/Theory Clusters/Mass Media/Agenda-Setting_Theory/

Atkinson, M. L., Lovett, J., & Baumgartner, F. R. (2014). Measuring the Media Agenda. *Political Communication*, 31(2), 355-380. doi:10.1080/10584609.2013.828139

Becker, A. B. (2013). Star Power? Advocacy, Receptivity, and Viewpoints on Celebrity Involvement in Issue Politics. *Atlantic Journal Of Communication*, 21(1), 1-16. doi:10.1080/15456870.2013.743310

Benjestorf, J. (2012, June 20). The Chris Brown-Rihanna Saga: A Definitive Timeline. Retrieved April 23, 2016, from <http://gawker.com/5919566/the-chris-brown-rihanna-saga-a-definitive-timeline>

Bullock, C. F. (2007). Framing Domestic Violence Fatalities: Coverage by Utah Newspapers. *Women's Studies In Communication*, 30(1), 34-63.

Carlyle, K. E., Slater, M. D., & Chakroff, J. L. (2008). Newspaper Coverage of Intimate Partner Violence: Skewing Representations of Risk. *Journal Of Communication*, 58(1), 168-186. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2007.00379.x

Cook, F. L., Tyler, T. R., Goetz, E. G., Gordon, M. T., Protes, D., Leff, D. R., & Molotch, H. L. (1983). Media and Agenda Setting: Effects on the Public, Interest Group Leaders, Policy Makers, and Policy. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 47(1), 16.

Domestic Violence Prevention: A history of milestones and achievements. (n.d.). Retrieved April 17, 2016, from <http://www.vawnet.org/domestic-violence/DVPreventionTimeline/>

Easteal, P., Judd, K., & Holland, K. (2015). Enduring themes and silences in media portrayals of violence against women. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 48103-113. doi:10.1016/j.wsif.2014.10.015

ESPN.com: BOXING - Mike Tyson timeline. (2002, June 6). Retrieved April 23, 2016, from <http://static.espn.go.com/boxing/news/2002/0129/1319772.html>

Kohlman, S. (2014). Contribution of Media to Normalization of and Perpetuation of Domestic Violence. *Austin Journal of Psychiatry and Behavioral Science*, 4(1). Retrieved February 20, 2016, from <http://austinpublishinggroup.com/psychiatry-behavioral-sciences/fulltext/ajpbs-v1-id1018.php>

Enck-Wanzer, S. M. (2009). All's Fair in Love and Sport: Black Masculinity and Domestic Violence in the News. *Communication & Critical/Cultural Studies*, 6(1), 1-18. doi:10.1080/14791420802632087

Gibson, T. A. (2010). The Limits of Media Advocacy. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 3(1), 44-65. doi:10.1111/j.1753-9137.2009.01057.x

Hollander, J. A., & Rodgers, K. (2014). Constructing Victims: The Erasure of Women's Resistance to Sexual Assault. *Sociological Forum*, 29(2), 342-364. doi:10.1111/socf.12087

Hollander, P. (2010). Why the Celebrity Cult?. *Society*, 47(5), 388-391. doi:10.1007/s12115-010-9348-9

Huckins, K. (1999). INTEREST-GROUP INFLUENCE ON THE MEDIA AGENDA: A CASE STUDY. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 76(1), 76-86.

Jacobs, R. N., & Glass, D. J. (2002). Media Publicity and the Voluntary Sector: The Case of Nonprofit Organizations in New York City. *Voluntas: International Journal Of Voluntary & Nonprofit Organizations*, 13(3), 235-252.

Know More - NOMORE.org | Together we can end domestic violence and sexual assault. (n.d.). Retrieved February 07, 2016, from <http://origin.nomore.org/how-to-help/resources/>

Kohlman, S, et al. (2014). Contribution of Media to Normalization of and Perpetuation of Domestic Violence. *Austin Journal of Psychiatry and Behavioral Science*, 4(1). Retrieved February 20, 2016, from <http://austinpublishinggroup.com/psychiatry-behavioral-sciences/fulltext/ajpbs-v1-id1018.php>

Lee, J. K. (2015). Knowledge as a Measure of News Reception in the Agenda-Setting Process. *Journal Of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 59(1), 22-40. doi:10.1080/08838151.2014.998225

Lee, J. (2014, September 10). #WhyIStayed: Powerful stories of domestic violence. Retrieved April 17, 2016, from <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation-now/2014/09/10/why-i-stayed-hashtag-twitter-ray-rice/15385027/>

McCombs, M., & Reynolds, A. (2009). How the news shape our civic agenda. In J. Bryant & M.B. Oliver (Eds.), *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (3rd ed., pp. 1-16). New York, NY: Routledge.

McCombs, M & Shaw, D. (1972) . The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176-187.

McCluskey, M., & Kim, Y. M. (2015). Conflict/Proximity Determine Advocacy Group Coverage. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 36(1), 75-91. doi:10.1177/0739532915580316

Miller, B. (2006). Issue Advocacy and Traditional News Content: A Study of the Impact of Marketplace Advocacy on Local Television News Media. *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association*, 1-28.

Police investigate domestic violence at tyson's home. (1988, Oct 04). *St.Petersburg Times* Retrieved from <http://proxyau.wrlc.org/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/262629782?accountid=8285>

Steiner, L. M. (2009, July 1). Chris Brown Guilty Plea. Retrieved April 23, 2016, from <http://www.thehotline.org/2009/07/chris-brown-guilty-plea/>

Waters, R. D., & Tindall, N. J. (2011). Exploring the Impact of American News Coverage on Crisis Fundraising: Using Media Theory to Explicate a New Model of Fundraising Communication. *Journal Of Nonprofit & Public Sector Marketing*, 23(1), 20-40. doi:10.1080/10495142.2010.494875

Wolfe, M., Jones, B. D., & Baumgartner, F. R. (2013). A Failure to Communicate: Agenda Setting in Media and Policy Studies. *Political Communication*, 30(2), 175-192. doi:10.1080/10584609.2012.737419

Van Natta, D., Jr., & Van Valkenburg, K. (n.d.). Rice case: Purposeful misdirection by team, scant investigation by NFL. Retrieved February 07, 2016, from http://espn.go.com/espn/otl/story/_/id/11551518/how-ray-rice-scandal-unfolded-baltimore-ravens-roger-goodell-nfl