Making the Implicit Scorecard Explicit
The dWUNCness of Collective Action in Mass Media Coverage

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(very first draft)

ABSTRACT

Which protest is persuasive and which is not? According to Tilly (2004), protest that scores high on WUNC—worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment—is more likely to be effective. The work of Tilly on WUNC is scattered across many publications, however, and as a consequence, received little resonance to date. In this paper, we integrate Tilly's writings on WUNC. We embed each component in the broader social movement literature and add diversity as a fifth element. Next, we claim that protest is primarily perceived via the media and that therefore, the media is the logical arena for protestors to display dWUNC. To test this claim, we make the dWUNC-scorecard operational (including the flipside of each component). Using both a detailed explicit and subjective implicit coding, we measure the dWUNCness of protest in television news coverage of all Brussels based protest events that succeeded in eliciting media attention between 2003 and 2010 (N=564). Results show that journalists do narrate protest stories in terms of dWUNC. Protest coverage chiefly appears as a numbers game, and numbers seem to act as a threshold for the other components to come across. Worthiness and commitment correlate negatively; numbers and diversity positively. Especially old social movements play on numbers whereas new social movements stress the diversity component in order to boost their claims. Discussion centers on the usefulness of the dWUNC-scorecard for protest impact research.

INTRODUCTION

Which protest is persuasive and which is not? Or, more precisely, how and under which circumstances do protest actions succeed in eliciting support from targets, third parties and citizens? Although persuasion is at the heart of any social movement activity, the straightforward question of what kind of protest matters, has not yet received the academic attention it deserves.

By definition, movements are resource-poor groups that lack direct access to the policy making process, have little bargaining power and need to draw other actors into the conflict in order to succeed (Lipsky, 1968). Social movements rely on persuasion and triggering external support is what makes them successful or not. Of course, protest can disrupt, create disorder and coerce targets to adapt; in that case there is no persuasion but simply the use of force. But this is exceptional. Most often, protest effects are indirect and protesters primarily aim to win sympathy and mobilize support (Della Porta & Diani, 1999). Especially in established democracies, non-violent protest is considered as a legitimate and valid way to voice concerns (Norris et al, 2005). Social movement scholars therefore have incorporated public opinion in

their study of protest outcomes as an explanatory variable, as an intermediary variable, or as an explanandum (Giugni, 1998). A systematic and elaborate account of why, how and when protest is persuasive is still missing, though. This paper sets out to fill this void by presenting a theoretical account and by testing it empirically.

According to Charles Tilly (1999), observers of protest use an implicit scorecard to measure protest (persuasive) power. Tilly's scorecard measures what he calls 'WUNC'. WUNC sounds odd, Tilly admits, but the idea is not. WUNC stands for *Worthiness*, *Unity*, *Numbers* and *Commitment*. Protest that displays WUNC—protest that is worthy, united, large in number and committed—signals the existence of a worthy, unified, numerous and committed set of people. The higher the WUNC score of protest, the higher Tilly expects the protest's persuasive power to be. In this paper's terminology: the higher the WUNCness of protest, the more powerful it is.

The goal of the paper is fourfold. First, Tilly's work on WUNC is scattered across many publications and begs for profound integration. Moreover, Tilly's account is disconnected from the broader social movements literature and we reintegrate it into main stream work. Also, we add a fifth component to the four components put forward by Tilly: diversity. More diverse protest are more persuasive as well, we argue. So we talk about 'dWUNC' in this paper. Second, we turn dWUNC into a measurable concept. Tilly's WUNC idea has remained largely theoretical; his writing on WUNC is foremost anecdotal and illustrative. The study advances WUNC into systematic, operational terms. We argue that it is primarily through media coverage that targets, third parties and the general public perceive protest. Consequently, it is preferably in the media arena that protestors would want to display dWUNC. Therefore, we develop a novel and encompassing code book that allows us to actually measure the degree of dWUNCness in media coverage of protest. Third, we put the detailed code book to the test: for the first time, a systematic analysis of dWUNC-displays in media coverage of protest is implemented. We analyze television news coverage of all Brussels-based protest events that succeeded in eliciting media attention in Belgium. This population of news items (N=564) spans a substantial time period (2003-2010) and tackles protest on a diverse set of issues. That makes it suited to scrutinize the generic character of dWUNC. The dWUNCness of protest coverage was coded both via a detailed explicit and a more subjective implicit coding. Finally, we go beyond theoretical advances in WUNC, its operationalization and measurement, by offering an analysis of which protests display more WUNCness than other protests. We look for patterns and attempt to explain why some protest coverage is more dWUNC than others. In other words, our final aim is to demonstrate that our elaboration, operationalization and measurement of dWUNC makes sense and leads to sensible and interesting findings.

Results show that especially trade union protests play on numbers, whereas environmental, women's, peace, third world etc movements—often called New Social Movements—draw on the diversity component. Worthiness and commitment correlate negatively, unity and diversity correlate positively. This only partly confirms expectations about the contradictory nature of the components. Numbers correlate most strongly with the overall dWUNC score of a protest event. If protest events are large journalists tend to cover them. Large events are also covered more prominently, more at length. As a consequence, chances increase

that journalists will expand on the other dWUNC components as well. So, numbers set the threshold for many of the other dWUNC components to come across, they open the gates for displaying dWUNCness via the media. Once protest is large in numbers, protest is actually covered in terms of dWUNC.

WUNC ACCORDING TO TILLY

Charles Tilly , one of the most influential sociologists of his generation (Krinsky & Mische, 2013; Goldstone, 2010), holds that one of the central paradoxes of contentious politics is "*how contingent assemblages of social networks manage to create the illusion of determined, unified, self-motivated political actors, then to act publicly as if they believe that illusion*" (McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly, 2001: 159). This paradox clearly relates to WUNC.

Surprisingly, to date, Tilly's work on WUNC has received little resonance in the community of social movement scholars (but see for instance Rao, 2008). In part, we think, this is because it is scattered over many publications and never really takes center stage. Here, we put the pieces of the WUNC puzzle together. We trace references to WUNC[1] in the vast legacy of Tilly and his collaborators (1974, 1978, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2007, 2008) and integrate his lines of thought related to WUNC into a coherent whole. Drawing on Tilly, we present WUNC as a definitional element of what social movements are. We argue in line with Tilly that it primarily serves to convey identity claims. Added to that, we theorize on WUNC as a scorecard of protest power and elaborate on the mechanisms underlying WUNC.

First of all, WUNC is a *definitional element* of a social movement. Historically, Tilly argues, social movements emerged from an innovative synthesis of three elements. Movements became movements from as soon as they combined a certain *repertoire* (a combination of performances like vigils, demonstrations, rallies, meetings, pamphleteering and so forth) that displayed *WUNCness* (public representations of worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment) within a *campaign* (a sustained, public and collective claims-making effort). Although each defining element existed before, their unique combination created the social movement as a distinct social and political phenomenon.

The centrality of WUNC in Tilly's definition bears on the relationship between elections and demonstrations (1978), or more broadly, the correspondence between democratization and social movements (2004). In Tilly's view, democratization promoted the formation of the social movement. The come into being of citizenship, with rights that protected freedom of expression and binding consultations in the form of elections, had an 'umbrella effect' promoting the founding of social movements (1978: 167): *"The legal umbrella raised to protect the electoral*

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[1] To the best of our knowledge, the first explicit reference to worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment in an formal publication of Tilly appears in 1994 ("*Social Movement as Historically Specific Clusters of Political Performances*" Berkeley Journal of Sociology 38, pg 1-30). The concept is presented without acronym, however, and reads as numbers x commitment x unity x worthiness. We also found seeds of the WUNC idea in "*From Mobilization to Revolution*" (1978: 95; 167), which we took as the starting point of our lit review.

process, ..., has a ragged edge. There is shelter for others at the margins. The grant of legality to an electoral association or an electoral assembly provides a claim to legality for associations and assemblies which are not quite electoral, not only electoral or not now electoral."

So, social movements developed as a consequence of democratization and demonstrations prospered because of their resemblance to the electoral assembly. Demonstrations provided movements with an effective means to display their strength. Such displays needed to align with the dominant electoral logic, however, and therefore needed to display WUNC. The reason is simple. By displaying WUNC, social movements can successfully claim public sovereignty—the essence of democracy—and, as such, they can convincingly communicate credit and blame. WUNCness presents movements with an eloquent and civilized answer to injustice. Instead of "*sacking an official's house or hanging a minister*" (Tilly, 1994:13), movements presented themselves as numerous, committed, unified and worthy.

WUNC displays empower social movements as they counter the objections of authorities that the movement makes inconvenient demands, that they are merely a gathering of malcontents, that most people in their category tend to disagree, or that they threaten public order or are asking for impossible concessions (Tilly, 1994). In other words, WUNC performs as a *scorecard* against which observers measure the strength of protest. Effective demonstrations are characterized by high WUNC scores. In a simple formula directly from Tilly: W x U x N x C = IMPACT.

Tilly argues that disputes over demonstrations often centre on one (or more) of the WUNC components. Police forces, for instance, tend to count much less protestors than organizers. Targets of protest are even inclined to discredit protest by intentionally minimizing the WUNCness of an action. For instance, opponents question whether all participants truly endorse the same claim, or whether the mass is large enough to represent a particular constituency. These debates indicate that the WUNC components are relevant for protesters and for their adversaries.

Why is WUNC necessary for a movement? The bottom line is that WUNC matters because it conveys crucial political information. More specifically, WUNC broadcasts *a strong collective identity*. It affirms that the protestors are a force to be reckoned with in the future. Besides program claims, movements make other claims as well. But these other claims draw on identity claims. The backing of the substantial claims can be done most effectively, according to Tilly, by maximizing the WUNCness of a collective. Indeed, the effectiveness of the other claims depends in part on the prior effectiveness of the cementing the image of a group as a recognizable and credible actor who has the right to make demands.

Movements adopt WUNC strategies because they are rarely effective in the short run. As single claim making sessions only have a small chance of success, movements steer away from direct disruptive actions. Instead, they need to create a shared identity and work on their public self-representation in the longer term. This is not because of the inherent satisfaction related to belonging to a collective—a feeling of sharing and being together—but because by doing so, movements substantiate that an important entity has entered the political scene and is willing to sustain. The effectiveness of WUNC lies with the fact that all the components increase the

plausibility that the movement will use its weight to enter, realign, or disrupt the existing polity. By displaying WUNC, movements choose for sustained negotiations and cooperation with political actors. Simultaneously, however, they keep the option open to redirect WUNC energy towards disruptive action. In sum, by forging a strong collective identity, movements signal power holders the existence of potential voting blocs that collectively can influence the outcome of future elections (Tilly, 2004: 141). Elites interested in re-election, therefore will be inclined to take the movement seriously as its members are unified, with many, deserving (worthy) and committed to get what they want.

In sum, movements try to maximize external marks of their worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment. As protest impact is a function of the accumulation of all separate components, organizers maximize WUNCness as much as possible. But according to Tilly, the contribution of the four components to the overall WUNCness is not simply additive. There are some trade-offs between the components making WUNC more flexible as a weapon of social movements. If any of the four components falls to zero, that is, the lowest score imaginable in a particular context, for instance, then the action as a whole is disqualified and loses impact. So, in case of completely unworthy or totally uncommitted participants, no matter how many or unified they are, the potential impact of the action is undermined. The different components also interact with each other. High scores on one component can compensate for lower scores on the other (as long as the score is not zero). For instance, a hunger strike may be conducted by only a few volunteers (low in numbers); but because the high risk and the hardship the activists endure (high on commitment) such actions can nonetheless convey a high WUNCness to political elites. Underperformance on some component can be balanced by 'over-performance' on another.

Tilly says that social movements set-up WUNC exhibitions, they show off their WUNCness, even if they may in reality be less WUNC than they try to appear to be. Tilly calls this the unavoidable 'mystification'—and therefore manipulation—of WUNC. A first mystification deals with the fact that as the separate WUNC components increase, they almost necessarily contradict each other. Drawing more people to an action (numbers) almost inevitably increases the chance of attracting less committed and unified activists, whose intentions are not by definition good (worthy). In that sense, maximizing external signals of WUNCness always is a matter of compromise patching together groups with slightly different stances or very different preferences regarding to which tactics should be used. The public representation of WUNCness thus requires a good deal of exaggeration and showmanship, WUNC should be conspicuously put on display. A second mystification relates to the fact that the collective identity claim made by WUNC displays creates the impression of a coherent, long lasting, historical group. Nothing could often be farther from the truth, with movements being networks of networks, segmented, polycentric, and off and on the public scene (Gerlach & Hine, 1979). Yet for their persuasive effect power, whether the components are mystifications or not, is of less importance. It is the perception of WUNCness that matters, not the underlying reality.

"*We are many, we are worthy and unjustly disadvantaged, we agree among ourselves, we are committed, disciplined and legal.*"(Tilly, 1994: 11). This section elaborates on each WUNC component and adds diversity as a fifth element (dWUNC). Each time we first summarize Tilly's take on it. Then, we show to what extent and how each component relates to the broader social movement literature. In fact, Tilly's WUNC may sound odd and has not been used all that much in the broader movement literature, but it is firmly embedded in wider scholarship on social movements.

WORTHINESS. In the simplest of terms, worthiness refers to non-violence. Worthiness assures that the response of social movements to the injustice they challenge is civilized and eloquent. According to Tilly, movements sacrifice the advantages of direct action and choose to behave moderately. By doing so, they hope to attract larger audiences and to realize a more continued presence on the public scene. This does not mean that all movement activities are—or should be—by definition non-violent. After all, demonstrations share their form and genealogy with the military parade. WUNC energy can be redirected to disruptive action, and demonstrations often implicitly (or even explicitly) use this ambivalence to threaten their target. Yet given the difficulty to obtain the long term goals of many movements with the short term tactics of disruption; and given the counterproductive effect violence might have on gaining standing, worthiness is considered crucial in obtaining recognition. It turns protesters into deserving people. Tilly holds that worthiness results from uprightness and subjection to injustice (and in the best cases, the combination of both): oppressed, decent people have a perennial claim on outside support. Examples of worthiness are sober demeanor, presence of dignitaries or mothers with children, neat clothing and endorsements of moral authorities.

Although the stance of Tilly on violence is provocative, it gets support in the wider literature. First of all, violating the norm of the monopoly on the use of force by the state likely leads to polarization. Therefore, under most conditions, violence is doomed to cripple social movement power (Della Porta & Diani, 1999; Tilly, 2003), unless organizations succeed in decoupling and distancing their structures from (some of their) members' illegitimate actions (Elsbach & Sutton, 1992). The WTO protest in Seattle—the so-called 'Battle of Seattle'—is a textbook example of a successful decoupling strategy (DeLuca & Peeples, 2002; Rojecki, 2002) and highlights that deservedness is to a large extent socially constructed (Ingram & Schneider, 2005).

Second, the problem of worthiness has a long tradition in social movement studies, and can be traced back to the shift from collective behavior to resource mobilization theories. The former depicted protestors as irrational (human) beings, alienated from society, intellectually and morally degraded by being part of a crowd. Protestors were by definition unworthy and posed a threat to the existing social order. Resource mobilization theories of the 1980s presented a hypercorrection to the image of the irrational protestor. Protestors were considered rational, carefully calculating costs and benefits. They became thought of as positive forces in

societies, that feed systems with new ideas and often drive necessary social change. Also in protest outcome studies, the issue of violence versus non-violence is hotly debated (Giugni, 1998).

Finally, the work of Turner (1969) and his students (xxx, 1972) deserves mentioning, as it probably comes closest to Tilly's worthiness component. Turner's work deals with perceptions of protest. He convincingly argues that collective acts of disruption with political goals sometimes are labeled as social protest and sometimes as crime or rebellion. Instead of worthiness, Turner speaks of 'credibility'. Weak groups need to be virtuous. Violence immediately calls this virtuousness into question. Interestingly, Turner considers numbers (the fact that the protestors constitute a major part of the group who shares a particular grievance) as crucial in establishing credibility. Also, the grievance of the group needs to be well documented, its message needs to strike the right balance between appeal and threat, and the group needs to be relatively powerless. If too few people participate, protest is mere deviance. If threat messages are above a certain optimal threshold, disruptive protest is mere crime or—in case of many participants—full-fledged rebellion.

UNITY. Unity according to Tilly refers to the connectedness of the protesters. This connectedness first of all needs to be of a substantial nature. Unity is expressed by having a common program or claim, shared by all. This connectedness can also be affirmed visually and behaviorally: by having common symbols or uniforms, by dressing in a single color or wearing matching badges, or by marching in ranks, linking arms, performing a coordinated choreography and chanting similar slogans. Demonstrations that score high on unity, show that the participants agree among themselves and have the capacity to act together. They are a robust block. If protestors disagree and there are visible cracks in the monolithic block, the protest signal becomes opaque. Adversaries might then wedge the movement apart, leaving it scattered and powerless.

The importance of unity fits the influential frame alignment approach in social movement studies (Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford, 1986; Benford & Snow, 2000). Frame alignment refers to "*The linkage of individual and SMO interpretative orientations, such that some set of individual interests, values and beliefs and SMO activities, goals, and ideology are congruent and complementary.*"(Snow et al, 1986: 464). Alignment between organizers and participants, brings along congruence across participants. Successful frame alignment by protest organizers leads to unified protesters. How successfully issues are framed by organizers can impact the commitment component of the WUNC equation as well as: it is likely that the more aligned participants are the ones who become more committed leading to more persistent activism (Cadena-Roa, 2002; D'Anjou, 1996, Snow et al, 1986).

Besides the framing literature, also rational choice accounts of protest participation refer to the importance of (perceived) unity. Finkel, Muller and Opp (1989) do so most explicitly. In order to overcome the free-rider problem in collective action, all actors of a certain group that aims to succeed, need to be convinced of the necessity of each individual actor's contribution. This mechanism to overcome the free-rider problem they label 'the unity principle'. Although WUNC in general is about propagating an identity, it is the unity factor that most clearly

underlines that this identity is part of a 'collective' identity (Hunt & Benford, 2004). The unity component specifies whether the collectivity (the demonstration) has common values, interests and goals and whether it shares a sense of mutuality and solidarity.

NUMBERS. Numbers is the most straightforward component of WUNC. Discussion about demonstrations often centers on their turnout, with counts of police and organizers, although both claiming to be able to count, differing dramatically. Small (1974) reports how 'hawk' and 'dove' newspapers differed in their estimates of demonstration headcounts during the Vietnam war. Clearly, numbers matter as they in the most tangible way add weight to the claim movements make. In a sense, the numbers component aligns social movement activity with the electoral logic of representative democracy, and suggests demonstrations to mirror public will. Numbers are displayed by headcounts in demonstrations, signatures on petitions and rallies filling public squares.

Della Porta and Diani (1999) hold that, what they call 'a logic of numbers', underlies many protest actions precisely because of its link with representative democracy. In line with DeNardo (1985) power is in numbers, as large demonstrations give targets, third parties and plain citizens cues about the support the movement enjoys. Mobilizing big also testifies of the organizational skill of the staging organization(s). Given the fact that demonstrators are voters too and that demonstrations might influence public opinion, power holders interested in re-election are likely to pay attention to demonstrations that are large. Lohmann (1993) in her signaling model of collective action, holds that politicians take demonstration size into account when making decisions. But not only size. Instead, when deciding to react to protest, politicians include worthiness in their calculus as well. Politicians would only take the numbers of moderate activist into account, and shift policy if a certain critical threshold of moderates is exceeded. The turnout of extremist activists is discarded. Walgrave and Vliegenthart (2012) find that in Belgium, especially demonstration size and not so much demonstration frequency triggers attention from political elites. They did not incorporate a measure of worthiness (non-violence) in their analysis, though (but see McAdam and Su, 2002 for a comparison of the effectiveness of persuasive versus disruptive tactics for political agenda setting impact).

COMMITMENT. Commitment equals determination. It implies perseverance and persistence even in costly or risky activities, and indicates readiness to resist attack. Commitment might also be signaled by more modest acts, however, as for instance braving bad weather, or taking the kids to the march. Basically, commitment is displayed implicitly by the (practical) barriers that stand in between potential and actual participation and by the explicit declaration of commitment during the act of protest itself. In a time perspective, commitment signals the crucial campaign component of social movements. It shows that, even without achieving the objectives, the movement will hold on. Commitment is the promise of a long term fight. It convinces outsiders that the event is not simply a craze or a fluke but that it has deeply rooted causes that will make activists persist.

Wilson (1972), in his classic *Introduction to Social Movements* writes a full chapter on 'the problem of commitment'. Commitment is the outcome of the balancing task between movement demands and personal investments (see Fireman & Gamson, 1972 for a critique on a too narrowly conceived utilitarian logic in social movement studies). Kanter (1968: 499) defines commitment as the willingness of social actors to give their energy and loyalty to social systems. Committed people follow a consistent course of action as they pursue a goal even at the expense of other potential activities and interests (Becker 1960 in Hunt & Benford, 2004). Movement members may give up careers, forgo educational opportunities, or expose themselves to physical hardships, run the risk of imprisonment, and so on (Wilson, 1972). Research on sustained activism, focuses on a specific aspect of this commitment component (Downton & Wehr, 1997). Fostering commitment is vital for the survival of social movements, and according to Alinsky (1972 in McAdam et al, 1982) nothing fosters commitment more than the taste of victory.

DIVERSITY. In *Popular Contention in Great Britain*, Tilly (1995) raises doubts about at least some of the aspects of unity. In fact, Tilly holds that unity is an ambivalent asset for movements: in some circumstances, movements gain from appearing homogenous (unity) whereas in others, the fact that the grievance is shared across heterogeneous groups, gives the protest strength (diversity). Van Aelst and Walgrave (2001) most explicitly tackle this issue of heterogeneity of protest in what they call the 'normalization of the protestor'. This normalization includes that not only more, but also more and more diverse people take to the streets, be it in separate actions or within a single action. Especially in this latter case, diversity is broadcasted in the sense Tilly describes above. A diverse crowd offers a more credible claim on the representativeness of the constituency. If a diverse group of people endorses the same claim, chances increase that there is wide-spread support for the claim within the wider population as well. Walgrave and Verhulst (2009), for instance, showed how the internal composition (diversity) of the massive 2003 protest actions against the imminent war on Iraq differed across nations, in line with the national public opinion regarding the war. In countries with an overall more skeptical public opinion, the composition of the crowds was more diverse.

It seems therefore sensible to add a fifth component to the WUNC concept, be it with a lower case and not with a capital as it did not belong to Tilly's initial conceptualization (dWUNC). Where unity refers to the claims and the behavioral repertoire displayed during protest action, diversity refers to a protest's human composition, and taps whether the constituents who subscribe to the claim are diverse or homogenous. If protest is diverse, and people of all walks of life—conservatives and democrats, the young and the elderly, trade unions and environmental organizations—participate, a more credible claim of wide outside support can be made. Unity in claims and behavior, and diversity in demonstration composition, boosts a protest's persuasive power.

Wrapping up, we section showed that despite the fact that WUNC sounds odd—dWUNC sounds even odder—the different components are deeply rooted in the social movement literature. Moreover, our discussion substantiated that dWUNC may act as an umbrella concept managing to integrate different paradigms prevalent in social movement studies. By integrating

dWUNC in the wider social movement literature we also clarified the interconnections between the different components. We showed that worthiness might be contingent upon numbers (too few people makes protestors lose their significant right to protest) and commitment (too much commitment makes protest too threatening). Also, high numbers are likely to draw in less committed, less united, and less worthy, but possibly more diverse supporters. In the next section we situate dWUNC in what we consider to be its contemporary natural habitat: the mass media arena.

DWUNC IN MEDIA COVERAGE

Today, the mass media are the primary forum of public discourse (Ferree et al, 2002). Mass media integrate information flowing around in all other types of arenas of public discourse and makes them accessible for a much wider audiences than the initial (specialist) publics. This makes the media arena a central site of contention where social movements preferably would like to broadcast WUNC. Koopmans (2004) argues that, whereas in the past the interaction between movements and authorities was in the direct, physical confrontation in a particular location, nowadays, the indirect, mediated encounter between both in the mass media arena plays a decisive role. It is via media coverage that protestors come to know about windows of opportunity, weak spots and access points to the political system. And, it is via coverage of protest that politicians come to know about protest actions. This mediated nature of protest has even come to a point, still according to Koopmans, that authorities now only react to protest *if* and *as* it is depicted in the media arena. In the words of Tilly (2004), the mass media is an echo chamber in which activists can hear how others are interpreting their presence and claims.

Knowing that dWUNC displays are the primary instrument for social movements to convey their message persuasively to bystanders, opponents and targets and knowing at the same time that the modern mass media are the principal interface between movements and the outside world, it makes sense to first look for dWUNC in media coverage of protest. In terms of impact of the protest, the question is not whether a protest event *is* dWUNC but whether it is *covered as* dWUNC in the media.

Yet, before a protest can be covered as dWUNC in the media, it must pass the gates and be covered at all. Even in that early stage, getting into the media, dWUNC may matter. It is likely that the actual dWUNCness of collective actions influences news media gatekeeping since the dWUNC components match news values and selection criteria in the news making process (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Demonstration size, for instance, is the strongest and most consistent factor accounting for media attention to protest (McCarthy et al, 1996). Disruptive actions, on the other hand, calling worthiness into question are newsworthy too (Wouters, 2013). Tilly (1999: 261) notes in this respect that violations of the WUNC code can occur in pursuit of visibility: when members of dissent factions brake the façade of unity by resisting march orders, or when gay militants violate conventional standards of worthiness by cross-dressing the chance of gaining visibility increases. So, in a sense, protestors can also attract the

media spotlight by behaving anti-WUNC. Either way, there are reasons to assume that the dWUNCness of collective action, or its anti-DWUNCness, accounts for media coverage of the protest. Events are more likely to be treated prominently, at length, and across stations in the news. Note that we do not test this claim in the present study. We only deal with events that are covered and cannot compare covered with non-covered events.

Once protest got into the news, the question is how it is covered. Both social movement and communication scholars have studied what they call the 'description' of protest by mass media (McCarthy et al, 1996; Smith et al, 2001; Wouters, 2013). According to Mcleod and Hertog (1992, 1999), media coverage of protest follows on implicit template that tends to marginalize, criminalize and even demonize protestors. Some typical characteristics of protest reports— focus on event over grievances, invocation of (unsupportive) public opinion, use of marginalization devices etc—boil down to a coverage pattern known as the 'protest paradigm'. Protest coverage according to this paradigm broadcasts just the opposite of dWUNC. Protestors are characterized as criminals (unworthy), unable to agree among themselves (divided), not representative (marginal in numbers) and more interested in the carnival aspect than in the good cause (uncommitted). However, there is debate about protest paradigm studies as they tend to code on their dependent variables and exclusively incorporate negative elements in their coding schemes (see for instance Dardis, 2006). In any case, protest paradigm work makes it clear that it is not evident that protest will be covered as being dWUNC. Some say that protest tends to be covered as not being dWUNC.

In the empirical part of this paper, we code dWUNC, and its flipside, in television news coverage of protest. Our analyses are guided by three research questions. First, *to what extent do mass media cover protest in terms of dWUNC (RQ1)?* In other words, do journalists perceive and narrate protest through dWUNC glasses? And, are all components equally present and prominent in the reports journalists make? Second, we want to get a better empirical grip on the relationship between the components. Tilly hypothesized about the contradictory nature of some components (e.g. unity and numbers). Therefore, we ask: *How do the different dWUNC components relate to each other in mass media coverage of protest (RQ2)?* Third, we explore the determinants of the dWUNCness of protest coverage. We expect type of movements, the reality on the ground, and the type of news station to matter for the degree of dWUNCness of the coverage. *Does the dWUNCness in mass media coverage of protest differ across events, movements and news stations (RQ3)?*

DATA AND METHODS

We collected data on actual protest events drawing on the archives of the Brussels police department[2] that deals with protest requests and permits in the capital of Belgium and Europe. The Brussels police department is responsible for the area in which all the Belgian and European

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[2] Technically it is the police department *Brussel-Hoofdstad-Elsene.*

political institutions and most of the foreign embassies are located. All demonstrations staged between 2000 and 2010 (N=4,582) that succeeded in getting covered by the public and/or main commercial broadcaster (N=564) were selected for further analysis (see Wouters, 2013 for a detailed media selection analysis and more information on data gathering). The police data did not allow us to code all dWUNC components, but information about numbers and some indicators of disruption (e.g. arrests) were available. The TV news coverage of the 564 events was coded for worthiness, unity, numbers, commitment and diversity in two ways: a detailed coding with an explicit codebook tapping a range of indicators of the different dWUNC components and a subjective and implicit assessment of the different components by a panel of coders.

The detailed, explicit coding was done by one of the authors (master coder, 51% of all reports) and three trained MA students. All news items were coded following a very detailed coding scheme that contained indicators of the five dWUNC components. For instance, for numbers, the actual amount of demonstrators as mentioned in the news report was coded, as well as whether there was any discussion about the number of participants, the sources of different turnout estimates (police, organizers, journalists, others) and whether the turnout was higher or lower than expected (or whether no interpretation of the turnout was made). For each dWUNC component a detailed list of dummy variables was checked by the coders. Intercoder reliability tests indicate reliable coding with all Krippendorff's Alphas ranging from .64 to .89 (Hayes and Krippendorff, 2007). The detailed, explicit codebook is available upon request.

The subjective, implicit coding was done by five coders in a panel. We organized a kind of panel vote. None of the panel coders was the master coder; all of them coded all protest reports. The five coders were first instructed and the theoretical meaning of the five components was explained to them; they received no explicit training in coding media stories for dWUNC. The idea was rather to tap into people's subjective perception of the dWUNCness of a demonstration as covered in the news. Probably ordinary citizens and politicians, often the target of protest, 'read' demonstrations as they are covered in the media in a similar subjective way. We expected these subjective perceptions to vary a lot between coders. Some viewers may consider the behavior of protesters on TV as unworthy and rowdy, others may consider the same behavior as rather worthy and upright. That is why we organize a panel vote and did not expect to find high correspondence among coders. Each coder scored each demonstration on each of the dWUNC components by means of five five-point scales (unworthy–worthy; divided-united; small scaled-large scale; uncommitted–committed; homogenous-heterogeneous). Coders were forced to score the demonstrations on each scale, even if the component was not really present or applicable. For all scales except for the numbers scale, the middle category was the zero point; the middle of the numbers scale marks demonstrations of about one thousand participants. Based on these subjective implicit coding by five coders, we computed a total dWUNC score for each protest report by adding the scores (maximum score is 5x5x5=125). Except for the numbers scale (Krippendorf Alpha: .71), intercoder reliability for the subjective implicit panel was bad, as expected. Results for the twenty demonstrations that score highest on overall dWUNCness have acceptable reliability scores, however. This suggests that when dWUNC is very

explicitly mentioned or showed, coders are able to code as if they were one. The subjective, implicit codebook is available upon request.

On top of the dual dWUNC coding we indicated whether the protest reports were a lead item in the news and whether both stations covered the protest. To analyze differences between demonstrations, the organizers of the protest as mentioned in the police reports were classified in four issue/organization types: old social movements (bread and butter issues; trade unions), new social movements (identity politics; peace, environmental, north-south), migrant and asylum seekers (far less resourceful compared to the previous organizational types) and an 'other organization' reference category (local protests, anarchists protest, protests without formal organizer).

Although there are other ways to capture dWUNC, for instance analyzing the dWUNCness of a single movement over time, we believe the approach applied here is superior when it comes to (making a beginning with) gauging the dWUNCness of collective action. First, by comparing across many different events staged by a good many different groups, we test whether dWUNCness is a generic characteristic of social movement description in the media or not. The fact that WUNC is central in Tilly's influential definition of social movements suggests that it will and warrants a comparative take. Second, looking at dWUNC via coverage of demonstrations is a good start to systematically and empirically examine dWUNC. Tilly himself hints at taking demonstrations as the starting point for studying WUNC. In his words, demonstrations are "*like miniature social movements*" that can "*broadcast a multiple of numbers, unity, worthiness and commitment*" claims (Tilly, 1995: 373). As such, demonstrations "*nicely encapsulate the distinctive features of social movement displays*"(Tilly, 1999: 206) and are even considered to have the highest capacity for movements to advertise WUNC (Tilly, 2008: 74).

RESULTS

Do journalists narrate protests in terms of dWUNC? Table 1 lists the five protests that scored highest in terms of subjective, implicit dWUNCness during the entire research period. It lists the total dWUNC score (first column), the date of the action and the broadcaster that aired the report (second column), describes the demonstration topic (third column) and briefly summarizes whether and how the dWUNC components were discussed (column 4 to 8). As explained earlier, the total dWUNC score was computed by simply adding the scores of each of the five panel coders.

On April 12, 2006, the seventeen year old Joe Van Holsbeeck, waiting on a friend in Brussels central station, refused to give in to two youngster who pressed him to hand over his MP3-player. A minute later, Joe was stabbed several times in the chest. He collapsed, fell on the platform floor and died in the crowded station. It was rush hour. The aggressors managed to escape and were caught one month later. Friends, acquaintances and classmates of Joe, calling themselves the 'Friends of Joe, started a petition 'against random violence' resulting in a quarter of a million signatures handed over to the prime minister. The parents of Joe—the killing was

widely discussed in the mass media—called for a demonstration. They explicitly wished for the march to be non-partisan and silent. Only eleven days after the killing of Joe, 80.000 participants showed up in Brussels to make a claim against random violence. The 'March for Joe' was the largest demonstration in Brussels of that period. Media coverage stressed the heterogeneous composition of the crowd: people of all colors and walks of life participated. The Friends of Joe walked up front together with Joe's parents, but also older people, families, famous people and politicians were present. At the very last minute, a diverse group of civil society organizations (trade unions, third world organizations,...) decided to endorse the march. But they did not display their traditional colors at the march. In fact, the march was united in white. Participants shared their grief and solidarity with the victims and were unified by the fear for themselves and their own children. Moments of collective silence—which was 'deafening' according to the news coverage—were alternated by moments of collective applause. The atmosphere at the march was emotional and journalists explicitly praised the worthy behavior of the participants. Their commitment was not stressed in the media, but the disciplined collective behavior made a strong impression. All subjective coders assigned at least a four on the five-point scale for each of the dWUNC components (except for the commitment) making the March for Joe the demonstration with the highest dWUNC score in our dataset (Table 1).

Score (x/125)	Date	Topic	Diversity	Worthiness	Unity	Numbers	Commitment
			TABLE 1. dWUNC SCORECARD: Five demonstrations with the highest total dWUNC score				
115	23/04/06 (Eén)	Against random violence; Remember Joe Van Holsbeeck	Young people up front Old people, famous people, normal people, politicians	Worthy explicitly mentioned	"All together" Collective Silence; Collective Applause	80.000 participants; more than expected	No explicit mentioning
		Score	24/25	24/25	23/25	25/25	19/25
114	15/03/03 (Eén)	Iraq: For peace, not war	All sorts and kinds of people, politicians, ministers, celebs; other actions in the world	Dance, music, carnival; no arrests nor violence	Disagreement: Abou jah Jah at head of demo, not liked by other org Collective dancing; no war for oil symbol	Police: 30.000 Org: 55.000 Journalist: many ten thousands	Nth-action in a row, next action planned Friday, people are very committed; it is worth the effort.
		Score	23/25	20/25	23/25	25/25	23/25
113	15/02/03 (Eén)	Iraq: For peace, not war	Broad coalition of organization, many families, young and old, citizens; Actions in more than 600 cities across the world	Modest protest; but also carnival	One message: no war for oil; Collective slogan chanting, dancing, noise making, chain of humans	Org: 70.000 Journ: 50.000; Both say more than expected	"Despite bitterly cold, many people show up…"
		Score	24/25	18/25	24/25	25/25	22/25
112	15/02/03 (vtm)	Iraq: For peace, not war	Normal people, families with children who rarely demonstrate; Muslim women; Arab league, extreme left. More than 600 cities.	Worthy explicitly mentioned; modest protest; but also dance, music, carnival	All here for the same reason; Collective noise, dancing, chain of humans,	Police: 42.000 Org: 100.000 Journ: many ten thousands; both org and jour say more than expected	No explicit mentioning of commitment
		Score	24/25	20/25	24/25	25/25	19/25
110	05/12/09 (Eén)	Climate Change; summit Copenhagen	Environmental, third-world and unions. Politicians (green, Christian democrats); Man with child on shoulders; Actions in Berlin, London,…	Music playing, noise making	"the message is clear as day and everywhere the same: act now, before it is too late"; collective slogan, noise, flags, blue shirts symbolize water	Jour: 15.000 participants; more than expected.	Man holding child on shoulders during interview.
		Score	23/25	16/25	24/25	25/25	22/25

Media coverage of the Brussels climate change demonstration on the eve of the international summit in Copenhagen in December 2009 stressed all dWUNC components (Table 1). Participants were diverse. Environmental, third-world and trade union organizations joined forces. Also politicians were present. Similar actions were held in Berlin and London to name a few. Participants were united. The voiceover said: "*The message is clear as day and everywhere the same: act now, before it is too late*". Blocks of participants were wearing blue T-shirts and banners, representing a giant wave. Participants were numerous: 15,000 persons showed up, more than expected. A demonstration of 15,000 participants is a large demonstration according to Belgian standards. Participants were not extremely worthy. Besides music playing, there was a lot of noise making and some activists were captured on camera doing strange choreographies dressed as polar bears or trees. Of all components, the march scored lowest on worthiness (16/25). The commitment of the participants, finally, was exemplified by an interview with a dad holding his son on his shoulders stating that he was committed to the cause because of his son's well-being and the next generation of human beings.

Finally, three reports about the imminent war in Iraq in 2003 appear on top of Table 1 as well. We focus on the demonstration of February 15th, 2003, the worldwide day of action against the imminent war in Iraq. As both stations covered the event (and both reports show up in the top-five), it is telling how the very same event was covered differently in both newscasts. Although both total dWUNC scores are similar (112 on VTM [commercial station] and 113 on Eén [public station]), the differences highlight the fact that news items are constructed, and that these constructions differ in how they mirror or distort reality. Whereas the descriptions of diversity and unity are very similar, the public TV-station explicitly addressed the worthiness of the marchers and it mentioned how bitterly cold the weather was, whereas none of this is explicitly mentioned on the private station. Also the numbers are different. Although both stations state that more participants showed up than expected, the numbers range from 50,000 to 100,000 according to the different outlets.

The above five examples summarized in Table 1 offer a thick description and illustrate that the dWUNC components indeed are used by journalists to tell the story of demonstrations. In Table 2 we present a more systematic (but less detailed) overview of dWUNCness of demonstrations in the media arena. The table shows the presence of the components according to different measures, and compares their presence across stations, item order and movement types. The table contains both the result of explicit, detailed coding by trained coders (first few lines of the table) and of the subjective, implicit coding by the voting panel of coders (lower part).

	diversity	WORTHINESS	UNITY	NUMBERS	COMMITMENT
TABLE 2. dWUNC components compared (N=544)					
Detailed, explicit coding	Not mentioned: 70% Heterogeneity: 23% Homogeneity: 7%	Not mentioned: 89% Worthy: 4% Unworthy: 7%	Not mentioned: 89% Agreement: 8% Disagreement: 3%	Not mentioned: 26% Mentioned: 74%	Not mentioned: 71% Mentioned: 29%
Subjective, implicit coding					
MOVEMENT TYPE					
OSM	11.7[a]	15.7[a]	18.9[a]	13.3[a]	17.8[a]
NSM	14.6[b]	17.2[b]	19.5[a]	12.0[a,b]	18.1[a]
MigAsylum	12.3[a]	15.6[a]	19.3[a]	11.3[b]	18.0[a]
Other	12.5[a]	18.0[b]	19.9[a]	10.1[b]	17.3[a]
PROMINENCE					
Headline: yes	13.8[a]	14.8[a]	19.4[a]	17.1[a]	19.3[a]
Headline: no	12.3[b]	16.7[b]	18.7[b]	12.0[b]	17.3[b]
Both stations: yes	13.0[a]	15.8[a]	19.1[a]	14.1[a]	18.5[a]
Both stations: no	12.1[b]	16.6[b]	18.7[b]	10.8[b]	17.3[b]
STATION					
VTM (commercial)	12.4[a]	15.7[a]	18.9[a]	13.1[a]	18.1[a]
Eén (public)	12.7[a]	16.4[b]	18.9[a]	12.0[b]	17.7[a]

Note: numbers in the same sections of the same columns that do not share superscripts differ significantly at p <.05 using Scheffe post hoc tests in case of ANOVA, and simple independent sample t-tests for equality of means in case of dummy variables.

DIVERSITY. Who demonstrates? Is it a particular public, the usual suspects or does the group of demonstrators include people of all walks of life? Through detailed explicit coding we gauged whether the composition of the demonstration was explicitly mentioned, and if so, whether it was described as narrow/homogeneous or divers/heterogeneous. In 30% of all news items, the demonstration's composition was explicitly discussed but most of the time only the organizers of the event were mentioned, without digging into the composition of the march. If demonstration composition was an issue, more often the heterogeneity (23%) than the homogeneity (7%) of the mass was emphasized. In case of diversity (N=122), references were made to atypical participants (Jews in a pro-Palestine, anti-Gaza war demonstration; youngsters in an elderly demonstration)(6%), presence of families (6%) or presence of international/foreign organizations (6%). Another aspect of diversity is depicting the demonstration as part of other, similar actions, occurring simultaneously elsewhere (14%).

The diversity scores of the subjective implicit panel coding show interesting differences when it comes to the organizations that stage the action. Following a one-way ANOVA, new social movement (NSM) protests score significantly higher on diversity compared to all other organization types. NSMs are presented as the coalition builders of civil society. This makes sense. Often, NSMs cannot rely on big numbers of their own, as they do not possess large rank-and-file constituencies. By building coalitions and showing the diversity within their demonstration, NSMs succeed in communicating strength. Their claims are supported by a diverse set of people, it is the public in general that is voicing its concerns, so the impression is created. Protest that was presented as being diverse, was more likely to be aired on both stations and more often appeared as headlines in the beginning of the newscast. This suggests that diversity works as a selection mechanism: more diversity leads to more prominence in the news. The opposite may be true as well, more prominently covered protest events are also covered as being more internally heterogeneous.

WORTHINESS. This potential feature of protestors' behavior is rarely explicitly discussed in the news (89%). If worthiness is a topic, newsmakers focus predominantly on unworthy behavior (7%). For instance, they zoom in on violations of norm by means of violence. Rarely, explicit reference to the deservedness of the crowd is made. A closer look at the data shows that this was most likely when the action took the form of a vigil. An important professional norm of journalists is the norm of objectivity. Explicit references to the crowd as worthy or unworthy may hinder the role of neutral reporter and may convey the impression that journalists are advocates or opponents of the movement. Therefore journalists may refrain from explicitly discussing the worthiness of the demonstrators.

The subjective implicit coding by our panel of five coders establishes that NSMs (and other organizations) score significantly higher than OSM and Migrant and Asylum seeker events on the worthiness scale. Again, just like in the diversity case, NSMs seem to have an advantage in the media arena. The finding of the other organizations is only puzzling at first sight. Once disaggregated, many cases of in the 'other organizations' category appear to relate to consensual issues (for instance, a vigil because a jeweler was shot). As Hall (1986) notices, if a topic falls

into the sphere of consensus, journalists do not need to be neutral. Unworthiness seems to work as a selection mechanism. Unworthy protestors more easily make headline news and are more likely covered by both stations. And, the commercial station depicts demonstrators as less worthy compared to the public station. This is a pure selection effect, however. If only those demonstrations that make it to the news on both stations are taken into account, no such difference between stations is found. Apparently, the commercial station filters more strictly on disruptive protests and then, as a consequence, emphasizes these more disruptive events more often as unworthy.

UNITY. For journalists, unity within demonstrations seems obvious. Rarely unity is explicitly addressed. Reporting on dissent within a demonstration even is more exceptional than reporting on agreement within a demonstration. At first sight, this is counterintuitive. Dissent under the same banner is exceptional and therefore newsworthy. We coded a host of other unity variables on basis of the visuals in the news items, related to the behavior (linking arms [9%], applauding [5%], chanting slogans [28%], noisemaking [41%], silence [7%]) and the appearance of the demonstrators (clothes in similar colors [40%], recurring symbols [36%]). So, in many cases the unity of the demonstrators is communicated visually, without explicit mentioning it in the voiceover.

Subjective implicit scores for unity given by the coders panel are high across the board (all score above 18.7 on the 25-point scale). No significant differences between movement types are found. Examples of highly unified protests are Gay Prides, physiotherapy students protesting against additional labor market admission tests, and Muslim girls demonstrating in favor of their right to wear a headscarf. Interestingly—and confirming the pattern so far that positive scores on the dWUNC components lead to more prominent coverage—unity is related to prominence: unified protest is covered more prominently (headlines) and more often by both TV stations.

NUMBERS. For journalists, demonstrating is a numbers game. In three reports out of four, an explicit reference to the turnout of the action is made. Surprisingly, this turnout is rarely contested or discussed (10%). Numbers seem to be facts. Contestation of the numbers was either done by having multiple sources presenting their estimate (organizers, police, journalist) (5%), or by comparing the actual turnout to what was expected (8%). In real numbers, the average size of a Brussels demonstration that makes it into the TV news is 4,387.

Comparing subjectively and implicitly coded numbers coverage across movement types shows that especially old social movements are capable of mobilizing big numbers—or better: that the coverage of their events suggests that many people showed up—but the difference with the new social movements is not significant. Numbers appear as a strong predictor with regard to prominence. The more the coverage suggests a large turnout, the more the event is among the news' headlines and the more both stations cover it. Remarkably, the average numbers score on the public broadcaster is significantly lower than on the commercial broadcaster. Since the public TV covers more events, and thus also smaller events, this makes sense.

COMMITMENT. A host of explicit variables measures commitment; in 29% of the protest reports at least one commitment indicator was mentioned. The most frequent of those mentions is referring to the militancy of the activists and to past and future (planned) actions of the group. References to braving bad the weather (cold or rain) were rarely made (3%). References to the demonstration as a risky undertaking were made more often (10%).

Although no differences in references to commitment between movement types were found, action forms differed significantly in their score on commitment: demonstrations that were part of a national strike and blockades scored higher on commitment, vigils did not score lower (results not shown in the table). When an event is being covered as existing out of more committed participants, chances increase that the headlines will be made and that both stations will cover it.

In order to tease out the associations between the five dWUNC components, Table 3 shows a simple Pearson's correlations matrix based on the subjective, implicit scores given by the panel of coders. Besides each component, also the total dWUNC score is included.

	TABLE 3: Relations between dWUNC components (Pearson's r; N=544)					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Total score	1					
2	Worthiness	,271**	1				
3	Unity	,577**	,173**	1			
4	Numbers	,805**	-0,081	,326**	1		
5	Commitment	,399**	-,368**	,296**	,328**	1	
6	Diversity	,706**	,118**	,216**	,395**	,119**	1

  ** Significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

We argued with Tilly that dWUNC is a cumulative process and that movements try to maximize all components. At the same time, however, it appears that some components may work against each other. Our analysis of media coverage of protest shows that there is a positive and significant correlation between most dWUNC components in the news (seven out of ten correlation between components are positive and significant). This establishes that the possible contradiction between the components is not systematic. It is generally not the case that if protests are covered as being numerous, that they are being described as being less committed, for instance. The opposite is even the case. The higher a protest scores on most of the components, the higher the chance it will also score higher on the other components. Or, in the words of Tilly, if a movement succeeds in successfully 'mystifying' one of the dWUNC components chances increases that there will be a positive spill-over to other components. The components generally seem to reinforce instead of working against each other.

We draw three additional more specific conclusions from Table 3. First, numbers correlate most strongly with the total dWUNC score. If numbers are high, observers seem to perceive the protest also as more unified, diverse and committed. Diversity as well correlates

highly with the total dWUNC score. This leads to a second observation: the strongest co-occurrence among dWUNC components is the one between numbers and diversity (r = .395). If a demonstration is large, journalists tend to spend broadcast time to describing the composition of the march, and larger demonstrations have higher odds of being diverse. Third, the second strongest correlation is a negative one, between worthiness and commitment (r=-.368). When demonstrators behave very worthy, they are considered to be less committed, and vice versa. Journalists tends to describe the behavior of protesters as being worthy *or* committed. This confirms Tilly's need for mystification to a certain extent as these two (d)WUNC components seem to contradict each other.

We now elaborate on the strong correlation between numbers and the total dWUNC score. It seems that the amount of protesters in an event presents a crucial threshold in the media arena. Previous studies found that demonstration size is crucial for getting coverage. Studies also showed that numbers increase the odds of prominent coverage and of more lengthy coverage. Disruption has a similar effect. Disruption leads to selection, prominence and volume (Wouters, 2013). Here we seem to find that protests that attract many participants are not only covered more readily but also covered *differently*. Several positive features—the other dWUNC components—are attributed to more numerous protests that make those events more compelling and overall more persuasive. Table 4 shows additional analyses that strengthen our belief that demonstration size acts as the crucial barrier for movements to come across as dWUNC. More specifically, the models in Table 4 predict the total dWUNC score based on two kinds of predictors. The first block (Model 1) contains objective police archive information on the movement organizing the event, the actual turnout and whether any disruption occurred (no/yes: material damage, people wounded, or arrests...). In a sense, demonstration size and disruption tap into the real world of numbers and worthiness. Note that these predictors solve the tautology presented in Table 3 as the numbers variable in Table 4 is not the implicitly and subjectively coded numbers as perceived by the panel of five coders but the actual numbers as formally recorded by the police. The same applies to disruption. The second block (Model 2) presents media coverage characteristics (public or commercial station, headline or not, coverage on both stations, and item duration). Model 3 combines both types of predictors.

		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		
		B(Std.er)	Sig.	B(Std.er)	Sig.	B(Std.er)	Sig	Beta
	Constant	61.368 (1.118)	.000	71.322 (1.564)	.000	59.636 (1.534)	.000	
Police Archive	Protest Size	3.596 (0.159)	.000			3.189 (0.168)	.000	.622
	Disruption (yes)	-1.852 (0.834)	.027			-2.556 (0.806)	.002	-.094
	NSM (ref cat.)							
	OSM	-6.183 (0.818)	.000			-6.198 (0.782)	.000	-.298
	MigAsylum	-6.313 (0.965)	.000			-5.654 (0.922)	.000	-.223
	Other	-4.635 (1.431)	.001			-5.202 (1.362)	.000	-.122
Media Coverage	Station (public)			0.072 (0.835)	.931	0.761 (0.642)	.236	.036
	Headline (yes)			0.656 (1.033)	.526	-0.566 (0.796)	.478	-.025
	Coverage both (yes)			3.222 (0.832)	.000	0.187 0.657)	.776	.009
	Item length			0.045 (0.005)	.000	0.029 (0.004)	.000	.253
Adjusted R²		.501		.216		.557		

TABLE 4. Linear regression predicting total dWUNC score

Results show size—the number of people attending the event according to the police—to be by far the strongest predictor of the total dWUNC score of a news report of the event. The effect of actual disruption, as recorded by the police, on the total dWUNC score is negative, suggesting that disruption disqualifies a movement and leads to systematically lower dWUNC scores in the media. Our bivariate findings on movement type seem to hold in a multivariate setting: compared to the other movement types, new social movements succeed in coming across as dWUNC in the media arena. Of all media coverage variables, only item length is significant in the final model; the longer a news item, the more a protest is depicted as being dWUNC.

All in all, it appears that the amount of people attending a protest event sets the crucial threshold for protest actions to be covered by the news media as being dWUNC. High numbers signal the importance of a demonstration to the newsroom. Editors decide that the big protest has headline capacity, and allow journalists to make a longer news item. With the additional time granted, journalists address the other dWUNC components, building on the big numbers fact. Journalists ask questions as: Who are these people that are so many? Are they diverse or not? Being with so many, do they really all want the same? How do those many people behave? Do they show signs of really caring about the issue or is it just an entertaining event for most? Answering those questions most of the times leads to sympathizing coverage emphasizing the dWUNCness of the protest event.

The study integrated Tilly's diverse and scattered writings on WUNC, added diversity as a fifth component and embedded the dWUNC components in the broader social movement literature. In doing so, we provided dWUNC with a more robust theoretical foundation. Whereas Tilly traced the origin of social movements back to the birth of democratic competition in nation states and especially employed WUNC as a definitional element for social movements, we are more interested in dWUNC as a scorecard against which observers measure the strength of protest. We argued with Tilly that dWUNC produces persuasive and compelling protests. Coming across as dWUNC is key to an effective social movement PR. dWUNC matters for the political outcomes of a movement since it communicates an identity that people are likely to accept as legitimate and identify with themselves. Protest that is dWUNC can rightfully claim credit and assign blame and can draw people to the social movement side in a conflict.

The paper not only contributed theoretically. Methodologically, for the first time, we made the implicit scorecard explicit by conceptualizing and operationalizing dWUNC. We devised two ways of measuring dWUNC: a detailed and explicit measurement drawing on a large range of concrete indicators and a subjective, implicit measurement based on a panel vote of a number of coders.

Empirically, we applied our dWUNC measures to a large sample of TV-news items in which protest in Brussels, Belgium were covered. We found that journalists do narrate protest stories in terms of dWUNC. They implicitly, and explicitly, describe protest as being diverse, large, worthy, united and committed, or not. Moreover, there are clear patterns in their description of protest in dWUNC terms as some movements' events are systematically labeled as being more or less dWUNC. For the largest part the different dWUNC components work in unison, when one aspect goes up, the others follow. But worthiness and commitment do contradict each other, or at least journalists do only seldom describe an event as being worthy and committed at the same time. Most importantly, we found that protests that are high in numbers get a much more favorable dWUNC coverage in general. Massive protests cross a threshold that make them receive favorable—in our terms: more dWUNC—coverage throughout.

The study was explorative. It made a beginning with putting dWUNC center stage in the study of social movement outcomes. We consider this paper as a first step, albeit a crucial one. If politicians and citizens perceive protest primarily via media coverage, the question of whether and how journalists narrate protest in term of dWUNC is essential as a starting point for disentangling the persuasive power of collective action. We are confident that dWUNC is a universal scorecard that can be applied to most protest, but the presence of each component and its substantive content may of course differ across systems and outlets. For instance, this study focused on mass media coverage of protest in a single Western country. Mass media in such a country tend to follow journalistic norms of objectivity. We found explicit mentions of worthiness to be rare, as well as explicit discussions of demonstration turnout. These aspects of the dWUNC scorecard might interfere with neutrality that is part of the role conception of

journalists in Belgium. Journalists working for partisan media, on the other hand, or in other countries, may be less reticent to elaborate on the worthiness or the numbers of the protest events they cover. Additionally, a dWUNC component like worthiness is heavily dependent on the cultural context. What is worthy in Belgium for example, may be much less worthy in a country with a different culture, religion and background. But the underlying logic stays the same, we believe.

Our study tackled dWUNC coverage in one country (Belgium), and mostly of the one dominant action form in that country (street demonstration). Much more detailed distinctions and dynamic analyses should be undertaken. Future research could, for instance, scrutinize whether and how dWUNC displays evolve over a movement's lifespan or in response to exogenous events. Probably it is difficult for young movement organizations to play on numbers in the early stage of a protest cycle. Suddenly imposed grievances might provide movements with momentum inflating the numbers. But such 'momentum movements' may not attract participants that are committed enough to guarantee sustainability. Different action forms are expected to score differently on dWUNC components. Hunger strikes, for instance, display massive commitment and unity, usually by a non-diverse, non-numerous, and unworthy set of people. Vigils, on the other hand, may maximize diversity and worthiness but lack commitment.

One of the attractive features of the dWUNC approach to the outcomes of social movements is that it puts the agency of social movements up front and highlights the fact that the movement itself and the protest it stages, affects the influence it has. To some extent, the issue the protest is about, and the entire political and social context in which the protest takes place, is ignored. This goes against the mainstream in social movement outcome studies focusing on the favorability of the context for movements to have success. In that sense, a dWUNC approach to protest outcomes is complementary with the prevailing contextual approach to movement success. Movements need to be dWUNC and at the same time they need elites allies, divided governments, a supportive public opinion etc. to be successful. Still, one could argue that dWUNC brings movement agency only seemingly back into the study of movement outcomes. Movements depend on mass media organizations to come across as dWUNC as it are the media who convey their dWUNC message to the public and the targets. Yet, as the news media's core news values seem to overlap largely with the dWUNC components, there is no contradiction between trying to be dWUNC and trying to hit the news.

The study's most blatant weakness, of course, is that we failed to measure the actual effect of dWUNC on the public and elites. Measuring the effect of dWUNC, and its different components, should be the next step. We believe that social movement impact studies might benefit from embracing methods used for long by social psychologists and communication scholars: the experiment. Experiments guarantee researcher control, have high internal validity and are the single best way to establish causality. Carefully manipulated media messages of protest events that differ in terms of dWUNC may be shown to a variety of audiences (citizens, demonstrators, politicians), which can be asked to judge the protest event. We believe that introducing experimental methods in social movement studies would greatly advance our

knowledge of the mechanisms that underlie the persuasive power—and therefore ultimately the impact—of protest[3].

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[3] Possible ideas for next versions of the paper. (1) Use path models. (2) dWUNC is count so use Poisson. (3) Further argue the subjective implicit coding (using Soroka). (4) In the model that predicts dWUNCness, two components are made explicit with police archive data: numbers (size of the demonstration according to police) and worthiness (whether there was any disruption). We could try to make the other components more explicit as well. For instance, diversity would be the number of staging organizations across social movement industries (unions and … and …). Commitment could be the frequency of protest on that particular issue in the week before and the week after a particular event (moving averages). Only unity is difficult to analyze, as it is too specific to deduct from the issue description in the demonstration requests. Is this additional work worth the trouble? Will it make the paper significantly stronger? (5) working with a multiplicative instead of an additive score of dWUNCness? (6) Make more use of the explicit detailed coding to construct second dWUNC score and compare results. (7) Too many ideas. Split up the paper in several papers? (8) In the final analyses in Table 4 delete the number component in the aggregated dWUNC score used as the dependent variable. (9) use predicted probabilities to substantiate the size of the effect of numbers in Table 4. (10) Much more attention is needed for the codebook and the explicit indicators of dWUNC. (11) Do more analyses with these explicit indicators? (11) For worthiness, refer to the literature on civil disobedience (Gandhi and Martin Luther King).