"The race of the officer was not disclosed":

A systemic functional grammar analysis of the Ferguson shooting media coverage

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This thesis examined the representation of African Americans in the Ferguson news coverage in CNN and Fox News online news using critical discourse studies, systemic functional grammar and corpus linguistics methodology. Representation was studied using a combination of transitivity analysis and corpus linguistic methods. The aim of the thesis was to uncover possible racist language in the news, which is often thought of as neutral and objective. The key frameworks used in the thesis were Fairclough's and van Dijk's conceptions of critical discourse studies, especially concepts of power and discourse, and Hill's folk theory of racism and Bonita-Silva's and Omi and Winant's similar concept of color-blind racism.

Fox News and CNN were chosen as the subject of study because they are two of the most popular online news media in the United States, and because the two have also been the subject of study in media bias research. Previous research has shown that Fox News has a tendency to lean toward a pro-Republican stance, while CNN has the same tendency toward the Democratic party. The event of the news coverage was chosen because of its social significance: while examples of police brutality against African Americans are not new nor rare, Michael Brown's death and the protests that followed gave national recognition to the Black Lives Matter movement, which attempts to call attention to issues of injustice toward African Americans in the United States.

The data was annotated using UAM CorpusTool with separate layers for the process, the participants and participant roles according to Halliday's system of transitivity. The participant roles chosen to be the independent variables were African Americans and police. The findings of the study imply different representations for African Americans and police: police were mainly the doers of physical actions while African Americans were the sufferers of physical actions, and in addition, police were more likely to be quoted than African Americans. The results also showed that there were no major differences between the two media in the portrayal of African Americans, implying that the underlying racist ideology affects both media regardless of political stance.

The study would have benefited from a full range systemic functional analysis, as two metafunctions of systemic functional grammar were left out due to the range of the thesis. A more in-depth analysis would have yielded a better understanding of how the media use language to construct social actors, racialized or otherwise. However, despite the narrow analysis, the data across the two media shows clear results. In my thesis I also show that previous research in critical discourse studies has not discussed the issues relating to citizens of color, instead scholars have focused on immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers.

Keywords: critical discourse studies, critical discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, racism, racist language, racial formation, systemic functional grammar, systemic functional linguistics, systemic functional grammar, media discourse, fox news, cnn, representation, media representation

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ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
AP	Associated Press
BLM	Black Lives Matter
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CRT	Critical Race Theory
NAACP	National Association for the Advancemet of Colored People
POC	People of Color
SFG	Systemic Functional Grammar
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

1 Introduction

More than 50 years after outlawing "discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin" (US Civil Rights Act) and the Civil Rights movement in the United States of America (the US or the USA from now on), African Americans still face injustice and discrimination. The 1990s saw a landmark case, with the beating of Rodney King and the following riots, termed the Rodney King riots or the 1992 Los Angeles riots. The Rodney King case was not unlike many of the racially motivated incidents later in the 2010s: Eric Garner's death was recorded on film and widely spread, while the shooting of Michael Brown instigated protests and civil disorder in the town of Ferguson and started the Black Lives Matter movement. There was an audio recording of Michael Brown's shooting, which raised questions about how the incident occurred. Once more, the advancement of technology has brought forth the discussion about racial inequality and race relations.

This thesis aims to study the portrayal of African Americans in the news coverage of Michael Brown's death and the following unrest. Due to the scope of the study, I have limited the data to only CNN and Fox News coverage. I will discuss the data in more detail later on. Michael Brown's death was chosen as the focus of this study because of its social significance: Michael Brown's shooting lead to the national recognition of the Black Lives Matter movement (BLM), which has been a growing movement to bring forth to public debate the injustices African Americans face. BLM was formed after Trayvon Martin's shooter, George Zimmerman, was acquitted in the summer of 2013. One of its many objectives is to bring justice to African Americans and others (Black Lives Matter 2018). While Michael Brown's shooting and death was not certainly the first nor the last incident between police officers and African Americans in US history, it does mark the beginning of the BLM movement and the beginning of social unrest and a wave of protests in the US as well as sparking of a wider discussion of race and policing.

Michael Brown's shooting was not an insular incident: Trayvon Martin was shot dead in 2012 near his father's fiancée's house. His appearance was used as justification for the shooting, as the shooter, George Zimmerman, commented that Martin looked "real

suspicious", "up to no good" and "on drugs or something" (Mother Jones 2012). Eric Garner was choked to death because the police refused to believe that he was not selling cigarettes illegally in July 2014 (New York Times 2014a). All of the police involved in these incidents were acquitted or not indicted.

There have been other violent incidents involving the police and African Americans, for example, Tamir Rice, a 12-year old boy who was playing with an Airsoft replica gun on a playground in Cleveland; Walter Scott, a 50-year old man who was stopped because of a faulty brake light; John Crawford, a 22-year old man who picked up an unpackaged air pellet rifle in a Walmart; and Freddie Gray, a 25-year old man who was taken into custody for allegedly possessing an illegal switchblade, and who fell into a coma while being transported in a police van. The list goes on and its completion is nearly impossible, as similar incidents occur year after year, despite the legislation and good intentions toward equality. In fact, legislation such as the Civil Rights Act may serve to uphold the status quo. The smokescreen of having equal rights on paper may serve to upkeep the racial injustice instead of ridding it, as it provides a convenient solution to appease the oppressors and the oppressed, while making sure that the situation does not actually change. The Civil Rights Act may then provide a justification to downplay racism that many face in the 21st century.

Rodney King's beating was monumental in how it was portrayed in the media: a part of the beating was videotaped by a bystander. This lead the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to create the "Fighting Police Abuse: A Community Action Manual" (ACLU 1997), in which there is a dedicated a section to monitoring the police. Twenty years later similar incidents still occur. However, in the internet age videos may go *viral* and in an age where a growing number of people are able to get their hands on smart phones, with cameras and live transmission capabilities, these incidents may have changed in a profound way. Now, people are able to transmit live video from almost anywhere on the globe, making the video instantly available to a large, worldwide audience, instead of first recording something and then turning it in to a news agency then waiting for it to be transmitted on television.

The portrayal of African Americans in news media is important to study, because the media is an outlet which has the power to make opinions and attitudes "common sense",

or as Omi and Winant put it, "a way of comprehending, explaining, and acting in the world (Omi and Winant 1994, 60). Roger Fowler also considers news as discourse as well as a practice, and unlike many laypeople, Fowler considers the practice far from neutral (1991, 2) Hodge and Kress say that to sustain structures of domination, "dominant groups attempt to represent the world in forms that reflect … the interests of their power" (1988, 3), but they also note that a relationship between the dominant and the subservient must be held, the "bonds of solidarity" as they call it(ibid.), because their power depends on it.

It can be argued that mainstream news media represent the dominant groups, White media moguls, to whose disadvantage it would be to own a media which criticized its owners. According to Matheson:

> When people speak, they want to be understood and want to understand when they produce or consume language. People therefore draw upon ways of making sense which they know are shared and have some force within the community in which they are talking. People align ourselves, then, with dominant structures of meaning, often with those which have become so firmly established that they have the status of common sense.
>
> (Matheson 2005, 6)

Because mainstream news media represent the dominant group or groups (Hodge and Kress 1988), they gain power in reproducing their way of thinking and doing things, and that power is legitimized when other people, i.e. consumers of the news, share those values. When I say consumer of news, then we can see news as a product. So it is understandable that journalists attempt to represent the world in a manner that the audience can relate to, because it sells, but at the same time they represent the expert and specialist voices, making their voices and views common sense (Matheson 2005, 6).

This study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. How are African Americans represented in the selected media?

This is the main research question that I am attempting to answer in this study. According to Oliver in their literature review of studies done on the representation of African Americans in the media violent crime, such as robbery and assault, is "more likely to be associated with African Americans than Whites" (2003, 6). Dixon and Linz add to this conclusion by showing that African Americans and Latinos are more likely to be portrayed as lawbreakers (2000) than compared to White peers. Seeing as how much attention the Ferguson shooting amassed, it is vital to examine the portrayal of

African Americans in this context. I am going to look at the grammatical categories in which African Americans are represented. These categories are based on Michael Halliday's systemic functional grammar, specifically the transitivity subsystem of the ideational metafunction. Transitivity attempts to answer the question 'who did what and to whom', and as the fixed variables in this case are the whos, in short, I will examine what they did and to whom. Transitivity analysis may give us insight in how African Americans are represented and how they are viewed by the public and journalists.

My second research question is

> 2. How does the media work in forming and transforming racial categories in the Ferguson news coverage?
>
>> 2.a. What is the difference between Black and African American if there is a difference?

Due to the power the media wield, they arguably have power to form and transform racial categories, but because I am focusing on the linguistic aspect of racial formation, I have to look at the grammar in detail. The subquestion here may seem like semantics, but a study by Hall, Phillips and Townsend (2015) implies that there is more than a choice of wording: in the study they found that the term Black was more negative and less warm than its counterpart African American. Fowler for example considers that there are "always different ways of saying the same thing" and that "[d]ifferences in expression carry ideological distinctions (and thus differences in representation)" (1991, 4). Halliday terms this choice and selection as the meaning potential (2009, 325), as users of language have an enormous resource of linguistic forms from where to choose.

Race, as I will also discuss later on, is a social construct and as such is a fluid construction, so it varies according to society and epoch. The process of it was termed racial formation by Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1994). The second part of the research question will be answered by examining the use of the two terms in the data and whether they collocate with different words or how they are framed depending on the term used.

> 3. What are the possible ramifications, in terms of identity or otherwise, of certain kinds of representations of African Americans in news media?

Hall, Phillips and Townsend's study implies that the choice of using Black or African-American in courtroom proceedings may affect "how the jurors interpret the facts" and how they "make judicial decisions" (2015, 189). Not only is this a significant implication in the court room, but extending this logic to news media, with its power to make a single viewpoint to common sense (van Dijk 2008, 107), it is imperative to study how the media perceives African Americans as well as contextualizes African Americans and to understand how the news does this and how it affects African Americans.

The motivation for most critical discourse analysis (CDA) research is social change and the thesis at hand is no exception. The main goal of this thesis is to uncover the possible racial ideology behind the media representation of African Americans and to make the issue visible to news media consumers as well as discuss the power and responsibility journalists and the media have. Thus I will attempt to answer my third and final research question using the findings in the thesis and contextualizing them through the works of Stuart Hall and Michel Foucault, among others.

As I will discuss more in-depth later on, this issue has been widely researched. However, as I will come to show, the issue has not been studied using corpus linguistic tools and systemic functional grammar. As the media continue to grow and to absorb smaller media, their power continues to concentrate to the hands of the few. At the same time technology advances and new forms of media are born, so it is important to utilize new methods of research for widely researched topics, especially in a time when smaller media disappear and become part of larger media conglomerates. I will also discuss later on how much of the literature focuses mainly on immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees and not on people of color who are not immigrants, i.e. citizens of color. A great number of scholars seem to equate people of color with immigrants and ill-defined and vague minorities. This is also a problematic issue, which I will discuss later.

In my study, I will use the racial terms Black, African American and African-American interchangeably, as per the suggestion for bias-free language by the current American Psychological Association's Style Manual, and because these terms seem to be the most preferred terms by Americans of African descent (Larkey, Hecht and Martin 1993). This choice is not without controversy and issues, but these will be discussed later. I will,

however, use them corresponding to earlier studies or materials, i.e. if a study uses the term Black, I will, in that context, also use the term Black. For Americans of European descent, I will use the terms White and Caucasian interchangeably, because it seems that these are the terms most preferred by White Americans (Martin et al. 1996). The use of these terms in this dichotomy was used and suggested by a study by Hall, Phillips and Townsend, where they studied the effects of subtyping Blacks (2015). They also use the term Americans of African descent, as does Philogène (2001), but I will refrain from using this, because it does not seem to be in general use, nor does it appear in the data at all.

1.1 Michael Brown's shooting

In August 2014, Michael Brown stole a pack of cigars from a convenience store, accompanied by his friend, Dorian Johnson. Brown allegedly had shoved the store clerk and escaped the crime scene. A Ferguson police officer, Darren Wilson, was notified by the police dispatch of the robbery and descriptions of the two suspects. Wilson confronted the two when he recognized them walking in the middle of the street, blocking their path with his police car. A struggle ensued, with Wilson's gun going off in the car, leaving Wilson to run after Brown. In less than 90 seconds, Wilson fired at Brown, killing him. Wilson plead self-defense, and was not indicted by the St. Louis County grand jury.

Unrest at Ferguson followed the shooting of Michael Brown, and in the aftermath of the shooting, debates about prejudice against African Americans by the police were sparked, implying an institutional discrimination. Ferguson, Missouri, is a city of 21 203 people (United States Census Bureau 2010), and out of the total population 67% are black. 86% of all traffic stops involve African Americans, while the municipal court of Ferguson issued 32 975 arrest warrants for mostly driving violations and other nonviolent offenses (ArchCity Defenders 2014). In comparison, only 12.7% of traffic stops involve White Americans, while they constitute 29% of the population (ibid.) According to the New York Times, the police department in Ferguson is also overwhelmingly White: 83% of all the police officers in Ferguson are White. Based on the numbers it is unsurprising that the death of an African American youth at the hand

of a White police officer sparked protests and eventually lead to the national recognition of the Black Lives Matter movement.

2 Researcher position

According to Kress, "[a]ll texts equally code the ideological positions of their producers. The everyday, innocent, innocuous, the mundane text is as ideologically saturated as a text which wears its ideological constitution overtly." (1993, 174) Thus, as is traditional in CDA, it is important to note the position of the researcher, because no text is neutral, nor is there a neutral position for researchers (van Dijk 2008, 6). Thus in scientific texts this is even more important because of its intended readership and its status as an elite discourse. This foregrounding of information is valuable, because it explicates the researcher's motivation for the research as well as makes note of possibile affiliations so that readers can easily contextualize the research.

Van Dijk also notes that

> if immigrants, refugees and (other) minorities suffer from prejudice, discrimination and racism, and if women continue to be subjected to male dominance, violence or sexual harassment, it will be essential to examine and evaluate such events and their consequences essentially from their point of view. That is, such events will be called 'racist' or 'sexist' if knowledgeable Blacks or women say so, despite white or male denials. There cannot be an aloof, let alone a 'neutral', position of critical scholars.
>
> (van Dijk 1993, 253)

As the aim of this thesis is partly to combat racism and to make the ideology of racism explicit and visible, it is difficult to say that the motivation for this research is neutral. The subject of my analysis is the representation of African Americans in the United States, and while I am not African American, I am invested in anti-racist activism. My nationality is Finnish and country of residence is Finland, but my parents are immigrants from Vietnam and thus am subject to the racist ideology that arguably is universal. However, as van Dijk notes above, it is important to have research conducted from the points of view of minorities, such as myself, because it expands the scope of ideas and questions the prevalent practices both in science and society. It is also nigh impossible to conduct research about social issues without being a part of the society where the issue lies, although I am not an American citizen nor African American, the issue of representation and racism are also present in Europe.

The main concern of my position will probably be about the effect on the results, i.e. I will find that African Americans are represented in a negative light and that there is a racist bias in the media because I come from a background of anti-racist activism and that I will be actively looking for this bias. However, as I will discuss later on, the literature on media discourse shows that there are examples of racist discourses in the media and that the issue is further exacerbated by the lack of diversity in the newsroom. Finally, if there is any concern about my role as a social actor and researcher, the methodology used in this thesis should minimize the effect on the results.

3 Racism and race relations

Because the study examines US-based news outlets and the news coverage of events in America, it is fruitful to discuss race and racism in general, as well as the specific US context of race and racism. In this section I am going to discuss the sociological definition of race, racism in the US and race relations to contextualize the thesis. First race and racism must be discussed in order to have a working definition. Then I am going to discuss the race relations in the US and how the US has always been a race-based nation, built on segregation which is still upheld today.

3.1 Racism in the US

Race is often understood by many in the biological sense (Hill 2008, 6). This viewpoint is outdated because the notion of race being solely a biological phenomenon has been largely disproven. Thus, sociologists have suggested another view on the matter. In sociology, and in critical race theory (CRT) in particular, race is a social construct, similar to gender. Michael Omi and Howard Winant have outlined a racial formation theory, which according to them is a "sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" (1994, 55). This means that race is not a stable concept, but it varies in time and in different cultures. It must be noted here that even though race is a social construct, it nevertheless has real life consequences (Bonilla-Silva 2010, 9). This notion of race as a social construct is widely agreed upon among sociologists (Hill 2008, 6; Charity Hudley 2017, 4; Omi and Winant 2015, 4; Bonilla-Silva 2010, 8-9). This notion of race is one of the defining components of CRT, which emerged in the 1980s as a response to critical legal studies as an attempt by

"legal scholars of color to critique liberalism" (Stovall 2010, 153). The critical legal studies scholars viewed the injustices of the legal system stemming mainly from issues of class, while the critical race theorists thought this inadequate and sought to foreground race as an additional factor of injustice (Gillborn and Ladson-Billings 2010, 342; Stovall 2010, 153). In Foucaldian terms, race can also be seen as a discursive construct. Very much like Omi and Winant, Foucault discusses meanings and discourses being fluid, as Hall notes:

> Things meant something and were 'true', he [Foucault] argued, *only within a specific historical context*. […] He thought that, in each period, discourse produced forms of knowledge, objects, subjects and practices of knowledge, which differed radically from period to period, with no necessary continuity between them.
>
> (Hall 2007, 46, italics in original)

According to Hall, Foucault also discussed there being very real effects of constructs (2007,49). In connection to Bonilla-Silva (2010), for example, if everyone believes that African American men have a born tendency to become criminals and African American men are punished accordingly or their actions are interpreted as criminal or aggressive, this will have real effects on African American men. Foucault called this the regime of truth, meaning a truth which is not absolute and which changes across epoch, setting and context (Hall 2007, 46; Foucault 2003,) Thus race as a social construct as well as a discursive construct is fluid and varies according to epoch. The fluidity of race has been recorded by Roediger (1991) and Ignatiev (1995), according to Hill (2008, 14), as Roediger and Ignatiev both study the "whitening" of Irish immigrants and their descendants, so the definition of White has shifted. The Irish are a good example of how fluid and variable race is. Another good example of the fluidity of race is the the infamous one drop rule in the US, which stated that a person who has a drop of African blood in them was "considered by law to be of African descent" (Charity Hudley 2017, 7), no matter their appearance. Legal statutes aside, the traits manifested that we take as racial traits are based on appearance, phenotypes, which also means that a person may "pass" for another race, e.g. a light-skinned mixed race person may pass as White, despite identifying themselves as black. According to Hill, this "[p]assing shows that racial categorization is unreliable" (2008, 13).

Racism is also understood by many in terms of the dictionary definition, which often focuses on racial prejudice and on a belief of one race being superior to other races.

Jane Hill has discussed a *folk theory of racism* (2008), which is similar to the dictionary notion of racism and in contrast with CRT. According to Hill, folk theories are used to "interpret the world without a second thought" and they are "a part of everyday common sense" (2008, 5). Like the dictionary definition, the folk theory of racism emphasizes the individual aspect of racism, meaning that racism consists of solely of the actions, intents and thoughts of racist individuals (Hill 2008, 6). The theory also holds that racists are "anachronisms, […] ignorant, vicious, and remote from the mainstream" and that racists – and thus racism – can be cured with education (ibid.) Thus folk theory of racism attributes racism to the individual, at the same time ignoring the possible structural reasons for racism as well as the mechanisms that either hinder racialized minorities or otherwise put them in a disadvantaged position compared to their White peers. These structural mechanisms include, for example, blocking voter rights, segregation, denying fair housing (or redlining) and denying access to education.

Bonilla-Silva also discusses the folk theory of racism, but terms it *color-blind racism* instead (2010), in line with Omi and Winant (1994, 2015). According to Bonilla-Silva,

> Color-blind racism emerged as a new racial ideology in the late 1960s, concomitantly with the crystallization of the 'new racism' as America's new racial structure. Because the social practices and mechanisms to reproduce racial privilege acquired a new, subtle, and apparently nonracial character, new rationalizations emerged to justify the new racial order.
>
> (Bonilla-Silva 2010, 16)

The folk theory of racism, or color-blind racism, emerged in the wake of the civil rights movement, as many lauded the movement for ending racism. Many still today assert that the US has reached a post-racial state, a prime example of this being that Barack Obama was elected president. For example, the Economist stated already before he was elected that his candidacy "seemed a post-racial triumph" at first (The Economist 2008). Adam Hodges also notes the same in his article (Hodges 2015, 402) and discusses that despite this sentiment, "racism – in its twenty-first century incarnation – remains a formidable barrier for African Americans and other minority groups" (ibid.)

Racism in the US in the 1960s was thought of in a narrow way: in the American context, racism usually meant anti-blackness:

> although the term [racism] had surfaced occasionally, the problem, of racial injustice and inequality was generally understood in a more limited fashion, as a matter of prejudiced attitudes or bigotry on the one hand, and discriminatory practices on the other.
>
> (Omi and Winant 1994, 69)

Thus, according to Omi and Winant what racism means has become more ambiguous since the 1960s: at the end of the 1960s, racism had become a "combination of relationships – prejudice, discrimination, and institutional inequality" (ibid.) The 1970s saw an alternative view on racism, taking the concept of racism pre-1960s, with the move toward a "color-blind racial policy" (Omi and Winant 1994, 70). The move to a pre-1960s approach meant that race was reduced to ethnicity and that the approach "almost entirely neglected the continuing organization of social inequality and oppression along racial lines" (ibid.)

The danger of color-blind racism then, is its explanation power. Because color-blind racism frames the world as being in a post-racial era, incidents of racism are attributed to individuals and their acts, erasing and forgetting the institutional aspects of racism (Hodges 2015, Hill 2008, Bonilla-Silva 2010). Color-blind racism also rationalizes "racial injustice as a supposedly natural outcome of group attributes in competition" (Omi and Winant 1994, 70). So if someone accused of racism is not found to be explicitly racist then the folk theory will lead us to think that the incident had nothing to do with race, erasing any notion of racial prejudice which people have been conditioned into. Explicitly racist acts, according to the folk theory, may be for example uttering racist slurs, followed by an act of violence, which would then constitute as a racially motivated act of violence. However, if the violence is not preceded by racist slurs or insults, it is deemed not to be racially motivated, i.e. not racist. The racist insult can also be substituted by other racist actions, such as having an active membership in the Ku Klux Klan or other publicly known racist organization. Hodges (2015) examines news show transcripts concerning Trayvon Martin's shooting and foregrounds the newscasters' search and obsession for possible racist slurs Martin's killer, George Zimmerman, might have uttered. Hodges attempts to bring forth the folk theory of racism underlying the investigation of the Trayvon Martin shooting.

Samson and Bobo note that while racism has shifted, in terms of it being more vague and other shifts in attitudes, e.g. "[t]he belief that blacks are inherently less intelligent than whites has declined" (2014, 528), it is important to remember that the biological notions of race are still apparent (2014, 529) although in social sciences it is widely agreed that race is a social construct.

In contrast to the folk theory of racism, critical race theory focuses on the relationship between power and race, with the sociological definition of race at the center of the theory. CRT also holds a similar view on racism as modern sociology: racism is not solely acts of hate speech or race-based violence but "subtle and hidden processes that have the effect of discriminating regardless of their stated intent" (Gillborn and Ladson-Billings 2010, 343). CRT, much like critical discourse analysis, is a multidisciplinary field of study, which also aims toward social change (Gillborn and Ladson-Billings 2010, 341).

3.2 Race relations in the US

Historically, race relations in the US have always been complicated and have varied in time. Chin and Tu (2016) note that:

> Since the founding of the United States, immigration and citizenship law contemplated a white America. The Naturalization Act of 1790, signed by George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, limited the privilege to "free white persons." As an act of the First Congress, the 1790 law was approved by many of the Constitution's Framers. Racial restriction remained part of naturalization law until 1952.
>
> (Chin and Tu 2016, 39–40)

Already when the US was founded, it was founded on racist principles, excluding racial minorities from equal rights. Another milestone in race relations was slavery of black Africans and its abolishment in 1865. During this time, Native Americans were systematically isolated and removed from their lands and this began already in the 1700s. African Americans' and Native Americans' civil and voting rights have changed status over the years, and even in recent times they have been disenfranchised by blocking voter registration. Voter suppression includes methods such as imposing restrictions on voting or even purging voter rolls. Restrictions on voting may include requiring specific forms of identification, e.g. photo identification or not accepting student identification. According to Henninger, Meredith and Morse (2018) these restrictions disproportionately affect racial and ethnic minorities. African Americans also had to endure Jim Crow laws, which were upheld until 1965. In short, Jim Crow laws were laws which upheld racial segregation, such as laws which prohibited African Americans from using White restrooms or laws which made it legal for businesses to refuse service to African Americans, or perhaps most famously the segregation of sections and seats in trains or buses.

Immigration has also been regulated accordingly to match the US need of labor force as well as to match up to political objectives. Examples include the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which prohibited the immigration of all Chinese workers for ten years, and the National Origins Formula, which was an immigration quota system, designed to keep the US population mainly White, European and Protestant. After the original Chinese Exclusion Act was nearing expiration, the act was renewed and named after California Democratic senator Thomas Geary (Department of State n.d.) While African Americans have not been immigrants, their status have been heavily regulated by legislation and have been denied from gaining citizenship and owning land, not unlike the Chinese.

Although the legislation for immigration and immigrants are not wholly comparable to African Americans in the United States, immigration legislation alongside Jim Crow laws and the "separate but equal" legal doctrine show how modern American society was built on racist principles of racial disparity and disenfranchisement. The immigration legislation also demonstrates how American lawmakers have treated racial minorities as a regulatable resource for labor. Foreign nationals and racial minorities have arguably been to the US government a resource, not humans. Ta-Nehisi Coates discusses the nefarious beginnings of American race relations:

> America begins in black plunder and white democracy, two features that are not contradictory but complementary. […] As life spans increased in the colony, the Virginia planters found in the enslaved Africans an even more efficient source of cheap labor. Whereas indentured servants were still legal subjects of the English crown and thus entitled to certain protections, African slaves entered the colonies as aliens. Exempted from the protections of the crown, they became early America's indispensable working class—fit for maximum exploitation, capable of only minimal resistance.

> For the next 250 years, American law worked to reduce black people to a class of untouchables and raise all white men to the level of citizens. In 1650, Virginia mandated that 'all persons except Negroes' were to carry arms. In 1664, Maryland mandated that any Englishwoman who married a slave must live as a slave of her husband's master. In 1705, the Virginia assembly passed a law allowing for the dismemberment of unruly slaves—but forbidding masters from whipping 'a Christian white servant naked, without an order from a justice of the peace.' In that same law, the colony mandated that 'all horses, cattle, and hogs, now belonging, or that hereafter shall belong to any slave' be seized and sold off by the local church, the profits used to support 'the poor of the said parish.' […] [A]t the beginning of the 18th century, two primary classes were enshrined in America."

> (Coates 2014)

Jane Hill also notes that the USA has always had problematic racial relations. In addition to the problematic relations between White Europeans and the immigrant populations from Southeast Asia and descendants of African slaves, Hill also discusses that the racial relations were already shaped by the "confrontation with Native

Americans by the first colonists" (2008, 17). Hill adds that after the civil war, in the Southwestern US, Mexican Americans "filled for Whites a political-economic and ideological site that elsewhere was occupied by African Americans, and were treated accordingly." (2008, 18)

So we can see that a racial order was, if not crucial, a necessity to found the United States of America, the new and boundless land for the Europeans. A land where opportunities were near limitless, but work force was limited. Thus it is clear to see that American society was based on racial hierarchy and inequality from the beginning.

Today, as mentioned in the introduction, police brutality continues to be an everyday affair for many African Americans, and if brutality itself is not an everyday occurrence, the fear and threat of it is, as can be seen from the pattern of police killing African Americans. The elevated threat of violence is the highly visible tip of the iceberg of anti-black racism in the US. Everyday occurrences which may not be considered racist by the mainstream include equating natural African American hair as unprofessional in professional settings and treating stereotypes of African Americans as natural and biological in nature, stereotypes such as laziness. Especially in the context of police brutality and violence, the stereotype of African American men of being threatening and violent persists to this day. This continued "state-sanctioned violence and anti-Black racism" (Black Lives Matter 2018), despite multiple declarations of a post-racial state, is one of the main reasons the BLM movement began.

4 Previous research

At the time of writing, there seems to be little research focused on using corpus and Hallidayan linguistics to study news or other texts. There have been studies done by Krizsán (2011), Seo (2013), Baker et al. (2008) and Baker and McEnery (2005). However, Seo uses transitivity to study headlines of news articles, while Baker and McEnery use concordance to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers, not utilizing systemic functional grammar at all. Bednarek and Caple (2014) also utilized corpus linguistics and CDA, but their framework did not include systemic functional grammar either. Of all these studies, Krizsán (2011) was the only study conducted using a similar framework as this thesis, and they built a corpus from EU integration speeches

across Finland, Hungary and the UK. The lack of research utilizing systemic functional grammar and corpus linguistics shows a need for these kinds of studies, especially in the digital age where computational tools and data for corpora are readily available for almost everybody.

The use of corpus tools allows for an efficient way to process large amounts of textual data, and with SFG, this new methodology enables a more systematic and repeatable mode of research for more reliable results. In addition, combining CDA with the aforementioned methods should give us a better understanding how power is realized in language and how language is used in the media, especially in discourses relating to racial issues.

In addition to the research gap I have discussed, this thesis also seeks to bridge the research gap in the study of racism and discourse. As I will later discuss more thoroughly, there is a lack of research into citizens of color, as the literature in discourse studies mainly discuss refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants, and not people of color who have citizenship. Baker et al. (2008) attempt to advance combining CDA with corpus linguistics and they discuss that while the idea of combining the two ”is not a novel practice” (2008, 274), there are very little of studies which combine CDA and corpus linguistics (2008, 274–275). I will discuss Baker et al. later in the Methods-section of the thesis.

Also, much of the academic attention on the subject of representation in news and race have been put into television news. Many of them focus either on the content or for example the sociological and psychological aspects of it. This warrants a linguistic study of the news. There are also arguably major differences between portrayals in television news and printed news (online and newspaper). According to Krishnamurthy ”[s]poken media – radio and television – are not as permanent or readily accessible, though some resources do exist […] However, one cannot discount their influence: 20 million people in Britain might watch a popular television programme, whereas the best-selling national newspaper, the *Sun*, has daily sales of around 3.5 million” (1996, 129). The differences between media bring forth methodological issues in terms of accessibility and data manipulation. For the purposes of this thesis, online news was

chosen because of availability and ease of corpus building, but possible differences in results must be noted if different media were to be used.

In the following sections I will discuss the aforementioned studies among others that have been conducted in the relevant field.

4.1 Representation

For this section, I have roughly divided the previous research into two types: research done specifically concerning African Americans and research done on the Other, i.e. immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, or non-citizens. Representation of minorities in the media has been studied extensively, but as I mention, a large portion of the research in CDA focuses on immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees, or the racial Other. However, studies in sociology have a large body of research focusing specifically in African Americans and their portrayal and how others perceive them.

4.1.1 Representation of African Americans

Omi and Winant in their seminal work, Racial formation in the United States, suggest that by reproducing certain attitudes toward certain racialized groups, we are only making the problem of racism worse, because these attitudes become "common sense" and a way to view to world, not unlike discourse:

> Everybody learns some combination, some version, of the rules of racial classification, and of her own racial identity, often without obvious teaching or conscious inculcation. Thus we are inserted in a comprehensively racialized social structure. Race becomes 'common sense' – a way of comprehending, explaining, and acting in the world.
>
> (Omi and Winant 1994, 60)

This is essentially what Fairclough also notes when discussing naturalization theory, as mentioned above, but in the specific context of race. Thus media and language can be seen as a tool of the racial formation process, because they can make racial categories seem fixed and natural through repetition. Dates and Barlow (1990) discussed the various portrayals of African Americans in the mass media, from theater performances to music to the news. Dates and Barlow even concluded that the image of African Americans was mainly portrayed by White Americans (ibid.), which coincides with van Dijk's position that White elites "control […] public discourses and their production" (2008, viii) and that "ethnic minorities and immigrants have virtually no access" to

public discourses (ibid.), thus their views and opinions are neglected and in addition, "[t]hey are mostly only talked *about*" (ibid., emphasis in original).

The US Census Bureau data shows that despite African Americans making up only 12 to 14 percent of the US population (United States Census Bureau 2010), they are overrepresented in arrests and that they are also overrepresented in the media as crime perpetrators or crime suspects and are more likely to be portrayed as such than Whites as the following studies show. Hurwitz and Peffley (1997) studied the perceptions of African Americans through surveys to see whether stereotypes of African Americans affected people's attitudes on crime and punitive policies, and found that "[...] blacks accounted for more than half of arrests for robbery and murder, and just under half of all inmates in state and federal correctional facilities in 1990" (1997, 376). Consistent to their hypothesis, they found that Whites' stereotyped views of African Americans were strongly linked to their views of judgments of crime and punishment, but only for black criminals who commit violent crimes (1997, 375). The consequences of this link is that Whites may more often expect African Americans to "engage in criminal behavior" (1997, 378) and thus interpret African Americans' actions as being violent or criminal. They also found that Whites "respond more punitively to blacks than to those of their own race" (1997, 379). Hurwitz and Peffley (1997) also note that the media is "more likely to contribute to, than detract from, the conflation of race and crime" (1997, 394) and that "[…] [African Americans] are demonized rather than humanized – a tendency which is not counterbalanced because whites so rarely get to see blacks portrayed in the news as lawful, contributing members of society." (1997, 395)

Oliver (2003) conducted a meta-analysis of a body of research which looked at studies of portrayals of African Americans, namely men, in the news and fictional television programming. They found that the media "systematically over-represent African Americans as criminal; portray black men as particularly dangerous, and present information about black suspects that assumes their guilt" (2003, 15). The representation of Whites, then, is not the same: the majority of White characters in more "realistic" entertainment portrayals of crime programs were portrayed as police officers (2003, 7), and if White characters are portrayed as criminals or as suspects, they are less likely to be associated with violent crime than African Americans (2003, 6). The majority of African American characters (77%) in Oliver's dataset were portrayed as

suspects, as opposed to the majority of White characters (61.6%) being portrayed as police officers (Oliver 2003, 7).

Dixon and Linz (2000) analyzed a sample of local television news in Los Angeles and Orange counties and examined how African Americans, Latinx and White Americans were portrayed as law breakers and defenders. They found that African Americans were overrepresented as lawbreakers while Latinos were underrepresented according to their statistics. Another finding was that Whites were also underrepresented as lawbreakers and in contrast were more likely to be show as defenders of the law. Dixon and Linz attempt to explain the underrepresentation of Latinos as lawbreakers with Latino crimes being different in nature, e.g. immigration or other type of crimes usually not televised, because mainly violent crimes are shown on television news. A similar explanation might illuminate the underrepresentation of Whites as lawbreakers: White crime is more prevalent in the domain of non-violent white-collar crime such as fraud or embezzlement.

In addition to the research on media representations, Philogène (2001) and Hall, Phillips and Townsend (2015) discuss the racial epithets and their different meanings over time and in different contexts. According to Philogène there has been a shift (2001, 417–419) from using Black to using African American, and this shift represents a transformation of "the conceptualization of Americans of African descent away from race to culture" (2001, 411). Whilst Black was suggested by Civil Rights movement as a source of pride in the 1960s it has become in time a racial term with negative connotations (2001, 418). In its stead, African American was suggested by Civil Rights leaders at the end of the 1980s as an alternative which "evokes images of integration, equality and assimilation" (2001, 424).

In their study, Hall, Phillips and Townsend examined the difference between the racial labels Black and African-American (2015). They looked at four different variables of affect relating to the racial labels: negative content related to the label (or the context of the label), the socioeconomic status attributed or related to the label, level of warmth related to the label and the level of competence related to the label. In the study where they explored the socioeconomic status attributed to the different labels, they divided the socioeconomic status into four parts: annual salary, occupational position,

educational level, and status. Hall, Phillips and Townsend asked their participants to estimate each of these for a target, who was either identified as Black or African-American (ibid.) They found that the participants estimated the annual salary lower for those who were identified as Blacks. The same pattern occurred in all of the other estimated parts as well – in summary, it was estimated that Blacks earned less, were less educated, were employed in lower occupational levels and their overall status was lower than their African-American counterparts.

In a latter part of their study, Hall, Phillips and Townsend also performed a content analysis of US news media, discovering the racial label Black to be associated "with more negative emotion content (specifically, angry emotional content) than the racial label African-American" (2015, 188). Thus, according to Hall, Phillips and Townsend. there may be a difference in how people react to African Americans, depending on how they are labeled or discussed about.

It must be noted here that the discussion revolving around the racial epithets is complex and dynamic. A survey conducted by Sigelman, Tuch and Martin (2005) found that half of their African American respondents preferred the term Black, while half preferred African-American. Hall, Phillips and Townsend (2015) then found that the term Black had more negative connotations, supported by Philogène (2001) who had similar findings. Sigelman, Tuch and Martin also discuss that the term African-American was more popular as a term of self-reference and -identification when the term was suggested in the late 1980s (2005, 429), and that the terms have had different connotations across time: in the 1980s "whites were more likely to stereotype 'blacks' negatively than 'Afro-Americans' or 'Negroes'" (2005, 430) but later in the 1990s Whites reacted "more favorably to 'black' than to 'African-American' political candidates" (ibid.) While the issue seems significant to non-blacks, Sigelman, Tuch and Martin note that "[f]or many African-Americans, the question of what to call themselves is a matter of relative indifference" (ibid.) While the questions of self-reference and negative connotations by others are wholly independent of each other, it is important to see that they do affect each other.

In their article Hodges examined the news coverage of the Trayvon Martin shooting and was interested in contrasting the underlying folk theory of racism, which Jane Hill

(2008, see discussion above) has theorized, with critical race theory. Hodges found that "folk ideological assumptions run deeper" (2015, 410) than the liberal-conservative divide between CNN and Fox, meaning that journalists independent of political beliefs subscribe to the folk theory of racism, placing the fault of racism into single, individual racists instead of examining the naturalized and institutional racism, which has been turned commonsensical by way of media and other institutions. They also note that "one need not identify as a racist nor intend ill will toward someone based on race to trigger a racial stereotype" (Hodges 2015, 415). This is to say that journalists have an immense responsibility in reporting – despite best intentions, if the folk theory of racism is an ideology which is left unchallenged, news reporting will always feature folk theoretic notions of racism.

Interestingly, a study conducted by Elmasry and el-Nawawy (2017) found that despite the prior research – which suggests media portrays minorities and issues connected to minorities in a negative light (see Strom and Alcock 2017; Dixon and Linz 2000) – two newspapers, the New York Times and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, portrayed the Ferguson protests and BLM in a positive way. According to them, "both newspapers were more likely to frame the protests as positive, with 73.4 percent of all articles (105 out of 143) framing the protests positively" (2017, 866–867). A large factor in the positive framing according to Elmasry and el-Nawawy was due to the sources that the media used (2017, 870). They looked at how quotes were chosen from different sources and discovered that "both newspapers quoted protesters more than they quoted police officers and government officials combined, and police officers were directly quoted least" (2017, 869). Elmasry and el-Nawawy's study seems to be an interesting outlier, as the large body of research would suggest the opposite of their findings.

4.1.2 Representation of the Other

In this section I will discuss representation of the non-specific Other, mainly in the meaning of non-White but also non-African American. As mentioned earlier, representations in media have been studied extensively and thus is not a new field of study. For example, in their book, Hartmann and Husband (1974) conducted surveys of attitudes, reviewed developments in the study of prejudice and studied the relationship between the media coverage of race and the beliefs of Whites in Great Britain. A large

portion of the literature contrasts the racial Other with Whiteness, as can be seen from Hartmann and Husband (1974) and the following studies. This contrastive relationship seems to be unquestioned in the literature and brings forth another issue, namely the conceptualization of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers as the racial Other and juxtaposing them with minorities. I will discuss this further in the next section.

Mouka, Saridakis and Fotopoulou note in their corpus-driven study that "[r]acist discourse has been investigated mainly within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis" and that racist discourse "*about* and *addressed at* minorities and immigrants" (2015, 38, emphases in original) uses the means of lexicon, syntax (especially the passive voice), connotations and associating minorities with negative issues, such as minorities being a threat to "our" jobs (ibid.)

Van Dijk discusses the structural analysis of discourses, and that the structures "may be involved directly or indirectly in discriminatory interaction against minority group members or biased discourse about them" and gives examples, such as using syntax, especially the passive voice to (de-)emphasize responsibility for action (2008, 104). Van Dijk also goes onto list a set of conditions on the basis which one can deduce whether a discourse or text is racist or not (ibid). The list is not conclusive, nor definitive, but it does provide a good starting point for an analysis.

van Dijk (1989 and 2008) also discusses that minorities are found to be in active roles when in connection to negative topics, such as crime or protests, while authorities, such as the police or government, are "prominent and frequent actors" (1989, 213) and that the authorities usually "control immigration, prevent and prosecute crime, and provide assistance in employment, housing or education" (ibid.) In addition to this, White anti-racists are "portrayed as active but negative agents" (1989, 214), meaning that they are active agents responsible for their actions, but their actions are "implicitly viewed as racial treason, and dealt with in even more negative terms" (ibid.) than non-Whites. Van Dijk draws from a vast amount of studies done on media and racism, such as Ruhrmann and Kollmer (1984) and Fowler (1987), and suggests that agency in negative and positive topics is a common feature in racist discourse in news media, or media discourse.

Not only are minorities collocated with negative topics, but they are also less likely to be credited as sources or are less likely to voice opinions or facts (van Dijk 1989, 214–215) despite their direct connection to the events reported. van Dijk attributes this to journalists not making the effort to search for minority sources, and to journalists considering them to be biased and less credible, "which also shows in the predominant use of doubt and distance particles, and the more explicit use of quotation marks when they are allowed to speak" (1989, 215)

This in turn adds to the imbalance of voices, as most of the "credible sources" (ibid.), i.e. institutions such as the police, scholars and politicians, are White. This also leads to these "credible sources" to be used more frequently, because they are found to be more credible and less biased, and it is especially notable in the US, where the source in news concerning racial or ethnic conflicts is often the police.

According to Gertz (2013) the journalists who are in supervisory roles in news media are mostly White. Thus, in connection with van Dijk's view that the news have a major impact on how people see certain minorities (1989), such as African Americans, and the findings mentioned above that African Americans are often viewed in a negative light in the media, it would be reasonable to assume that there is a racial bias against African Americans in the news. Especially if minorities, such as African Americans, are mainly discussed about, when discussed, in negative terms (van Dijk 2008, viii). Which in turn, following Hurwitz and Peffley (1997) and Dixon and Linz (2000), only work toward strengthening people's prejudices against African Americans.

In Teo (2000), they discuss reporting related to a criminal gang and their activities in Australia. The study looks at how a racist bias works in the media and how Asians are portrayed in Australian news. In the news articles examined, Teo found that ethnic minorities are quoted "less than one-quarter of the time compared to the white majority" (2000, 18). In addition to this, the articles displayed quotes from anonymous sources and indirect quotes placed toward the end of the article (ibid.). Teo's findings are in line with van Dijk (1989) in that they also found that minorities are quoted less than Whites.

Interestingly, Teo also found that on the surface news articles may consist of mainly "neutral" language but the social reality the neutral language constructs is far from neutral:

> Although what they say about the *5T* [a Vietnamese street gang] is not particularly derogatory, the point is that the newspapers seem to be interested in seeking the opinions and perspectives of only the elite majority, as though it is only they who have anything valuable or insightful to say about the *5T*, thereby denying the ethnic community a chance to be heard and understood from *their* perspective.
>
> (Teo 2000, 20, emphases in original)

According to Teo, they were not only interested in "identifying instances of racist discourse in the newspapers" (2000, 8) but they also wanted to show racist discourse is "embedded in a much larger, but less transparent structure of power discourse that disguises dominance in naturalized discourse" (ibid.) Not unlike the thesis at hand, Teo aimed to disseminate a dataset consisting of newspaper articles and discuss the larger phenomenon of how racist discourse is seen completely normal and natural. However, Teo studied presupposition in headlines and generalization in the articles' content, while I am using corpus data with transitivity.

Baker and McEnery (2005) studied discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in British newspapers and the webpage of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) using corpus linguistics and looking at concordances. They discovered "[d]iscourses which framed refugees as packages, invaders, pests or water" in newspaper articles but also found that refugees and asylum seekers were referred to negatively in the UNHCR texts (2005, 97). According to Baker and McEnery the UNHCR corpus showed "how difficult it is to disregard dominant discourses" (ibid.) As the UNHCR is highly regarded and an elite discourse, to which access is very limited, it shows that even elite discourses are subject to the ideology of racism, but it also implies the dialogic nature of discourse – as elite discourses can affect the mass, so can the mass or dominant discourse affect the elite.

From the research done on representation, it seems that some conclusions can be drawn based on the literature: African Americans and other racial and ethnic minorities are usually portrayed in a negative light in the news and that journalists and authoritative figures, such as the UN, may be subject to the folk theory of racism, despite how neutral they claim to be.

4.2 Media discourse and racism

In the Hallidayan tradition of linguistics, language is seen to have evolved for three major purposes: talking about what is currently happening, what is going to happen and

what has happened; interacting and expressing a point of view; turning "the output of the previous two functions into a coherent whole" (Butt et al. 2001, 5). Michael Halliday originally formulated the three metafunctions of language to correspond to these three major functions: the ideational metafunction, the interpersonal metafunction and the textual metafunction, respectively. I will discuss the metafunctions in a more detailed manner later.

According to Halliday then:

> It is clear that language does […] **construe** human experience. It names things, thus construing them into categories; and then, typically, goes further and construes the categories into taxonomies, often using more names for doing so. So we have *houses* and *cottages* and *garages* and *sheds*, which are all kinds of *building*; *strolling* and *stepping* and *marching* and *pacing*, which are all kinds of *walking*; *in, on, under, around* as relative locations, and so on – and the fact that these differ from one language to another is a reminder that the categories are in fact construed in language […] More powerfully still, these elements are configured into complex grammatical patterns like *marched out of the house*; the figures can be built up into sequences related by time, cause and the like – there is no facet of human experience that cannot be transformed into meaning. In other words, language provides a **theory** of human experience, and certain of the resources of the lexicogrammar of every language are dedicated to that function. We call it the **ideational** metafunction […]

(Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 30, emphases in original)

When media discourse is studied then, it means that the author (or journalist in this case) has chosen a particular linguistic form out of a range of selection of forms to say a particular thing. The meaning potential is the full range of linguistic forms available to the author to use in a range of contexts. An example of this linguistic choice could be to say physician instead of doctor, which may seem like a stylistic choice at first, but according to van Dijk, this "stylistic variation is not simply free or arbitrary" (1988, 27), instead, the stylistic variation indicates a particular context and many other meaningful things. Fowler also states that "each particular form of linguistic expression in a text […] has its reason. There are always different ways of saying the same thing, and they are not random […] Differences in expression carry ideological distinctions (and thus differences in representation)" (1991, 4). Halliday approaches the variation in terms of a system network and notes that the variation may be determined by linguistic conditions, social conditions or a combination of the two (2009, 337). There are thus limitations to variation, such as syntactical, social or other contextual limitations. However, despite these limitations, stylistic variation or the meaning potential is vast. This view then raises questions of why the author chose a particular form instead of some other form, and how it affects our understanding of their message. Combining CDA with the

methodology that Hallidayan linguistics offers us is useful in excavating the intended meanings hidden in texts, especially in the news.

Teun A. van Dijk has studied the media and the relationship between language and racism extensively. According to van Dijk, "[n]ews reports tend to be about topics that are often instances of prevailing ethnic stereotypes or prejudices" (1989, 218), thus in connection with Hall, Phillips and Townsend (2015), this can be seen as a support for a hypothesis, that much of the news will show racist language. One explanation for this tendency is that ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are a part of news values that sell, or rather part of an ideology where these are considered newsworthy (Bednarek and Caple 2012, 2014). From this, we can see the importance of the representations of groups of people in mass media: how they speak of certain groups and in which contexts they are spoken of. Especially how marginalized people, i.e. minorities, are spoken about, because, according to van Dijk, "[t]hey are mostly only talked *about*, and usually negatively" (2008, viii, emphasis in original). Fairclough also argues that mass media work to produce and reproduce "the power of the dominant class and bloc", which in the context of this study can be seen as attitudes and values such as racism (1989, 51). Because elite discourses such as political and legal discourses are accessible mainly to the elite, such as politicians or legal experts, a narrow group of people, the importance of the news and their content are heightened:

> Mass circulation and sharing among the ingroup of ethnic prejudices and ideologies presuppose mass communication, that is, expression or (re-)production in the mass media. Therefore, we assume that the (news) media play a very specific role in the distribution and acceptance of ethnic ideologies.
>
> (van Dijk 1989, 203)

Thus, the attitudes and values expressed by the media may be shared with a larger group of people, compared to elite discourses. These attitudes values are then normalized through repetition and acceptance or uncritical reproduction, according to Fairclough (1989). Fairclough discusses naturalization as the "royal road to common sense" (1989, 92), by which they mean that in media, especially, if a type of discourse is dominant and there are no competing discourses, this becomes the only discourse and through this process it loses its ideological nature (ibid.)

The emphasis here should be on the word *mass* as it implies the wide audience of the media and its capability to convey information and reproduce its values at a rapid speed.

The accessibility of the news is one of the most important aspects in how it affects the world and the power the news has in shaping social reality. According to van Dijk, multiple factors affect how the news construct and reconstruct events in the world, and "these factors favor […] generally a White, Western, male and middle class perspective on news events" (1989, 203) If a White, male and middle class view is the norm, that most news readers take for granted, then it may be that the view from minorities' perspective is ignored, thus further emphasizing the importance of examining the news and how it produces and reproduces ideology.

Van Dijk aptly summarizes the importance of studying media discourse: "Those who control discourse may indirectly control the minds of people" (van Dijk 2008, 9). Van Dijk refers to the power discourse has in shaping our understanding of events and thus our understanding of reality, and emphasizes that that control over the press implies the control over not "what people think, but at least what they will think *about*" (2008, viii, emphasis in original). It is also important to remember that that control over what is discussed is equally as important as control over what is not discussed. Bloor and Bloor note that "the understanding that discourse is an integral aspect of power and control" (2007, 4), so studying media, especially relating social struggle like racial oppression and authorities, is important.

At the core of the study of media discourse is then, using again Fairclough's terms, a power struggle, or to go even further, in Foucauldian terms, a struggle between discourses. For Fairclough, discourse is the "favoured vehicle of ideology" and thus the favored vehicle of "control by consent" (1989, 37). Fairclough goes on to discuss the effect of constant doses of news people receive every day: news, or media discourse, is a means of significant social control. Not only is the struggle for power, but the struggle is also for language, as it is a site for ideology and also a symbolic stake (Fairclough 1989, 35) – whoever has control over language, indirectly has control over what to say and how to say it.

As I have discussed earlier, studying the news is crucial because of its power over people's values and attitudes. Despite calls for racism being over, or *a post-racial state* (Hodges 2015, 402), a large number of scholars in different fields have examined the connection between racism and language (see van Dijk 1987; Bonilla-Silva and Forman

2000; Hill 2008; Dick and Wirtz 2011; Alim and Smitherman 2012) and the findings in the research do not support claims for a post-racial state.

It is also important to note that journalists and the media do not simply shape the media discourse by themselves, but that "the relationship between discourse and society is a dialectical one" (Teo 2000, 43), meaning that they both shape each other. Bednarek and Caple (2012) also note this and discuss how media exerts influence "both on our governments and major institutions" (2012, 6) and also how media shapes the readers' or our "ideas and behaviours" (ibid.) van Dijk also discusses how news media are the most influential of all public discourses as they also influence the elites, especially in issues of which Whites do not have daily experiences in, such as ethnic or racial relations (van Dijk 2012, 22). Thus it is extremely important to try to critique media discourse and to rethink the prevalent discourse, as it impacts both the marginalized people it is about as well as the elite who shape the legislation concerning marginalized people. In addition, Fowler notes that "news is a *practice*" (1991, 2, emphasis in original) which does not neutrally portray social reality, and because it is a practice, it is extremely important to foreground its fluidity and how it is not objective nor neutral.

News, especially on topics which the media consumers do not have experience of directly, then may reinforce existing prejudices and reproduce negative attitudes (Bailey and Harindranath 2005, van Dijk 1989 and 2008, Lippi-Green 1997). This may be partly due to the tendency of the media to report negatively about minorities (van Dijk 1989, 2012) and if people do not have direct experiences of the portrayed minorities, the media portrayal is the only source of information for them. According to Strom and Alcock, who studied the representations of Latinx immigrant children in US media, there have been many studies that found that "the mainstream media frequently present majority groups in a positive light and minoritized groups in a negative light" (2017, 442).

In connection to the discussion earlier concerning racial epithets and their meanings, according to van Dijk, news coverage of, for example, "looting by black youth during a 'riot'" as seen in many news media in the US and UK (2008, 20), is not inherently racist in itself, but may become racist if, for example, only "negative actions of black youth are represented, and not those of other youths, or indeed, of the police" (ibid.) Van Dijk

includes this condition in a list among other conditions, which if met, may imply a racist bias in the news item. This condition, simplified to illustrate an example, may be useful in interpreting the results of this study, as the premise of the study is to take news articles which cover a racially sensitive event and to examine how they portray the actions and doers of actions in the data.

Finally, returning to Foucault's idea of regime of truth, the news media can be seen as an institution having the power to shape the regime of truth. In Foucault's definition of the truth, it need not be necessarily objectively true nor absolute, but the truth, as well as knowledge, is the product of discourse (Hall 2007, 48–49), so shaping the truth, that many will come to believe as the absolute and objective truth, is an example of an application of power. Thus, the meaning potential journalists have available in formulating news articles is also an example of applying power and creating a particular discourse.

It is then clear that race is a social construct, fluid and varying in time, and that because it is a construct, it can also be discursively construed. Thus the theoretical frame consisting of Jane Hill's folk theory of racism, Fairclough's naturalization, van Dijk's media portrayal, Foucault's concept of power and Omi and Winant's racial formation theory can be applied to media texts to examine underlying ideologies.

4.2.1 Criticism for van Dijk

Much of van Dijk's research is on racism and discourse, with a special focus on immigrants (e.g. van Dijk 1989, 2008, 2012) and much of their work has been a driving force to develop CDA and to foreground issues about language and racism. However, van Dijk discusses immigrants and (other) minorities, juxtaposing as if both these groups are synonymous and interchangeable. This is a problem, because while non-European immigrants are indeed minorities in a hegemonic sense (minorities in this study are mainly meant to be understood as hegemonic minorities), not all immigrants are in the minority. Van Dijk does specify in many cases that they mean non-European immigrants, or rather non-White immigrants, but this should be explicated. This is not only a terminological issue, but a discursive and conceptual issue if we are to accept that discourse shapes society and vice versa. Secondly, it is unclear what other minorities there are in addition to racial and ethnic minorities and immigrants in van Dijk's work.

In many cases I assume van Dijk discusses gendered minorities, such as women or transgender people, but it is unclear. Thirdly, there is no delineation between immigrant and non-White citizen, or people of color. Like in my first point, van Dijk often assumes immigrants to be people of color (POC), while in reality racism is a concern for not only immigrants, but citizens of color and other POC as well. This raises issues of excluding citizens of color and downplays the racism against citizens of color. Additionally citizens of color face different problems than immigrants, e.g. national exclusion or civil rights.

The research gap seems evident as Martínez Guillem in their paper detailing race and ethnicity in CDA. In their paper they also discuss race and immigrants and not POC, meaning that Martínez Guillem is also juxtaposing immigrants and other non-Whites. Martínez Guillem themself discusses that a "considerable amount of attention in this literature [studies about race and immigrants] is being directed towards the discursive treatment of asylum seekers" (2018, 360). It seems as if a major emphasis is put on immigrants and asylum seekers, but not to citizens of color or other POC.

4.3 Media bias

Studies concerning media bias in terms of audience have been similar: Morris reports that "[t]he effect of party identification […] is insignificant for each news source in 1998, and there is little change through 2002" (2005, 65) but the data for the year 2004 marks a "dramatic change and a stark polarization" (ibid.) when Democrats are found to more likely watch CNN and Republicans more likely to watch Fox News. Similarly, Iyengar and Hahn found that Republicans tended to hover toward Fox News items and to be averse toward CNN and NPR (2009), and Democrats seemed to exhibit the same tendencies when the content of news stories were kept constant and the only variable was visual cues as to represent the different news media.

Although both studies found that party identification does exist within the television audiences, they also note that party identification is not strong. Morris also goes on to discuss that "[…] while the Fox News audience is slightly more Republican than the CNN audience is Democrat, it is evident that both audiences are moving away from the middle" (2005, 73). Morris also predicts that the news product of each news outlet will become "increasingly unique" (ibid.) and that the audiences will continue to polarize,

meaning that the disagreements and differences between the two media should be greater in the future. Similarly, Mixon, Sen and Stephenson (2004) have found support that the television networks are indeed biased and actively but discretely enforce their agenda to influence voters, for example.

Iyengar and Hahn also discuss the significance of media bias, as they speculate that if the audiences of different news media are polarized and a growing audience is exposed to single sided news coverage, there may be an echo chamber effect, as "the news serves to reinforce existing beliefs and attitudes." (2009, 34)

In their pro gradu thesis, Mellanen (2012) studied the hidden agenda in three news websites: BBC, Fox News and CNN, using a similar framework, i.e. Fairclough and Halliday. However, they mainly utilized theme-rheme analysis to examine the dataset, which was larger than the corpus in my study. Mellanen supplemented the theme-rheme analysis with transitivity, collocations, referential identity chain analysis and prioritization of information. Mellanen's thesis found that "CNN places left and Fox News right on the liberal-conservative continuum" (2012, 83). Mellanen's pro gradu thesis partly inspired my own thesis and the starting point of using CNN and Fox News as source material.

In their paper, Schudson discusses the neglect to study news media as political institutions and outlines three approaches to news media (2002). One of those approaches Schudson terms the cultural approach, which according to them "emphasizes the constraining force of broad cultural tradition and symbolic systems, regardless of the structure of economic organization or the character of occupational routines" (2002, 251). According to Schudson, if we are to accept the tenet of news production also being the social production and reproduction of reality, then indeed the product of the process has to be studied "like other manufactured goods" (2002, 259). Schudson goes on to discussing an assumption that an individual will forego their personal values in order to cater to an organization and adapt to its values (2002, 259). This underlying assumption which Schudson discusses implies that an individual has no effect on the product of an organization, and when keeping in mind news media and news articles, Schudson seems to be implying that diversity in the newsroom is futile, as the diversity of genders or ethnicities would not bring anything new to the process,

because the individual would forego their personal interests and values. Also, in studying the news media as political institutions and the news as information products there is an underlying assumption that they are biased from their inception.

Many of the studies which examined either Fox or CNN or both (e.g. Morris 2005; Hodges 2015; Mixon, Sen and Stephenson. 2004) have mainly discussed the media outlets as television news channels, while few studies have referred to them as online media, for example, Iyengar and Hahn (2009) set up an experiment with online news. At the same time, however, even Iyengar and Hahn discuss the media outlets as television news media, equating their television news broadcasting tendencies with their online news reporting. This is an issue which is not discussed in the literature I have reviewed. It is unclear whether television news can be paralleled with online news, as the medium is wholly different and style and way of reporting news differ from each other. As my data is comprised of the news companies' online news, I will discuss this later.

5 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a linguistic field of study which "in its very aims seeks to reveal the structures, locations and effects of power" (Kress 1993, 169). Power is in a very crucial position for critical discourse analysts and Fairclough gives one definition of power as follows: "the power to project one's practices as universal and 'common sense'" (1989, 33). Fairclough calls this the definition for ideological power, which is the focus of this thesis. However, according to Fairclough there are different forms of power, such as power through coercion and "power through the manufacture of *consent*" (1989,3–4, emphasis in original). The latter form of power is linguistic power which can overlap with ideological power because ideology is produced and reproduced in discourse (1989, 33). Van Dijk defines "*social* power in terms of *control*" (2008, 9, emphases in original), meaning specifically control of one group over other groups and their members. Van Dijk goes onto specify that discourse and power are related, not unlike Fairclough, and that the prevailing discourse(s) are controlled by powerful entities, such as "the state, the police, the mass media or a business corporation" (ibid.)

As can be seen, power is an ambigious term, which has been used broadly but also in a very precise manner when linked to forms of power, such as social power or expert

power. In order to disambiguate, I will use a synthesis of Fairclough's and van Dijk's definition of power: Power to project one's practices and beliefs as universal and the practice of power is control, mainly control of "one group over other groups and their members" (van Dijk 2008, 9)

So in this thesis power can be understood through the means of control and the ability to control the actions and thoughts directly and indirectly and to make one's beliefs, values and practices universal and common sense. When discussing the media, it is clear that they are exercising control by manufacturing consent. Thus, there is a clear connection between media discourse and power and control.

In CDA, there is a history of special focus on social problems and social issues, especially in how they appear in racist discourse and other ideological discourses (van Dijk 2008, 5–6). What differentiates CDA from other types of social studies is that critical discourse analysts "recognize and reflect about their own research commitments and position in society" (van Dijk 2008, 6), meaning that they explicitly take a stance on social issues. Van Dijk criticizes other fields of social study for being seemingly neutral, while praising critical discourse analysts for being invested in their work and empowering disenfranchised groups of people (2008, 6-7).

According to van Dijk there is no one unitary theoretical framework for CDA, but there are theoretical frameworks closely linked to CDA (2001, 353). Thus there is also no strict methodology for CDA, instead there is a focus on how "unequal power relations are maintained and reproduced through language use" (Weninger 2008, 145). CDA, according to van Dijk, "uses any method that is relevant to the aims of its research projects and such methods are largely those used in discourse studies generally (2008, 2). CDA has been successfully employed in studies which examine media discourse because of its emphasis on power and language.

Van Dijk also goes to suggest that instead of using the name of Critical Discourse Analysis, the field of study should be called Critical Discourse Studies (ibid.) Van Dijk's reasoning for this is that the name Critical Discourse Analysis is misleading and is assumed to be a "*method* of discourse *analysis*" (ibid., emphases in original). As the name Critical Discourse Studies has not been as of yet standardized, I will continue to use CDA.

The field of critical discourse analysis has faced many criticisms regarding the position of the researcher, implying bias and the lack of scientific rigor. Weninger explains that CDA has been accused of circularity, the "relationship between linguistic form and social function" (2008, 147). While there is no claim that specific linguistic forms have specific and exact ideological functions, researchers are "able to 'read off' the manipulative intent of texts" (ibid.) There is also criticism that due to the explicated stance of the researcher, they are likely to find what they have assumed to find in the text and that this analysis is biased (Weninger 2008, 147; van Dijk 2008, 7). Van Dijk, however, counters these criticisms by explaining that critical discourse analysts are aware of the complexity of the issues they are studying and that to study these complex issues complex theories and methodologies are required (2008, 7).

Baker et al. also discuss the criticisms toward both corpus linguistics and CDA, and the main criticisms that relate to the current thesis are the following: critical discourse analysts are "accused of selecting texts which they either incorrectly believe to be representative or have been chosen in order to 'prove a point'" (2008, 283) and critical discourse analysts are also criticized for studying a small number of texts (ibid.) Corpus linguistics is also often criticized for ignoring context (2008, 279) because of the large scale nature of corpus linguistic studies. Baker et al. also respond to this criticism of both frameworks, arguing that the criticism toward corpus linguistics is based on a narrow view of corpus linguistic methods (ibid.), and that by combining the two frameworks they are able to resolve the aforementioned issues (2008, 283). Thus, combining the two, the corpus data would be large enough to be representative and significant enough and with a critical stance of CDA the context would be paramount to understanding how power and language are used.

According to Foucault, nothing meaningful exists outside discourse (Hall 2007, 44–45). The prevailing discourse is the result of a power struggle or a struggle between discourses. Rivaling discourses means that there are different ways of thinking and speaking of matters and in different discourses different things are taken as granted or the starting point for discussion are different. In Fairclough's terms, control over discourse means the power to normalize (1989, 33). According to van Dijk, the power in media discourse is not located in the single journalist, but in the social position the

journalist is in and in the relationship between the journalist and the organization or media (2008, 12).

Despite van Dijk's call for discourse studies to focus less on micro structures (2008, 15), as is the case in this study, there is merit in studying power at micro level. Van Dijk explains that "[t]hrough a detailed analysis of such organizational discursive practices – aimed at controlling the production of public discourse – we are able to show how social macro structures are related to the structures of public discourse, and finally how these may influence the minds of the public at large." (ibid.) However, Hill (2008), Bonilla-Silva (2010) and Hodges (2015) all conclude that no one claims to be racist and defend themselves vehemently against the nomination, thus no one is racist by their own definition. The oxymoronic situation where racists do not exist but yet racism still persists is then created. Thus, there must be either a discourse of racism prevalent, which does not adhere to critical notions of racism (i.e. the folk theory of racism discussed by Hill 2008). So in this regard it can be fruitful to examine the micro level of language, i.e. grammatic structures, in order to build up towards a macro level study of racism in language.

Power can also be seen of consisting of privileged access to various socially valued resources (van Dijk 1993, 254). Van Dijk himself also notes that access is a vague notion (1993, 255), and according to van Dijk

> it may mean that language users or communicators have more or less freedom in the use of special discourse genres or styles, or in the participation in specific communicative events and contexts. […] People may have more or less active or passive access to communicative events, as is usually the case for journalists, professors or bosses when writing for, or speaking to, a more or less passive audience.
>
> (Van Dijk 1993, 256)

In the context of this thesis, then, access can be seen as working in two ways, the symbolically powerful have access to shape both elite and mass discourse, while the underprivileged have limited access to shape discourse but have wider access to discourse such as the news. Thus the power that journalists and other symbolically powerful groups have is accentuated because of this imbalance.

6 Systemic functional grammar

Systemic functional grammar (SFG) is an analytic tool kit, developed by Michael Halliday and Christian Matthiessen. SFG and CDA are complementary, as both rely on the same premises: language and society shape each other and are interdependent. CDA looks at the connection of language and power, and SFG is very suitable for the purposes of this study, because it can be used to look at the function of language instead of its form, or as Krizsán discusses: "systemic-functional grammar can be used to relate grammatical structures of language use to their contexts of use, which enables critical analysts to obtain the kind of linguistic evidence they need for their social-critical objectives." (2011, 10–11) Both SFG and CDA are also interested in uncovering the linguistic bases of hidden power and ideology in texts (ibid.)

Much of systemic functional grammar is based on grammatical and semantic categories, and because of the complexity of language and its use, it is sometimes difficult to categorize some things neatly, as there is overlap between categories and then there are borderline cases. It must also be noted, that the categorization suggested by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) are by no means exhaustive, and additional categories may be suggested, but because the categories suggested are based on corpus studies, I believe they will be sufficient for my study.

Central to SFG's view of language is that grammar is seen as a system network instead of an "inventory of structures" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 23). The difference of SFG and traditional grammar is best summarized by Halliday and Matthiessen: "Structure is the syntagmatic ordering in language: patterns, or regularities, in what *goes together with* what. System, by contrast, is ordering on the other axis: patterns in what *could go instead of* what" (2014, 22, emphases in original). In other words, SFG is a system of choices. The propositional meaning of a sentence can be derived pragmatically using deixis and ellipsis for example, but what Halliday calls the meaning potential is why a particular form is used instead of another. The meaning potential then contextualizes the choice.

SFG is based around three metafunctions, as Halliday calls them: textual, interpersonal and ideational (or experiential). The *textual metafunction* deals with cohesion and the organization of the clause and its message, and it is actualized by the thematic structure

and other structures, such as cohesion (Halliday and Mathiessen 2014). The *interpersonal metafunction* is concerned with the language used to interact with others. The interpersonal metafunction is realized by the mood structure and it is also concerned with features of language which can be used to ask for information or to provide information, for example. The interpersonal metafunction can also be realized by appraisal (see Martin and White 2005). The *ideational metafunction* then concerns the grammatical structures, which shape one's experience of the world. At the center of the ideational metafunction is the transitivity system, in which "the pivotal element of the clause being the expression of event, or PROCESS." (Butt et al. 2001, 46, sic) The process is realized by a verbal group. The transitivity system can be summarized by the popular phrase "who does what to whom (and how)".

It must be noted, that despite SFG being modeled around three distinct metafunctions, they are only different points of view on language, each of them complementing each other. If language is viewed solely through the lens of one metafunction, the view will be one sided. Despite this caveat, this study will only use the ideational metafunction because of the scope of the study. When I discuss the ideational metafunction, I am mainly referring to the transitivity system, a subsystem of the ideational metafunction.

Transitivity is the grammatical system which realizes the ideational metafunction, and it consists of different processes, such as verbal or mental processes, while appraisal is the system which realizes the interpersonal aspect of systemic functional grammar and the theme and rheme constructs are the main constructs which realize the textual metafunction.

Next I am going to discuss the ideational metafunction in more detail and its subsystem, transitivity.

6.1 Ideational metafunction

The ideational (or experiential) metafunction is the language function that is used to categorize things in creating one's experience of the world, or world view. According to Halliday and Matthiessen, "there is no facet of human experience that cannot be transformed into meaning" and that "language provides a **theory** of human experience, and certain of the resources of the lexicogrammar of every language are dedicated to that function" (2014, 30, emphasis in original).

According to Halliday and Matthiessen, in English there is a fundamental difference in experience, which can be organized as the inner and outer experiences (2014, 214). Grammatically organized, the process types which roughly correspond to these inner and outer experiences are mental processes and material processes, respectively. An example of a clause with a material process could be "the protesters **tried to push** through a police line", while "the protesters **wanted to push** through a police line" would be an example of a mental process (the verbal groups in bold are the processes mentioned).

Transitivity, is then a subsystem of the ideational metafunction, and is used to look at processes, or the classification of actions, or as Halliday and Matthiessen put it:

> "The system of TRANSITIVITY provides the lexicogrammatical resources for construing a quantum of change in the flow of events as a figure – as a configuration of elements centred on a process. Processes are construed into a manageable set of PROCESS TYPES."

(Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 213, sic)

The process types are as follows:

Material processes – these represent physical actions and happenings, such as kicking or throwing.

Mental processes – these processes represent the inner workings of the mind, or sensing, such as wanting or thinking.

Relational processes – these set relations between entities, for example "Michael **is** a student" where the process is bolded; relational processes also attribute things to other things, e.g. "Sarah **has** many books"; relational processes are closely related to material and mental processes.

Verbal processes – these processes represent speaking in various degrees.

Existential processes – these processes construe existence, and it is most often realized by the construct of 'there is something".

Behavioral processes – these processes represent physiological or psychological behavior, Bloor and Bloor call these processes "the grey area between material and mental processes" (2013, 129).

Each process type has three components: the process itself, realized by a verbal group; the participant(s) and circumstances. Each process type has a set of unique participants, for example, material processes have actors, who do the action, and goals, which are the targets of the action. Similarly mental processes have sensers and phenomena as their participants. As the study at hand will not look at circumstances, I will not discuss them any further.

One of the benefits of transitivity analysis is that the analyst is not aware of the whole picture when annotating the data. This makes the results more reliable as it reduces bias. However, the research design could be improved by having multiple analysts annotating the data, with a mediator to finalize the annotations. Transitivity analysis suits corpus studies as it is easy to operationalize and the computer aided corpus programs make it simple to handle large quantities of data. The transitivity analysis is also well-suited to examine representations of social actors because it can be applied to large data sets, such as corpora, thus limiting any possible researcher bias. Using UAM CorpusTools, the process types associated with African Americans can be found, thus answering the first research question of this study: how African Americans are represented. Not only can the processes be seen, African Americans' agency can also be traced. For example, if African Americans are mainly found as the goals of material process types, it implies that African Americans are mainly subject to physical action and not the ones who are doing the action. When all the other process types are also taken into consideration, a fuller image of representation can be produced from the results of the analysis.

As the data set was quite large, I decided to leave out circumstances from the analysis. Arguably leaving the circumstances out of the analysis will not affect the results as Halliday notes that circumstances are optional:

> Circumstantial elements are almost always optional **augmentations** of the clause rather than obligatory components. In contrast, participants are **inherent** in the process: every experiential type of clause has at least one participant and certain types have up to three participants […] While every clause has at least one participant, only certain clauses are augmented circumstantially. In text in general, the average number of circumstances per clause is roughly 0.45, but there is considerable difference among clauses belonging to the different process types (see Matthiessen, 1999, 2006a).

> (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 221, emphasis in original)

In addition to leaving out the circumstances, due to the size of the data again, only the clauses which included reference either to the police or African Americans were annotated and analyzed.

For this thesis, transitivity will be operationalized using annotations. The annotations are separated into three layers: processes, participants and role. The two first layers I have discussed above and the role layer will work to separate African American entities from police and authority entities. The three layers can then be compared and contrasted and subjected to statistical analysis. The details will be discussed in the Methods section.

7 Data

In this section I will first shortly discuss Fox News and CNN, then I will discuss and describe the corpus itself. Fox News and CNN were chosen for the subject of study for their reputation of being biased toward the Republican party and the Democrat party, respectively (Iyengar and Hahn 2009; Morris 2005).

Much of the research done on the two media companies however focus on their television broadcasts instead of online reporting. Nonetheless, they do give insight to their general editorial stance. Based on the previous research, it seems that neither media organization is neutral, in that both have political leanings either to the Republican party side or the Democratic party side. Not only do they seem to have political leanings, but arguably both media may benefit from the partisan arrangement, i.e. both Fox and CNN have an agenda to promote their chosen party politics.

7.1 Fox News

Fox News' beginnings can be traced to Australia, to its parent company, the News Corporation. Rupert Murdoch, inherited the company from his father in 1952. Murdoch himself has been known to be conservative, and to affiliate himself with notable Republican Party members (McKnight and Hobbs 2011). Fox News is known, like its founder, to deliver pro-conservative news (Iyengar and Hahn 2009, 22). The news channel also hosts a slew of conservative news and talk shows, such as the early morning show Fox & Friends and a political talk show Hannity, hosted by Sean Hannity.

7.2 CNN News

The CNN News' operation began as "the first cable news network" (Morris 2005, 59) and the news media's significance rose alongside its "pivotal role in covering the Gulf War of 1991" (ibid.) Morris also notes that it was "the only twenty-four-hour news network on television" (ibid.) The news channel also hosts news shows such as Inside Politics and Anderson Cooper 360, hosted by Anderson Cooper.

7.3 The corpus

Fox and CNN were chosen for this study based on Mellanen's pro gradu thesis, in which they were chosen because of the following reasoning:

> The popularity of these three websites [BBC, CNN and Fox News] is instrumental and relates directly to the aforementioned naturalization theory: the more popular the website, the more often its contents are read and, consequently, the more naturalized its view of the world becomes for the readers also. Additionally, this is an interesting mix of news websites because of the supposed political bias of at least CNN and Fox News, if not all three.

> (Mellanen 2012, 27)

The naturalization theory discussed by Mellanen is a theory put forth by Fairclough (1989), which I have also discussed earlier. Mellanen's thesis also implied that CNN could be situated at the liberal end of the political spectrum, i.e. the left, and that Fox News could be situated at the conservative end, i.e. the right. In addition, according to the Pew Research Center's annual State of the News Media report (2015), CNN and Fox News were in the top ten online news entities. CNN had more than a 100 million unique visitors for January 2015 and Fox News had just under 57 million unique visitors (Pew Research Center 2015, 11). It is clear to see that these two news sites have a wide audience across the political spectrum, and thus a considerable influence on millions of people.

The corpus, which consisted of both the Fox and CNN subcorpora, consisted of 29 372 words and 48 news items. The two subcorpora, Fox and CNN, consisted of 17 931 words and 37 news items, and 11 441 words and 11 news items, respectively. In general, the Fox News items were much shorter than the CNN items, with the Fox items averaging at 484.6 words per item and the CNN items at 1040.1 words per item. Please see Table 1 for clarity. Stylistically the CNN news articles were more analytical, incorporating the journalist's own point of view and opinions, while the Fox articles were written in a matter-of-fact style, with less or no analysis or discussion of the topic.

Subcorpus	Number of words	Number of news items
CNN	11 441	11
Fox News	17 931	37

Table 1: Subcorpora statistics

The data was chosen so that the beginning of the coverage begins on 10 August 2014, when the shooting occurred. Then all the news articles which related directly to the shooting and the unrest were chosen. Transcripts of radio or television news were excluded. Many of the news items, however, did include photos or videos relating to the events. Because of the focus and nature of the study, the videos and photos were excluded from the analysis, thus only written text articles were chosen for this study.

The time frame for the data was the following: the first news item for both corpora was published on the 10th of August 2014 and the last ones were 16th of August 2014 for Fox News and 26th of August 2014 for CNN. The time frame for the chosen news items is so wide because of the scarcity of CNN articles at the time. There are more Fox News items than there are CNN items because of a gap in time between the news items as to balance the corpus. The size of the corpus based on the word count was deemed to be a suitable size for the purposes of this thesis. A larger corpus would have meant more time spent annotating the data, as I annotated it by myself, but a smaller corpus would have meant less reliable results and less representative data. So the cut off date for the selection of data is mainly due to convenience. Ideally the corpus would have included the entire coverage from the beginning until both media stopped publishing news items about the event. The CNN coverage is about a year long, with a special page dedicated to the news items, while the Fox coverage seems to stop after December 2014.

It was difficult to distinguish transcripts or television news broadcast summaries from more traditional articles because they resemble each other so much, unless stated that they were indeed transcripts. For example, Appendix 7 included a news video.

Many of the Fox News items relating to the Ferguson shooting and unrest were sourced from the Associated Press (AP), but these items are nonetheless considered to represent the views of Fox News. This is due to the assumption of editorial decisions made to

include them as part of Fox News news items (Fairclough 1989, 50). Hill also notes that:

> News reportage, opinion pieces, and editorials in newspapers, while they often have 'authors,' should not be taken to represent the views of these writers in any simple way. These texts are produced through a complex journalistic process, during which multiple writers and editors select from a range of preliminary texts and utterances from documents and from people who are judged to be appropriate 'sources.' […] Importantly, the language of journalistic texts is governed by in-house style sheets that are closely guarded. However, it is known that these guidelines include policies against language thought to be inflammatory.
>
> (Hill 2008, 102)

So all of the articles, no matter where they have sourced the information, are considered to be representative of the selected medias' news.

8 Methods

I analyzed the data using UAM CorpusTool to annotate segments of the texts according to Halliday's ideational metafunction. I will discuss this further later on. First I will discuss the statistical analysis, then I will introduce the software used for analysis, and finally I will describe the methodology.

8.1 Statistical analysis

Van Dijk claims that journalists tend not to make the effort to locate minority sources, with journalists considering them to be biased and less credible, which, according to van Dijk, "also shows in the predominant use of doubt and distance particles, and the more explicit use of quotation marks when they are allowed to speak" (1989, 215). In Teo (2000), they discuss reporting related to a criminal gang and their activities in Australia. In the news articles examined, Teo also found that ethnic minorities are quoted "less than one-quarter of the time compared to the white majority" (2000, 18). In addition to this, the articles displayed quotes from anonymous sources and indirect quotes placed toward the end of the article (ibid.) Thus, to see whether the data collected for the thesis showed similar tendencies, I looked at the data in statistical light, in order to see how often Blacks are quoted as sources in the data. I used two statistical tests (Z-score tests) to see how they were quoted as sources: a one proportion and two proportion test.

8.2 AntConc

AntConc is a "freeware corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis" (Anthony 2014) which was used to search keywords for African Americans as participants and keywords for police and other authorities as participants. AntConc was also used to search for occurrences of Black and African American and their collocates.

8.3 UAM CorpusTool

UAM CorpusTool is a "state-of-the-art" (UAM CorpusTool 2016) annotation program for text corpora, and it enables the user to annotate multiple texts on various levels. It also enables the user to create their own schemes for annotation. CorpusTool was used to annotate the data according to Halliday's system of transitivity. The transitivity processes and their participants can be seen from Illustration 1 below. CorpusTool also includes statistical features, such as chi-square and T-tests. For this study, a chi-square test and corresponding level of significance was used.

Baker et al. (2008) argue that combining CDA with corpus linguistics offers "the researcher a reasonably high degree of objectivity" (2008, 277), meaning that it will lessen the impact of researcher bias, freeing the study of "existing notions regarding [the data's] linguistic or semantic/pragmatic content" (ibid.) They also do note that whilst computational algorithms make the analysis easier, input from the researcher is always needed (ibid.) UAM CorpusTools, for example, will provide quantitative results but only if the researcher has done the necessary work to, for example, annotate the data. The results also need to be interpreted by the researcher, as the numbers by themselves will not be much of use.

Baker et al. discuss the criticisms toward both corpus linguistics and CDA, as have been discussed before, and to iterate, the main criticisms that relate to the current thesis are that CDA researchers arguably select texts that proves their argument and that the data is not representative enough (2008, 283). Corpus linguistics is also often criticized for ignoring context (2008, 279) because of the large scale nature of corpus linguistic studies. However, in combining the CDA and corpus linguistics, the corpus data would be large enough to be representative and significant enough and with a critical stance of CDA the context would be paramount to understanding how power and language are used.

Fairclough also argues that a "single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader" (1989, 54), thus supporting Baker et al. and many others to utilize corpus linguistic tools together with CDA.
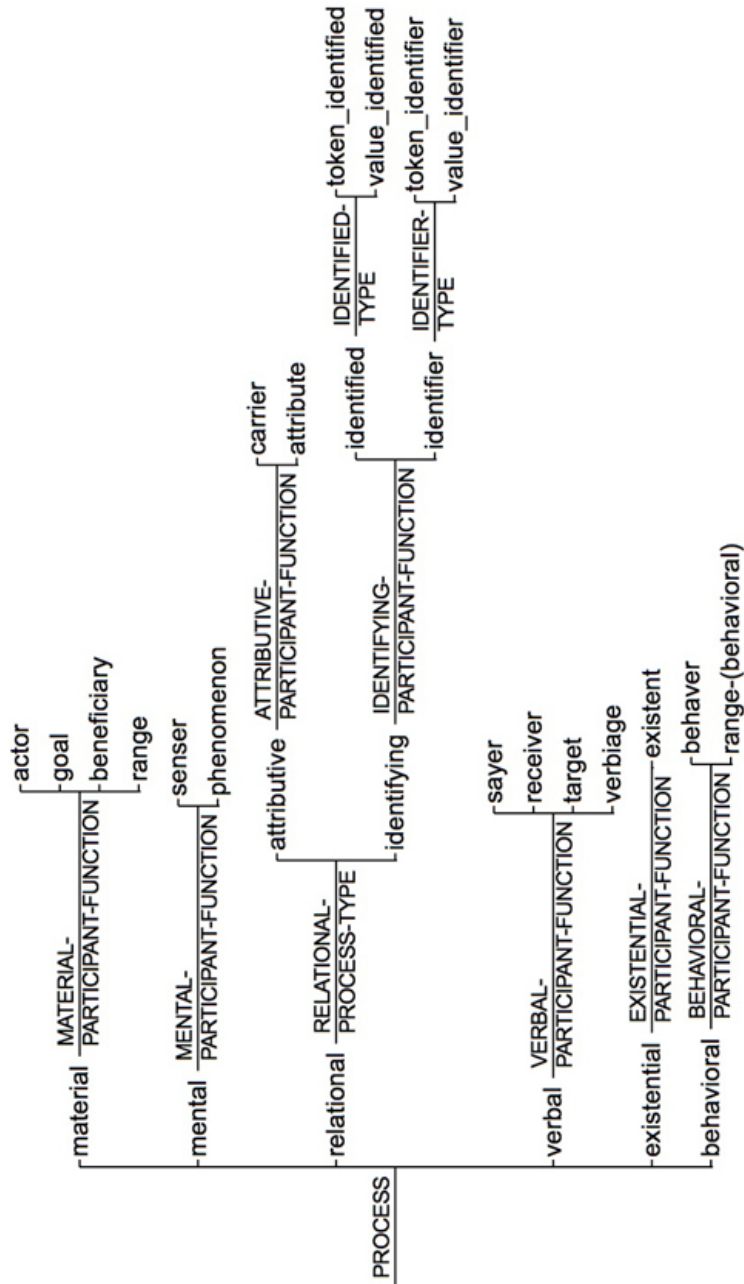

Illustration 1: Diagram of process types and participants, adapted from Halliday & Matthiessen 2014

First, the data was needed to be converted into simple text files, so all of the images, hyperlinks and other multimodal material included in the original data was removed from analysis. Only the essentials of the data were left in the analysis: the headline, date and time, source and the news article itself. Three layers of analysis was carried out: one for processes (transitivity process), one for process participants (transitivity participants) and one for participant roles (African American or police). An additional layer for news source was added to discern between subcorpora.

Transitivity process (verb process or process) is the layer used to code verb processes. Transitivity participants is the layer used to code the process participants, which include for example actor and goal in material process participants. Please see Illustration 1 for process types and process participants.

The participant roles layer was used to distinguish between police and other authorities (labeled *authorities* in the study) and African Americans (labeled *afamcommunity* in the study).

In a pilot study, the majority of the data was annotated using transitivity analysis outlined below. The pilot study resulted in recognizing major nominal groups, which acted as participants in the analysis. Another software, AntConc, was used to look for the participants. The following groups recognized were as follows:

in the CNN subcorpus, nominal groups that were used to identify African Americans and a subcategory of nominal groups used to identify the shooting victim, Michael Brown (underlined):

> african american, dorian johnson, tiffany mitchell, don lemon, brown's mother, benjamin crump, attorney general, eric holder, the crowd, lesley mcspadden, black community, protesters, black men, grandmother, desuirea harris, <u>michael brown</u>, <u>big mike</u>, <u>my friend</u>, <u>the teenager</u>, <u>young man</u>, <u>a good kid</u>, <u>african american teenager</u>, <u>black boy</u>, <u>son</u>

Nominal groups which indicate police and other (White) authorities in the CNN subcorpus:

> the officer, the police, ferguson police, police chief, belmar, jackson, county police, police officer, st louis county police, the fbi, chief thomas jackson, the

chief, white police officer, county police chief, darren wilson, authorities, sam dotson, ron johnson (this applies to both), riot van, police squad car, law enforcement

Nominal groups indicating African Americans and a subcategory for Michael Brown (underlined) in the Fox subcorpus:

michael brown, unarmed black teenager, black teenager, black teen, missouri teenager, black man, teen, protesters in ferguson, dorian johnson, trayvon martin, al sharpton, benjamin crump, brown's parents, demonstrators, brown's family, civil rights leaders, friend

Nominal groups which indicate police and other (White) authorities in the Fox subcorpus:

the officer, ferguson police, police chief, police officer, jackson, st louis county police, the police, officer, police department, belmar, chief thomas jackson, tom jackson, the fbi, white officer, police spokesman brian schellman, state highway patrol, st louis county police department, darren wilson, st louis cops

The nominal groups presented here do not include referentials (he, they, him). The nominal groups which represented both African Americans and the police and other authorities were labeled as *both*. These nominal groups included: Highway Patrol Capt. Ron Johnson, President Barack Obama and Attorney General Eric Holder.

These nominal groups were then marked in the data in the final study, and only those clauses with the nominal groups were subjected to transitivity analysis.

After the data was annotated accordingly, I used the in-built statistical analysis of the UAM CorpusTool to look at how the *authorities* and *afamcommunity* participant roles were divided in each transitivity category and subcategory.

9 Analysis

The statistical significance of the findings is established on the basis of the built-in statistical tests of the UAM CorpusTool program where a weak significance means a ten percent chance of error, while a medium significance means that there is a five percent chance of error and a strong significance means that there is a two percent chance of

error. The percentages mentioned when discussing the participant roles and their frequency in the data is based on the number of incidences of the categories within a participant role category. Thus, for example, when the percentage of *afamcommunity* participants as relational process participants is mentioned to be 10.16%, it is the percentage of the total amount of all occurrences of *afamcommunity* participants. The corresponding number for the *authorities* participants is 6.37%. This is to say that the African American participants and police participants are different and independent sets. Please see the tables below for clarity. In the following sections, I will substitute the terms *authorities* and *afamcommunity* for police and African American for clarity's sake.

9.1 Full corpus results

Before the results are discussed in any depth, I will shortly describe again the verb process types (adapted from Thompson 2004 and Halliday and Mathiessen 2014). There are six process types: material, mental, relational, verbal, existential and behavioral. Each of them include an array of distinct verb processes. Material processes are typically verbs which describe a physical activity (e.g. kick or run). Mental processes are verbs which describe the workings of "the internal world of the mind" (Thompson 2004, 92), i.e. verbs such as know or see. Relational processes are verbs which describe relationships or states of things or concepts, relationships can be identifying or attributive; "[…] the officer who opened fire is white." (CNN13082014), where *is* is identifying; "'We had no weapons on us at all.'" (FOX12082014a), where *had* is attributive. Verbal processes typically describe verbs which relate to speaking or communicating in general; "But Mayor James W. Knowles said police have received death threats against the officer and his family" (CNN13082014), where *said* is the verbal process. Existential processes usually express existence of things and behavioral processes express human or humanlike behavior. Mental, existential and behavioral processes were clearly marginal in the data, so I will mainly focus on material, verbal and relational processes. Mental processes, however, despite being marginal in the data showed a weak significance, so I will also discuss that briefly.

The two largest groups of processes present in the data were material and verbal processes, which seems intuitive given the text genre. The main body of the news

articles consists of description of the events that unfurled and direct and indirect quotes from informants.

The results show that there are notable differences in which process types police and African Americans appear as participants. The most significant differences appear in relational and verbal processes. In relational processes African Americans appear more frequently as participants, while in verbal processes police appear more frequently as participants.

Mental processes show significance in the difference between the participant roles, namely in that African Americans were more represented in the category. Also, notable is that when looking at the process type, material processes show no difference in terms of both of the groups being equally represented, but this changes when the category is broken down into the different participants of that particular process type.

Within the material process category then, the full corpus results shows that police participants are more likely to be the doers of physical actions (actors) while African American process participants are more likely to be the entities the action or the process is directed at (goals). However, these two may not necessarily be linked together. There may be sentences where a police is an actor and an African American person is the goal of the same process, for example

(1) "Police are still investigating why **the officer** shot *Brown*" (FOX11082014, where the actor is bolded and the goal in italics.)

There are also many cases where these two are unrelated, for example:

(2) "**Authorities** set up blockades, trying to keep people from the most looted areas." (FOX11082014a, the actor is bolded)

	authorities participant role		afamcommunity participant role		
Feature	N	Percent	N	Percent	Significance
PROCESS	N=834		N=602		
material	474	56.83%	362	60.13%	
mental	15	1.80%	19	3.16%	+
relational	53	6.35%	62	10.30%	+++
verbal	281	33.69%	153	25.42%	+++
existential	0	0.00%	1	0.17%	
behavioral	11	1.32%	5	0.83%	
MATERIAL PARTICIPANT FUNCTION	N=474		N=362		
actor	356	75.06%	174	48.07%	+++
goal	90	18.76%	180	49.72%	+++
beneficiary	27	5.96%	8	2.21%	+++
range	1	0.22%	0	0.00%	
RELATIONAL PROCESS TYPE	N=53		N=62		
attributive	18	34.00%	18	29.03%	
identifying	35	66.00%	44	70.97%	
IDENTIFIED TYPE	N=26		N=26		
token/identified	1	4.17%	5	19.23%	+
value/identified	25	95.83%	21	80.77%	+
VERBAL PARTICIPANT FUNCTION	N=281		N=153		
sayer	254	90.27%	132	86.27%	
receiver	14	5.45%	14	9.15%	+
target	12	4.28%	7	4.58%	
verbiage	1	0.00%	0	0.00%	

Table 2: Full corpus; significances: + at 90% level, ++ 95%, +++ 98%

The figures seen in Table 2 implies that there seems to be a difference in the portrayal of the two groups: as actors in material processes, police seem mainly to shoot or fire weapons or otherwise are in physical contact with others, while African Americans are seen doing a variety of things, such as throwing rocks, gathering, marching or clashing with police. Shot or was shot make up for more than six percent of all material processes. Michael Brown most of all is represented in the text as allegedly assaulting the officer and running and walking.

The data also shows that Michael Brown is overwhelmingly the most frequently referred both actor and goal of all African American material process participants. There are a total of 180 occurrences of African American goals, of which 150 refer to Michael

Brown, and 174 occurrences of African American actors, of which 104 refer to Michael Brown.

In relational processes, the main participant is also Michael Brown and within the data, Brown is mainly identified as a suspect, a victim, and as unarmed, young and black:

> (3) "That **Brown** was unarmed is undisputed – St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar said every casing found at the scene was from the officer's weapon – but he said at a Sunday news conference that Brown was not an innocent victim." (CNN11082014c, identified participant role bolded)

At the same time, the police who shot Michael Brown, Darren Wilson, is directly mentioned by name only five times, while other times he is vaguely referred to as police officer. Wilson is mentioned four times in the Fox corpus, while only once in the CNN corpus. As there are only few direct mentions of Wilson by name and likely more mentions indirectly, it seems that both media may have a tendency to lessen the focus on Wilson's agency in the incident and to anonymize Wilson. The cases where Wilson is explicitly named are as follows:

> (4) "Undeterred by rain, people still made their voices heard Friday night on the streets of Ferguson – some raising their hands up high, like they say Brown did before being shot dead by Officer Wilson." (CNN15082014)

> (5) "Ferguson, Mo., Police Chief Thomas Jackson said the robbery took place just before noon on Saturday at a convenience store roughly 10 minutes before a police officer identified as Darren Wilson fired the bullet that killed Michael Brown." (FOX15082014d)

> (6) "11:48 a.m.   Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson arrives at a residence in response to an unrelated call about a 2-month-old child having difficulty breathing when she coughs. […] 12:00 p.m.   Officer Wilson leaves the scene of the call about a sick child. […] 12:01 p.m.   Officer Wilson encounters Michael Brown walking on a street and the shooting follows. Ferguson Police Chief Tom Jackson said Friday that Wilson did not know about the robbery at the convenience store when he encountered Brown." (FOX16082014a)

The police beneficiaries are mainly in clauses where they are thrown objects at, e.g. "On Wednesday night, police in riot gear again used tear gas to disperse protesters after some threw explosive devices and rocks at **officers**" (FOX14082014b, beneficiary is bolded), where as African American beneficiaries are in similar clauses, but as the targets of tear gas. Despite the similar scenarios both types of beneficiaries are involved in, the difference in how many times either is mentioned is significant.

It must be noted that the statistical results reflect tendencies in the data. For example, the clauses "the officer shot Brown" (CNN15082014), "an officer fatally shot an unarmed teenager" (FOX13082014c) repeat with minor variations throughout the data. These clauses are meant to quickly recap the events in the news items, as if to contextualize the news item. This may cause an overrepresentation of the two participants in the statistics. Then again, the topic of the news coverage is police shootings, so naturally police and authorities will be common as actors.

The results also do not show the referential pronouns such as he, she or they. This can be seen in clauses such as "Police have said Brown was shot after an officer encountered him and another man in the street." (FOX13082014f) This was a methodological issue, which I will discuss later.

9.1.1 CNN subcorpus results

Unlike the full corpus, the CNN subcorpus shows a weak significance for the material processes, but then shows the same results as the full corpus for the different participant functions of the material processes. The two participant function numbers are in concurrence with the total corpus figures: both show strong statistical significance. The number of police actors in the CNN subcorpus is 73.15% of all police participants, while the number of police goals is 22.82%. The corresponding numbers for African American participants is 58.67% and 38.67%. This shows that the number of police actors is proportionally higher than the corresponding African American number and the number of African American goals is proportionally higher than the corresponding police goals. Table 3 shows the categories which have the most incidences.

	authorities participant role			afamcommunity participant role		
Feature	N	Percent		N	Percent	Significance
PROCESS	N=288			N=255		
material	149	51.74%		150	58.82%	+
mental	5	1.74%		7	2.75%	
relational	16	5.56%		28	10.98%	++
verbal	111	38.54%		67	26.27%	+++
existential	0	0.00%		1	0.39%	
behavioral	7	2.43%		2	0.78%	
MATERIAL PARTICIPANT FUNCTION	N=149			N=150		
actor	109	73.15%		88	58.67%	+++
goal	34	22.82%		58	38.67%	+++
beneficiary	6	4.03%		4	2.67%	
range	0	0.00%		0	0.00%	
VERBAL PARTICIPANT FUNCTION	N=111			N=67		
sayer	101	90.99%		57	85.07%	
receiver	4	3.60%		7	10.45%	+
target	5	4.50%		3	4.48%	
verbiage	1	0.90%		0	0.00%	

Table 3: CNN subcorpus; significances: + at 90% level, ++ 95% level, +++ 98%

The beneficiary function shows no significance within the subcorpus thus contrasting the total corpus. This may be due to the low number of incidences of material processes involving a beneficiary participant.

Other process types which show statistical significance are relational, verbal and behavioral processes, of which behavioral processes only show medium significance while relational and verbal processes show strong statistical significance. The number of occurrences of behavioral processes are so small, that the category is not analyzed any further despite showing a medium significance. In numbers, there were more African American participants as relational participants than police participants, while the verbal process number shows the opposite (see Table 3).

The overall results of the CNN subcorpus seem to show that within the CNN subcorpus, the police and other (White) authorities are mainly the doers of physical actions and are mainly the sayers, while the African Americans in the text are mainly the sufferers of physical actions (goals in material processes) and are participants in relational

processes, e.g. "Only **three of the city's 53 officers** are African-American […]" (CNN13082014, identified in bold). This in turn may imply an institutional bias toward the police and other authorities and CNN's preference of reliance of the police as informants.

9.1.2 Fox News subcorpus results

The Fox subcorpus also exhibits the trends that have been described before: in terms of material processes there seems to be no statistical significance, but when the process type is broken down into its participant functions, the picture is wholly different. The Fox subcorpus shows strong significance for actor and goal participant functions, like the CNN subcorpus and the total corpus, but unlike the other two, it also shows a strong significance for the beneficiary participant role.

Feature	authorities participant role N	Percent	afamcommunity participant role N	Percent	Significance
PROCESS	N=546		N=347		
material	325	59.52%	212	61.10%	
mental	10	1.83%	12	3.46%	
relational	37	6.78%	34	9.80%	
verbal	170	31.14%	86	24.78%	++
existential	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	
behavioral	4	0.73%	3	0.86%	
MATERIAL PARTICIPANT FUNCTION	N=325		N=212		
actor	247	76.00%	86	40.57%	+++
goal	56	17.23%	122	57.55%	+++
beneficiary	21	6.46%	4	1.89%	+++
range	1	0.31%	0	0.00%	
VERBAL PARTICIPANT FUNCTION	N=170		N=86		
sayer	153	90.00%	75	87.21%	
receiver	10	5.88%	7	8.14%	
target	7	4.12%	4	4.65%	
verbiage	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	

Table 4: Fox subcorpus; significances: + at 90% level, ++ 95% level, +++ 98%

The results from the Fox subcorpus have similar implications as the CNN subcorpus results: police are mainly the doers of actions (76.00% actors), while African Americans are the sufferers of actions (57.55% goals). In addition to this, the Fox subcorpus implies that police are the receivers of physical actions more frequently than African

Americans, as 17.23% of all police material participants were goals and the corresponding number for African American goals was 57.55%. However, the subcorpus also shows that police participants were more frequent as verbal participants than African American participants, but its statistical significance is only medium. When the process type is broken down into participant functions, however, there is no statistical significance. This may imply that police participants were quoted as speakers and in general more often than African American participants.

It is also worth noting that the number of cases of police participants is much higher than the number of cases of African American participants, 546 and 347, respectively. This may imply that Fox News relies more on authoritative sources, as 31.14% of the cases were police verbal participants while only 24.78% were African American verbal participants. In the CNN subcorpus the number of cases of police participants and number of cases of African American participants is more balanced, 288 and 255 in total respectively.

9.2 Other results

In this section I will first present the results of statistical tests for the verbal process participants and then look at the differences between the demonyms African American and Black.

Using the sayer-participant function as an indicator for quotes, proportionally African Americans and police are both quoted equally, in terms of the verbal process participant dataset. However, if the African American and police datasets are combined, the proportional number of African American quotes against the police quotes changes: there are more quotes from police and authorities than there are from African Americans. In total there were 386 sayer participants in the corpus, of which 65.8% were attributed to police and authority sources. Using a z-score calculator for two population proportions with a one-tailed hypothesis, the z-value is 3.5971 and the p-value 0.00016 where the result is significant at p < .05 (see Table 5 below).

The same statistical tests for both subcorpora yielded the same results.

Sample 1 proportion	254	The number of authorities sayer-participants
Sample 1 size	834	The number of authorities process participants
Sample 2 proportion	132	The number of afamcommunity sayer-participants
Sample 2 size	602	The number of afamcommunity process participants
z-value	3.5971	
p-value	0.00016	Result is significant at p < .05

Table 5: Z-score calculation for two population proportions

The statistical test seems to confirm what Teo (2000) and van Dijk (1989) have discussed: that journalists are more likely to quote and interview sources they deem authoritative instead of minority sources. Another statistical test for one proportion gave a similar result. With an observed proportion of 9.2%, which is the proportion of African American sayers out of all process participants, and total number of 1436, the number of all process participants and null hypothesis value of 17.6%, the proportion of police and other authority sayers out of all process participants, the z-score is 8.359 and the p-value less than 0.0001. See the table below for clarity. Solely based on these statistical tests, there is a correlation between the low number of quotes from African Americans and the higher number of quotes from police, however the causation needs to be discussed. I will return to this later.

Observed proportion (%)	9.2	The proportion of African American sayers out of all process participants
Sample size	1436	The total number of process participants
Null hypothesis value (%)	17.6	The proportion of police sayers out of all process participants
Z-score	8.359	
P-value	< 0.0001	
95% CI of observed proportion	7.75% to 10.81%	

Table 6: Z-score calculation for one proportion

I also searched the corpus for mentions of the terms Black and African American, either hyphenated or separate. The only occurrences of Black, in reference to race, in the CNN subcorpus are:

(7) "In front of them is a young black man, his body prone and alone on the pavement" (CNN14082014a)

(8) "The first black U.S. attorney general will visit Ferguson on Wednesday" (CNN20082014)

(9) "Here's a look at the players who have shaped the city's response to the death of Michael Brown, an unarmed black teenager, at the hands of a white police officer" (ibid.)

There is also only one occurrence of African American, albeit with a hyphen, in the CNN subcorpus:

(10) "That includes the surveillance video, which shows a large African-American man pushing aside a smaller man who seemingly tries to stop him, then leaving the store" (CNN15082014)

Meanwhile, there are a total of 41 occurrences of Black in the Fox subcorpus. Examples include

(11) "In the meantime, he said, his department welcomes Justice Department training on racial relations in the suburb, where two-thirds of the 21,000 residents are black while all but three of the police force's 53 officers are white" (FOX13082014f)

(12) "What began as a peaceful protest of the shooting of an 18-year-old unarmed black man by a police officer in a St. Louis suburb turned into what the town's mayor called a "huge mess" as several businesses were looted and cars were vandalized" (FOX11082014)

(13) "Nixon appointed Highway Patrol Capt. Ron Johnson, who is black, to lead the police effort." (FOX15082014d)

(14) "The more tolerant response came as President Obama spoke publicly for the first time about Saturday's fatal shooting – and the subsequent violence that shocked the nation and threatened to tear apart Ferguson, a town of 21,000 that is nearly 70 percent black and patrolled by a nearly all-white police force. " (FOX15082014d)

There is only one occurrence of African American in the Fox subcorpus:

(15) "John Gaskin, who serves on both the St. Louis County and national boards of directors for the NAACP, said the group was 'outraged because yet again a young African-American man has been killed by law enforcement'" (FOX11082014b).

The major difference between the subcorpora may imply that Fox News emphasizes the racial tension behind the shooting, and in using the the racial epithet Black rather than African American, they may be trying to evoke a stronger emotional response from their audience. As mentioned earlier, Hall, Phillips and Townsend (2015) found in their study that the racial epithet Black was more frequently associated with negative emotional content than the epithet African American. However, because there were very few cases of Black and African American, the results seem inconclusive in terms of whether there is a representational difference between the two terms based on the data at hand.

Thus in general, it seems that the two media rely more on police and other authorities to say things and to report things, while overwhelmingly the results imply that police and authority are mainly the doers of things and African Americans are the sufferers of things. Also, both corpora show similar numbers for the sayer participant function: there are almost double the amount of police sayers compared to African American sayers, implying a bias in reporting.

Despite the fact that the Fox subcorpus data shows that most of the African American participants are in goal participant role position, the relatively small number of African

American participants in actor participant role is telling. The same can be said of the CNN subcorpus and of the whole corpus in general. This may imply journalistic focus on the actions of police rather than the actions or reactions of African Americans and the media's reliance on authority figures.

No instances of agentless passive was found, unless it was unclear who the actor was. Using processes such as shot and killed and noun groups such as tear gas I attempted to look whether the passive voice was used to obscure agency. For example:

> (16) "They say one of the men pushed the officer into the squad car […] and struggled with the officer over the officer's weapon. At least one shot was fired inside the car." (FOX15082014b)

Despite the lack of a result, I will discuss this later.

10 Discussion

The first research question this thesis aimed to answer was how are African Americans represented in the selected media? The first part of the following section will attempt to answer this research question.

As mentioned afore, there are significant differences in how African Americans and the police are portrayed or represented in the data. African Americans were mainly associated with material processes as goals, the entities which physical actions are directed at, while police were associated in the same process category but as the doers of physical actions. Repeating what has been said earlier, these two are independent, despite there being clauses where the two groups are represented causally in the form of "the police does something to an African American". This is to say that there are also many clauses in which the police does something to some non-African American entity and clauses where something or someone else does something to African Americans.

On the surface, the material process category shows no significant difference between the police and African American participants but when the material process type is broken down into its participant roles, differences in who are doers of actions (actor) and who are the sufferers of actions (goal) emerge. At first glance it seems as if both African Americans and the police are represented equally in sentences related to physical action. However, looking at the participant roles, it becomes clear that African Americans are portrayed more often as the sufferers of actions, while police are

portrayed as the doers of actions. According to van Dijk, this is to be expected in news about crime or protests (1989, 213).

This is one of the major findings in the study and it shows a clear difference in how African Americans and police are portrayed in the news. African Americans are mainly represented as the sufferers of actions and when they are portrayed as active doers, they are throwing rocks, marching or clashing with the police. One of the most referred to entities in the data as a material process participant is unsurprisingly Michael Brown as the news coverage revolves around him.

Another, albeit smaller, difference emerged in the material process participants: according to UAMCorpusTool's statistical tests, the difference between the beneficiary particpant roles was significant. There were three times as many police as beneficiaries than there were African Americans. The number in total was small, 27 police beneficiaries and 8 African American beneficiaries, but the context in both categories were very similar. Both groups of beneficiaries were connected to similar processes. Rocks and molotov cocktails were thrown at police, while tear gas was used on African Americans. Thus despite the small sample, the difference in portrayal in this category is also clear, as is supported by the statistical significance.

Another large issue seems to be the bias in verbal processes: a larger number of police participants were associated with verbal processes than African American participants. In short, there were more police officers and other police authorities who spoke or were spoken to. The Fox subcorpus shows a smaller significance than the CNN subcorpus, but both display the same tendency. This result supports van Dijk's argument that journalists do not make the effort to find minority sources and to an extent that journalists consider minority sources to be biased and less credible (1989, 215). Van Dijk also proposes that because authoritative sources, such as police, are considered more reliable by journalists, it becomes a circle of regarding the police as more reputable sources (ibid.) This in itself is highly problematic, as the practice de-values minority sources based solely on their race and/or ethnicity and they are not valued for their expertise.

The full corpus results however do not show this tendency. This seems to be an issue in the way UAMCorpusTool handles the data: it assigns independent datasets for African

American and police participants. When the verbal participants are merged into one dataset, differences emerge. As mentioned earlier in the results, if the sayer participant function is taken as an indicator for direct and indirect quotes, the data shows that the police are almost two times more likely to be quoted. In connection with the material processes, the data shows that police are active doers and sources of information. Van Dijk suggests why the police are more likely to be attributed as sources:

> [S]ince most credible sources, that is, the authorities, politicians, educators, professionals or scholars, are white, and since most institutions are white, their chance of being used as sources is higher for the opposite reasons as those mentioned above for the lack of minority speakers and opinions.
>
> (van Dijk 1989, 215)

Teo also discusses the use and attribution of quotes in his study of Australian media covering a Vietnamese gang's criminal activities: "In the discourse under analysis, while the activities of the police are reported in elaborate detail and often quoted verbatim from a high-ranking officer, the activities of the criminals are often told only from the perspective of the police or some 'expert'" (2000, 18). In the news articles Teo examined, they found that ethnic minorities are quoted "less than one-quarter of the time compared to the white majority" (ibid.) The main findings from Teo seem to support the findings of this thesis.

Then again, according to Schudson these sources are government officials, police officers or politicians because they are informed and their "information is judged to be authoritative and their opinions legitimate" (2002, 255) and in addition, these aforementioned sources "make information available on a regular basis in a form that the media can easily digest" (ibid.) Thus Schudson is suggesting that the reason why media use authoritative sources, such as the police or other officials, is due to ease and convenience. The main difference between Schudson and van Dijk and Teo, is that Schudson seems to consider this as normal and does not problematize it.

While it is difficult to speculate the reasons why exactly journalists have depended on official sources, such as police or governments, instead of experts such as NAACP, it is highly problematic that they use such one-sided sources of information and do not actively seek to question their points of view. Van Dijk notes that

> [e]ven in the accounts of ethnic events, with mostly ethnic minority actors, those who are quoted, and hence may define the situation and give their opinions, are usually the white elites – such as the government, politicians, the police, lawyers, NGOs, or professors

(van Dijk 2012, 26)

In the study at hand the situation is exactly as van Dijk suggests, as can be seen from the data. These findings are supported by the statistical tests where the total number of sayer participant functions were tested using a z-score calculator for two population proportions with a one-tailed hypothesis, with the z-value being 3.5971 and the p-value 0.00016 where the result is significant at $p < .05$ (please see Table 5 above for clarity). Thus together with the statistical tests from UAMCorpusTool and the separate statistical tests for the total number of sayer participant functions, the evidence suggests that the phenomenon both Teo (2000) and van Dijk (1989) discuss. There is a clear difference in how journalists source their information from and who they rely on the most for information. Teo suggests an implication for this practice:

> [T]his dependence on legitimized sources of information results in a predominantly establishment view of the world, in which lay people are only entitled to their experience but not their opinions. In this way, the use of quotation becomes a gate-keeping device that admits only those in positions of power and influence while shutting out the opinions and perspectives of those deemed by society to be powerless. Thus, while the powerful are further empowered through quotation patterns that enhance their status and visibility, the systematic silencing of the powerless – the poor, the young, the uneducated, etc. – only further disempowers them.

(Teo 2000, 18)

In the full corpus and CNN subcorpus results, African Americans were also more often situated in sentences with relational processes. These clauses most often had Michael Brown as one of the entities in the processes. Assessment of the neutrality of the tokens or attributes related to Michael Brown was not carried out, thus nothing conclusive can be said about the portrayal of Michael Brown. Strom and Alcock discuss representation of minority groups in mainstream media, and how studies have found that media often portrays the dominant groups in "a positive light and minoritized groups in a negative light, thereby reinforcing social hierarchies that support the dominant position of the majority group and the subordinate position of minoritized groups" (2017, 442). In contrast to Strom and Alcock, Elmasry and el-Nawawy found in their study that in the New York Times and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch the media framed the Ferguson protests mainly in a positive way, suggesting "peacefulness and order" (2017, 870). However, Elmasry and el-Nawawy attribute this positive framing to the sources, as the media they studied quoted protesters more than the police and government officials

(2017, 866–867), while, as mentioned above, the quotation pattern in the CNN and Fox News corpus showed the opposite.

Because the results were gathered using transitivity, it is difficult to evaluate whether these portrayals are negative or positive, but there is a clear cut difference between the portrayals of African Americans and the police. Because Michael Brown is the main entity referred to in relational processes, it is difficult to say how African Americans are seen in terms of setting up relations grammatically. Michael Brown, however, is mainly identified as a victim, suspect, unarmed, black and young. Based solely on the relational processes, Michael Brown seems to be represented in a sympathetic manner, in stark contrast to Oliver's (2003) and Dixon and Linz's (2000) findings. Both studies looked at the representation of African Americans in the media and found that African Americans were overrepresented as law breakers. Despite a seemingly sympathetic portrayal of Michael Brown, there is a possibility that because of a large body of media systematically overrepresenting African Americans as criminals, the existing stereotypes of consumers of the media "can result in biased interpretations that may serve to maintain racial stereotypes nevertheless" (Oliver 2003, 15).

Many of the clauses which contained police as a participant and the verb process "shot" or "killed" were passivized and the actor of the process was put in as an agent, e.g. "The area has seen several protests since 18-year-old Michael Brown was **killed** by a Ferguson officer Saturday." (FOX13082014b) This may be due to a number of factors. By having the voice in passive, the shooter is alleviated of guilt, or the implication of guilt is lessened, or on the other hand, as the investigation was still open at the time, journalists were undecided of the legal status. It may also imply a bias on the journalists' side, where they instead of condemning the shooting, hold out for a verdict and take the institution's side.

According to Thompson "[p]assive clauses are […] marked in relation to active clauses (that is, there is usually a particular reason for choosing a passive clause, whereas an active clause is the natural choice when there are no particular reasons for not choosing it)" (1996, 82), and Bednarek & Caple discuss that "'critical' approaches to news discourse […] have pointed out that this [passive] can be used to obscure agency" (2012, 88–89) As the starting point for CDA is that the media does not neutrally nor

passively describe news events, instead the media reproduces them actively (van Dijk 1989, 203; Lütfiye 2001, 320), then it is possible to say that CNN and Fox News have intentionally used the passive voice and grammatical passivization to obscure agency or to de-emphasize agency.

As the passivization of a clause or process can lead to an agentless construction, the transitivity analysis conducted through corpus techniques inevitably leads to the loss of agency. A close reading of passive clauses could remedy this issue, as the agents of the processes could be recovered by induction and deduction by context. For example, "All parties agree Brown was shot multiple times" (CNN14082014).

However, there were no findings related to the passive voice, as the only incidences of gentless passive constructions were when it was unclear what actually happened. By probing the passive searching for processes such as shot or killed and noun groups such as tear gas or smoke bomb, most of the clauses which included these keywords were either in the active voice or if in the passive voice, they attributed the action to an agent. This is not to say, however, that the media does not use grammatical passivization to de-emphasize agency. But there is no reliable evidence of this in the data.

There are many similarities between both subcorpora, especially in terms of process categories and significances. Both corpora show strong significance for the difference between African American and police participants, for actor and goal participants, as well as significance for the verbal processes. Both subcorpora also yielded the same statistical results when the sayer-participant role was examined. So despite the "distinctive reputation for delivering a proconservative perspective on issues and events" (Iyengar & Hahn 2009, 22), Fox News does not differ from CNN in how it portrays and represents African Americans in this coverage. It must be noted, however, that this conclusion is based solely on the data collected for this study, and thus may be difficult to generalize to the two media's other news coverages, but it does show nonetheless that no matter how liberal something is lauded to be, it may still be subject to the fallacies of the folk theory of racism. Perhaps it shows that one should be even more wary of liberal media, which are expected to be anti-racist.

The second research question this thesis aimed to answer was how does the media work in forming and transforming racial categories in the Ferguson news coverage? This was

partly answered in the previous section already, namely that African Americans were more likely to be portrayed as grammatical goals, implying a victimhood, especially when a majority of the goal participants were referents to Michael Brown. However, when contrasted with the representation of the police, it becomes clear that despite the news coverage being about a young African American being shot and killed by a police officer, the sources of information are mainly the police and other authorities such as government officials.

This is not surprising as van Dijk (2008) and Teo (2000) have discussed similar phenomena in their data:

> What we find is that while 'white' elites control such public discourses and their production, ethnic minorities and immigrants have virtually no access and hence their views and opinions seldom reach the press and public opinion. They are mostly only talked *about*, and usually negatively, as is also the case for poor people, or any other outgroup or part of the world.
>
> (Van Dijk 2008, viii)

Thus, the media works to reproduce racial stereotypes by excluding African Americans from discourse and limiting their roles to passive agents, to grammatical goals, and by emphasizing the police's active agency, thus contrasting African Americans to the police. The idea of the media limiting access is not a new idea. Fairclough has suggested that "[m]edia discourse is one-sided and media discourse is produced only by journalists and editors, thus it is more limited as a discourse, i.e. not just anyone can participate in media discourse" (1989, 49). Although, it must be noted that the study conducted here only concerned two news media and a limited sample of news items, but based on Hodge's paper on the coverage of Trayvon Martin's shooting, it is not radical to exclaim that Fox News and CNN are not exempt of the folk theory of racism, which is the hegemonic notion of racism.

So stereotyping of African Americans in the data happens by excluding them from commenting or otherwise excluding them from being sources of information and contrasting them with the police, who happen to be trustworthy enough to be cited in the news. According to Hall, one aspect of difference is that it can be contrasted with its opposite (2007, 234), so we can see that one method of stereotyping is contrasting, marking the difference. This happens when out of the 386 sayer participants, Dorian Johnson, Michael Brown's best friend, is quoted 58 times, while the Ferguson police chief Thomas Jackson is cited over 80 times.

Stereotyping, according to Hall, "is part of the maintenance of social and symbolic order" (2007, 258), setting up lines of demarcation between the normal and the abnormal.

> In short, stereotyping is what Foucault called a 'power/knowledge' sort of game. It classifies people according to a norm and constructs the excluded as 'other'. Interestingly, it is also what Gramsci would have called an aspect of the struggle for hegemony. […] Hegemony is a form of power based on leadership by a group in many fields of activity at once, so that its ascendancy commands widespread consent and appears natural and inevitable.
>
> (Hall 2007, 259)

To answer the second part of the second research question what is the difference between Black and African American if there is a difference, these terms were searched in the data only to find that they were almost nonexistent. There were three occurrences of Black and one occurrence of African-American in the CNN subcorpus, and 41 occurrences of Black and one occurrence of African-American in the Fox subcorpus. The answer, based on the data, is then there is no difference, but because the amount of specimens was so little, it is inconclusive. However, the difference between the subcorpora is interesting and warrants more research. One possible explanation for the difference could be that Fox News wanted to emphasize the racial epithet, while CNN wanted to downplay the race and at the same time the racist motivation of the shooting. As the literature suggests (Philogène 2001; Hall, Phillips and Townsend 2015) there is a difference between the demonyms Black and African American, but because there is no reliable comparison in the data, it is difficult to analyze the difference and possible motivations. The only credible explanation for Fox New's use of Black could be that they wanted to foreground the negative stereotypes of African Americans by using the term Black, as the only occurrence of African American in the Fox News subcorpus was in a direct quote from John Gaskin, a board member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The lack of racial epithets in the data is also reflected in the use of White and Caucasian, but because this was not the subject of study, this is only a side note. Interestingly, however, the word 'race' was also used sparingly, which is why the thesis is titled "The race of the officer was not disclosed" (FOX11082014b2), although arguably the issue of the news coverage is indeed race.

As discussed earlier, van Dijk suggests that news coverage about African Americans in itself may not be racist but may be interpreted as racist if only "negative actions of black youth are represented, and not those of other youths, or indeed, of the police" (2008,

20). Based on the results, however, no conclusive evidence of only negative context was found, but it is highly interesting to find the use of the term Black only in the Fox subcorpus. This issue clearly warrants further study with a larger set of data.

The third and final research question was what are the possible ramifications, in terms of identity or otherwise, of certain kinds of representations of African Americans in news media? To answer this question I will look at my findings and discuss them in connection to the body of literature I have reviewed earlier.

As I have shown, representations in the media are interconnected with issues of power and discourse. Linguistic power is the power to persuade, the "power through the manufacture of *consent*" (Fairclough 1989, 4, emphasis in original). Fairclough also suggests that

> [o]ne aspect of power is the capacity to impose and maintain a particular structuring of some domain or other – a particular way of dividing it into parts, of keeping the parts demarcated from each other, and a particular ordering of those parts in terms of hierarchical relations of domination and subordination.
>
> (Fairclough 1989, 13)

According to van Dijk, then, "[o]ne of the main roles of discourse is the reproduction of social representations, such as knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms, and values." (2012, 16), so in terms of representation of African Americans and racial formation, media holds enormous power over its consumers, and it has the power to persuade and make readers consent to a view of African Americans. The power that the media has is an important subject of study, because most likely consumers or readers of the news have little direct contact with minorities (Bailey and Harindranath 2005, 282; Rucks-Ahidiana 2018, 2), the media is their only connection to a minority, and thus they are unlikely to challenge the representation in the media. If stereotyped representation of African Americans is the only available representation for the wide public, it affects African Americans greatly.

The narrow and negative representation becomes a justification for racism and it limits educational or employment opportunities, or on a personal level it may even limit the type of popular culture an African American is allowed to enjoy. According to Hall, "[d]iscourse is about the production of knowledge through language" (2007, 44), so the discourse regarding African Americans is produced and reproduced in the media using

language. Although this thesis studied only the representations of police and African Americans, with the focus on the latter group, based on the results, in addition to the aforementioned portrayals, the two media seem to simplify their representation using the two main groups of social actors as seen in the material processes and in how each group is portrayed and associated with certain types of verb processes.

If a certain representation of African Americans goes unchallenged, it may become, due to repetition and lack of other representations, naturalized and common sense (Fairclough 1989). Especially when the representation through naturalization loses its ideological character, it becomes non-ideological (Fairclough 1989, 92). Teo also notes that stereotyping affects "the way we perceive and relate to them" (2000, 17) and that "the less evaluative and more factual generalizations appear, the less questionable and more naturalized they become" (ibid.) Because media discourse is so widely available and pervasive, it not only affects the non-elite, the common people, but it also affects the elite, so not only does the narrow representation of African Americans affect African Americans themselves directly, but also indirectly through policy, as the elite and politicians are as susceptible to the false logic of the folk theory of racism that is hegemonic in the media as the non-elite. Meaning that policy makers are also subject to the prevalent racist discourse. Also, it should be emphasized that the police, a group which can be seen as both part of the elite and non-elite, are also affected by the dominant discourse. This is especially important because while they may not affect policy, they do uphold and enforce policies made by politicians.

The significance of CNN and Fox News cannot be stressed enough – they are two of the most popular news media in the US, thus their reach is widespread. As CNN was the first 24-hour news network (Morris 2005, 59), the speed at which the news circle the globe now is incredible and so the impact of discourse grows, as per Fairclough's naturalization theory (1989) and the cultivation theory discussed by Oliver (2003). Especially if the news involving African Americans is limited to certain genres, such as crime or violence, and if the news involving African Americans antagonizes them and contrasts them with the police.

To view this issue then from a liberal-conservative dipole is inadequate, because the racist bias in the media coverage seems to be present across the political party lines, if

we take CNN and Fox News to represent this line of demarcation. This is to say that both news media are no less racist than the other. Although this study examined only a small time frame when the Michael Brown news broke and only from two news sources, based on the previous research (see Hill 2008; Bonilla-Silva 2010; Hodges 2015 and Bednarek & Caple 2014) a safe assumption can be made that the folk theory of racism is prevalent in most mainstream media. Journalists may, however, justify their linguistic and journalistic choices by the search for truth or objectivity.

> [M]ainstream journalists' stubborn commitment to objectivity and the belief that 'fact' can be separated from 'comment' not only flies in the face of the postmodernist critique of the Enlightenment dualities – which prioritized the intellect over emotion, mind over body, head over heart, the objective over the subjective; by suggesting the pursuit of information can be value free, the ideology of objectivity also serves to marginalize the ethical and political dimensions within the dominant journalistic culture.
>
> (Keeble 2005, 57)

Another similar issue tangential to the findings is the concern that journalists in large media companies such as CNN or Fox News may be largely White, if we accept van Dijk's thesis that "minority journalists are virtually absent from most newsrooms" (2012, 21). According to van Dijk, this situation has lead to a biased "white perspective" (ibid.) which lacks knowledge and understanding of racial relations and ethnic issues, or especially sensitivity regarding racial relations. If the media lacks diversity in its newsrooms and their view is single-sided and biased in multiple ways, the media also shapes newsworthiness according to White standards, which according to Bednarek and Caple may reproduce an "ideology of the 'normal' and 'elite' Us versus the 'exotic' Them" (2014, 137, sic). Schudson (2002), however, disagrees with van Dijk. According to Schudson, the hiring practices of the 1970s and the 1980s in the US were developed to diversify the newsroom, and that should have also "transformed the news product itself" (2002, 259). Schudson actually suggests that this has not happened, and this may be due to "concerns about a widening gap in economic class" (2002, 260) which changed priorities over the concerns of "the effects of a reduced gap in gender and ethnicity" (ibid.). Another explanation may be that individual reporters forego their personal values and beliefs in order to adapt to an organization's values and beliefs, thus rendering the diversity of newsrooms obsolete. This is to say that in the end the editorial policy of a news organization plays a more important role than the journalists' diversity,

but then Van Dijk's argument can be reformulated to rethink the diversity of editors in news organizations and their editorial policies.

This issue is especially important to note when we consider how pervasive the folk theory of racism is, and how the biological, essentializing, notion of race is still prevalent. As long as this issue of the whiteness of the news and the denial of racism is unchallenged and backgrounded, and explained away, racist representation and racism will continue to be hegemonic and invisible.

> Racial structures remain in place for the same reasons that other structures do. Since actors racialized as 'white'–or as members of the dominant race–receive material benefits from the racial order, they struggle (or passively receive the manifold wages of whiteness) to maintain their privileges. […] They [racial structures] exist because they benefit members of the dominant race.

> (Bonilla-Silva 2010, 9)

Bonilla-Silva discusses elegantly the paradox that the current paradigm of racism, the folk theory of racism, presents: If the United States is truly in a post-racial state, therefore there are no racists – as many or even most people fervently deny being racists – then how can racism still exist? As per the folk theory, racism is always situated elsewhere, outside of oneself. It is blamed on members of the Ku Klux Klan or backwater hillbillies, but never can racism exist in urban communities. According to the folk theory of racism, racism is not the issue of educated people, i.e. educated people are exempt of racism. Therein lies the paradox of racism.

Finally I will discuss challenges with the study and suggest further research on issues I have mentioned and other actions.

Firstly, an assumption was made in the analysis, on the basis of the normativeness of whiteness, that unless otherwise stated all police were assumed to be White. This is supported by the fact that Fox News mentions only one officer's race and that both news sources discuss the lack of diversity in the Ferguson police department, a White majority police force (CNN11082014c, FOX12082014c). Also, according to the New York Times (2014), the Ferguson police department had 54 officers at the time, and of those 54 police officers 83% were White. 11% of the police officers in the Ferguson police department were Black. Although there is strong support for the assumption, this is a methodological issue that needs to be addressed. Assuming different social actors' race or gender is always problematic, because it removes their right to self-identify and

the method imposes a social role on them. This may be an issue in most CDA research based on textual primary sources focusing on identities and representation. The social actors that I studied arose from a pilot study.

A second methodological issue was ignoring personal pronouns, such as he, she or they, in the data. The pronouns could have been included in the analysis, but that would have obscured their indexical references, and would have required more work, as the references would have required another level of analysis. Including the pronouns would have resulted in a much finer and detailed analysis, but the results without them also seem valid for the purposes of the thesis.

Many of the studies concerning Fox News and CNN have been about their cable news offerings and less about their online reporting. Arguably these are two completely different things, as their online reporting has less of the journalist visible in the text, while their cable news shows can be taken as based on solely on the journalists' views and personality. Online reporting can also be seen very similar to traditional newspaper journalism, mainly due to a similar visual layout, textual nature and a similar news structure. Online news, however, according to Allan, has "three advantages over print and television news: immediacy, greater depth of reporting, interactivity" (2005, 75–76). Despite these differences, Iyengar and Hahn (2009) seem to equate Fox's television news programming with their online news, so based on the lack of research on Fox News' and CNN's online reporting and Iyengar and Hahn equating Fox News' television programming with their online news, it is valid to use, for example, Morris (2005) and Mixon, Sen and Stephenson (2004) to reflect my findings.

As the motivation in CDA is to facilitate social change, I hope to suggest some strategies to change the representation of African Americans in the media.

In order to challenge and question the hegemonic notion of racism and the narrow representation of African Americans, we as critical discourse scholars must continue to study the media to uncover normalized ideology and to foreground these problematic issues of representation and power, not only in the media. A second way to expand the representation is to empower and give space to African American social actors, either in academic contexts or other contexts.

According to Hall, as a strategy to challenge and question the dominant views of African Americans, reversing a stereotype from a negative to a positive one is not necessarily overturning or subverting it, as it may mean enforcing the already existing binary and "being trapped in its stereotypical 'other'" (2007, 272), although, as Hall notes, it is a welcome change. A second strategy to challenge the representations or stereotypes of African Americans is to substitute the negative ones for positive images "of black people, black life and culture" (ibid.) This second strategy aims to expand the "*range* of racial representations" (ibid.) rather than subvert the negative stereotypes and views. As I have shown earlier, the representation of African Americans is mainly negative in the media, with the representation focusing on violent crime. This representation is narrow and non-representational, as the majority of African Americans are regular citizens, so we can see the need to diversify and expand the roles of African Americans can occupy in the media.

A third, more theoretical, aspect I would like to suggest to question the notion of racism is to discuss racism and power in the academic context. One issue I have discussed earlier is the focus in CDA to examine the discourse involving immigrants and juxtaposing that discourse with the discourses concerning racism and other POC.

11 Conclusion

The death of Michael Brown started a nationwide crisis and restarted a public discussion about racial relations and policing in the United States. It also started the Black Lives Matter movement, which aims to organize action against "state-sanctioned violence and anti-Black racism" (Black Lives Matter 2018). Michael Brown's death came at a time when the United States had its first Black president and at a time which many thought of as a truly post-racial state. However, a body of research has shown that racism is still prevalent (see Bonilla-Silva 2010; Hill 2008; Hodges 2015; Omi and Winant 1994, 2015).

In order to test the myth of the post-racial state, I examined the news coverage of the shooting of Michael Brown in Fox News' and CNN's online news. A corpus was gathered for the sole purpose of studying the Michael Brown shooting, utilizing systemic-functional grammar tools, namely transitivity and corpus linguistic tools. As

computer mediated linguistics is still relatively new to the field of linguistics, there were few studies that had utilized corpus linguistics together with Halliday's systemic-functional functional grammar. By utilizing corpus-based techniques with Halliday's system of transitivity, the impact of researcher bias was reduced because the corpus was large enough to alleviate bias. I also incorporated the principles of critical discourse analysis to uncover possible biases in the data, as well as sociological and critical race studies research to examine racial attitudes and underlying racism.

While there was a body of literature concerning CDA, SFG, media and racism, much of it focused on immigrants and immigration. The large body of work conducted by van Dijk concerns mainly the racism immigrants are subject to, while Baker and McEnery (2005), Baker et al. (2008), Strom and Alcock (2007) and Teo (2000) all discuss immigrants and immigration. There is a large body of research concerning African Americans and representation however, but none of these discussed linguistic issues, although Hall (2007a and 2007b) does mention the linguistic and discursive aspect of race and representation. The lack of research in the discursive nature of racial formation is notable, as the world is continually globalizing and technology has brought the media closer to us, and as the media field grows and fractures thanks to the internet.

Another problematic issue arises from the research gap is the notion that immigrants and other racialized people or POC can be juxtaposed, in that they are subject to the same mechanisms of racism. While representationally this may be true, in that both groups are portrayed as the Other and non-White, arguably they face different challenges. For example, African Americans have faced slavery and the issues slavery has brought upon them, such as the question of citizenship and equal rights, or the unequal distribution of wealth due to slavery and Jim Crow laws. It must be noted that this is not a case of who has suffered the most, but this is to demonstrate how different mechanisms of racism have worked against different groups of people. As another example, the Chinese in the United States faced legislative exclusion from the work force via the Chinese Exclusion Act. The Chinese were also excluded from naturalization, thus from gaining citizenship as immigrants. This was followed by a different kind of othering than the othering African Americans faced. This also raises the issue that immigrants are by no means a homogeneous group, with similar backgrounds or shared objectives. I have hoped to address this gap in the research with

this multidisciplinary thesis by combining sociology and critical race studies, CDA, SFG and corpus linguistics.

The major findings were as follows: African Americans were more likely to be portrayed as the grammatical goals of material processes, meaning they were mainly seen as the sufferers of physical actions, while in contrast the police were more likely to be portrayed as the grammatical actors of material processes, meaning they were mainly the doers of physical actions. In terms of relational processes, the main African American entity referred to was Michael Brown. Brown was also the most referred to as African American grammatical goals. These findings imply a stereotypical representation of African Americans as passive social actors, while the police are active social actors. The verb processes each participant roles were associated contextually also supports this conclusion. The imbalance in terms of the sayer-participant in verbal processes was notable: the UAMCorpusTool statistical tests showed a statistical significance for the whole verbal process category, but this significance was lost when the different participant roles were examined. However, this was most probably due to the way UAMCorpusTool handles the data. A separate statistical analysis showed that it was statistically significant that there were almost double the amount of police sayer-participants than there were African American sayer-participants, which implies that the media relies more on police and other authoritative sources, perhaps even valuing them more as sources of information or deeming them more reliable.

Another major finding was that there was no real difference across the subcorpora, suggesting that both media represent African Americans in a similar fashion in terms of transitivity, and that one media was no less racist than the other. For example, both media quote the police more than African Americans and portray the two groups in markedly different contexts. Although Fox News was known for its Republican leaning bias and CNN for its similar tendencies toward the Democratic party, the underlying paradigm of racism, the folk theory of racism, seems to be evident, implying a racist ideology which cuts across party lines, if these media can be taken to represent such a demarcation. Interestingly, however, as I also examined whether there was a representational difference between the use of Black or African American, there were very little of their use in the data. There were three occurrences of Black and one occurrence of African-American in the CNN subcorpus, and 41 occurrences of Black

and one occurrence of African-American in the Fox subcorpus. The only occurrence of African-American in the Fox subcorpus was in a direct quote from John Gaskin, a board member of the NAACP. Because there were so little evidence of the use of the two referential terms, no conclusions could be made, although it is very interesting to note.

The implications of these results are that the representations of African Americans in news media is narrow and racist, and if newsrooms and the majority of journalists are White, there may be no end to the underlying paradigm of racism. Due to the internet and the nature of media today, these representations are pervasive and persuasive. The media provides us representations of African Americans on a daily basis, and if people have no direct experience or contact with African Americans, these are the only representations available to the consumers of media. African Americans themselves also have to struggle with these representations, because the portrayal in the media may be largely different than real life, so that it is difficult to challenge these images if they are the only portrayals available. These representations construct social reality and become, for African Americans, a reality.

Although the results are clear and consistent, it must be noted that while CNN and Fox News do portray African Americans similarly, this result is in no way generalizable to the rest of the two media's news, because the study utilized only a single aspect of SFG and a limited corpus, this view of the two media may be narrow, however consistent.

Using mainly transitivity analysis yielded a limited understanding of how media form and transform racial categories. The study would have benefited from a full range of systemic functional analysis of the data, including the interpersonal and textual metafunctions. This would have resulted in a fuller view of the data and a better understanding of how the media set up representations of social actors and minorities. However, applying the ideational metafunction suited the method of corpus linguistics well, while applying the interpersonal and textual metafunctions would have meant modifying or using a totally different method, which was due to the scope of the thesis not possible. The study, despite its one-sided analysis through the ideational metafunction and transitivity, yielded clear results. Using the other metafunctions to study the corpus would have arguably yielded a more comprehensive understanding of how racism is embedded in language through grammar. However, a better

understanding would have been achieved not only through the means of SFG, but also examining collocations to see how the two types of social actors (African Americans and police) are framed in the data. As discussed earlier, other studies have shown that racial 'others' are often framed as negative, linking racialized entities, such as African Americans or refugees, to crime and social problems, or even using military lexis in association with the racialized 'others'.

Finally, I have shown the theoretical issues that previous research has been blind to, and remedied that by suggesting more research on the discursive nature of race and especially on the media and their representations of people of color, not only immigrants, asylum seekers of refugees that the literature is focused so strongly on. I have also followed the suggestions from previous research to utilize the relatively new field of corpus linguistics together with CDA and SFG, while methodologically not groundbreaking, I hope to add to the thin list of literature this piece of research. The issue at hand is a complex one, and hopefully this thesis has contributed another aspect in understanding it. The importance of studying media and representations is ever more important as technology develops and the field of media grows, and despite the public claims that the US is a truly post-racial state, critical analyses keep showing the opposite.

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Appendix 1. CNN11082014

Fatal police shooting in Missouri sparks protests

August 11, 2014

By Eliott C. McLaughlin, CNN

Updated 0513 GMT (1213 HKT) August 11, 2014

Protests in Missouri around the death of an unarmed teen turned violent late Sunday.

A gas station was looted, and police called for additional units to back up officers already on the street, said Brian Schellman, spokesman with the St. Louis County Police Department.

Video from the scene showed police in riot gear. No injuries were immediately reported.

"They are sending in more officers to try and get the situation under control," Schellman said.

Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson said that at least 20 police cars were damaged and that the use of tear gas was a high possibility.

A friend and witnesses say Missouri teen Michael Brown was unarmed and had his hands in the air when a Ferguson police officer shot and killed him, but that account is in dispute.

"The genesis of this was a physical confrontation," Jon Belmar, chief of the St. Louis County Police Department, said at a Sunday news conference.

The officer tried to leave his vehicle just before the shooting on Saturday afternoon, but Brown pushed him back into the car, "where he physically assaulted the police officer" and struggled over the officer's weapon, Belmar said.

A shot was fired inside the police car, and Brown was eventually shot about 35 feet away from the vehicle, Belmar said, adding few details because he didn't want to "prejudice" the case.

All shell casings collected at the scene were from the officer's weapon, Belmar said. He further said the medical examiner would issue a ruling on how many times Brown was shot, but "it was more than just a couple."

The account was in stark contrast to those of witnesses who said Brown did nothing to instigate the shooting and appeared to be surrendering when he was killed.

"My son just turned 18 and graduated high school and he didn't bother nobody," the young man's mother, Lesley McSpadden, told CNN affiliate KSDK.

Ferguson Police cars do not have dash cameras, the department said.

McSpadden was told her son was shot eight times, though witnesses had varying accounts of how many shots were fired. Brown was supposed to start classes at Vatterott College on Monday, she said

Antonio French, the Ward 21 alderman in nearby St. Louis, tweeted numerous photos and videosfrom the aftermath of the Saturday shooting. Brown was shot shortly after 2 p.m., according to reports.

Hundreds of demonstrators -- as many as 1,000 at the height of the protests, according to police -- converged on the scene Saturday, at one point driving away a police squad car, French said on Twitter.

Scores of police officers lined the street. One of them held the leash of a barking dog, and French said some officers wielded shotguns. One image showed a riot van on the scene.

Demonstrators held their hands in the air and chanted, "We are Michael Brown." Others held signs, including one that said, "No justice, no peace" and another that read, "Police stops should not = dead kids." There were reports that some protesters yelled, "Kill the police."

Demonstrators at one point set a Dumpster on fire, according to CNN affiliate KMOV, and Ferguson Police Chief Jackson told KSDK, "It did get a little tense when, twice, several shots were fired."

The Ferguson Police Department called more than 100 officers from 15 jurisdictions to secure the scene, KMOV reported.

"We had what probably bordered on riot conditions," Jackson said, explaining that it took hours to process the scene, collect evidence and move Brown's body.

Later, according to media reports, about 100 people took their protest to the Police Department in Ferguson, a northern suburb that's about a 20-minute drive from St. Louis. Officers were deployed to ensure the demonstrations were peaceful, the police chief said.

McSpadden had pointed words for the officer who shot her son.

"You're not God. You don't decide when you're going to take somebody from here," she told KSDK.

Jackson said the St. Louis County Police Department was conducting an independent investigation, and during the Sunday news conference, Belmar expressed doubts that Jackson would've called his department so promptly "if he had something to hide."

The officer who shot Brown is on paid administrative leave during the investigation and will be available to talk to county homicide detectives.

The officer has been with the force six years, Belmar said, adding that he is "unaware of any other issues that he's been involved in."

He will be required to undergo two psychological evaluations before returning to duty, Belmar said.

The St. Louis County NAACP is asking the FBI to open an inquiry and said it would conduct its own investigation into the killing.

"We plan to do everything within our power to ensure that the Ferguson Police Department as well as the St. Louis County Police Department releases all details pertinent to the shooting," local chapter President Esther Haywood said in a statement.

A Justice Department spokeswoman said Attorney General Eric Holder has instructed the department's civil rights division to monitor the developments in the case.

The FBI said it is assisting police in its investigation and will review the findings.

Federal authorities typically await completion of the local investigation before deciding whether federal action is needed.

Brown was spending the summer in the neighborhood with his grandmother, Desuirea Harris, she told KMOV. She described him as "a good kid."

He was walking with at least one other man at the time of the incident, Jackson said.

Witnesses told CNN affiliate KTVI that a police officer in a squad car grabbed Brown while he was walking.

Dorian Johnson said he was walking with Brown in the middle of the street when a police car pulled up. The officer told the teens to use the sidewalk, according to Johnson.

After an exchange of words, the officer shot Brown even after he raised his hands in the air, Johnson said.

The officer "shot again, and once my friend felt that shot, he turned around and put his hands in the air," Johnson told KMOV. "He started to get down and the officer still approached with his weapon drawn and fired several more shots."

The police chief declined to divulge specifics about the case, including what preceded the shooting.

Brown enjoyed music and had recently graduated from Normandy High School in Wellston, his uncle Bernard Ewing said.

Appendix 2. CNN11082014c

What we know about Michael Brown's shooting

By Eliott C. McLaughlin, CNN

Updated 0510 GMT (1210 HKT) August 15, 2014

It's a case of he said, he said. The accounts of why apolice officer fatally shot Michael Brown on a street in Ferguson, Missouri, on Saturday couldn't be more disparate.

One side says the teenager was surrendering, his hands in the air to show he was unarmed, when the officer opened fire. Authorities counter that Brown attacked the officer in his car and tried to take his gun.

The St. Louis suburb of 21,000 was wracked by violenceas protesters outraged over the 18-year-old's shooting faced off with police.

Although there were reports that some demonstrations were peaceful -- protesters held up their hands, as Brown reportedly did, and others demanded a fair inquiry, chanting, "No justice, no peace" -- there were also reports of fires, looting, vandalism and attacks on police officers.

As federal civil rights investigators and the FBI carry out their own inquiry into the case, tensions are running high in Ferguson, where there's a history of distrust between the predominately black community and the largely white police force.

Brown was African-American. Police have not identified the shooter, but a witness told CNN on Tuesday that the officer who opened fire is a Caucasian male.

The dispute between distraught Ferguson residents and police isn't likely to be settled soon.

One thing is sure, though: What police say was self-defense by the yet-to-be-named officer doesn't jibe with the accounts of those who say they saw the encounter.

Here's what CNN has learned:

Brown was spending the summer in the neighborhood with his grandmother Desuirea Harris, she told CNN affiliate KMOV. She described him as "a good kid."

Family members say he was a recent graduate of nearby Normandy High School and was going to begin classes at Vatterott College on Monday.

Brown and a friend were walking to Harris' house, his mother and grandmother said, when a Ferguson police officer confronted them.

This is where the stories part ways.

Dorian Johnson, 22, told CNN that he and Brown were walking in the middle of the street when a white male officer pulled up and told them, "Get the f*** on the sidewalk." The young men replied that they were "not but a minute away from our destination, and we would shortly be out of the street," Johnson said.

The officer drove forward but stopped and backed up, almost hitting the pair, Johnson said.

"We were so close, almost inches away, that when he tried to open his door aggressively, the door ricocheted both off me and Big Mike's body and closed back on the officer," Johnson said.

Still in his car, the officer then grabbed Brown by his neck, Johnson said. Brown tried to pull away, but the officer kept pulling Brown toward him, he said.

The officer drew his weapon, and "he said, 'I'll shoot you' or 'I'm going to shoot' " and almost instantaneously fired his weapon, hitting Brown, Johnson said.

Johnson and a bloodied Brown took off running, and Johnson hid behind the first car he saw, he said. The officer got out of his car.

"I saw the officer proceeding after my friend Big Mike with his gun drawn, and he fired a second shot and that struck my friend Big Mike," Johnson told CNN's Wolf Blitzer. "And at that time, he turned around with his hands up, beginning to tell the officer that he was unarmed and to tell him to stop shooting. But at that time, the officer firing several more shots into my friend, and he hit the ground and died."

"We wasn't committing any crime, bringing no harm to nobody, but my friend was murdered in cold blood," hetold KMOV.

Witness Tiffany Mitchell was picking up Piaget Crenshaw for work when she saw Brown and the officer "tussling through the window." Mitchell and Crenshaw concurred with Johnson, saying Brown appeared to be trying to pry himself away from the officer's grasp. Brown had his hand on the police cruiser, trying to push himself away, Mitchell said.

Mitchell reached for her phone to record the encounter.

"I didn't get the video because a shot was fired through the window so I tried to get out of the way," she said.

After that shot, Brown broke free from the officer's grasp, both women told CNN, and started running, but he only got about 20 feet from the squad car by Crenshaw's estimate.

"The cop gets out of his vehicle shooting," Mitchell said. "(Brown's) body jerked as if he was hit from behind, and he turned around and he put his hands up. ... The cop continued to fire until he just dropped down to the ground, and his face just smacked the concrete."

Added Crenshaw, who said she was watching the incident unfold from a nearby balcony, "The (officer) actually shot kind of carelessly. They shot my neighbor's building that was on the opposite side of the police car. They then later came and removed that bullet. ... Anybody could've been standing right there."

That Brown was unarmed is undisputed -- St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar said every casing found at the scene was from the officer's weapon -- but he said at a Sunday news conference that Brown was not an innocent victim.

"The genesis of this was a physical confrontation," Belmar said, adding that Ferguson police asked his office to investigate the case.

Without revealing what led to the dispute, Belmar said the preliminary investigation showed that the Ferguson officer tried to exit his vehicle, but Brown pushed him back into the car, "where he physically assaulted the police officer" and struggled over the officer's weapon, Belmar said.

A shot was fired inside the police car, and Brown was eventually shot about 35 feet away from the vehicle, Belmar said.

The officer was taken to an area hospital where he was treated for a "swollen face," Ferguson Police Chief Tom Jackson said, adding he had not personally seen the officer's injury.

He was released the same day. Jackson said he has spoken to the officer, who was "very shaken about what happened that day and the aftermath. ... He's hurt."

It's unclear how many times Brown was shot. Mitchell said it was "more than about five or six" times. Johnson said it was more than three, and Brown's mother said she was told he was shot eight times. Some witnesses said they heard as many as 10 shots. Belmar said only that it "was more than just a couple."

The chief didn't explain how Brown got so far away from the car or whether he was surrendering. He said he was declining to disclose certain details because he didn't want to "prejudice" the case.

The officer is on paid administrative leave. There's no word on when authorities will identify him, but Belmar said he has been with the force six years and is "unaware of any other issues that he's been involved in."

He will be required to undergo two psychological evaluations before returning to duty, the chief said.

Meanwhile, Brown's mother, Lesley McSpadden, didn't need to know his identity to direct some pointed words at the man who shot the son she knew as a "gentle giant."

"You're not God. You don't decide when you're going to take somebody from here," she told KSDK.

Appendix 3. CNN13082014

Tear gas fills Ferguson's streets again

By Catherine E. Shoichet, Ben Brumfield and Tristan Smith, CNN

Updated 0422 GMT (1122 HKT) August 14, 2014

A new witness in the police shooting of unarmed teen Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, told CNN that Brown and the police officer tussled at the police car window, then the officer shot the teen multiple times, as Brown backed away.

"What I saw was when Michael and the cop were wrestling through the window," Tiffany Mitchell told CNN's Don Lemon. A shot was fired while Brown was out the window. He got free, and the officer got out of the vehicle, followed Brown and shot him, she said.

He raised his hands, and the officer kept firing, she said.

Police fired tear gas at a crowd of protesters late Wednesday for another night, as the group gathered to protest Brown's deadly shooting.

Officers in riot gear then marched toward the protesters near a burned out gas station, which has become the gathering point for demonstrations.

Police announced that they no longer considered the protest peaceful, before they fired the canisters, CNN producer Yon Pomrenze said. People fled in all directions, as the stinging clouds wafted by them.

A separate small group of over a dozen people gathered outside Ferguson's police station holding up signs and chanting protests for a fifth day.

Police have said Brown died in a dangerous struggle after trying to grab the officer's weapon, but witnesses say it seemed a brazen act of aggression by the officer on Saturday, and that Brown was unarmed and not threatening.

On Wednesday, Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson told CNN that the officer had been hit and suffered swelling on the side of his face. He was taken to a hospital and released the same day, Jackson said.

Five days have passed since Brown's killing, and the public still does not know the name of the person who pulled the trigger.

There have been cries of a cover-up.

"That doesn't give the community confidence. That doesn't make it transparent," attorney Benjamin Crump told reporters. "And remember, we've got a long way to go before this community starts to believe that the police are going to give them all the answers and not try to sweep it under the rug."

Crump was one of the attorneys who represented the family of Trayvon Martin, the teenager who was killed in a 2012 altercation with Florida man George Zimmerman.

But Mayor James W. Knowles said police have received death threats against the officer and his family. They want to prevent further violence, he said.

Hackers have gone after his personal information and worked people up against members of government and the police, he said.

Police have asked protesters to restrict their gatherings to daylight hours, after violence has broken out repeatedly after nightfall. Protests during the day have been peaceful.

Protests on Sunday and Monday ended with clashes with police and looting . Police have made 47 arrests after Brown's shooting, KMOV reported.

"We understand the anger; we understand that people want answers. We understand that we've got a problem, but we're just asking people to be peaceful," Jackson said.

The Ferguson-Florissant School District announced that it was pushing back the start of classes this year. School had been scheduled to resume Thursday.

Civil rights

Federal civil rights investigators and the FBI carry out their own inquiry into the controversial case. In the town of 21,000, there's a history of distrust between the predominantly black community and the largely white police force.

"Race relations is a top priority right now and, as I said, I'm working with the Department of Justice to improve that," Jackson told reporters Wednesday.

Only three of the city's 53 officers are African-American, and Jackson said he is working to change that.

Dorian Johnson, who said he saw the shooting, told CNN on Tuesday that the officer who opened fire is white.

Brown wanted to pursue an education and was keen on staying out of trouble, his mother said. He was to start classes at a local technical college this semester.

Appendix 4. CNN14082014a

Chilling video shows onlookers venting anger, disbelief after Ferguson shooting

By Greg Botelho, CNN

Updated 1649 GMT (2349 HKT) August 15, 2014

The onlookers yell out at police and talk passionately with each other, their anger mixed with disbelief. At one point, a siren breaks through the murmurs and the shouts.

In front of them is a young black man, his body prone and alone on the pavement.

It's all in a video, captured Saturday and posted to Facebook a day later, that shows the tense, chilling scene on an otherwise placid summer day in Ferguson, Missouri.

It's broad daylight; the grass is green; the trees are in full bloom. One woman heard on the video recalls having been in the shower when she heard pops. Could it have been fireworks?

"Not this time of the day," says a male voice, apparently from the person who shot the video on a cell phone. "There ain't no fireworks this early."

Those lined up outside the yellow police tape waste no time discussing, often in expletive-laden terms, what happened. And the video dutifully records it all.

It's not clear who saw what or what exactly transpired. Regardless, a clear consensus emerges among those heard on the recording: The young man in the street -- later ID'd as Michael Brown, an 18-year-old days away from starting classes at a technical college -- was shot dead by a Ferguson police officer.

Authorities would later claim Brown attacked the officer in his car and tried to take his gun. But in the minutes after the shooting, the irate crowd on the Ferguson street comes to a different consensus, summed up by the video's narrator: "They just killed this (man) for no reason."

As Brown's body lay prone -- for minutes with no one, not even a police officer, in the camera's sight -- onlookers quickly establish one key fact amongst themselves: He wasn't armed.

"There is nothing!" a woman yells out on the video. "Do you see a gun? Do you see a knife? Do you see anything that would have caused a threat to these (expletive) police officers?"

"They shot that boy because they wanted to shoot that boy."

If the moments leading up to Brown's shooting were frenetic, the moments afterward -- at least right around his body -- are eerily calm as captured on the continuing video.

5 things to know about Michael Brown's shooting

For minutes, there is nothing and no one around his body. Just a young man with a white shirt flat on the street, all alone.

A police officer walks by two minutes into the video, and a minute later a man in a black shirt -- who witnesses identify as a family member -- approaches. But he's quickly guided away by officers.

A short time later, a uniformed man -- perhaps a paramedic -- appears to check on Brown. Multiple officers eventually flank his body.

One particularly angry, loud woman cries out: "Where's the ambulance? Why doesn't somebody help this man? Why isn't somebody helping him?"

To which a man responds, more quietly, to no one in particular: "They know he's dead, because they are not even trying to get him up."

Everything about Brown is plain to see.

Until 10 minutes in, when a police officer comes up to lay a small white sheet over his body.

As the video ends, it is only the beginning in Ferguson.

Appendix 5. CNN15082014

Ferguson police chief: Officer didn't stop Brown as robbery suspect

By Greg Botelho and Don Lemon, CNN

Updated 0329 GMT (1029 HKT) August 16, 2014

The Ferguson police officer who shot Michael Brown didn't stop him because he was suspected in a convenience-store robbery, but because he was "walking down the middle of the street blocking traffic," the city's police chief said Friday.

Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson -- hours after documents came out labeling the 18-year-old Brown as the "primary suspect" in the store theft -- told reporters the "robbery does not relate to the initial contact between the officer and Michael Brown."

So why did Ferguson police opt to release surveillance video of the convenience-store incident Friday -- the same day they named, six days after the shooting, the white police officer who fatally shot the African-American teenager -- if the two situations aren't related?

Jackson said he distributed the store videotape "because the press asked for it," noting he couldn't withhold it indefinitely.

The chief added "we needed to release that at the same time we needed to release the name of the officer involved in the shooting," though he didn't elaborate on why. Identifying the officer was one key demand of demonstrators, along with pressing for other details on the shooting amid allegations of a police coverup.

The flurry of details Friday added intrigue and, in some ways, anger to a case that's spurred protests in the St. Louis suburb and beyond among those upset by Brown's shooting and what they decry as a heavy-handed police response afterward.

Brown's family wasn't told ahead of time anything about the robbery or store surveillance video, family lawyer Benjamin Crump told CNN's Jake Tapper. Regardless, whatever happened there doesn't matter, said Eric Davis, a cousin of Brown's mother.

"It's a diversion, and it's an attempt to smear Michael's character," said Davis, who added the family has "not been happy" with the Ferguson police department's handling of the case. "... It (should be) more about what happened on Canfield Drive, where Michael was executed."

The man heading security in Ferguson amid the unrest -- Missouri State Highway Patrol Capt. Ron Johnson -- stated the robbery and shooting of Brown "are separate issues."

"I told (Chief Jackson) I think both of those being released today was not needed and was not the way that we needed to go," he told CNN on Friday evening. "Today is about taking care of this incident here, getting to those facts that are there, and Michael Brown and his family."

Hours earlier, in video captured by CNN affiliate KSDK, Johnson emphasized authorities have an obligation to be upfront, not to say "some things and now everybody says, 'what does that mean?'"

"I think if we're going to give answers, we need to not give hints," Johnson said. "We need to say it."

5 things to know about Michael Brown's shooting

Chief: Police officer involved in shooting 'a gentleman'

Police identified the officer who shot Michael Brown as 28-year-old Darren Wilson -- a six-year police veteran, including four years with the Ferguson force. Authorities had refused to name him, citing threats to his safety.

The fact they have now done so satisfies a major demand of protesters. But many remain perturbed that additional details have not come out about Brown's shooting.

What the police chief did do on Friday was express "every confidence" in Wilson, who had one side of his face swollen in his encounter with Brown, according to authorities.

"He (is) a gentleman ... a quiet officer," Jackson said. The entire situation is "devastating, it's absolutely devastating" to Wilson.

Much more information was provided about the reported convenience store robbery.

That includes the surveillance video, which shows a large African-American man pushing aside a smaller man who seemingly tries to stop him, then leaving the store. Crump said the larger man "appears to be" Michael Brown.

Newly released police documents claim the teenager roughly handled a clerk trying to stop him before walking out of the store with the box of Swisher Sweets.

Read the police documents

The cost for the box of cigars, according to the documents: $48.99.

Jackson, the Ferguson police chief, told CNN that Wilson confronted Brown for being in the road, not the robbery.

"I guess that is when he might have seen ... evidence and connected it" to the robbery, Jackson said -- without explicitly tying the two incidents together himself.

Relative: Actions 'fueled the distrust' toward police

A key complaint of protesters has been -- while police have said the shooting occurred during a struggle for the officer's gun -- witnesses say the officer shot Brown as the teenager stood with his hands in the air.

Tiffany Mitchell, who saw what happened, told CNN that "it looked as if Michael was pushing off and the cop was trying to pull him in." Instead, a shot went off, the teen broke free, and the officer got out of the vehicle and ran about 20 feet in pursuit, she and co-worker Piaget Crenshaw said.

Another man, Dorian Johnson, said he was with Brown at the time of the shooting and that police shot Brown without provocation.

"We wasn't committing any crime, bringing no harm to nobody, but my friend was murdered in cold blood," he told CNN affiliate KMOV.

Jackson confirmed to reporters Friday that Johnson, at least, "did not commit a crime and was not complicit in a crime."

The information released Friday seems unlikely to quell the anger in the eastern Missouri city or elsewhere. Eric Davis, speaking for Brown's family, expects the opposite will be the case -- even as he stressed that any protests must remain peaceful.

"This (police) chief ... is just inciting the crowd and making everybody angry," Davis said. "It just fueled the distrust that was already out there for the Ferguson police department."

Yet there were also some who said the robbery is not necessarily irrelevant to what happened next.

"A robbery doesn't justify shooting Mike Brown, but it definitely changes your perspective on his mindset at the time of police encounter," read one Twitter post from @OneTermTooMany.

Complete coverage of the Ferguson shooting

'Police chiefs are watching'

The full, complicated story has stirred an intense, nationwide discussion on race in the United States, and on the shooting itself as well as the response to demonstrators afterward. Accusers accused some protesters of violence and looting, while many on the other side have ripped what they call an over-the-top, militarized police response.

So what's next?

There's still the possibility that action -- including, potentially, criminal charges -- could be taken against Officer Wilson. Then there's the potential for political fall-out affecting Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon or Ferguson's police chief.

And there's still a lot of anger about the shooting and the ensuing police response, and there are many angry people on the streets. A major rally is set for Sunday to demand action by authorities.

"This situation has been handled very badly," civil rights leader Jesse Jackson said Friday from Ferguson. "People here must turn their pain into power."

Undeterred by rain, people still made their voices heard Friday night on the streets of Ferguson -- some raising their hands up high, like they say Brown did before being shot dead by Officer Wilson.

"It's tragic what happened, but we're all united and working together," said Tiffany Greene. "It's not a race thing, it's a right-or-wrong thing."

The scene -- which mixed in chants and sign-holders with live music -- was a stark contrast to earlier in the week. Police used tear gas, rubber bullets and armored equipment, and accused some protesters of throwing rocks and Molotov cocktails.

One demonstrator, Charla Griffin, noted the peaceful and communal nature of Friday's gatherings, saying, "We're having a good time in the name of Michael Brown."

It's seemingly no coincidence that things calmed calmed significantly Thursday, which was the day the state highway patrol took over security. Rather than confront protesters, Johnson figuratively and literally has embraced them.

Talking later to CNN, the highway patrol captain said he thinks this whole ordeal -- as it relates to race relations between communities and law enforcement, as well as how authorities respond to protests -- "will create change throughout our nation." For example, he expects there will be talk about diversity training and tactics.

"This is all over the world, and I think police chiefs are watching -- deciding what they need to do and what they need to do better," he said.

Michael Brown shooting: Who's who in Ferguson

By Ben Brumfield and Steve Almasy, CNN

updated 7:01 PM EDT, Wed August 20, 2014

Have you documented the protests in Ferguson? Share your photos, videos and opinions with CNN iReport. For local coverage of the fatal police shooting of Michael Brown and its aftermath, go to CNN affiliates KMOV, KSDK, KTVI and KPLR.

(CNN) -- As tensions in Ferguson, Missouri, have bubbled, one official after another has taken the lead, grappling to figure out how to stop it from coming to a boil.

First, it was the police chief who took charge and stumbled. Then, the governor entered the picture and brought on a Ferguson son to head security. The feds have also stepped in, with Attorney General Eric Holder stopping by Wednesday to check up on their investigation.

Here's a look at the players who have shaped the city's response to the death of Michael Brown, an unarmed black teenager, at the hands of a white police officer.

WHO:

Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson

What he did:

From the start the chief said his department -- which handed off the local investigation to St. Louis County -- would release information as it received it. It would be a slow process, he warned.

How it played out:

From the beginning the chief was slammed for just how slow that information came out.

The big one was the identity of the officer. It took six days before the name -- Darren Wilson -- was revealed. Cops said it was because he received death threats. Critics denounced the delay as a PR stumble that coincided with another one -- the release of a video that police said showed Brown robbing a store minutes before he was shot.

Critics lambasted the disclosure of the video as character assassination. The chief said he had to do it.

Jackson was also criticized for his department's response to the protests in the days immediately after Brown's death.

As the demonstrations grew more heated, police used on the crowd tear gas, pepper bullets and what looked like stun grenades. Some police rolled into action sitting on an armored personnel carrier.

How it was received:

"You're in trouble when your SWAT team is on the front line of dealing with a civil disturbance," said retired Lt. Gen. Russell Honoré, a CNN analyst.

Jackson said police had to protect themselves and that some of the protesters were throwing fire bombs.

WHO:

Ferguson Mayor James Knowles

What he did:

The young mayor has tried to tell people unfamiliar with the town he has lived in his whole life that it's not the crucible of racial tensions it appears to be to those outside the city limits.

"I've lived here 35 years. There's always been a strong African-American presence," he told CNN. "We've never seen this kind of violence, never seen this kind of frustration or tension between the races."

How it played out:

The mayor has kept largely out of the spotlight, letting other officials take care of news conferences and major public appearances. Instead he's gone on one-on-one interviews and given updates on how his town reacted.

How it was received:

His low profile may be helping him to avert criticism over actions taken since Brown's shooting, but Knowles has been in the line of fire with other officials over the disproportionate number of white officers on the police force of his majority African-American town.

He has defended the imbalance, telling the St. Louis Post-Dispatchthat every time a position frees up for a new officer that the city rushes out to find an African-American to fill it.

Ferguson is less successful at getting such recruits than neighboring departments, which are better at recruiting and offer higher salaries, he said.

He has also come under criticism for a racial imbalance in the city council, where five of six members are white. Knowles, first elected in 2011, told the Post-Dispatch that he ran for election unopposed.

WHO:

Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon

What he did:

First he stayed out things, and when he did go, he visited the neighboring town of Florissant, not Ferguson. Then he made the decision to bring in the highway patrol.

How it played out:

Poorly. The violent protests were getting more violent and police were drawing more criticism for its tactics. And the media, local and national, was asking: Where's the governor?

The Washington Post wrote: "A week ago, Jay Nixon was a Democratic governor with a promising political future. Today, he's a guy with a rocky recent past."

Once Nixon stepped into the fray, he didn't go to the shooting scene and was accused of avoiding ground zero.

How it was received:

Attendees interjected at a meeting Nixon held at a local church to announce a controversial curfew. They demanded he charge Wilson with murder. They accused law enforcement of triggering nightly violence with militaristic tactics.

WHO:

Missouri State Highway Patrol Capt. Ron Johnson

What he did:

When it seemed like the situation in Ferguson was doomed to grow out of control, the governor wrested oversight of the security force and gave it to Johnson, a Ferguson native. And at first it seemed the captain had turned the tide.

He walked with protesters, turned a news conference into a community forum, seemed like a good guy who was a bridge between community and government.

On Sunday, Johnson appeared at a church rally in support of the Johnson family. With a solemn and pained expression, he said he was sorry to the parents, and he explained that he, too, was the father of a black son who wears saggy pants and has tattoos. "My baby," he called his boy.

How it played out:

Johnson has been open with the public as he has been trying to calm the uneasiness in the air. And even as tension still permeates the town, residents feel a little better because they know the captain will be out there. He's one of them, and they can ask him their questions.

How it was received:

Well -- except for minor hiccups.

Johnson was welcomed with open arms last week.

But security forces under his command have lobbed tear gas and stun grenades at rowdy protesters, who toss rocks and Molotov cocktails at them. That may have soured some of the initial sentiments.

CNN's Jake Tapper echoed the frustrations of many.

"Absolutely there have been looters, absolutely over the last nine days there has been violence, but there is nothing going on in this street right now that merits this scene out of Bagram (Afghanistan). Nothing."

WHO:

Attorney Malik Shabazz

What he did:

He's the national president and founder of Black Lawyers for Justice. He has been trying to help the community stay away from rowdy elements, who he says are not from Ferguson.

He told CNN on Tuesday that he came to Ferguson as a "man and a father figure." He felt confident that he and others could have a good influence on young men.

How it played out:

Shabazz insists "provocateurs" from outside the community have caused the problems. He accused them of being planted in the crowd to make demonstrators look bad and turn public opinion in favor of the police.

"We can't allow this movement to be destroyed," he said.

On Monday, when rocks and tear gas canisters flew, he was out with a bullhorn urging people to keep calm.

How it was received:

Despite Shabazz' efforts on behalf of Ferguson protesters, he has a very controversial past.

The former leader of the New Black Panther Party is a black supremacist, with a history of anti-Semitic remarks, according to the Southern Poverty Law Center, a civil rights group that guards the rights of minorities and monitors hate groups.

Shabazz has often railed against white people, calling them inherently evil, the SPLC said.

WHO:

U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder

What he did:

The first black U.S. attorney general will visit Ferguson on Wednesday. He's checking up on the Justice Department's civil rights investigation into the shooting. He said he'll also meet with community leaders.

The FBI has about 40 investigators in Ferguson, Holder wrote in a letter to the people of Ferguson. He says: "We hope that the independence and thoroughness of our investigation will bring some measure of calm" to the city.

How it's playing out:

Holder wrote that the investigation had already made good progress, but indicated it was not going to wrap up anytime soon.

How it's being received:

It's hard to tell yet. In civil rights issues, he is considered President Barack Obama's ambassador. Some people get nervous when they see him coming. Under Holder, the Justice

Department has intensified its scrutiny of police departments, launching 20 investigations of police practices and alleged discriminatory enforcement patterns in the past five years.

That's more than twice the number of such probes in the previous five years.

WHO:

St. Louis County Prosecuting AttorneyRobert McCulloch

What he did:

He's been the county's top prosecutor since 1991 and has been easily re-elected five times. This year, he actually had a challenger in his primary, which he handily won just a few days before Brown was killed.

After Gov. Nixon replaced the St. Louis County Police with the Missouri State Highway Patrol for security last week, McCulloch said the initial law enforcement response to the shooting was excessive.

McCulloch told CNN affiliate KMOV that the governor had "no legal authority" to make such a move.

How it's playing out:

McCulloch steps before a grand jury Wednesday with the assignment of making his case against Wilson. He has eyewitness accounts of Brown's shooting as well as Wilson's own account of what happened.

Beyond that, much of the evidence is not yet ready, and a CNN legal analyst said it could take a long time for crime labs to process it.

How it's being received:

Critics have said he could be biased in favor of the man he is tasked with prosecuting. He's the son of a cop who was killed at work 50 years ago. His mother was a clerk for the St. Louis Police Department, and three relatives were also with SLMPD.

He would have been an officer too, but cancer took one of his legs.

Missouri State Sen. Jamilah Nasheed and 26,000 other people have signed a petition calling for McCulloch to be removed from the case -- and a special prosecutor assigned.

Governor Nixon has refused to do so.

Protest over black Missouri teenager's shooting by police turns to looting, vandalism

Published August 11, 2014 | FoxNews.com

What began as a peaceful protest of the shooting of an 18-year-old unarmed black man by a police officer in a St. Louis suburb

turned into what the town's mayor called a "huge mess" as several businesses were looted and cars were vandalized.

A candlelight vigil was held Sunday evening in Ferguson, Mo. for Michael Brown, whom witnesses and authorities said was shot several times by an officer who had scuffled with the teen and another person.

Ferguson Police Chief Tom Jackson told The Associated Press that he was informed Monday that the FBI was going to take over the investigation into the death. Jackson said he welcomes the move.

After the vigil Sunday, some people looted a convenience store. Several other stores along a main road near the shooting scene were broken into and looted, including a check-cashing store, a boutique and a small grocery store.

People were seen carrying bags of food and toilet paper. TV footage showed streams of people walking out of a liquor store carrying bottles of alcohol, and in some cases protesters were standing atop police cars or taunting officers who stood stoic, often in riot gear.

Other witnesses reported seeing people vandalize police cars and kick in windows. Television footage showed windows busted out of a TV station van.

More than 30 people were arrested on charges including assault, burglary and theft. Police say two officers suffered minor injuries.

"Contributing to the unrest that is going on is not going to help. ... We're only hurting ourselves, only hurting our community, hurting our neighbors, Ferguson's mayor, James Knowles, told KTVI-TV. There's nothing productive from this."

As the investigation of Brown's death progresses, "we understand people want to vent their frustrations. We understand they want to speak out," Knowles added. "We're going to obviously try to urge calm."

Knowles said police struggled to catch any looters because the crimes were so widespread.

Deanel Trout, a 14-year resident of Ferguson, said he was convinced that the troublemakers were largely from outside Ferguson and that they had used Brown's death and the vigil as an opportunity to steal.

"Most came here for a peaceful protest but it takes one bad apple to spoil the bunch. ... I can understand the anger and unrest but I can't understand the violence and looting," Trout, 53, said.

St. Louis County Executive Charlie Dooley said there were no reports of injuries but confirmed widespread property damage. "Right now I'm just worried about people, not property," he said.

Pat Washington, a spokeswoman for Dooley, said later that there was one instance she knew of in which tear gas was used.

Earlier in the day, a few hundred protesters had gathered outside Ferguson Police headquarters. At one point, many of them marched into an adjacent police building, some chanting "Don't shoot me" while holding their hands in the air. Officers stood at the top of a staircase, but didn't use force; the crowd eventually left.

County Police Chief Jon Belmar said the shooting occurred after an officer encountered two people one of whom was Brown on the street near an apartment complex in Ferguson.

Belmar said one of the men pushed the officer back into his squad car and a struggle began. Belmar said at least one shot was fired from the officer's gun inside the police car. Ferguson Police Chief Tom Jackson said authorities were still sorting out what happened inside the police car. It was not clear if Brown was the man who struggled with the officer.

The struggle spilled out into the street, where Brown was shot multiple times. Belmar said the exact number of shots wasn't known, but "it was more than just a couple." He also said all shell casings found at the scene matched the officer's gun. Police are still investigating why the officer shot Brown, who police have confirmed was unarmed.

Jackson said the second person has not been arrested or charged. Authorities aren't sure if that person was unarmed, Jackson said.

Ferguson Police Chief Tom Jackson told KSDK-TV there's no apparent video footage of the shooting from a nearby apartment complex, or from any police cruiser dashboard cameras or body-worn cameras that the department recently bought but hasn't yet put in use.

Jackson said blood samples have been taken from Brown and the officer who shot him, with those toxicology tests generally expected to take weeks to complete.

Brown's mother, Lesley McSpadden, said he had graduated from high school and was about to enter a local college. She said she doesn't understand why police didn't subdue her son with a club or Taser, and she said the officer involved should be fired and prosecuted.

"I would like to see him go to jail with the death penalty," she said, fighting back tears.

The killing drew criticism from some civil rights leaders, who referred to the 2012 racially charged shooting of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin by a Florida neighborhood watch organizer who was acquitted of murder charges.

"We're outraged because yet again a young African-American man has been killed by law enforcement," said John Gaskin, who serves on both the St. Louis County and national boards of directors for the NAACP.

The Rev. Al Sharpton called the shooting "very disturbing" and said he planned to go to Ferguson to meet with the family.

St. Louis County Police Department is in charge of the investigation, and Dooley said he will request an FBI investigation. The U.S. Justice Department said Attorney General Eric Holder had instructed staff to monitor developments.

The race of the officer involved in the shooting has not been disclosed. He has been with the Ferguson Police Department for six years, Belmar said, and has been placed on paid administrative leave.

The Associated Press contributed to this report.

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Appendix 8. FOX11082014a

Stores looted, windows smashed after vigil for Missouri black man shot and killed by police

Published August 11, 2014 | Associated Press

FERGUSON, Mo.   A day of anger over a fatal police shooting of an unarmed black man has turned to mayhem in suburban St. Louis

as people looted businesses, vandalized vehicles and confronted police.

That followed a candlelight gathering Sunday for 18-year-old Michael Brown, who police said was shot multiple times after a scuffle involving the officer, Brown and another person in Ferguson.

Authorities set up blockades, trying to keep people from the most looted areas. Mayor James Knowles told KTVI-TV police were having a hard time catching looters because crimes were happening at several locations.

It wasn't immediately clear how many arrests were made or if there were injuries. A spokeswoman for the St. Louis County Executive said there was at least one instance of tear gas being used.

Appendix 9. FOX11082014b

Michael Brown shooting: FBI opens inquiry into case

Michael Brown shooting: FBI opens inquiry into case Published August 11, 2014 | FoxNews.com

FERGUSON, Mo.   The FBI opened an investigation Monday into the fatal shooting of an unarmed black teenager whose death stirred a night of unrest in a St. Louis suburb.

Michael Brown, 18, was shot multiple times Saturday after an altercation with a police officer in Ferguson, Missouri, police said. But it was unclear whether Brown or a man he was with was involved in the scuffle, and authorities were vague about what led an officer to open fire.

The FBI is looking into possible civil rights violations arising from the shooting, said Cheryl Mimura, a spokeswoman for the FBI's St. Louis field office. She said the FBI would be investigating regardless of the public attention surrounding the matter.

 The shooting incident in Ferguson, Missouri, this weekend deserves a fulsome review," Attorney General Eric Holder said in a statement, adding. attorneys from the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division and the U.S. Attorney's Office also had joined the investigation.

Dorian Johnson told WALB-TV that he and Brown were walking home from a convenience store when a police officer told them to get out of the street and onto the sidewalk. Johnson said they kept walking, which caused the officer to confront them from his car and again after getting out of his car.

Johnson said the officer fired, and he and Brown were scared and ran away.

"He shot again, and once my friend felt that shot, he turned around and put his hands in the air, and he started to get down," Johnson said. "But the officer still approached with his weapon drawn and fired several more shots."

"We wasn't causing harm to nobody," Johnson told the television station. "We had no weapons on us at all."

The race of the officer was not disclosed. He has been placed on paid administrative leave.

The St. Louis County Police Department refused to discuss Johnson's remarks, citing the ongoing investigation. But Police Chief Jon Belmar previously said that an officer encountered Brown and another man outside a Ferguson apartment complex, and that one of the men pushed the officer into his squad car and they struggled.

Nearly three dozen people were arrested following a candlelight vigil Sunday night after crowds looted and burned stores, vandalized vehicles and taunted officers who tried to block access to parts of the city.

Deanel Trout, a 14-year resident of Ferguson, said he was convinced the troublemakers were largely from outside Ferguson and that they had used Brown's death and the vigil as an opportunity to steal.

"Most came here for a peaceful protest, but it takes one bad apple to spoil the bunch. ... I can understand the anger and unrest, but I can't understand the violence and looting," Trout said.

St. Louis County police spokesman Brian Schellman said 32 people were arrested for various offenses, including assault, burglary and theft. Two officers suffered minor injuries, and there were no reports of civilians hurt.

Several businesses were looted, including a check-cashing store, a boutique and a small grocery store. People also took items from a sporting goods store and a cellphone retailer and carted rims away from a tire store.

Some climbed atop police cars as the officers with riot shields and batons stood stoically nearby, trying to restrict access to the most endangered areas.

A spokeswoman for St. Louis County Executive Charlie Dooley said tear gas had been used.

Mayor James Knowles said a small group of people was "creating a huge mess."

The unrest, he added, was "only hurting ourselves, only hurting our community, hurting our neighbors."

Speaking at a press conference Monday, Brown's father, also named Michael Brown, said his son would have deplored the violence that seized the city on Sunday.

"He wouldn't have wanted any of it," Brown said. "But we need justice for our son."

Ferguson Police Chief Tom Jackson told KSDK-TV that there's no video footage of the shooting from the apartment complex or from any police cruiser dashboard cameras or body-worn cameras that the department recently bought but has not yet put to use.

The second person has not been arrested or charged, and it was not clear if he was armed, Jackson said. Blood samples were taken from Brown and the officer who shot him for toxicology tests, which can take weeks to complete.

Earlier Sunday, a few hundred protesters gathered outside Ferguson police headquarters. Some marched into an adjacent police building chanting "Don't shoot me" while holding their hands in the air. Officers stood at the top of a staircase until the crowd eventually left. A similar protest that attracted about 250 people was held Monday morning.

Brown's mother, Lesley McSpadden, said she did not understand why police did not subdue her son with a club or stun gun. She said the officer involved should be fired and prosecuted.

"I would like to see him go to jail with the death penalty," she said, fighting back tears.

The killing drew criticism from some civil rights leaders, who referred to the 2012 racially charged shooting of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin by a Florida neighborhood watch organizer who was acquitted of murder charges.

Brown's family planned to speak later Monday at a news conference with their attorney, Benjamin Crump, who also represented Martin's family.

John Gaskin, who serves on both the St. Louis County and national boards of directors for the NAACP, said the group was "outraged because yet again a young African-American man has been killed by law enforcement."

Ferguson's population of about 21,000 people is almost 70 percent black.

The Associated Press contributed to this report.

Appendix 10. FOX12082014

Police, protesters again clash outside St. Louis after black teen's fatal shooting by officer

Published August 12, 2014 | Associated Press

FERGUSON, Mo.   Police in riot gear fired tear gas to try to disperse a crowd in a St. Louis suburb where an unarmed black teenager

had been fatally shot by a police officer over the weekend.

Between two nights of unrest, a community forum hosted by the local NAACP chapter Monday drew hundreds to a sweltering church in Ferguson, the St. Louis suburb where 18-year-old Michael Brown was shot multiple times.

Witnesses have said that Brown had his hands raised when the unnamed officer approached with his weapon drawn and fired repeatedly.

Authorities used tear gas and rubber bullets Monday night to try to disperse a crowd at the site of a burned-out convenience store damaged a night earlier, when many businesses were looted. Police said at least five people were arrested.

Appendix 11. FOX12082014a

St. Louis cops use beanbag rounds after reports of protesters throwing rocks

Published August 12, 2014 | FoxNews.com

FERGUSON, Mo.   Police in riot gear fired tear gas into a crowd of protesters in a St. Louis suburb where an unarmed black teenager

had been fatally shot by police over the weekend, as tension rose even amid calls for collective calm.

Between two nights of unrest, a community forum hosted by the local NAACP chapter Monday night drew hundreds to a sweltering church in Ferguson, the nearly 70 percent black St. Louis County suburb where an unarmed 18-year-old, Michael Brown, was shot multiple times by a police officer.

Ferguson Police Chief Tom Jackson said a large crowd that gathered throughout Monday at the site of a burned-out convenience store turned rowdy at nightfall, throwing rocks at police. Officers used tear gas and shot "beanbag rounds" meant to stun them, he said.

Fox2Now.com reported that one person was taken to the hospital for injuries sustained from a rubber bullet. Photographs from the scene showed police wearing helmets and dressed like SWAT teams.

St. Louis County police spokesman Brian Schellman said there were at least five arrests and no reports of looting. Nearly three dozen people were arrested following a candlelight vigil Sunday night when crowds burned stores, vandalized vehicles, assaulted reporters and taunted officers.

"People are tired. They have reached the end of their rope," said Ruth Latchison Nichols after the NAACP forum, where many more were left waiting outside once the pews reached capacity. "Enough is enough. This is a state of emergency."

National NAACP President Cornell William Brooks implored residents to "turn your anger into action" while condemning the violent response to Brown's death.

"To sneak around under the cover of darkness, to steal, to loot, to burn down your neighborhood -- this does not require courage," he said. "Courage is when you strive for justice."

"Martin Luther King did not live and die so that we may steal and lie in the middle of the night," he added.

The FBI has opened an investigation into Brown's death, looking into possible civil rights violations. Witnesses have said that Brown had his hands raised when the unidentified officer approached with his weapon drawn and fired repeatedly.

Brown's parents have been among those calling for calm. His family, who had planned to drop him off at a technical college Monday to begin his studies, have asked people to share any information and videos they might have related to the shooting.

Authorities have been vague about what led the officer to open fire, saying only that the shooting -- which is being investigated by the St. Louis County police at the smaller city's request -- was preceded by a scuffle of some kind with a man in which the officer's weapon discharged once inside a patrol car.

Investigators have refused to publicly disclose the race of the officer, who is now on administrative leave. But Phillip Walker said he was on the porch of an apartment complex overlooking the scene when he heard a shot and saw a white officer with Brown on the street.

Brown "was giving up in the sense of raising his arms and being subdued," Walker told The Associated Press. The officer "had his gun raised and started shooting the individual in the chest multiple times." The officer then "stood over him and shot him" after the victim fell wounded.

Dorian Johnson offered a similar account, telling KMOV-TV that he and Brown were walking home from a convenience store when a police officer told them to get out of the street and onto the sidewalk. Johnson said they kept walking, which caused the officer to confront them from his car and again after getting out of the vehicle.

Johnson said the first time the officer fired, he and Brown got scared and ran away.

"He shot again, and once my friend felt that shot, he turned around and put his hands in the air, and he started to get down," Johnson said. "But the officer still approached with his weapon drawn and fired several more shots."

"We wasn't causing harm to nobody," Johnson said. "We had no weapons on us at all." Walker said that he did not see a scuffle or the circumstances that preceded the first gunshot.

Jackson, the Ferguson police chief, said there's no video footage of the shooting from the apartment complex or from any police dashboard cameras or body-worn cameras that the department recently bought but has not yet put to use.

Some civil rights leaders have drawn comparisons between Brown's death and that of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin, who was fatally shot by a Florida neighborhood watch organizer who was later acquitted of murder charges.

"Instead of celebrating his future, they are having to plan his funeral," said Benjamin Crump, a family attorney who also represented Martin's relatives after he was slain in 2012 in Florida.

"I don't want to sugarcoat it," Crump added. Brown "was executed in broad daylight."

The Associated Press contributed to this report

Appendix 12. FOX13082014c

Despite hacking, Missouri police chief resists pressure to ID cop in teen's shooting death

Published August 13, 2014 | Associated Press

FERGUSON, Mo.   The police chief in the St. Louis suburb where an officer fatally shot an unarmed teenager says cyber-attacks on

his city's website won't sway him into publicly releasing the officer's name.

Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson said Wednesday that someone burrowed into the website and shut it down for much of Monday, two days after the shooting death of 18-year-old Michael Brown.

An anonymous global group of hackers had pledged to create mischief with Ferguson's city computers if the name wasn't released. But Jackson says the officer has received numerous death threats, and the chief worries that disclosing his name would endanger the officer.

Brown's death has drawn protests, a night of looting in Ferguson, and calls for Jackson to release the officer's name. The officer is on administrative leave.

Protesters lob Molotov cocktails and police use tear gas, smoke bombs to disperse crowd

Published August 13, 2014 | Associated Press

FERGUSON, Mo.   Protests in the St. Louis suburb rocked by racial unrest since a white police officer shot an unarmed black teenager to death turned violent Wednesday night, with some people lobbing Molotov cocktails and other objects at police who responded with smoke bombs and tear gas to disperse the crowd.

Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson, who has been the public face of the city torn by Saturday's death of 18-year-old Michael Brown, told reporters earlier in the day that the St. Louis County investigation of the shooting could take weeks to complete. In the meantime, he said, his department welcomes Justice Department training on racial relations in the suburb, where two-thirds of the 21,000 residents are black while all but three of the police force's 53 officers are white.

"Unfortunately, an undertow (of racial unrest) has bubbled to the surface," said Jackson. "Race relations is the top priority right now."

While Jackson said he wanted to mend fences with the community, protesters were on the streets of Ferguson again Wednesday, facing heavily armed police who at time trained weapons on them from an armored truck. Two reporters said they were detained by police while working at a McDonald's in the area.

The situation became more tense after nightfall, with police ordering people to go home and then using smoke bombs and later tear gas after some people threw Molotov cocktails and other things at them. Most of the crowd then dispersed. Journalists who witnessed the events included an Associated Press photographer.

St. Louis County police spokesman Brian Schellman said he had no immediate information about the situation.

Earlier, Wesley Lowery of The Washington Post and Ryan Reilly of The Huffington Post said they were handcuffed and put into a police van after officers came in to quickly clear the fast-food restaurant where they were doing some work. The Post reported that Lowery said he was slammed against a soda machine and plastic cuffs were put on his wrists. Reilly told MSNBC that an officer slammed his head against the glass "purposefully" on the way out of the restaurant "and then sarcastically apologized for it." The reporters were subsequently released without any charges.

Martin D. Baron, The Washington Post's executive editor, issued a statement saying "there was absolutely no justification" for Lowery's arrest and said the organization was appalled by the officers' conduct.

The Huffington Post said in an article on its website that when it called the Ferguson Police Department to ask about Reilly, a person who identified himself as "George" said there was no one there who could give any information. Subsequent calls were put through to the jail voicemail and referred to email, the Huffington Post said.

Jackson did not immediately return a cellphone message Wednesday night from the AP seeking comment about the arrests.

Jackson has faced mounting demands from protesters, clergy and even hackers to reveal the identity of the officer who shot Brown. Jackson argues that revealing that detail could bring retribution to the officer.

Police have said Brown was shot after an officer encountered him and another man on the street. They say one of the men pushed the officer into his squad car, then physically assaulted him in the vehicle and struggled with the officer over the officer's weapon. At least one shot was fired inside the car. The struggle then spilled onto the street, where Brown was shot multiple times. In their initial news conference about the shooting, police didn't specify whether Brown was the person who scuffled with the officer in the car and have refused to clarify their account.

Jackson said Wednesday that the officer involved sustained swelling facial injuries.

Dorian Johnson, who says he was with Brown when the shooting happened, has told a much different story. He has told media outlets that the officer ordered them out of the street, then tried to open his door so close to the men that it "ricocheted" back, apparently upsetting the officer. Johnson says the officer grabbed his friend's neck, then tried to pull him into the car before brandishing his weapon and firing. He says Brown started to run and the officer pursued him, firing multiple times. Johnson and another witness both say Brown was on the street with his hands raised when the officer fired at him repeatedly.

Some protesters Wednesday raised their arms above their heads as they faced the police. Others held signs asking for answers about Brown's death. The most popular chant has been, "Hands up! Don't shoot!"

Brown's body remained on the street for hours   a span Jackson deemed "uncomfortable" but justified, given that "you only get one chance at that crime scene" to process it correctly. Jackson said authorities also were concerned about gunfire they could hear in a nearby building.

In the shooting's aftermath, the notorious hacking collective Anonymous has taken credit for burrowing into the city website and shutting it down for much of the day Monday. The group also released what it said were audio experts from St. Louis County dispatch on the day Brown was killed. Police declined to comment on the recordings.

Associated Press journalists Jeff Roberson and Alan Scher Zagier contributed to this story. Suhr reported from St. Louis.

Appendix 14. FOX14082014b

Sharpton urges US Department of Justice to monitor police response to protesters in Ferguson

Published August 14, 2014 | Associated Press

FERGUSON, Mo.   Civil rights activist Al Sharpton is calling on the Department of Justice to monitor how police are responding to

protesters in Ferguson, Missouri.

The fatal shooting of 18-year-old Michael Brown by a white Ferguson police officer on Saturday has sparked protests in the St. Louis suburb. Some have turned violent.

On Wednesday night, police in riot gear again used tear gas to disperse protesters after some threw explosive devices and rocks at officers.

Members of Sharpton's National Action Network and local civil rights leaders are scheduled to meet Thursday with Ferguson police to discuss the police response.

Sharpton says he spoke with St. Louis County Police Chief John Belmar by phone to express his outrage at how the police responded to the protests.

Appendix 15. FOX15082014b

Ferguson police: Name of officer in shooting of 18-year-old black man to be revealed Friday

Published August 15, 2014 | Associated Press

FERGUSON, Mo.   Police in Ferguson say they are planning to release the name of the officer who fatally shot an unarmed black

teenager in the St. Louis suburb.

Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson says the officer's name will be revealed Friday morning.

Police have said 18-year-old Michael Brown was shot after an officer encountered him and another man on the street. They say one of the men pushed the officer into his squad car, then physically assaulted him in the vehicle and struggled with the officer over the officer's weapon. At least one shot was fired inside the car. The struggle then spilled onto the street, where Brown was shot multiple times.

Witnesses have said the officer fired on Brown as he tried to run away.

Ferguson police say Michael Brown was suspect in robbery Published August 15, 2014 | FoxNews.com

A suburban St. Louis police chief on Friday identified the officer whose fatal shooting of an unarmed black teenager ignited days of heated protests, and released documents alleging the teen was killed after a robbery in which he was suspected of stealing a $48.99 box of cigars.

Ferguson, Mo., Police Chief Thomas Jackson said the robbery took place just before noon on Saturday at a convenience store roughly 10 minutes before a police officer identified as Darren Wilson fired the bullet that killed Michael Brown. Police say that the shot was fired after a struggle touched off by Wilson's confronting Brown. Jackson said Wilson is a six-year veteran with no disciplinary action on his record.

At a press conference Friday afternoon, authorities said the police officer who shot Brown did not know he was a robbery suspect at the time.

The news conference came after nearly a week of sometimes-violent protests and calls by many, including President Obama, for local law enforcement to be more transparent about the circumstances surrounding the shooting. Police previously said they withheld Wilson's identity because of the potential for threats on the officer and his family. The officer has been on administrative leave since the shooting.

Police released still images and were planning to release video from the robbery, at a QuikTrip store in Ferguson. Jackson said Wilson, along with other officers, were called to the area after a 911 call reporting a "strong-arm robbery" at a nearby convenience store. He didn't immediately release details about the alleged robbery, saying more information would be released later.

Police provided few other details about the police officer at the morning news conference and did not take any questions. Jackson said Swisher Sweets cigars were stolen in the robbery.

According to the police reports, Brown and his friend Dorian Johnson were suspected of taking a box of cigars from a store in Ferguson that morning.

"I am incensed," Laura Keys, 50, told The St. Louis Post-Dispatch. "I can't believe this is the tactic they are using, bringing up a robbery to make the victim look like he was the person who created this whole mess."

Police have said Brown was shot after an officer encountered him and another man on the street. They say one of the men pushed the officer into his squad car, then physically assaulted him in the vehicle and struggled with the officer over the officer's weapon. At least one shot was fired inside the car before the struggle spilled onto the street, where Brown was shot multiple times, according to police.

But a much different story has been told by Johnson, who says he was walking down the street with Brown when he was shot. He has said the officer ordered them out of the street,

then grabbed his friend's neck and tried to pull him into the car before brandishing his weapon and firing. He says Brown started to run and the officer pursued him, firing multiple times.

WATCH: Minister's explosive Ferguson rant goes viral

The attorney representing Brown's family, Benjamin Crump, said Brown's parents are "incensed" by what he calls "the old game of

smoke and mirrors." He says the family was blind-sided by Friday's announcement.

Crump says "it's bad enough they assassinated him, and now they're trying to assassinate his character."

Tensions in Ferguson boiled over after a candlelight vigil Sunday night, as looters smashed and burned businesses in the neighborhood, where police have repeatedly fired tear gas and smoke bombs.

But on Thursday, county police in riot gear and armored tanks gave way to state troopers walking side-by-side with thousands of peaceful protesters. The dramatic shift came after Gov. Jay Nixon assigned oversight of the protests to the state Highway Patrol, stripping that authority from the St. Louis County Police Department.

"All they did was look at us and shoot tear gas," Pedro Smith, who has participated in the nightly protests, said Thursday. "This is totally different. Now we're being treated with respect."

The more tolerant response came as President Obama spoke publicly for the first time about Saturday's fatal shooting -- and the subsequent violence that shocked the nation and threatened to tear apart Ferguson, a town of 21,000 that is nearly 70 percent black and patrolled by a nearly all-white police force.

Nixon's promise to ease the deep racial tensions was swiftly put to the test as demonstrators gathered again Thursday evening. But the latest protests had a light, almost jubilant atmosphere among the racially mixed crowd, more akin to a parade or block party.

The streets were filled with music, free food and even laughter. When darkness fell -- the point at which previous protests have grown tense -- no uniformed officers were in sight outside the burned-out QuikTrip convenience store that had become a flashpoint for standoffs between police and protesters.

Nixon appointed Highway Patrol Capt. Ron Johnson, who is black, to lead the police effort. Johnson, who grew up near Ferguson and commands a region that includes St. Louis County, marched alongside protesters Thursday, joined by other high-ranking brass from the Highway Patrol as well as the county department. The marchers also had a police escort.

"We're here to serve and protect," Johnson said. "We're not here to instill fear."

Fox News' Mike Tobin, Edmund DeMarche and The Associated Press contributed to this report

Appendix 17. FOX16082014a

Ferguson shooting: Timeline that lead to Michael Brown's death

FERGUSON, Mo.   Below is a timeline of the shooting of Michael Brown on Saturday, Aug. 9, in the St. Louis suburb of Ferguson, Missouri. The times are taken from documents provided by the Ferguson Police Department, including dispatch logs and an incident report on a robbery at a convenience store.

11:48 a.m.   Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson arrives at a residence in response to an unrelated call about a 2-month-old child having difficulty breathing when she coughs.

11:51 a.m.   Ferguson police receive a call of a robbery in progress at the Ferguson Market convenience store.

11:54 a.m.   A different, unidentified officer arrives at the Ferguson Market and gets a physical description from an employee and customer of a suspect who took some cigars.

11:57 a.m.   A police dispatcher broadcasts a detailed description of the robbery suspect, saying that he was wearing a red St. Louis Cardinals ball cap and yellow socks and was walking with another man toward another convenience store called QuikTrip.

12:00 p.m.   Officer Wilson leaves the scene of the call about a sick child.

12:01 p.m.   Officer Wilson encounters Michael Brown walking on a street and the shooting follows. Ferguson Police Chief Tom Jackson said Friday that Wilson did not know about the robbery at the convenience store when he encountered Brown.

12:04 p.m.   Another officer arrives on the scene after the shooting, and an ambulance is contacted to treat Brown's wounds.

Appendix 18. Finnish summary.

Vaikka Yhdysvalloissa kansalaisoikeusliikkeen ansiosta vuonna 1964 säädettiin kansalaisoikeuslaki, joka takasi kaikille amerikkalaisille yhtäläiset oikeudet ja kielsi rotuun, ihonväriin, uskontoon, sukupuoleen ja kansalliseen alkuperään perustuvan syrjinnän, monet mustat amerikkalaiset ovat yhä epätasa-arvoisessa asemassa suhteessa valkoisiin amerikkalaisiin. Monet ovat kuitenkin ehtineet julistaa Yhdysvaltojen olevan jälkirodullinen valtio (post-racial state) presidentti Barack Obaman valtaannousun myötä. Samaan aikaan lista poliisien surmaamista mustista amerikkalaisista kasvaa. Vuonna 2014 poliisi Darren Wilson ampui mustan 18-vuotiaan Michael Brownin Fergusonin kaupungissa. Vuonna 2012 naapuripartion jäsen George Zimmerman ampui 17-vuotiaan Trayvon Martinin. Martinin kuolemasta alkoi Black Lives Matter liike (BLM), jonka tarkoituksena on nostaa esille mustien tänä päivänä kohtaama epätasa-arvo ja epäoikeudenmukaisuus. BLM sai kansallista tunnustusta kuitenkin vasta Brownin kuoleman jälkeen vuonna 2014, jolloin liike järjesti mielenosoituksia kuolleen nuoren puolesta ja poliisiväkivaltaa vastaan.

Tämän pro gradu -tutkielman tarkoituksena on tutkia Fergusonin ampumatapauksen uutisointia Fox Newsin ja CNN:n verkkouutisoinnissa systeemisfunktionaalisen kieliopin (SFL) ja korpuslingvistististen (CL) metodien avulla. Systeemisfunktionaalisen kieliopin ja korpuslingvistiikan metodien synteesiä ehdotettiin jo 1990-luvulla (esimerkiksi Krishnamurthy 1996), mutta edelleenkään tutkimuksia näiden kahden metodologian synteesillä ei olla juurikaan tehty. Baker ja McEnery (2005), Baker et al. (2008), Krizsán (2011), Bednarek ja Caple (2014) ja Seo (2013) ovat tällä alalla uraauurtavia tutkimuksia, mutta Krizsán on ainoa, joka käytti hyväkseen näiden kahden tutkimusmetodien synteesin tuomia mahdollisuuksia. Baker ja McEnery (2005) sekä Bednarek ja Caple (2014) käyttävät kyllä korpuksia tutkimuksissaan, mutta eivät systeemisfunktionaalista kielioppia, vaikka Bednarek ja Caple (2014) hyödynsivätkin korpuksen lisäksi kriittisen diskurssianalyysin (CDA) metodeja.

Tutkielman tutkimuskysymykset ovat seuraavat: 1. Millaisia mustien amerikkalaisten representaatiot ovat mediassa? 2. Miten media muodostaa ja muuttaa rodullisia kategorioita

Fergusonin ampumatapauksen uutisoinnissa? 2a. Mitä eroa on termien *Black* ja *African American* käytössä, jos eroa on? 3. Minkälaisia seuraamuksia tutkielmassa kuvatusta mustien amerikkalaisten mediarepresentaatiosta voi tulla?

SFL:n ja CL:n metodien hyödyntäminen mediatekstien analyyseissä mahdollistavat suurien datamäärien prosessoimisen nopeasti ja luotettavasti, ja näiden metodien avulla tutkimuksen toistettavuus on helpompaa. Nämä tutkimusmetodit tuottavat kvantitatiivisia tuloksia, jotka täydentävät hyvin esimerkiksi tässäkin tutkielmassa käytettyä CDA:ta. Näiden kolmen yhdessä muodostaman viitekehyksen avulla mediatekstejä voidaan tulkita luotettavammin ja systemaattisemmin, ja tämä viitekehys luo puitteet mediatekstien, kielen ja vallankäytön ymmärtämiselle, etenkin rasismiin liittyvissä diskursseissa.

Julkisessa keskustelussa rotu (race) ymmärretään biologiseksi kategoriaksi (Hill 2008, 6). Tämä on kuitenkin vanhentunut käsitys ja rotu-termiä käytetään sosiologiassa ja tässä tutkielmassa hyvin spesifissä merkityksessä siten, että se määritellään sosiaaliseksi konstruktioksi (Hill 2008; Charity Hudley 2017; Omi ja Winant 2015; Bonilla-Silva 2010). Vaikka rotu on sosiaalinen konstruktio eikä biologiaan perustuva kategoria, on sillä siitä huolimatta todellisia vaikutuksia, josta esimerkkinä rasismi. Rotu on tässä mielessä epästabiili kategoria, joka muuttuu aikakauden mukaan. Esimerkiksi Roediger (1991) ja Ignatiev (1995) ovat tarkastelleet irlantilaisten maahanmuuttajien *valkoistumista*, joka ilmentää rodullisten kategorioiden epästabiliuutta. Omi ja Winant (2015) ovat uraauurtavassa teoksessaan avanneet rodullistamisen (racial formation) prosessia ja selostaneet, miten rodullistaminen on toiminut Yhdysvalloissa orjuuden ajoista nykyaikaan asti.

Rasismista käytetään usein myös sanakirjamääritelmää, jonka keskiössä ovat rotuun perustuvat ennakkoluulot ja usko jonkun toisen rodun paremmuuteen. Jane Hill (2008) käyttää tällaisesta rasismin käsityksestä termiä rasismin folkteoria (folk theory of racism), joka on vallalla oleva käsitys rasismista, jossa rasismia ei nähdä yhteiskunnallisena ongelmana, vaan rasismi lokalisoidaan yksilöihin, eikä syrjiviä rakenteita tunnisteta. Tätä

vallalla olevaa käsitystä kutsutaan myös värisokeaksi rasismiksi (Bonilla-Silva 2010). Rasismin folkteoria vastaa siis maallikon käsitystä rasismista, kun taas kriittinen rodun tutkimus (critical race theory) on tieteenala, jonka keskiössä on rotu sosiaalisena konstruktiona. Kriittinen rodun tutkimus on lähtöisin ruskeiden oikeustieteilijöiden kritiikistä Yhdysvaltojen oikeusjärjestelmää ja oikeustieteiden liberalismia vastaan. 1980-luvun ruskeat oikeustieteilijät kokivat oikeustieteiden lähtökohdan, jossa epäoikeudenmukaisuuden ja syrjinnän nähtiin olevan pääosin yhteiskuntaluokasta johtuvia, riittämättömäksi, ja he halusivat tuoda esille myös rodun yhtenä syrjinnän komponenttina.

Rasismin folkteorian on haitallinen, koska se on normalisoitunut ja sillä on selitysvoima, jolla rasismia normalisoidaan entisestään (Hodges 2015; Hill 2008; Bonilla-Silva 2010). Hodges (2015) tutkimuksessaan tarkastelee Trayvon Martinin ampumistapauksen uutisointia ja nostaa esille toimittajien kiinnostuksen Martinin ampujan George Zimmermanin Martinista käyttämää kieltä kohtaan. Uutisissa kuunneltiin hätäkeskuksen puhelutallennetta, josta toimittajat yrittivät selvittää, sanoiko Zimmerman rasistisen herjan vai ei. Tämä pakkomielle tuo esille rasismin folkteorian laajan levinneisyyden ja normalisoitumisen. Jos Zimmerman ei herjannut Martinia rasistisesti, median mukaan tämän teolta puuttuu rasistinen motiivi, vaikka motiivin rakentumiseen on voinut vaikuttaa monet muutkin asiat.

Rasismin ja diskurssin tutkimuksessa ollaan keskitytty lähinnä maahanmuuttajia, pakolaisia, turvapaikanhakijoita ja muita siirtolaisia koskevaan diskurssiin. Esimerkiksi van Dijkin tutkimukset rasismin ja diskurssin saralla keskittyvät pääosin pakolaisten ja maahanmuuttajien kokemaan rasismiin (1989, 2008 ja 2012). Tämän tutkimusalueen ongelmana on maahanmuuttajien, pakolaisten ja turvapaikanhakijoiden rinnastaminen löyhästi määriteltyihin *muihin vähemmistöihin*. Tämä lähestymistapa toisin sanoen asettaa kaikki ei-valkoiset vähemmistöt samalle viivalle ja käsitteellistää ei-valkoiset homogeeniseksi ryhmäksi, samalla vahvistaen valkoisuuden ja eurooppalaisuuden normittavaa käsitystä. Van Dijkin ja monien muiden lähestymistavassa suljetaan pois myös eurooppalaisten ei-valkoisten

kansalaisten ja muiden maanosien kansalaisten, esimerkiksi Pohjois-Amerikan, kohtaama rasismi.

Kriittinen diskurssianalyysi on kielitieteen ala, jonka tavoitteena on tutkia kieltä ja tuoda esille vallankäytön rakenteita. Valta on tärkeässä asemassa CDA:ssa, mutta se määritellään usein eri tavoilla. Esimerkiksi Fairclough (1989) puhuu kahdenlaisesta vallasta: pakottamisen kautta saavutettu valta (power through coercion) ja suostumuksella konstruoitu valta ("power through the manufacture of *consent*" 1989, 3–4), joista jälkimmäistä voidaan pitää lingvistisenä valtana. Yleisemmin Fairclough kuitenkin puhuu vallasta tehdä omista arvoista ja käytännöistä yleismaailmallisia ja normaaleja (1989, 33). Myös van Dijk puhuu vallasta, mutta hän tarkoittaa sillä ensisijaisesti sosiaalista valtaa, jolla hallitaan suorasti ja epäsuorasti ihmisryhmiä ja niiden jäseniä (2008, 9). Tässä tutkielmassa käytetään näiden kahden määritelmän synteesiä vallan konseptista, eli valta, jolla voi tehdä omista arvoista yleismaailmallisia ja jolla voi hallita ihmisryhmiä. Van Dijkin mukaan CDA:ssa ei ole yhtä teoreettista viitekehystä, eikä täten yhtä tiettyä metodologiaa. Valta on CDA:ssa keskeisessä asemassa, ja CDA:n määrittelevä tutkimusintressi onkin vallan epätasainen jakautuminen ja epätasa-arvoiset rakenteet, joita ylläpidetään ja toisinnetaan kielessä.

Baker et al. mukaan CDA-tutkijoita kritisoidaan tarkoitusperiinsä sopivien tekstien valikoimisesta dataansa (2008, 283). Baker et al. selostaa myös että korpuslingvistiikan metodit jättävät huomiotta kontekstin, koska korpuslingvistisissä tutkimuksissa aineisto on erittäin laaja (2008, 279. Käytännössä kritiikki koskettaa datan valikoimista ja sen kattavuutta. Baker et al. vastaakin kritiikkiin että käyttämällä korpuslingvistisiä metodeja yhdessä CDA:n viitekehyksen kanssa voidaan konteksti huomioida laajemmissakin korpuksissa ja että tarpeeksi laajalla korpuksella vältetään tutkijan vaikutus tuloksiin (2008, 283). Parhaimmillaan näiden synteesillä saadaan kattavampi ja parempi ymmärrys vallasta, sen sijainnista kielellisissä rakenteissa ja sen käytöstä.

Systeemisfunktionaalinen kielioppi on Michael Hallidayn ja Christian Matthiessenin kehittämä kielioppi, jonka fokuksena on muoto-opin sijaan funktio. SFL ja CDA täydentävät hyvin toisiaan, sillä molempien perimmäisenä ajatuksena on, että kieli vaikuttaa todellisuuden hahmottamiseen ja sitä kautta myös yhteiskuntaan. Molemmat viitekehykset ovat myös kiinnostuneita tuomaan esille vallan ja ideologian lingvistiset muodot ja rakenteet. SFL pohjaa kolmeen metafunktioon, jotka vastaavat Hallidayn mukaan kolmea kielen evolutiivista tehtävää: nykyhetkestä, tulevasta ja menneestä viestimiseen, mielipiteiden ilmaisemiseen ja näiden kahden koherentiksi kokonaisuudeksi muovaamiseen (Butt et al. 2011, 5). Metafunktiot ovat ideationaalinen, interpersoonainen ja tekstuaalinen. Ideationaalinen metafunktio kuvaa todellisuutta ja kokemusta, interpersoonainen metafunktio vuorovaikutusta ja tekstuaalinen metafunktio yhtenäistää ja luo koherentteja tekstejä ja diskursseja (Halliday ja Matthiessen 2014). Tässä tutkielmassa käytetään vain ideationaalista metafunktiota, sillä sen transitiivisuussysteemi sopii hyvin uutistekstien analysointiin.

Transitiivisuussysteemin ytimessä ovat verbit, joita Halliday ja Matthiessen kutsuvat prosesseiksi. Prosessit kuvaavat sekä ulkoisia tapahtumia että sisäisiä eli sekä fyysisiä toimintoja että ajatuksia. Halliday ja Matthiessen esittävät transitiivisuussysteemin prosessien jakautuvan seuraavasti: materiaaliset, mentaaliset, relationaaliset, verbaaliset, eksistentiaaliset ja behavioraaliset prosessit (2014). Materiaaliset prosessit ovat prosesseja, jotka kuvaavat ulkoisen maailman tapahtumia ja aiheuttavat muutoksia kohteessaan. Mentaaliset prosessit kuvaavat sen sijaan ajatuksia ja tuntemuksia. Relationaaliset prosessit asettavat suhteita esineiden ja olentojen välillä ja ovat usein liikkumiseen liittyviä prosesseja. Verbaalit prosessit kuvaavat puhumista eri muodoissa. Eksistentiaaliset prosessit kuvaavat olemista ja behavioraaliset prosessit fysiologista tai psykologista käyttäytymistä. Hallidayn ja Matthiessenin mukaan englannin kielessä materiaaliset ja mentaaliset prosessit ovat pääprosesseja, joilla jaetaan kokemuksen kuvaus ulkoiseen maailmaan ja sisäiseen maailmaan (2014, 214).

SFL:n transitiivisuussysteemin lisäksi tutkielman metodologiassa käytetään myös AntConc ja UAM CorpusTool -korpusohjelmia korpuksen käsittelyyn. Pilottitutkimuksessa AntConcilla haettiin mustat amerikkalaistoimijat ja poliisit ja muut auktoriteetit, jotka ovat tutkimuksen kohteina. Tämän jälkeen UAM CorpusToolilla luotiin kolme annotaatiokerrosta: prosessi, toimija ja rooli. Sen jälkeenCorpusToolilla annotoitiin mustiin amerikkalaistoimijoihin ja poliiseihin ja näihin verrattaviin auktoriteettihahmoihin relevantit prosessit ja roolit. Annotaation jälkeen CorpusTool tarjoaa tilastointia annotaatioista. CorpusToolin tilastojen lisäksi tutkielmassa tutkittiin uutisartikkeleissa esiintyvien lainausten lähteitä ja määrää, eli kuinka paljon poliisia ja kuinka paljon mustia amerikkalaisia artikkeleissa lainattiin. Van Dijkin (1989) ja Teon (2000) mukaan uutisartikkeleissa tavataan lainata etnisiä vähemmistöä paljon vähemmän kuin poliiseja ja muita auktoriteetteja, ja jos etnisiä vähemmistöjä lainataan, nämä asetetaan usein artikkelin loppuun ja nämäkin lainaukset saattavat olla vain epäsuoria lainauksia. Lainauksia tutkittiin kahdella erilaisella tilastollisella menetelmällä.

Tutkielman lähdemateriaaliksi valittiin Fox Newsiltä ja CNN:ltä uutisartikkeleita Fergusonin ampumatapauksen alusta. CNN:ltä valikoitui 11 uutisartikkelia, jotka ovat pidemmältä aikaväliltä kuin Foxin artikkelit johtuen siitä, että CNN:n uutisointi oli harvempaa. Fox Newsiltä valikoitui 37 uutisartikkelia, jotka ovat pääosin huomattavasti lyhyempiä kuin CNN:n artikkelit. Korpuksen yhteissanamäärä on 29 372 sanaa, joista CNN:n alakorpuksessa 11 441 sanaa ja Foxin alakorpuksessa 17 931 sanaa.

CNN ja Fox News valittiin lähteiksi, koska ne olivat Pew Research Centerin (2015) mukaan Yhdysvaltojen kymmenen luetuimpien verkkouutissivustojen joukossa. CNN:llä oli yli 100 miljoonaa vierailua tammikuussa 2015 ja Foxilla vajaa 57 miljoonaa vierailua samana aikana. Fox Newsin omistaja, Rupert Murdoch, on tunnettu republikaanipuolueen kannattaja (McKnight ja Hobbs 2011) ja uutiskanava on myös tunnettu konservatiivisesta toimituksestaan (Iyengar ja Hahn 2009, 22). CNN taas oli Yhdysvaltojen ensimmäinen uutiskaapelikanava (Morris 2005, 59) ja se muutti uutisoinnin tavan lähettämällä uutisia televisiossa ympärivuorokautisesti (ibid.) Tutkimusten mukaan demokraattipuolueen jäsenet

tai kannattajat katsovat todennäköisemmin CNN:ää ja republikaanipuolueen jäsenet tai kannattajat taas Foxia (Morris 2005; Iyengar ja Hahn 2009).

CNN:n ja Foxin alakorpusten tuloksia verratessa eroja ei juuri noussut esille, eikä alakorpusten välille voida sanoa olevan eroa transitiivisen representaation osalta. Tulokset olivat muutenkin selviä, sillä materiaalisissa prosesseissa toimijoina nousivat esille poliisit prosessien toteuttajina (actor), kun taas mustat amerikkalaiset esiintyivät pääosin materiaalisten prosessien kohteina (goal). Tämä viittaisi siihen, että uutisartikkeleissa poliisit nähdään ensisijaisesti aktiivisina toimijoina ja tekijöinä, kun taas mustat amerikkalaiset nähdään passiivisina, tekojen kohteina. On huomattava, etteivät nämä kaksi tekijää välttämättä ole kytköksissä toisiinsa, eli jos virkkeessä oli poliisi prosessin tekijänä, ei prosessin kohteena välttämättä ollut musta amerikkalainen. Kun itse prosesseja tarkastellaan, poliisit ovat toimijoina virkkeissä, joissa prosessit ovat aseen laukaisuun tai ampumiseen ja muuhun fyysisen kontaktin ottamiseen viittaavia prosesseja. Mustat amerikkalaiset ovat taas toimijoina virkkeissä, joissa prosessit ovat hieman moninaisempia, muun muassa heittämiseen, kokoontumiseen tai marssimiseen viittaavia prosesseja. Michael Brown, ampumatapauksen uhri, esiintyy useimmin virkkeissä, joissa hän kamppailee poliisin kanssa tai kävelee tai juoksee. Hän on myös lähdemateriaalissa useimmin esiintyvä yksittäinen musta amerikkalainen toimija, sekä materiaalisten prosessien toteuttajana että niiden kohteina. Michael Brown on myös useimmin esiintyvä toimija relationaalisissa virkkeissä. Näissä virkkeissä hänet asetetaan sekä epäillyn että uhrin asemaan.

Jos verbaaliset prosessit tulkitaan lainausten indikaattorina, mustia amerikkalaisia ja poliiseja lainataan suhteessa yhtä paljon UAM CorpusToolin mukaan. Kuitenkin kun näiden kahden ryhmien verbaaliset toimijat yhdistetään, kuva muuttuu toisenlaiseksi. Korpuksessa on yhteensä 386 puhuja-toimijaa (sayer participant), joista 65.8% ovat poliiseja tai muita auktoriteetteja. Kahden populaation z-testillä z-arvoksi saadaan 3.5971 ja p-arvo 0.00016, ja testin tulos on merkittävä jos $p < .05$. Z-testin tulos vahvistaa Teon (2000) ja van Dijkin (1989) esiin nostaman ilmiön, eli mediassa on taipumus haastatella ja lainata enimmäkseen

poliiseja ja muita auktoriteetteja kuin vähemmistöjä. Yhden populaation z-testi varmistaa saman tuloksen.

Aikaisemmissa tutkimuksissa on useasti todettu, että vähemmistöjen representaatiot ja kuvaukset ovat mediassa usein negatiivisia (Strom ja Alcock 2017; Dixon ja Linz 2000). Elmasry ja el-Nawawy (2017) ovat omassa tutkimuksessaan todenneet toisin. Elmasry ja el-Nawawy tutkivat Fergusonin ampumatapauksen mielenosoituksen uutisointia New York Timesissa ja St. Louis Post-Dispatchissa ja he saivat päinvastaisia tuloksia kuin monet edelliset tutkimukset. Heidän lähdemateriaalissaan mielenosoittajat ja vähemmistöt kehystetään positiivisesti ja heitä lainataan tekstissä useammin kuin poliiseja ja muita virkavallan edustajia yhteensä (2017, 870). Elmasryn ja el-Nawawyn mukaan lainaukset ovatkin avain siihen miksi vähemmistöt kuvataan tässä uutisoinnissa odotetun vastaisesti positiivisesti (2017, 870).

Tutkielmassa tarkasteltiin transitiivisuuden ja tilastojen lisäksi myös termien *Black* ja *African American* käyttöä ja tutkia niiden mahdollisia kontekstuaalisia eroja. Lähdemateriaalissa edellämainittuja termejä käytettiin hyvin vähän, CNN:n alakorpuksessa mainittiin kolme kertaa *Black* ja kerran *African-American* (sic), kun taas Foxin alakorpuksessa mainittiin *Black* 41 kertaa ja kerran *African American*. Koska termit esiintyivät teksteissä niin harvaan, oli vaikea tehdä johtopäätöksiä. On kuitenkin huomattava ero CNN:n ja Foxin välillä, että Fox käytti termiä *Black* 41 kertaa kun CNN vain kolme kertaa. On mahdollista että Fox on yrittänyt saada vahvemman tunnereaktion yleisöltään, sillä Hall, Phillips ja Townsendin (2015) mukaan termiin *Black* liitetään enemmän negatiivisia tunteita kuin termiin *African American*, ja tätä kautta painottaa rodun ja etnisyyden merkitystä ampumatapauksessa.

Tutkielmassa käytetty transitiivisuuden analyysi oli näkökulmaltaan hyvin rajattu ja tutkielma olisikin hyötynyt SFL:n kahden muun metafunktion tarkastelemisesta, mutta tutkielman luonteen vuoksi tätä ei tehty. Siksi tutkielmassa tehdyt johtopäätelmät ovat rajallisia, eikä niitä voi yleistää, mutta tulosten perusteella on selvää etteivät liberaaleiksikaan mielletyt mediat

ole täysin vapaita rasismin folkteoriasta. Tulokset viittaavat vahvasti siihen, että media toisintaa rodullisia stereotyyppejä ja ylläpitää rasistisia rakenteita riistämällä mustilta amerikkalaisilta toimijuus ja asettamalla heidät tiettyihin rooleihin uutisissa, esimerkiksi fyysisten tekojen kohteiksi. Mustia amerikkalaisia ei haeta haastateltaviksi heitä koskevissa kysymyksissä, vaan sen sijaan media pyytää mieluummin poliiseilta lausuntoja. Tämä implikoi sitä, että poliisia pidetään luotettavampana lähteenä kuin mustia amerikkalaisia. Mediassa kapeat ja negatiiviset roolit mustille amerikkalaisille voivat toimia oikeutuksena rasismille ja jatkaa noidankehää sekä rajata mustien amerikkalaisten mahdollisuuksia työllistymisessä tai opinnoissa. Jos tätä populääriä kuvaa mustista amerikkalaisista mediassa ei kyseenalaisteta, on vaarana että siitä tulee normaalia ja epäideologista (Fairclough 1989).

Mediadiskurssi ei vaikuta pelkästään maallikoihin ja yleiseen mielipiteeseen, vaan se vaikuttaa myös poliitikkoihin ja poliiseihin, jotka säätävät lakeja ja jotka valvovat sitä. Siksi on mediadiskurssi ja monimuotoinen ja laaja representaatio on tärkeää mustille amerikkalaisille. Etenkin jos kyseessä olevat mediat, CNN ja Fox News, ovat Yhdysvaltojen suurimpia uutiskanavia.