

CONFLICT'S CONNOTATION: A STUDY OF *PROTEST* AND *RIOT* IN CONTEMPORARY
NEWS MEDIA

by

JOSHUA R HUMMEL

(Under the Direction of Lewis C. Howe)

ABSTRACT

The present study explored meanings associated with the words protest and riot as they appear in contemporary news media. Drawing inspiration from previous works in sociology and linguistics, this study evaluated both the structural and contextual environments in which news media most commonly use protest and riot and the implications that these regular environments have for descriptions of conflict associated with a racial identity. Upon considering the two word's uses in large linguistic corpora and specific accounts associated with both Ferguson, Missouri and 'Occupy Wall Street,' the present study compared single uses of each term to the patterns of use found as news coverage of a conflict changes. While results indicated that protest and riot have both different single uses and different patterns of use, they could not definitively determine if increased frequencies of riot are connected with racial identity or the degree of violence within a conflict.

INDEX WORDS: Conflict, Social Movements, News Media, Framing, Discourse Analysis, Linguistic Corpora

CONFLICT'S CONNOTATION: A STUDY OF *PROTEST* AND *RIOT* IN CONTEMPORARY
NEWS MEDIA

by

JOSHUA R HUMMEL

B.A., Vanguard University of Southern California, 2015

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2017

© 2017

Joshua R Hummel

All Rights Reserved

CONFLICT'S CONNOTATION: A STUDY OF *PROTEST* AND *RIOT* IN CONTEMPORARY
NEWS MEDIA

by

JOSHUA R HUMMEL

Major Professor: Lewis C. Howe

Committee: Vera Lee-Schoenfeld
William A. Kretzschmar

Electronic Version Approved:

Suzanne Barbour
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2017

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| CHAPTER | PAGE |
|--|------|
| 1 INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1.1: Definitions of <i>protest</i> and <i>riot</i> | 1 |
| 1.2: <i>protest</i> and <i>riot</i> in Contemporary News Media | 2 |
| 1.3: A Direction of Study..... | 3 |
| 2 BACKGROUND | 5 |
| 2.1: Influences from Sociology Regarding Discrimination and News Media | 5 |
| 2.2: Influences from Linguistics Regarding Word Meaning and Variation | 11 |
| 2.3: Summary..... | 18 |
| 3 METHODS | 20 |
| 3.1: Research Questions and Hypotheses | 20 |
| 3.2: Methods for an Overview of <i>protest</i> and <i>riot</i> | 22 |
| 3.3: Methods for the Study of Specific Events | 25 |
| 3.4: Summary..... | 31 |
| 4 FINDINGS ON AN OVERVIEW OF <i>PROTEST</i> AND <i>RIOT</i> | 32 |
| 4.1: Data from Linguistic Corpora..... | 32 |
| 4.2: A Survey of News Articles | 44 |
| 4.3: Discussion..... | 48 |
| 5 A STUDY OF <i>PROTEST</i> AND <i>RIOT</i> IN SPECIFIC CONFLICTS | 50 |

| | |
|--|----|
| 5.1: <i>protest</i> and <i>riot</i> in Articles on Ferguson Conflict | 51 |
| 5.2: <i>protest</i> and <i>riot</i> in Articles on ‘Occupy Wall Street’ in New York City | 65 |
| 5.3: Discussion..... | 80 |
| 6 CONCLUSIONS..... | 83 |
| 6.1: Discussion..... | 84 |
| 6.2: Limitations | 87 |
| 6.3: Further Inquiry | 89 |
| 6.4: Closing | 90 |
| REFERENCES | 92 |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

At its core, the study presented in this thesis is an inquiry about two words: *protest* and *riot*. By dictionary definitions, these two words have quite separate meanings from one another. The ways in which the two terms occur within news media, however, seems less distinct. Since both terms do still seem to have some presence within contemporary news media, this study hopes to discover the linguistic and social contexts of each term's use in such a setting and the implications that such uses have for connections of demographic qualities and frequencies of each term.

1.1: Definitions of *protest* and *riot*

Traditionally, the terms *protest* and *riot* communicate different meanings from one another. Considering dictionary definitions in particular, these two terms seem to designate separate types of conflict (*conflict* here meaning events in opposition to standard social order that are often the product of a certain motivation). *Protest* has such definitions as “an organized public demonstration expressing strong objection to a policy or course of action adopted by those in authority” (oxforddictionaries.com 2016) and “an event at which people gather together to show strong disapproval about something” (merriam-webster.com 2016), indicating that conflicts characterized by the term *protest* are generally conceptualized as having a particular cause and arising from some form of organization. Meanwhile, dictionaries define *riot* as “a violent disturbance of the peace by a crowd” (oxforddictionaries.com 2016) and “a situation in which a large group of people behave in a violent and uncontrolled way” (merriam-webster.com 2016),

thereby classifying conflict associated with the term *riot* as violent and disorganized. The descriptions associated with these two terms in academic literature only seem to support these dictionary definitions. These pieces of literature generally describe *protest* as an essential part of social movements (Della Porta 2008) and composed of several organizational levels (Cronin & Smith 2011) and recognize *riot* as a term associated with “spontaneous, violent actions” (Choi & Raleigh 2015, 162) and “a sense of randomness, disorder, or anarchy” (Nerad 2007, ii). Again, these uses in academic literature seem to suggest that conflicts labeled with *protest* are organized and serve as a means of furthering a cause, while those represented with *riot* are violent and disorderly. Based on the presence of *protest* and *riot* in dictionaries and some academic literature, it seems clear that both reference separate types of conflict.

1.2: *protest* and *riot* in Contemporary News Media

If two terms have distinct meanings from one another in their definitions, general logic would then suggest that these two terms would reflect this meaning difference in their use. Such a logical progression does not seem to occur when considering the use of *protest* and *riot* in contemporary news media. One particular news story that exemplifies this departure from definitions in use is an instance of conflict that occurred in response to a support rally for Donald Trump’s presidential campaign in Costa Mesa, California. Vives, Pearce, & Hamilton (2016) give one account of the actions performed by those participating in the conflict: “*Protesters* smashed a window on at least one police cruiser, punctured the tires of a police sport utility vehicle, and at one point tried to flip a police car.” Beyond these actions, Vives, Pearce & Hamilton (2016) mention one consequence: “One Costa Mesa police officer was struck in the head by a rock thrown by a *protestor*.” Though a bit more general, Vitali (2016) presents a similar description of the same conflict: “Hundreds of *protesters* blocked traffic in the streets

surrounding the event in Costa Mesa, south of Los Angeles. A police car was smashed by a crowd.” Although these descriptions certainly seem to suggest that the conflict was characterized by violent and somewhat disorderly behavior, news media typically refer to the conflict with the term *protest* rather than the term *riot*. *Protest* as it appears in describing this conflict, however, seems to align more closely with the dictionary definition of *riot* than with the definition of *protest*. If the term *riot* were completely absent within contemporary news media, this use of *protest* to account for both terms may seem reasonable. With a title such as the “Baltimore Riots” used to identify the 2015 conflict in Baltimore, though, the term *riot* is not completely absent from contemporary news media. Since both *protest* and *riot* seem capable of characterizing violent events, the difference in use of the two terms by contemporary news media does not appear to limit each term from applying only to one subset of conflicts in accordance with standard conceptualizations of each term.

1.3: A Direction of Study

With uses of the terms *protest* and *riot* by contemporary news media in mind, the present study aims to investigate two aspects of such uses. First, this study observes and compares how each term actually occurs within news media. In this particular goal, the only hypothesis considered is that a distinction in the two terms’ uses will not originate from their traditional (*traditional* here meaning characteristic of those found in a dictionary) meanings. Second, the present study explores the possibility of any social distinction in uses of the two terms. This objective is particularly inspired by sociological research regarding race and criminal background. As such, a working hypothesis predicts that the race (*race* here meaning a categorization of people based primarily on skin tone and heritage) of the people associated with a conflict is a factor that differentiates the use of *protest* and the use of *riot* to describe any given

conflict. Through an analysis of the ways that contemporary news media use *riot* and *protest*, the present study addresses both points in an effort to reach a better understanding of the variation of the two conflict terms present within contemporary news media.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND

Supporting literature that has led to the development of the present study is a mixture of information from both sociology and linguistics. Sociological literature on the topics of racial discrimination and news media messages generally explains the basis behind a choice of news media as the target for analysis, and linguistic research related to structural and social context of word uses indicates what to include within such a study. Together, an awareness of the subjective narratives that news media produce combined with a consideration of other studies regarding words and contexts informs the present study's own approach to evaluating lexical variation in *protest* and *riot*

2.1: Influences from Sociology Regarding Discrimination and News Media

From the perspective of sociology, important background information for the present study begins in considering the issue of race and racial discrimination. This consideration begins with the issue of racial discrimination alone before progressing to discuss discrimination through workplace behaviors. After examining these cases, this section posits news media and the messages they present as another source in which racial discrimination may occur.

2.1.1: Racial Discrimination

According to Robert Rothman's (2005) descriptions of race in his book *Inequality and Stratification: Race, Class, and Gender*, the recognition of non-White racial groups in themselves through the term *minorities* already establishes an unequal power distribution between White and non-White groups in addition to a mere difference in number. After this

initial introduction of race through a presentation of the inequality within conventional terms used to recognize difference, Rothman (2005) later provides a more detailed explanation of stratification on the basis of race from multiple theoretical perspectives. One particularly notable discussion here involves competition theory. Rothman (2005) discusses competition theory as a perspective that focuses on the competition in which multiple groups engage for a finite supply of resources. In the context of race, Rothman (2005) presents competition theory as a way to capture how different racial groups have competed for both land and work throughout different periods in American history. As Whites have almost universally held more power than non-White groups in these competitions, these non-White groups have usually fallen in a subordinate role to Whites within American society due to this competition (Rothman 2005). This stratification on the basis of race through competition may generally be considered the basis of racial discrimination.

Discrimination, as explained by Sara Horsfall (2012: 138-142), is an action that occurs when one of two groups receives different treatment from the other. Racial discrimination specifically, then, is an action in which members of one race are treated differently from members of another. While Horsfall (2012) presents a more general discussion of discrimination that frequently extends beyond race, she does still place an emphasis on some forms of discrimination that seem to directly affect members of minority racial groups. One particular focus includes a discussion of several statistics from the 2010 US census that are organized in racial categories (Horsfall 2012). Through these statistics, Horsfall (2012) indicates that members of minority races generally have lower incomes and higher rates of poverty than Whites. Though this display of racial discrimination by Horsfall (2012) more so captures the

result of discrimination rather than the action of discrimination itself, it does clearly indicate that members of minority groups have received some different economic treatment than Whites.

Another form of racial discrimination that both Rothman (2005) and Horsfall (2012) discuss is racial profiling. As defined by Rothman, racial profiling consists of “targeting people for heightened law enforcement scrutiny based on their race” (2005: 168). Typically, this type of discrimination appears in the form of increased traffic stops, personal searches, and arrests for members of minority races in comparison to Whites (Horsfall 2012; Rothman 2005). While Horsfall (2012) and Rothman (2005) both recognize that racial profiling typically leads members of minority races to have more frequent encounters with the United States criminal justice system than Whites, neither fully explore the implications of this connection. Devah Pager, in her 2003 article “The Mark of a Criminal Record,” explores how closer associations of law enforcement with members of racial minority groups can affect the success that these individuals have in seeking employment. In her study, Pager (2003) had a pair of White students and a pair of African American students participate in interviews with a mock resume. For any given interview, both the White students and the African American students would use either a resume without any criminal record or a resume that contained a criminal record (Pager 2003). When measuring the success that each set of students encountered in their interviews based on the percentage of interviewers who called the students back about a job position, Pager (2003) found that, even when using a resume without a criminal record, the African American students were only as successful as the White students when they (the White students) used a resume with a criminal record. Based on these results, Pager (2003) concluded that African Americans, even in the absence of any real criminal history, basically carry a mark of criminality when seeking employment as a result of perceived connections that they have with crime and law enforcement.

Since Pager (2003) seems to present a clear case in which the implications of racial profiling extend beyond the perception of minority group members by the criminal justice system alone, it would seem possible that such implications could also impact perceptions and behaviors in other societal contexts.

2.1.2: News Media and Potential for Racial Discrimination

For the present study, a particular area of interest lies within contemporary news media. Joel Best (2013), in a chapter related to the influence of news media in addressing various social problems, characterizes news media as forces that influence not only how people should view a particular issue but also what issues people should consider important in the way that they cover current events. Within this discussion of news media, Best discusses the concept of “packages” as a way for news media to present a viewpoint for their viewers and readers to consider (2013, 144). In addition to generally summarizing the main points of an issue, these packages can provide “condensing symbols” that basically represent the whole package through a slogan or image (Best 2013, 146).

Some studies within the field have applied this concept of packages to observing the impact of particular social issues. Gamson & Modigliani (1989), for example, attempt to compare media presentations of nuclear power to public perspectives on the issue. Using a review of prominent packages presented by media sources within different time periods and corresponding survey data from those time periods, Gamson & Modigliani (1989) find that media presentations do match public opinion to a certain extent. While newcomers to the issue of nuclear power typically matched either the positive or negative message presented by news media, those who followed the issue as it shifted from being positively covered by news media in the 1950s to being negatively portrayed after the events at Three Mile Island and Chernobyl did

not strictly match the current media perspective. Instead, these individuals usually remained more ambivalent about the issue of nuclear power after Three Mile Island and Chernobyl rather than strictly negative (Gamson & Modigliani 1989). Gamson & Modigliani's (1989) study demonstrates just how diverse the packages that news media present can be over the course of a story's lifetime, but it also indicates that individual perspectives are not shaped absolutely by these packages.

Another important concept when considering news media messages from both sociological and linguistic perspectives is framing. Instead of crafting a full narrative for viewers to adopt (as often occurs with packages), framing may emphasize certain qualities of a particular story in order to generate a connotation for that story. Garber (1987) explores this concept of framing when she attempts to measure the proportion of positive news and proportion of negative news around the time of the 1984 election. From an analysis of written news media and audio recordings of news broadcasts, Garber (1987) finds that news at the time presented Ronald Reagan, the incumbent presidential candidate in the 1984 election, more negatively than positively. In considering how Reagan could have won the election despite the negative news message associated with his presidency at the time, Garber (1987) suggested both that other factors separate from news media could have influenced voters and that the large proportion of negative news could actually have caused audiences to ignore the negative messages and more easily accept the few positive messages. Framing does appear to be a tactic used by news media to promote a certain perspective, but Garber (1987), similarly to Gamson & Modigliani (1989) with packages, suggests that the framing implemented by news media alone cannot dictate how the public will react to a situation.

With many analyses of news media typically exploring one topic of particular interest to the researcher, studies that lie at the intersection of popular media and social movements have considered how news media typically portray social conflict. In one such inquiry, Boyle & Schmierbach (2009) investigate possible connections between the type of media that one most frequently uses and one's type of political participation. Based on previous literature suggesting that mainstream media generally take a more reserved approach in describing nontraditional styles of political participation (such as public demonstrations), Boyle & Schmierbach (2009) hypothesized that people who use mainstream media more frequently would only engage in traditional styles of participation (such as donating to a campaign or getting involved in a political party) and that people who use alternative media more frequently would be more likely to participate in acts of protest. While some connections regarding media preferences and participation were stronger than others, Boyle & Schmierbach (2009) generally found that results from a telephone survey supported their hypotheses. Through this particular investigation of media and social movements, Boyle & Schmierbach (2009) present one fairly clear instance in which the framing and packages used by a media source seem to influence the way that followers of that source may behave. McLeod & Detenber (1999), in an earlier study with the same blend of news media and social movements, explore the connection between the degree to which a television news station supports the status quo and the way in which that news station describes a protest. When considering results from a perceptual test that compared news broadcasts with three different levels of status quo support (low, medium, and high), McLeod & Detenber (1999) did generally find that news stations that are more supportive of the status quo are less likely to identify with protesters, to support protesters, and to consider the actions of protesters legitimate and newsworthy. As with Boyle & Schmierbach, McLeod & Detenber (1999) use a focus on

social movement to produce a discovery about news media in general: outside influences (in this case, support for a status quo) can definitely affect the way in which a news source frames a story.

Whether specifically focused on news media in the context of social movements or concerned with news media in general, studies from both perspectives may note a number of possibilities in which news reports manifest frames and packages. Returning to the concept of “condensing symbols,” Best (2013: 146) may suggest that such messages commonly appear in the form of a slogan or political cartoon. However, it is also possible that such symbols could appear in the subtler form of specific word choice. With the focus of the present study placed on variation in the words *protest* and *riot*, the use of both words as “condensing symbols” could be a form of contemporary news media producing a narrative that recognizes a certain form of conflict as legitimate or illegitimate, respectively. The possible connections of *riot* with illegitimate conflicts and African Americans with criminality (as indicated by Pager 2003), then, may indicate that news media could favor the term *riot* in describing conflict instigated or perpetuated by African Americans, a supposedly “criminal” race.

2.2: Influences from Linguistics Regarding Word Meaning and Variation

For studies involving some analysis of language, linguistic insights become quite essential. This study of *protest* and *riot* involves a combination of more formal perspectives to discuss word positioning and the meaning associated with these positions with relatively applied methods that consider the social and cultural effects that may be associated with uses in such positions. Given such diversity among linguistic interests, this background must cover previous work in both areas.

2.2.1: Position and Meaning

For a study that anticipates the differences in position to have some influence on the meaning of words, Frazier & Clifton's Construal Hypothesis, presented in their 1996 book *Construal*, seems noteworthy. Of particular interest within Frazier & Clifton's (1996) book is Chapter 2, the section of the book Frazier & Clifton introduces the Construal Hypothesis. In certain segments of this chapter, Frazier & Clifton (1996) explain the Construal Hypothesis as a means of syntactically and semantically distinguishing primary phrases and relations within a sentence from secondary or nonprimary phrases. To clarify the idea of primary phrases and relations, Frazier & Clifton (1996, 41) list two possible requirements that such phrases must meet: either the phrase is a subject or predicate of a finite clause, or the phrase is a complement or mandatory constituent to the subject or predicate of the clause. Frazier & Clifton (1996) then basically define nonprimary phrases as any phrases that do not meet these criteria, such as adjuncts to the subject and predicate and relative clauses. This particular theory definitely supports the idea that the essential parts of a sentence should be distinguished from the peripheral elements.

Since its proposal, this Construal Hypothesis has transitioned away from its theoretical foundation into some practical settings. Speer & Clifton's (1998) investigation of the effects that both plausibility and argument vs. adjunct status of a PP have on the reading time for that PP presents one more realistic application of the Construal Hypothesis. Using one standard measure of reading time and one eye-tracking experiment to explore this connection, Speer & Clifton (1998) found that plausibility and argument vs. adjunct status do both seem to have an effect on reading speed. In particular, Speer & Clifton (1998) found that reading speed notably differed based on argument or adjunct status when PPs had a low plausibility rating. In a discussion of

these findings, the two authors suggest that such a differentiation between arguments and adjuncts for low-plausibility PPs generally supports the primary-nonprimary phrase distinction asserted by the Construal Hypothesis (1998, 971). Support for such a theory in this perceptual test does seem to support a method that argues for different levels of meaning associated with different phrase positions.

While not necessarily focused on the Construal Hypothesis, other studies also seem to recognize this difference in meaning on the bases of phrase positioning and status. In one such piece of research, Fodor & Crain (1990) discuss the multiple approaches to considering parameters for constructions with an object, an argument PP (PP1), and an adjunct PP (PP2). While much of their analysis extends quite deeply into particular syntactic and semantic structures, one explanation of the relationship shared by these phrases seems to help grasp some differentiation between phrase positions. Here, Fodor & Crain (1990: 637-638) explain two natural classes that can occur within these constructions: NP and PP1 (via theta assignment), and PP1 and PP2 (via a lack of case assignment). NP and PP2, however, share no commonalities in case or theta assignment (Fodor & Crain 1990: 638). This explanation does not exactly focus on distance between the object NP and adjunct PP, but it does seem to suggest that the two elements would belong to mutually-exclusive classes when occurring together. Liversedge et al. (1998) present another study associated with position and meaning in the investigation of native English speakers' abilities to interpret ambiguity associated with agentive or locative theta roles assigned to prepositional phrases featuring *by* (*by*-phrases). Using two separate eye-tracking experiments (one with sentences in isolation and one that provided context for the *by*-phrase use), Liversedge et al. (1998) found a difference in understanding of the two types of *by*-phrases that could be addressed with the addition of context. While participants generally took longer to parse a

locative *by*-phrase than an agentive *by*-phrase when the two phrases were presented in isolation, the introduction of a locative context enabled participants to comprehend a locative *by*-phrase as quickly as an agentive *by*-phrase (Liversedge et al. 1998). The findings presented here by Liversedge et al.'s (1998) suggest that differences in thematic content, even within the same syntactic type of phrase and especially when evaluated out of context, can lead speakers to perceive phrases differently. Overall, Fodor & Crain (1990) and Liversedge et al. (1998) seem to indicate that arguments favoring some variance in meaning based on a difference in phrase position (both literal and thematic) do exist beyond Frazier & Clifton's (1996) Construal Hypothesis alone.

2.2.2: Critical Discourse Analysis

When considering a study of variation in two terms within a particular social and political context, the linguistic framework that comes most readily to mind for such research is critical discourse analysis. In general, critical discourse analysis includes a variety of theoretical and methodological frameworks to consider both the way in which actual words are used and the influence that the context associated with the events under discussion can have on the meaning of such uses. With such a diversity among perspectives, studies that involve critical discourse analysis often cover a range of topics. Choudhry (2016) demonstrates one type of a critical discourse analysis while exploring developments in the way that the Council of Europe has discussed policies related to violence against women (VAW). To conduct this investigation of policy, Choudhry (2016) uses a critical frame analysis, a method that compares the framing (as discussed earlier with news media) that different policy makers use to discuss certain political policies, to consider who is given a voice in discussing the diagnosis (problem) and prognosis (solution) associated with a certain policy related to VAW. Through an evaluation of policies

dating back to the 1970s, Choudhry (2016) arrived at three main conclusions related to the development of policies regarding VAW: first, the framing of VAW policies within the Council of Europe generally mirrors such policy as that at the UN in that it is presented from the perspective of gender equality; second, unlike with policy at the UN, this strategy has not led to fragmentation or loss of authority for those who specifically address VAW; third and finally, the developed policies have not managed to be as inclusive as possible until progression in the wording of policies occurred in the 21st century. Overall, Choudhry (2016) provides a clear demonstration of how a study of a specific type of text can lead to conclusions regarding the social standing of individuals involved with the text. Dahlberg (2014), meanwhile, uses critical discourse analysis to explore a completely different topic. More specifically, Dahlberg (2014) considers the influence that more recent discourse theories could have on an analysis of the term capitalism in a critical political context. Using a theoretical framework that considers the social rather than just political relations of a term, Dahlberg (2014) finds additional ease in mapping certain cause-effect relationships associated with capitalist systems. Dahlberg (2014) ultimately concludes that discourse theory allows for scholars to see capitalism and capitalist systems as economic but not strictly political entities. Here, Dahlberg (2014) shows how critical discourse analysis uses language not only to better describe the people involved in that language but also to more fully understand the use of the language itself. While Choudhry (2016) and Dahlberg (2014) present two fairly different perspectives on critical discourse analysis, they do work together in that they can reveal just how broad studies within the field can be.

Despite the notable potential for various foci in critical discourse analysis, some studies singularly involve an analysis of news media. In one such article, Stenvall (2014) uses critical discourse analysis to evaluate the ways in which journalists employ their emotions in their own

writing. Using a theoretical framework focused on the attitude that one conveys in one's discourse, Stenvall (2014) draws data from news wires between 2002 and 2012 in order to consider the level of emotion present across different news reports. As a result of this analysis, Stenvall (2014) finds a pattern of emotional use that begins with more verifiable forms of emotion (such as those present in descriptions of observations) and transitions into increasingly less objective displays of emotion. In this capacity, emotion within journalistic writing begins with an observation before becoming a construction of the journalist's own perspective (Stenvall 2014). Beyond looking inward at the authors of news media, critical discourse analysis studies related to these media can consider the targets explored within a collection of news stories. Gulliver & Herriot (2015) use a critical discourse analysis of Canadian newspapers in order to compare a 2012 student strike in Quebec with the Arab Spring, a series of conflicts in northern Africa and the Middle East. In order to compare these two events, Gulliver & Herriot (2015) analyze the author's style, agency and attributions, and arguments contained within 16 different sources from a variety of news media. Through this evaluation of sources, Gulliver & Herriot (2015) arrive at a sort of double standard: both the Arab Spring and 2012 Quebec student strike were recognized as youth movements; however, participants in the Arab Spring were praised as the ideal protesters, while those in the Quebec student strike were criticized for their youthfulness. Whether emphasizing the patterns of authors as in Stenvall (2014) or comparing the subjects of separate events as in Gulliver & Herriot (2015), a focus on news media is compatible with a critical discourse analysis framework.

Though critical discourse analysis can stand as its own framework for research, it can also work in combination with other linguistics methods. One particularly notable combination for the present study links critical discourse analysis with a study of linguistic corpora. Baker et

al. (2008) exemplify this mixture of methods from corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis in a study of data from a corpus of speech from refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants (the RASIM corpus). Using the approach to context and relations prominent in critical discourse analysis and the attention to key words and collocates (words that co-occur nearby another term frequently) from corpus linguistics, Baker et al. (2008) find notable results related to both quantitative and qualitative data. In terms of quantitative data, many of corpus analyses lead Baker et al. (2008) to discover how frequently certain terms associated with RASIM occur alone or co-occur. Qualitative data, meanwhile, enables Baker et al. (2008) to more clearly see the contexts that accompany specific occurrences of terms associated with RASIM. Together, corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis allow Baker et al. (2008) to see both what language is most frequently associated with RASIM and where this sort of language most frequently occurs. In another study with a similar mix of methods, Samala (2011) investigates the difference in meaning between *Wahhabi* and *Wahhab's* (in addition to the word Saudi) in the context of two texts written in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. Using a combination of corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis comparable to Baker et al. (2008), Samala (2011) determined that *Wahhabi* and *Wahhab's* are in opposition as categorization (grouping) and nomination (naming) terms, respectively (327). With regards to the uses of *Wahhabi* and *Wahhab's*, Samala (2011) found *Wahhabi* more commonly used with negative collocates (such as *jihad*; 327) and identified *Wahhab's* as more associated with positive collocates (such as *writings* or *teachings*; 331). Overall, Samala's (2011) findings indicate that the possessive use of a name can have quite a different meaning from that name used as an adjective. With both Baker et al. (2008) and Samala (2011) presenting instances in which the use of critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics can produce qualitative and

quantitative results, it would seem possible to apply a similar type of combination in providing both the measurement and the description anticipated by the present study's main objectives.

2.2.3: An Influential Blend of Methods

While the mixture of critical discourse analysis with corpus linguistics to provide both quantitative and qualitative results generally corresponds to this study's two main objectives, one additional piece of research with a slightly different method had a particularly large influence in the formation of the present study. This research, conducted by Franzosi, De Fazio, & Vicari (2012), used a practice called "quantitative narrative analysis" to consider the ways in which certain subjects, actions, and objects appeared in news articles related to lynchings in Georgia throughout the late 1800s and early 1900s. Through a classification of the words in sentences of chosen articles in these three categories of subject, action, and object, Franzosi, De Fazio, & Vicari (2012) formed a map of the connections that each member of a single category commonly has with members of other categories. Although the present study does not attempt to create such an intricate mapping of all subjects, actions, and objects in analyzed phrases and sentences in association with one another, it does draw significant inspiration from Franzosi, De Fazio, & Vicari's (2012) clear separation of words into specific categories. The present study, then, may be said to be a combination of methods from both critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics with a specific emphasis on the positions that *protest* and *riot* occupy within the phrases and sentences in which they appear.

2.3: Summary

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, this review has covered a range of previous work from subfields in both sociology and linguistics. From such a review, a few particular points may remain particularly salient. From some initial discussions of the topic (Horsfall 2012;

Rothman 2005), Racial discrimination may seem to be a more theoretical than applied social issue. However, Pager (2003) effectively demonstrated how such an issue may really exist within the job market, and discussions of media messages by Best (2013) and other scholars concerned with news media (Gamson & Modigliani 1989, Garber 1987) and social movements (Boyle & Schmierbach 2009; McLeod & Detenber 1999) identify a way in which racial discrimination could appear in these messages. With news media set as a target, linguistic influences then emphasize the importance of considering the meaning differences that may occur with different phrase positions (Fodor & Crain 19910; Frazier & Clifton 1996; Speer & Clifton 1998; Liversedge et al. 1998), the context associated with certain lines of discourse (Choudhry 2016; Dahlberg 2014; Gulliver & Herriot 2015; Stenvall 2014), and large linguistic corpora in addition to individual documents (Baker et al. 2008; Samala 2011). In particular, Franzosi, De Fazio, and Vicari (2012) present a particularly appealing blend of these linguistic elements in order to the common subjects, actions, and objects associated with certain events based on newspaper records. Together, these previous works from a variety of academic areas provide this present study of *protest* and *riot* with some direction.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

As indicated within Chapter 2, the present study attempted to blend sociology and linguistics in considering the variation between *protest* and *riot* in news media. While sociological background does serve as the main motivation for the present study, many of the methods used originate from linguistic studies, especially those in critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics. After presenting a summary of research questions and hypotheses expected for the present study, this chapter will discuss the methods used for the two main segments of the study: an overview of how media use *protest* and *riot* and a specific comparison of the use of each term in describing two specific events.

3.1: Research Questions and Hypotheses

In review from Chapter 1, the present study addresses two major research questions. The first of these, as also discussed in Chapter 1, relates to the liberties that news media have seemingly taken with traditional meanings of the words *protest* and *riot* in the way that they use each word:

(Q1) How are the words *protest* and *riot* used by contemporary news media?

The second question, meanwhile, attempts to explore some possible explanation for the way that news media generally use the terms *protest* and *riot*. Since the present study is primarily concerned with considering race of the people involved in an instance of conflict, this question can be presented in a simple, binary fashion:

(Q2) Is race of the people involved in an instance of conflict a factor in news media favoring either the term *protest* or the term *riot*?

Hypotheses in response to these questions were formed on the basis of evidence that motivated the present study. Considering the first question, early observations regarding the use of *protest* and *riot* within news media generally suggest that, while they often extend beyond using each word only as would be fitting under traditional meanings, news media do still include both words within news articles describing conflict. In such descriptions, news media seem to feature *protest* and *riot* in both different narrative and different structural contexts. As such, it would seem plausible that both *protest* and *riot* each have some individual purpose:

(H1) While they may not follow traditional meanings to separate *protest* and *riot*, news media still use *protest* and *riot* differently from one another.

Though the hypothesis addressing the second research question may seem fairly clear, the reasoning this hypothesis was actually more complex than relying solely on initial observations. As discussed within the literature review, Pager (2003) demonstrated that racial discrimination does seem to have a rather implicit position within the job market. Furthermore, Best's (2013) discussion of media packages seems to present another instance in which this sort of covert discrimination could exist as part of the narrative being told. With this background in mind, a potential pattern seems to arise in the way events of conflict are labeled. Although events that do not seem to have any clear racial association (as generally seemed to be true of the conflict in response to a Trump rally discussed in Chapter 1) are frequently referred to as *protest*, events that clearly identify the group participating in the conflict as African American are somewhat commonly called *riots* (as in the 1992 Rodney King *riots* and the 2015 Baltimore *riots*). A combination of background information with these observations led to the following hypothesis:

(H2) Race does affect the likelihood of American news media to use either the term *protest* or the term *riot* in describing a domestic event of conflict. In particular, events involving African Americans as participants in conflict are more likely than other events to be described with the term *riot*.

3.2: Methods for an Overview of *protest* and *riot*

To conduct an overview of how *protest* and *riot* appear within news media, the present study used a mixture of methods in order to evaluate occurrences of and racial implications associated with both terms. Methods for studying occurrences were more quantitative in nature, while those related to implications used a more qualitative evaluation of obtained data.

3.2.1: Occurrences

Data collection and analyses related to individual occurrences of the words *protest* and *riot* in contemporary news media generally led to a comparison of the common uses for each word. For this quantitative approach to variation in the terms, the primary source of data collection would ideally have substantial frequencies of use for each word to provide a larger picture of average uses rather than singular occurrences. Since both featured either hundreds or thousands of occurrences for each term, two linguistic corpora compiled by Mark Davies, the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) and the News on the Web (NOW) Corpus, were used as sources for data. In order to keep a focus purely on news articles, searches of COCA were limited to results contained within the “Newspapers” category. With the NOW Corpus being entirely composed of online news media, however, searches of the NOW Corpus did not undergo any specific restrictions.

Data collected from each database arose from searches for six different terms: *protest*, *riot*, *protests*, *riots*, *protesters*, and *rioters*. The singular forms *protest* and *riot* may be capable of

appearing as verbs within a sentence, but the choice of these six words favors nominal forms of *protest* and *riot* over verbal forms of the two terms (as in *protesting/rioting* and *protested/rioted*). While both nominal and verbal uses are important in completely understanding the distribution of *protest* and *riot*, the relatively infrequent occurrences of verbal forms in comparison to nominal forms made verbal forms more difficult to observe than nominal forms (especially when considering the smaller datasets for specific events discussed in section 3.3, which feature only 13 total occurrences of *protested* and no occurrences of *riot*). For the present study, nominal forms of *protest* and *riot* serve as the main target for observation while the infrequency of verbal forms may in itself be a description of such forms' uses in contemporary news media. Common uses of each terms were categorized by regular occurrences in one of seven general syntactic positions: subject (as in *the protest/riot occurred last night*), action (as in *the most recent shooting led residents to protest/riot for days*), object (as in *police contained the protest/riot*), complement/adjunct to subject (as in *the days following the protest/riot remained quite bleak*), complement/adjunct to action (as in *hundreds arrived at the protest/riot about an hour after it began*), complement/adjunct to object (as in *police tried to help those injured in the protest/riot*), and other (most commonly complements/adjuncts to complements/adjuncts, as in *police in riot gear* or *the group of protest leaders*). In addition to these structural configurations, top collocates for each of the six terms were recorded in order to provide a sense of the meaning of each term within its use.

As indicated previously, the main objective of this initial data collection and analysis was to indicate how both *protest* and *riot* most frequently occur within news media. By considering the general structures in which each term most commonly occurs, the present study aimed to show how central each term is to major units of meaning (subject, verb, and, in many cases,

object) in a sentence. Collocates associated with each term then revealed the sense of meaning that those terms tend to carry in their use. Together, an evaluation of both positions and collocates could explain not only what general meaning a word carries in its use but also how central this meaning is to the core of the sentence.

3.2.2: *Implications*

In contrast to the large frequencies required for analyzing the occurrences of *protest* and *riot*, an investigation of implications (connections of a term to racial characteristics of individuals or groups involved in a conflict) favors a more intimate knowledge of individual uses. As a result, this inquiry into associations required access to full articles rather than the isolated phrases and sentences available in linguistic corpora. To meet this requirement, the present study warranted a search of online newspaper databases for articles related to both distant and recent instances of conflict in American history. From this search, approximately 20 articles that collectively describe a variety of conflicts were used for the present study.

For each article, uses of *protest* and *riot* (along with similar forms of each word) were recorded and compiled in lists. Each recorded use was then further organized based on both its own position and the position of surrounding words. These lists presented a context of use within each sentence in which a term occurred. Beyond the level of individual sentences, the analyses took into account specific recognition of participants in the conflict described within each article as a means of providing a context associated with the whole article. Sentence-level and article-level analyses then identified a general context of use for each term.

This consideration of context may appear to fall short of recognizing specific demographic characteristics associated with all uses of *protest* and *riot*. While it is certainly true that this analysis was not able to link every occurrence of either *protest* or *riot* with a clear

demographic characteristic, it did seem quite capable of recognizing potential demographic attributes that may correspond with patterns of use. If a certain demographic recognition accompanies many uses of a term, a sentence-level consideration of major sentence positions (again, subject, verb, and object) identified such a demographic pattern. Similarly, if demographics for a certain group appear in an article that frequently uses a certain term, a researcher could have tentatively connected the demographics with the term. While it may not have generated any conclusions regarding specific characteristics associated with uses of each term, this method of analysis provided some initial observations to consider in exploring the patterns of use in describing specific events.

3.3: Methods for the Study of Specific Events

While an overview of uses for *protest* and *riot* does provide a general picture of the way in which each term is most commonly used by news media, it does not help to understand how the distribution of the two terms changes over the course of an event's coverage. Different news articles explored as part of the overview may have covered a number of time periods after an event's occurrence, but these individual articles could not represent the distribution of *protest* and *riot* within past or future news coverage of the same event. Given this limitation of the overview, it became necessary to explore some specific periods of sustained or intermittent conflict (henceforth referred to simply as *conflicts*) in order to determine how the distribution of *protest* and *riot* changed following an event that sparks conflict (henceforth referred to as a *conflict event*).

3.3.1: Conflicts

In addition to just providing more specificity regarding the distribution of *protest* and *riot*, this investigation of specific conflicts also attempted to provide a direct comparison of

usage between conflicts with no clear racial specification in participants and conflicts in which participants are commonly recognized as African American. Such a comparison would ideally aide in addressing the present study's second hypothesis.

The first selected conflict, one in which African American participants were particularly recognized, occurred in Ferguson, Missouri in 2014. This conflict resulted from the police shooting of an African American resident in the area, Michael Brown, and progressed to receive national news attention. Many news outlets regularly released stories on the conflict in Ferguson for approximately one month and renewed coverage approximately three months after the original conflict event occurred (likely due to a new conflict event, the acquittal of the police officer on trial for the shooting around that time). Extensive digital access to news articles released following the shooting enabled a rather specific look into the distribution of *protest* and *riot* within news articles that detail the response by the community to the shooting.

Selecting a comparable conflict with no clear racial identification among participants, meanwhile, presented certain challenges. Some conflicts that have occurred outside of the United States may match this particular criterion; however, the treatment of such stories as "international" news by American news media may have resulted in a distancing of such conflicts that would not occur with domestic conflict events. Though some contemporary domestic conflicts have received news coverage that does not really link participants with any one racial group, such conflicts were often short-lived in comparison to the conflict in Ferguson. Conflict in response to support rallies for Donald Trump's 2016 presidential campaign, for example, typically received only a few days of coverage before news media shifted their attention to a new conflict event (in many cases, a response to a newer support rally for Trump). Such a short span of coverage did not really provide an opportunity for news reporters to change

the distribution of *protest* and *riot* in subsequent articles. With these concerns in mind, the 2011 conflict in New York City associated with ‘Occupy Wall Street’ (‘OWS’) was selected for use in the present study as a contrast to the Ferguson conflict. As time progressed, this conflict certainly expanded beyond just New York City; however, the participants within New York City did seem to be generally recognized as the head of the conflict after this spread occurred. An analysis of just this head allowed the ‘OWS’ conflict to be observed as though it did occur in a single location. One other concern related to using the ‘OWS’ conflict in comparison to the Ferguson conflict involved to the comparative levels of violent and disorderly behavior. Unlike Ferguson, the ‘OWS’ conflict was often called a *movement* and continued through a regular occupation of participants near Wall Street in New York City. Generally, these activities seemed both organized and nonviolent. Still, as many articles did mention the arrests of participants in the ‘OWS’ conflict news coverage of the event regularly presented police and participants in opposition to one another. The presence of such a dynamic indicated that, while the ‘OWS’ conflict may not be an ideal comparison for the Ferguson conflict, it may be the best example of a contemporary conflict that does not necessarily have strong connections to a racial identity.

3.3.2: Data Collection

The key data for this study are instances of the words *protest* and *riot* to describe conflict in response to a particular conflict event within news articles. As such, the ideal sources of data should focus on the conflict rather than all aspects of the conflict event in general.

Using one online database (Proquest), news articles were selected using a search for the location name (as in *Ferguson, Missouri*) or a particular topic (as in *Michael Brown*) associated with the instance of conflict. After inputting these search criteria, the date category of the search function was then refined to locate specific days upon which articles are released. By

categorizing articles collected by day of release, this study could more clearly evaluate the distributions of *protest* and *riot* to describe conflict at certain time periods following a conflict event. Once selected, articles were categorized in one of four time periods: within one week of the conflict event's first news coverage, one week to one month following the conflict event, one month to three months following the conflict event, and three months to a year following the conflict event. As may seem immediately evident, this categorization does not distribute time equally. Rather than attempting to capture equal intervals of time, however, this study aimed to have comparable amounts of article releases, which seem to become more scarce with the passage of time after a conflict event, within each category. Although all articles related to either Ferguson or 'OWS' were not equally distributed among these four categories, each category still contained a sufficient set of articles (at least 10,000 words) to conduct the necessary analyses.

Specific article selection from these searches also presented some difficulties. In part, these challenges arose from circumstances associated with the particular conflict under investigation. For example, when considering the Ferguson conflict, the response to the 2014 shooting of Michael Brown actually seemed to be the result of two conflict events rather than one. As may seem expected, the first of these conflict events was the actual shooting that occurred in August 2014. The second conflict event, meanwhile, took place in November 2014 when a grand jury decided not to charge the police officer responsible for shooting Michael Brown. For a study focused primarily on the original conflict event (the shooting of Michael Brown, in Ferguson's case), the presence of more complicated patterns of coverage did make the accidental selection of off-topic articles somewhat easier during certain time periods. Considering the potential confusion that could arise in selecting articles on conflict, some clear criteria had to be established for the selection process.

With the main focus of this study upon the conflict following a conflict event rather than the conflict event itself, the ideal articles selected for this study were those focused on instances of conflict that followed the original conflict event. While such articles with this topic seemed particularly prevalent in the period immediately following the conflict event (the first few days to approximately one month following the event), they became increasingly scarce as more time passed from the start of coverage. In instances where few (or no) articles featured the conflict in response to the original conflict event as the main topic, articles that discussed the conflict in some capacity were still included. These articles ideally focused on the conflict event itself; however, articles that discussed more recent developments related to the conflict event (perhaps those related to trial preparations or new policies in the case of Ferguson, for example) were also appropriate selections if they mentioned the conflict in a general review of what followed the original conflict event. Such historical accounts of the conflict were particularly valuable in that they provided a label for conflict that has already happened rather than described conflict that was still happening.

While these criteria assisted in deciding which articles to select, it also proved necessary to establish a few points regarding articles that should be avoided. As may seem somewhat obvious based on the earlier introduction to selection criteria, articles related specifically to a new conflict event (in Ferguson's case, the grand jury decision for the police officer on trial or the conflict that followed that decision) were not selected for this study. Although newer conflict events may still have had some relation to the original conflict event, the conflict that followed the new conflict event typically seemed more so to be a product of the new conflict event rather than new conflict in response to the original conflict event alone. As this conflict ultimately arose from a different source event, descriptions of that conflict by news media could not necessarily

be said to represent the conflict in response to the original conflict event. Some articles that present this new conflict may still have included some discussion of the original conflict in order to provide a historical background for the then-current circumstances. Earlier in this discussion of criteria, such accounts were recognized as valuable in that they may label rather than just describe. However, since instances of the newer conflict and the original conflict could have become generally indistinguishable in some of the data analyses used for this study, such articles that mention the original conflict in a review of all events that led to the new conflict were still avoided.

3.3.3: *Data Analysis*

Once news articles were selected, they were copied into text documents and imported into Antconc, a corpus analysis software program (Anthony 2016). Antconc then allowed for a number of simple analyses involving frequencies, such as frequencies of the words *protest* and *riot* within a certain set of articles and the frequencies of collocates associated with each word. Such frequencies led to a better understanding of each word's prevalence and the environments in which each word most commonly occurred. When all articles related to one conflict were opened in Antconc together, the frequencies provided information regarding the whole distributions of *protest* and *riot* within the context of the observed conflict. Separating the articles included in Antconc based on the four categories established in the process of data collection, meanwhile, produced more compelling results. As these frequencies related to *protest* and *riot* were representative of a single time period rather than a full distribution, a comparison of frequencies revealed patterns of change from one time period to the next that developed with each word's use throughout the news media's depictions of the conflict. Chapter 5, which covers the results of this analysis, discusses these patterns in more detail.

Once collections of word frequencies and collocate co-occurrence frequencies were completed, descriptive statistics were produced to more specifically consider word rankings within a set of articles, rates of occurrence associated with certain frequencies, co-occurrences of words and their top collocates. Though they cannot provide any indications of significance, these statistics will help to better visualize and compare measurements across different sets of data.

3.4: Summary

Overall, the present study is an investigation of both how contemporary news media use the terms *protest* and *riot* and what implications, racial or otherwise, such patterns of use may have. The initial overview conducted within this study primarily addressed the first matter while also providing some brief insights into the second. A more specific look at coverage of one conflict over time, meanwhile, not only built upon the overview's explanation of the first matter but also more substantially evaluated the second. Both segments combined, then, generally explain just what *protest* and *riot* mean when they appear in contemporary news media.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS ON AN OVERVIEW OF *PROTEST* AND *RIOT*

As detailed in Chapter 3, data used for the overview of *protest* and *riot* arose from searches of COCA and the NOW Corpus and a general survey of several news articles that discuss various instances of conflict within the United States. These data are included here to better understand the typical circumstances under which *protest* and *riot* occur within contemporary news media.

4.1: Data from Linguistic Corpora

Results drawn from searches of linguistic corpora have produced both frequencies and contexts of occurrence for the six terms under consideration in this method. After discussing the general frequencies of each term, this overview will consider top collocates of terms associated with *protest* and those associated with *riot* that both COCA and the NOW Corpus have in common. Collectively, these data provide a general picture of how both *protest* and *riot* occur within news media.

4.1.1: Frequencies of the Six Terms

Table 4.1: Frequencies of Terms Related to protest and riot

| Word | Frequency in COCA (Out of 105,963,844 Words) | Occurrence per One Million Words | Frequency in NOW (Out of 3,947,163,570 Words) | Occurrence per One Million Words | Notable Collocates |
|------------|--|----------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|---|
| Protest | 3567 | 33.66 | 12955 | 3.28 | Movement; Peaceful; Rally; Staged; Resigned; Organizers |
| Protests | 2891 | 27.28 | 8051 | 2.04 | Violent; Peaceful; Sparked |
| Protesters | 2516 | 23.74 | 6196 | 1.57 | Gathered; Peaceful; Occupy |
| Riot | 899 | 8.48 | 3402 | 0.86 | Gear; Mock; Shields |
| Riots | 936 | 8.83 | 3507 | 0.89 | 1968; Erupted |
| Rioters | 98 | 0.92 | 405 | 0.10 | Looters; Torched |

Table 4.1 displays the frequencies of the six terms under consideration here. In general, the three *protest* terms (*protest*, *protests*, and *protesters*) seem to occur more frequently than the three corresponding *riot* terms (*riot*, *riots*, and *rioters*), indicating that *protest* may be the more prevalent of the two word groups. This sort of preference for *protest* over *riot* may seem somewhat intuitive, but other aspects related to the frequencies included in Table 4.1 present some less expected trends. One such surprise arises from the pair *protest* and *protests* having a different relation between one another than the pair *riot* and *riots*. While *protest* appears to be the more frequent variant among the first pair of words, *riots*, not *riot*, is the more frequent variant for the second. It would seem, then, that news media have a preference for the singular form *protest* yet use the plural form *riots* more frequently than the singular *riot*. A reason for these

apparent preferences may result from the way in which each term is used, a point that will be discussed further later in this chapter.

A second noteworthy observation to make pertains specifically to the term *rioters*. This word occurs less than 1/8th as frequently as either *riot* or *riots* and, as such, is clearly the least-used term of the six. Such a low frequency may become even more striking upon considering the role of words such as *protesters* and *rioters*. As these two words typically seem to recognize participants in conflict, *protesters* and *rioters* seem to describe the agents behind a *protest* or the agents behind a *riot*, respectively. While *protesters* certainly occurs with a regular enough frequency to accomplish this task when news media use the word *protest* to discuss a conflict, *rioters*, with a frequency much lower than either *riot* or *riots*, does not. This disparity in frequency may suggest that, while a *protest* is carried out by *protesters*, a *riot* is quite commonly neither instigated nor perpetuated by anyone in particular.

Beyond the frequencies listed in Table 4.1, the items contained within the *notable collocates* column warrant some explanation. In addition to being within the top 10 collocates of either COCA or the NOW Corpus, each word within this column had a co-occurrence rate of at least 1% with the term of the row in which it (the collocate) is listed. With previous works recognizing this rate of a 1% co-occurrence as highly significant (Stubbs 2001; Kretzschmar 2009), the collocates included this column may aid in revealing what exactly news media often mean by using each term. This particular concept seems especially apparent in one collocate shared by *protest*, *protests*, and *protesters*: *peaceful*. As this collocate is shared by all three terms associated with *protest*, it would seem that these terms have some sense or notion of “peace” associated with their use. Despite this seemingly universal connection of *protest* and *peaceful*, another significant collocate associated with *protests* specifically, *violent*, seems to indicate that

peace is not a requirement or referring to a certain instance of conflict as a *protest*. Unlike the three *protest* terms, *riot*, *riots*, and *rioters* do not have any one significant collocate in common. Still, several of the notable collocates associated with just one of the terms (*shields*, *erupted*, *looters*, and *torched*) do give the *riot* terms some general association with violence and disorder, two qualities captured in more traditional definitions of the term. Although these collocates may not establish absolute connections between the use of either *protest* or *riot* and a particular meaning, they may help in predicting the links that may arise in a more specific analysis.

With this investigation into frequencies of terms in mind, the overview will now proceed to a more specific exploration of positions with top collocates associated with each of the six terms.

4.1.2: Collocations of Protest Words

While the notable collocates presented in Table 4.1 were among the top 10 collocates for each term, they were not necessarily the very top collocates (when excluding names, articles, and *were*) for each word. As a result, the collocates included in the tables for both section 4.1.2 and 4.1.3 may differ from the collocates listed in Table 4.1. Although these collocates may lack some of the meaning-based connections that the notable collocates have, they should accurately display how each term is most commonly used by news media.

Table 4.2: Frequencies of protest's Co-Occurrences with Top Collocates

| Collocate of <i>protest</i> | Frequency in COCA | Frequency in NOW | Common Position of <i>protest</i> within Clause | Example of Position |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--|--|
| Against | 215 | 955 | Subject/Object; Complement/Adjunct to Subject/Object | “the first <i>protest</i> against Israel”; “an act of <i>protest</i> against de Blasio” |
| Movement | 111 | 288 | Adjunct to Subject/Object | “the <i>protest</i> movement was kind of changing” |
| Peaceful | 54 | 147 | Subject/Object; Complement/Adjunct to Subject/Object | “a daylong, peaceful <i>protest</i> ”; “a highway patrolman at a peaceful <i>protest</i> ” |
| March | 54 | 159 | Complement/Adjunct to Subject/Object | “a <i>protest</i> march in San Salvadore” |

As indicated in Table 4.2, *protest* within both COCA and the NOW Corpus commonly appeared in one of four positions: subject, object, complement/adjunct to subject, or complement/adjunct to object. In such positions, *protest* seemed to occur either as a primary phrase that is part of the core message associated with a sentence (when in subject or object position or when a complement to a subject or object) or in a nonprimary phrase that may be considered one position removed (when an adjunct). Whether *protest* appears in a primary or nonprimary position, common collocates associated with *protest* in both COCA and the NOW Corpus seem to correspond with *protest*'s traditional definition. *Protest*'s top collocate, *against*, generally recognizes *protest* as a label for conflict in clear opposition to some other action or policy. *March and movement*, two other popular collocates of *protest*, then give the instance of conflict some sense of being organized or collective rather than random. The one other collocate

listed in Table 4.2 and previously discussed in Table 4.1, *peaceful*, just seems to further differentiate conflicts labeled with *protest* from other types in that they are non-violent. From these data, it would seem as though *protest* occurs relatively primary position within sentences in which it is used and maintains the same meaning in use as presented in traditional definitions.

Table 4.3: Frequencies of protests' Co-Occurrences with Top Collocates

| Collocate of <i>protest</i> | Frequency in COCA | Frequency in NOW | Common Position of <i>protests</i> within Clause | Example of Position |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--|--|
| Against | 200 | 585 | Subject/Object; Complement/Adjunct to Subject/Object | “there were coordinated <i>protests</i> against Uber”; “the height of <i>protests</i> against the Vietnam War” |
| Street | 115 | 276 | Subject/Object | “as the street <i>protests</i> there began to swell” |
| Despite | 67 | 268 | Adjunct to Subject/Object | “he buys me a ticket despite my <i>protests</i> ” |

The top collocates associated with *protests* in Table 4.3 would suggest that the word behaves similarly to the singular form *protest*. Both forms share their most frequent collocate, *against*, and both forms seem to most regularly take a primary position within the sentence when positioned with this collocate. While *protests'* position with its other two top collocates is typically close to the primary phrases of a sentence, its actual occurrence with the terms does show some difference from *protest*. Such a departure from *protest* seems most noticeable when *protests* occurs with *despite*. *Protests* in this particular position can conceivably refer to actual instances of conflict that have occurred (as may occurring the sentence *the controversial politician decided to give a public address despite many protests to his policies in the area*). However, in the corpus data observed for this overview, instances in which *despite* and *protests*

co-occur seemed much more likely to refer to verbal or physical defiance rather than an event of conflict that represents such defiance. In this form of use, it would seem that *protests* is capable of a meaning that extends beyond just denoting an instance of public conflict.

Table 4.4: Frequencies of protesters' Co-Occurrences with Top Collocates

| Collocate of <i>protesters</i> | Frequency in COCA | Frequency in NOW | Common Position of <i>protesters</i> within Clause | Example of Position |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--|--|
| Police | 135 | 280 | Object; Co-Subject/Co-Object | “campus police pepper-sprayed student <i>protesters</i> ”; “police and <i>protesters</i> have clashed” |
| Thousands | 83 | 203 | Complement/Adjunct to Subject/Object | “the thousands of young <i>protesters</i> in Baltimore” |
| Outside | 64 | 156 | Subject/Object; Complement/Adjunct to Subject/Object | “ <i>protesters</i> outside carried signs”; “hundreds of <i>protesters</i> rallied outside...” |

Table 4.4 displays a form of *protest* that specifically recognizes the individuals involved in the instance of conflict. Like *protest* and *protests*, *protesters* is capable of appearing either in the primary part of a sentence or in a nonprimary phrase immediately outside of a primary one. As such, uses of *protesters* are also relatively close to the core message of sentences in which the term appears. Despite this shared pattern of positioning, *protesters* does differ from *protest* and *protests* when observing the term's top collocates. While the collocate *thousands* gives some sense of organization to the uses of *protesters* that it accompanies through the implied gathering of people, *outside* does not convey any sense of order or opposition to a specific action or event. The top collocate for *protesters*, *police*, actually has more in common with collocates of *riot* than

those of *protest*. Like *protests*, *protesters*, while about as primary to the average sentence in which it occurs as *protest*, seems more diverse in its use and deviant from traditional definitions.

Overall, these three *protest* terms do seem to occur within primary phrases or nonprimary positions just outside of primary phrases in most sentences. In such positions, the meaning of the term is flexible. *Protest* and *protests* can both refer to a public instance of conflict, but each term (especially *protests*) can also designate isolated defiance of a single individual. Considering more connotative elements of *protest* is also an unclear task. As the notable collocates in Table 4.1 indicate, a *protest* can be peaceful, but *protests* can be violent as well. The general dichotomy of *police* and *protesters* displayed in Table 4.4 further affirms the possibility for negative in addition to positive associations with *protest*. *Protest*, then, is a word most commonly found in primary phrases that has not definite positive or negative meaning in its use.

4.1.3: Collocations of Riot Words

As suggested by the earlier analysis of notable collocates in Table 4.1, the three *riot* terms are perhaps less uniform than the three terms for *protest* in the words with which they occur. Nonetheless, even different uses of each term with fairly separate collocates can provide some insight on how news media most frequently use the various versions of *riot*.

Table 4.5: Frequencies of riot's Co-Occurrences with Top Collocates

| Collocate of <i>riot</i> | Frequency in COCA | Frequency in NOW | Common Position of <i>riot</i> within Clause | Example of Position |
|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------|---|--|
| Police | 200 | 495 | Complement/Adjunct to Complement/Adjunct | "police in <i>riot</i> gear" |
| Gear | 47 | 155 | Complement/Adjunct to Complement/Adjunct | "police in <i>riot</i> gear" |
| Officer | 36 | 55 | Complement/Adjunct to Complement/Adjunct; Adjunct to Subject/Object | "officers wearing <i>riot</i> gear"; " <i>riot</i> officers" |

Unlike those of the three *protest* terms, uses of *riot* within the corpus data seem further detached from the primary phrases of a sentence. As noted in Table 4.5, *riot* seems to most commonly occur in a nonprimary phrase that is part of a nonprimary phrase (typically as an adjunct to an adjunct) and only occasionally occurs in a location that is in just one nonprimary phrases (when just an adjunct to a subject or object). Based on Frazier & Clifton's (1996) evaluation of primary and nonprimary phrases, uses of *riot* thus seem a bit more removed from the core meaning of sentences in which they occur than those of *protest*.

Some scholars may argue against the interpretation presented here by suggesting that, rather than *riot* in such phrases as *police in riot gear* serving as a modifier to *gear* (which then modifies *police*), *riot gear* consists only of one unit as a compound noun. If *riot* in this situation were forced to function comparably to a typical adjective in which it would assign the quality of 'riot' to *gear*, the semantic product of the interpretation would be nonsensical, and this argument would hold. While it is fair to say that the argument does reasonably indicate that only a small portion of *riot*'s occurrences outside of a descriptive construction such as *riot gear* are comparable to *protest*, a word that is commonly used to directly reference a conflict rather than in a parallel descriptive construction (such as *protest march*), it still ignores any possibility for the meaning of a modifier beyond that of a typical adjective. If *riot* as a modifier here is capable of having some other meaning that differs from that of the traditional adjective modifier, the consideration of *riot* as an individual unit that modifies *gear* seems more plausible. Such a possibility does seem reasonably supported by some previous theoretical literature, such as Heim & Kratzer's (1998) discussion of nonintersective adjectives and Lichtenberk's (2005) and McCready & Ogata's (2007) discussions of nouns acting comparably to adjectives in Toqabaqita and Japanese, respectively. The present study will not attempt to offer any formal proposal on

how *riot* functions as its own unit in phrases such as *police in riot gear*, but it will indulge such perspectives as Heim & Kratzer (1998), Lichtenberk (2005), and McCready & Ogata (2007) in interpreting *riot* as its own unit here.

In another deviation from a loose trend established by the three protest terms, top shared collocates for *riot* in COCA and the NOW Corpus do not lead *riot* to occur in a fashion that matches traditional meanings of the term. Instead of signaling the violence and disorder associated with these definitions of *riot*, the top collocates listed in Table 4.5, *police*, *gear*, and *officers* all seem to have some association with criminality and law enforcement. While such a sense could entail some sort of violence, these collocates certainly do not link uses of *riot* as closely to its traditional definitions as collocates do for *protest*. Overall, then, it would seem that occurrences of *riot* within the corpus data are both more nonprimary to the sentence and more distant from traditional definitions than those of *protest*.

Table 4.6: Frequencies of riots' Co-Occurrences with Top Collocates

| Collocate of <i>riots</i> | Frequency in COCA | Frequency in NOW | Common Position of <i>riots</i> within Clause | Example of Position |
|---------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--|--|
| After | 91 | 280 | Complement/Adjunct to Subject/Object; Subject/Object | "75 years after the 1921 race riots"; "riots broke out after Freddy Gray died" |
| During | 59 | 183 | Complement/Adjunct to Subject/Object | "the police deliberately abandoned the predominantly Black neighborhoods during the riots" |
| Race | 52 | 188 | Complement/Adjunct to Subject/Object; Subject/Object | See first example for <i>after</i> ; "race riots tore up inner cities" |

In another deviation from the uniformity of the three *protest* terms, *riots* appears to have very little in common with *riot* when considering its typical positioning and top collocates. While not commonly heading a primary phrase itself, *riots* does seem to occur most frequently in a nonprimary phrase right next to a primary phrase of a sentence. Rather than being a modifier to a phrase head in such occurrences, *riots* usually is the phrase head itself. Perhaps this more primary position of *riots* explains the frequency slightly above *riot* that it displays in both COCA and the NOW Corpus. News media may prefer a more primary term rather than a somewhat tangential alternative. Beyond this substantial difference in positioning from *riot*, *riots* has a distinct set of top collocates. Whereas *police*, *officers*, and (to a lesser extent) *gear* all connect *riot* to law enforcement, the collocates *after* and *during* only seem to specify some time period in which the event referred to as *riots* occurred. Rather than linking some inherent negative connotation to *riots*, these collocates seem almost completely neutral. The third and final top collocate for *riots*, however, introduces a rather compelling connection for the present study. The combination of *race* and *riots* here, usually as a means of referring to a specific class of riots with the expression *race riots*, implies that at least some riots do involve a clear racial component. Whether in a manner that ties some hypothetical instance of conflict to race or with an implication that the perpetrators of a conflict had motivations tied to racial identity, this racial component conveyed by the construction *race riots* links conflict and race in just two words. Based on top collocates for protest, no equally close connection regularly appears with the term *protest*. Considering the presence of *race* associated with *riots* but not *protests*, it would seem possible that instances of conflict involving some racial component are more frequently referred to as *riots* than such conflict without any racial connection.

Table 4.7: Frequencies of rioters' Co-Occurrences with Top Collocates

| Collocate of rioters | Frequency in COCA | Frequency in NOW | Common Position of rioters within Clause | Example of Position |
|----------------------|-------------------|------------------|--|---|
| Police | 4 | 16 | Subject/Object; Co-Subject/Co-Object | “police detained 28 rioters”; “caught between police and rioters...” |
| Attacked | 5 | 8 | Subject (sometimes passive) | “rioters attacked...”; “firefighters attacked by rioters...” |
| Burned | 6 | 7 | Subject | “rioters burned government offices...” |

As noted in Table 4.1, *rioters* stands out notably from all five of the other terms in how infrequently it occurs. When observing top collocates, the other terms typically have at least (if not well over) 100 co-occurrences with a top collocate. *Rioters'* top collocate of *police*, meanwhile, co-occurs with the word only four times in COCA and 16 times in the NOW Corpus. Within the few uses that it does have, though, *rioters* does seem somewhat separate from both *riot* and *riots*. Differences in the terms may appear most accentuated in their positions. Unlike both *riot* and *riots*, which most commonly appear outside of the primary phrases of a sentence, *rioters* seems to occur most frequently as the head of a primary phrase in either subject or object position. As such, *rioters* appears to be quite essential to the core message of sentences in which it occurs. When considering the collocates of *rioters*, it does share a top collocate of *police* with *riot*. However, the other two top collocates of *rioters*, *attacked* and *burned*, seem somewhat removed from the sense of criminality found in *riot's* top collocates. Rather, these collocates seem to recognize some aspect of violence, an attribute associated with traditional definitions of

riot. *Rioters*, then, may actually be closer to traditional definitions of *riot* in its limited use than the term *riot* itself.

The collocation data presented in sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3 suggest that the three *protest* terms and three *riot* terms do have some differences in their patterning; however, these differences do not seem restricted to the way in which each term is defined. *Protest*, *protests* and *protesters* seem to occur frequently in primary positions to the core message of a sentence. In considering the collocates with which each term co-occurs, though, *protest* and *protests* remains closer to traditional definitions of the term (despite a little difference in just how that definition is to be interpreted) while *protesters* takes on a bit of a broader application. *Riot*, meanwhile, typically occurs in a nonprimary phrase of another nonprimary phrase, and it seems to adopt a new sense of criminality rather than one associated with violence and disorder. *Riots*, meanwhile, seems a bit closer the core message of sentences in which it occurs but does not generally occur with the same sense of criminality as *riot*. Though *rioters* does occur much less frequently than any other term and is less accurately represented as a result, it actually seems to depart from *riot* and *riots* in that it typically occurs right in a primary phrase of a sentence and reflects an aspect of traditional definitions associated with *riot* by co-occurring with collocates that convey some sense of violence. Overall, occurrences of *protest* would seem more primary in a sentence and consistent with traditional definitions, while occurrences of *riot* remain somewhat more obscure in sentences and distant from traditional definitions.

4.2: A Survey of News Articles

Unlike the previous section's findings associated with occurrences of *protest* and *riot* in COCA and the NOW Corpus, those related to the implications that uses of both *protest* and *riot* may have due to contextual characteristics linked to each use seem somewhat less clear.

When looking at whole news articles, *protest* seems to be associated with a variety of circumstances. As noted within findings related to occurrences of *protest*, the word seems to most frequently occur in the subject or object position or as an immediate complement or adjunct to the subject or object. However, occurrences of *protest* still seem to be accompanied by rather unspecific subjects. For example, two statements that particularly associate the term *protest* with peace read “hundreds gathered in peaceful protests in several locations around the city” (Peters, Kesling, & Delvin 2014) and “several people held signs that said "Stop the war," protesting peacefully, the rising chaos surrounded them” (Stolberg 2015). While each of these sentences does identify a group that participates in the conflict labeled with the term *protest*, the subjects *hundreds* and *several people* do not provide any real demographic information about those involved within the conflict. As such, a sentence-level analysis alone would likely miss some connections of other factors with occurrences of *protest*. Looking at full articles makes identifying the demographics of those involved in an instance of conflict somewhat easier, but it does not really help to clarify any associations of these characteristics specifically with the term *protest*. In a selection of articles that review American conflicts within the past three years, occurrences of *protest* outnumber those of *riot* by approximately 5:1, a substantially higher ratio than that displayed in frequencies of each word’s co-occurrences with top collocates. In such occurrences, the word *protest* seemed to apply to a number of instances ranging from conflict fueled by diverse crowds in response to support rallies for Trump in California (Rafferty & Helsel 2016; Vitali 2016; Vives, Pearce, & Hamilton 2016) to conflict generated primarily by African American communities reacting to police brutality in Ferguson, Missouri (Bosman & Blinder 2014; Peters, Kesling, and Delvin 2014), Baltimore, Maryland (Calvert & Maher 2015; Stolberg 2015), Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Eligon 2016), and Charlotte, North Carolina (Bauerlein

& McWhirter 2016; Blinder 2016; Fausset & Blinder 2016). With such a diversity in possible associations, *protest* seems neutral in that its occurrence does not signal the presence or participation of any one group instigating conflict.

Uses of *riot* within individual news articles present a similar scenario. As with those of *protest*, uses of *riot* in phrases and sentences are comparable to those explored as findings related to occurrences. Again, such occurrences do not reveal any sentence level associations. In sentences such as “a line of officers clad in riot gear and mounted on horseback slowly pushed the crowd down the street” (Vives, Pearce, & Hamilton 2016) and “Demonstrators clashed with police officers in riot gear late Tuesday in Charlotte, N.C.” (Blinder 2016), descriptions of the protest instigators, such as *the crowd* and *demonstrators*, do very little to identify any group associated with the conflict covered in the article. Despite the similarities of *riot* to *protest* in terms of associations thus far, a consideration of *riot* with an article-level context in mind may prove more productive than the equivalent produced for *protest*. Unlike *protest*, *riot* occurs fewer times within articles related to American conflicts in the past three years. Consequently, *riot* does not occur throughout every article examined for this overview as *protest* did. Upon considering occurrences of the word *riot* within the selected articles, it would appear that *riot* occurs more frequently within articles related to conflict generated by the African American community in Baltimore, Maryland (Calvert & Maher 2015; Stolberg 2015) than in any other set of articles related to a specific instance of conflict (such uses of the word *riot* or a similar variant account for approximately 60% of the uses observed within the collected sample of news articles). Here, the desirable conclusion would be that *riot*'s use is more associated with conflict involving African American participants than with conflict among or between any other groups. However, such an assertion would fail to address two other factors of *riot*'s occurrences within news

articles. First, while *riot* does appear somewhat frequently in articles related to the conflict in Baltimore, Maryland, the term does not occur with a particularly high frequency in articles discussing conflict in Ferguson, Missouri, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, or Charlotte, North Carolina, three other instances of conflict that involved a notable participation of each city's African American community. Second, a specific association of *riot* with African American instigators cannot explain the use of the word *riot* to refer to older events of conflict involving White perpetrators, such as the 1906 race riot in Atlanta, Georgia (Dewan 2006) and the 1921 race riots in Tulsa, Oklahoma (Sulzberger 2011; Yardley 2000). Although these two situations definitely present a counterargument to any definitive connection between the term *riot* and conflicts involving African Americans, the generally high preference of the term in articles related to conflict in Baltimore, Maryland does seem to indicate that certain modern conflicts involving African Americans can be more easily associated with the term *riot* than other varieties of conflict. Perhaps another quality of such conflicts contributes to a preference of the term *riot*.

As noted at the beginning of this section, findings related to characteristics associated with *protest* and *riot* are less definite than those related to occurrences of each term. Since it can occur within a variety of sentence-level and article-level contexts, *protest* seems somewhat neutral in that it does not have any particular associations with other characteristics. While *riot* does mirror this quality with regards to sentence-level context, the specific use of *riot* in the context of describing conflict that occurred in Baltimore, Maryland seems to potentially reveal a connection of the term *riot* with certain conflicts that involve African American participants. However, any claim of such an association is, at this point, preliminary and requires some additional investigation of the specific circumstances.

4.3: Discussion

Through an analysis of occurrences and associations, these results warrant some initial conclusions regarding variation between *protest* and *riot* in contemporary news media. An investigation of corpus data has indicated that *protest* and *riot* differ in their use; however, differences in occurrences of the two terms do not seem to precisely match traditional meanings of the two terms. *Protest* does not occur exclusively in descriptions of organized conflicts in reaction to a clear cause, and *riot* is not restricted to descriptions of violent and disorderly conflicts. Rather, *protest* seems to occur in a more primary role within sentences and in a somewhat diverse set of contexts while *riot* is more associated with nonprimary positions and specific patterns of use. While nonprimary positions can become important to the core meaning of a sentence via topicalization (for example, *during the riot, several police officers were injured* emphasizes the importance of the time frame listed in the nonprimary phrase *during the riot* by fronting it), the common positioning of *riot* in phrases such as *police in riot gear* indicates that *riot* typically carries a peripheral rather than core meaning when it occurs. Evaluation of news articles containing uses of *protest* and *riot* led to further differentiation of the two terms based on the associations that each term has. As may seem somewhat apparent from its more flexible use, *protest* is the more neutral term in that it is not associated with any particular characteristics of a conflict and can collocate notably with both *peaceful* and *violent*. *Riot*, meanwhile, had a specific connection in its use with articles that described conflict within the African American community in Baltimore, Maryland. While this connection combined with the connection of *race* and *riots* through collocation may suggest some association of *riot* with conflict involving recognition of African Americans as participants, the lack of *riot* in articles describing other conflicts with African American participants and the use of *race riots* in depicting conflicts with

White participants (typically acting against an African American community) as well as ones with African American participants call for further investigation of the question. Since these findings could only motivate a loose connection of the term *riot* to participation of African Americans, they cannot yet support any claims about racial discrimination in contemporary news media comparable to those that Pager (2003) presents regarding the action in the job market.

With the overview of *protest* and *riot* presented here, the present study has developed some reasonable expectations for answers to each of the study's two research questions. In considering (Q1), a question of how *protest* and *riot* occur within news media, the preliminary answer here generally aligns with (H1): *protest* and *riot* seem to occur under different circumstances within news media, but these differences are just as frequently a result of word positioning or connotations implied via collocation as they are a matter of definitions. Any substantial evaluation of (Q2), a question concerning some racial connection with the variation in *protest* and *riot*, however, seems more difficult at this point. The link of *race* and *riots* through collocation and the higher prevalence of the term *riot* in articles discussing conflict carried out by members of an African American community in Baltimore, Maryland may begin to indicate that such a connection exists, but the presence of data for both points that could support the absence of any connection combined with several limitations in this overview, including a relatively small sample size and a vague sampling method for data from linguistic corpora, caution against forming any strong conclusions here. The next chapter, one that focuses on comparing variation in *protest* and *riot* within one racially-associated instance of conflict and instance of conflict that does not involve any clear racial designations, may especially help in more fully addressing this second question.

CHAPTER 5

A STUDY OF *PROTEST* AND *RIOT* IN SPECIFIC CONFLICTS

As the overview presented in Chapter 4 generally presented the manner in which *protest* and *riot* most commonly appear within news media, the investigation of *protest* and *riot* in articles covering two particular conflicts contains a somewhat different focus. First, unlike the previous focus on single, unconnected uses of both *protest* and *riot*, this inquiry considers the time within the history of an events coverage in which certain uses of each term occur. The results here, then, offer a more dynamic picture of *protest* and *riot* undergoing changes in their use by news media as the time following the conflict following a conflict event progresses. Second, this inquiry attempts to test the differences that occur in the use of each term when racial identity is a factor in the conflict. While the two conflicts used for this particular study, that in Ferguson as a reaction to the shooting of Michael Brown in 2014 and that in New York City as a general response to the unequal distribution of wealth in 2011, are certainly not identical in terms of the way in which they both started and progressed, both did have a significant part in leading to larger movements following the initial conflict (the “Black Lives Matter” Movement and the “Occupy” Movement, respectively). This similarity in the development of a movement associated with both conflicts and the degree of opposition between participants and police in descriptions of each conflict (as discussed in Chapter 3) serve as commonalities that make the two reasonable to compare.

This chapter will begin by discussing *protest* and *riot* uses associated with the Ferguson conflict before proceeding to examine such uses linked to the ‘Occupy Wall Street’ conflict.

After both events are evaluated, a discussion will discuss the implications of the findings with regards to the two points of interest mentioned in this brief introduction.

5.1: *protest* and *riot* in Articles on Ferguson Conflict

As may seem particularly apparent by its association to the “Black Lives Matter” Movement, Ferguson serves as the conflict that is notably associated with racial identity. While the racial identity present in the conflict does not mean that the participants exclusively belong to one race, many factors associated with the conflict, such as the conflict event, the area in which the conflict took place, and the primary goals of the conflict, specifically involve the lives of African Americans. The presence of these factors ultimately connects an African American identity with the Ferguson conflict.

The collection of news articles used to observe the occurrences of *protest* and *riot* related to the conflict consists of 341 articles from newspapers located in the United States. Together, this collection has 285,603 words made up from 12,181 word types. A distribution of word frequencies appears below in Figure 5.1:

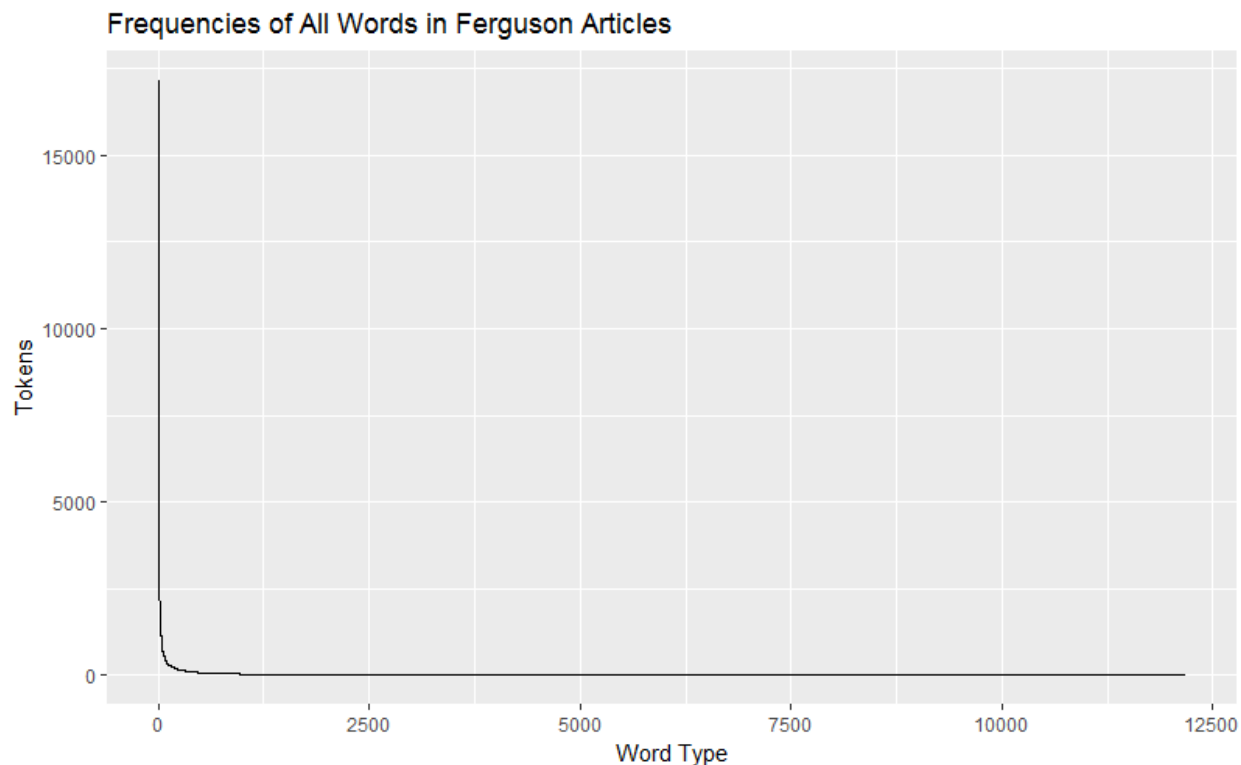


Figure 5.1: Frequencies of all words in the Ferguson articles

Matching Kretzschmar’s (2009, 2015) arguments regarding the distribution of language as part of a complex system, figure 5.1 reveals that all the words within the data form an asymptotic hyperbolic curve (commonly abbreviated as an A-curve). In this distribution, a small number of word types account for a majority of tokens present, and a large number of tokens account for only a small number of word types. Typically, this ratio of types and tokens follows an “80/20 rule,” where 20% of word types account for approximately 80% of all word tokens, and 80% of word types account for approximately 20% of word tokens (Kretzschmar 2015: 84-86).

Within this distribution, *protest* and *riot* typically occur rather frequently among all word types. In particular, *protest*, *protests*, *protesters*, *riot*, and *riots* are all within the top 5% of most frequently occurring word types. *Rioters*, while less frequent than the other five variants of *protest* and *riot* listed, still occurs within the top 15% of all word types. In general, these

frequencies indicate that *protest* and *riot*, while not necessarily the most frequent words within the collection of articles, do fall within the small portion of word types that account for a majority of word tokens. These frequencies of *protest* and *riot* are not particularly surprising; however, they remain noteworthy in their confirmation that the selected collection of articles related to the Ferguson conflict does use the terms *protest* and *riot* to discuss the event.

To more specifically consider how the ways in which news articles related to the Ferguson conflict change their uses of *protest* and *riot*, the following sections will consider data from a collection of articles that relates only to a specific time period of the conflict's coverage.

5.1.1: The First Week of News Coverage

Articles within the first week following the actual shooting of Michael Brown generally cover the events immediately following the shooting as they occurred. The table pictured below provides data related to the use of *protest* and *riot* in describing these events:

Table 5.1: Data from articles within one week of the shooting

| Word | Frequency | Occurrence per 10,000 Words | Top Collocate | Primary Position | Other Noted Positions |
|------------|-----------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| protest | 60 | 8.21 | police (9); peaceful (7) | NP head | VP head; Adjectival modifier to NP head |
| protests | 134 | 18.34 | peaceful (37) | NP head | N/A |
| protesters | 239 | 32.71 | police (55) | NP head | Possessive modifier to NP head |
| Riot | 58 | 7.94 | gear (32) | Adjectival modifier to NP head | Intensifier to adjective (riot ready); NP head; VP head |
| Riots | 17 | 2.33 | worth, week, looting, disturbance (3) | NP head | N/A |
| Rioters | 6 | 0.82 | after (3) | NP head | N/A |

The data captured from articles produced within this first week have both similarities and differences in comparison to the data from two larger linguistic corpora presented in Chapter 4.

Considering frequencies of words first, the data do mirror those presented in larger linguistic corpora in that variants of *protest* outnumber variants of *riot*. Upon closer inspection, though, some frequencies differ quite substantially from those in the larger corpora. *Protest*, while the most frequent out of the six terms in both COCA and NOW, occurs here at a substantially lower frequency than both *protests* and *protesters*. *Protesters*, meanwhile, occurs substantially more frequently than both *protest* and *protests*. The departure of these data from those in larger linguistic corpora may be a result of having news sources that are covering recent or developing events. Rather than just labeling these instances of conflict with a single term (such as *the protest* or *the protests*), these news articles typically describe the conflict as it occurred or was occurring. In such depictions of the event, these articles may favor full passages in which *protesters* perform certain actions over a brief sentence that condenses all such actions into either the term *protest* or the term *protests*. For example, the statement “a small group of protesters chanted ‘No justice, no peace’ in the parking lot of the QuikTrip gas station” (Glawe 2014b) provides more description of an ongoing conflict than would one that simply notes a protest occurred in that location. Beyond serving as a term to refer specifically to actors within a certain instance of conflict, *protesters* within this set of articles seems nearly synonymous with any group of people gathered in a conflict. One such example of *protesters* in this role appears in the following statement: “...he sat in a police SUV late Thursday, taking questions from protesters and hearing their demands...” (Glawe 2014a). Here, *protesters* simply recognizes a group of people present to ask questions, not one to engage in more noteworthy activities. In this sense, the people described by the term *protesters* do not have any particularly emphasized

agency in the event of conflict; they are simply people discussed collectively rather than individually.

When considering the remaining conflict terms, *riot* in particular seems to have a somewhat higher frequency than may be expected based on the data from COCA and NOW. The increase in frequency here again seems tied to the timing of these articles following the conflict event. With descriptive accounts of the conflict detailing both the actors in the conflict and the police who attempted to contain the conflict, *police in riot gear* could easily arise as a concise way to depict heavily-armored police officers involved in the conflict. One such description specifically recognizes participants in the conflict and police in opposition to one another: “days of confrontations between demonstrators and the police in riot gear and military-style vehicles” (Vega, Williams, & Eckholm 2014). With *riot gear* in such a phrase seeming to be part of what police use to handle participants in instances of conflict, the phrase may imply that police officers treated the instances of conflict mentioned similarly to conflict that would be recognized with the term *riot*. Still, as most uses of *riot* here appear in some construction such as *riot gear*, they are not entirely comparable to the many occurrences of *protest* in this time period that reference an event rather than some descriptive quality. Overall, the frequencies included here are generally reminiscent of those found in larger linguistic corpora, but the origin of these data from articles describing conflict as it is occurring seem to have resulted in some notable differences from the larger corpora.

Data related to collocates may be a little more questionable than those on frequencies. When working with a subset of articles from what is already a small corpus, the frequencies of co-occurrence between a node word and its collocates can become quite low rather quickly. In the event that co-occurrences drop below 10, they may become particularly unreliable as it is

easier for them (the co-occurrences) to appear only in a couple articles that use the co-occurrence several times. Still, if the co-occurrences are confirmed to originate from several separate articles, the co-occurrences may still have some value in describing node word tendencies within the corpus (William A. Kretzschmar, personal communication, February 24, 2017).

Again, the collocate data presented in Table 5.1 have some similarities and differences with respect to data presented in the previous chapter. The *protest* terms still have a connection to *peaceful* via *protests*' top collocation, but the top collocate of the other two terms, *police*, was not anticipated. While collocate data presented in Chapter 4 does show *police* as the top collocate for *protesters* (possibly due to a particular dynamic of *protesters* and *police* being in opposition to one another), *police* is not even one of the top collocates for the term *protest* in data from the larger corpora. Once again, the time period of the articles used here may explain this collocation. As the conflict event for Ferguson featured a White police officer shooting a Black man, much of the conflict at the time seemed to be described as opposition to police brutality in particular. With *protest* being used both to describe single rather than a series of events and as a verb in some cases, *protest* seems linked to *police* in that the people of Ferguson would “protest police tactics” (New Tack on Unrest Eases Tension in Missouri). However, as a few noted co-occurrences of *protest* and *police* seem to present a faulty collocation (in that the two words actually occur in separate sentences), *protest*'s second and much more predictable top collocate, *peaceful*, has also been included. Among the *riot* terms, the only notable collocation seems to be *riot*'s connection with *gear*, one that was also clearly attested in the data from larger corpora. In another similarity with data from the larger corpora, this connection distinguishes *riot* from all the other terms in that it is still most likely to be used as a modifier rather than a primary phrase head. The other two *riot* terms, *riots* and *rioters*, do each have collocates listed in Table 5.1.

However, the low frequencies of co-occurrence noted here make such collocations seem particularly weak at this point. Collocates for these terms may become worthy of further consideration if repeated in subsequent data sets.

5.1.2: *Between One Week and One Month Following the Shooting*

Since active instances of conflict seemed to receive regular coverage for approximately the first two weeks following the shooting of Michael Brown, some articles within this collection mirror those present for the first week of coverage. After this initial coverage, however, many articles were less focused on actively occurring conflicts in Ferguson and more concerned with the state of Ferguson and the investigation of the police shooting. As a result, the whole data set in this section reveals some topical differences from the collection of articles detailing the first week following the original conflict event.

Table 5.2: Data from articles written one week to one month following the shooting

| Word | Frequency | Occurrence per 10,000 Words | Top Collocate | Primary Position | Other Noted Positions |
|------------|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| Protest | 109 | 9.87 | people (13); peaceful (11) | NP head; VP head; Adjectival modifier to NP head | N/A |
| protests | 197 | 17.84 | Ferguson (31); police (27) | NP head | N/A |
| protesters | 372 | 33.69 | police (82) | NP head | N/A |
| Riot | 39 | 3.53 | gear (23) | Adjectival modifier to NP head | Intensifier to adjective (riot read); NP head; VP head |
| Riots | 21 | 1.9 | Los, looting, during, Angeles (3) | NP head | N/A |
| Rioters | 8 | 0.72 | officers (3) | NP head | N/A |

In general, the data listed in Table 5.2 are not all that different from those presented in Table 5.1. Still, a few of the small changes here are worth mentioning. While word frequencies for the three *protest* terms still hold the same ranks (with *protesters* occurring most frequently and *protest* occurring less frequently), *protest* and *protesters* have slightly increased in their rates of occurrence while *protests* has slightly declined. Though this small rate change does not raise any major questions at this point, the change may become noteworthy if it continues throughout subsequent time periods. The most notable frequency variation among all six terms seems to be with the word *riot*, which decreased from occurring at a rate of 7.94 per 10,000 words to occurring at a rate of 3.53 per 10,000 words. This decline in frequency may best represent the shift in focus away from active conflicts. As articles seem to become less concerned with depicting individual instances of conflict, the description *police in riot gear* is less important to the story of the article. Since the majority of *riot*'s occurrences are attested within a structure similar to the aforementioned one, *riot* in constructions such as *riot gear* may have become a less applicable term for this collection of articles because it cannot reference past conflict alone. Collocations may yield somewhat more noteworthy differences from those found within the first week of coverage. Beginning with the three *protest* terms, both *protest* and *protests* appear to have new prominent collocates. For *protest*, the term *people* seems to connect individuals to a certain area in which the conflict occurred. One such connection of *protest* and *people* discusses arrests: "The quietest night was overnight Wednesday and Thursday, when police arrested only a handful of people in the protest zone" (The Associated Press 2014). Here, *people in the protest zone* may serve as an alternative to *protesters* that give participants in conflict a simple identity (*people*) that extends beyond the conflict itself. In some respects, the use of *protest* in this manner seems somewhat unexpected. Many other situations seem to discuss the people involved

in an instance of conflict as *protesters*; these articles, however, seem to recognize these individuals associated with the conflict as somewhat different from *protesters*. If apparent within subsequent data sets, this distinction may call for some further consideration. *Protests*, meanwhile, now has *Ferguson* as a top collocate. Many uses of this collocation signal the formation of a new title, *Ferguson protests*, to refer to the conflict that immediately followed the shooting of Michael Brown (Barry 2014; Cole 2014; Davey & Vega 2014; Golgowski, Wagner, & Seimaszko 2014; La Ganga & Susman 2014; Robertson 2014; St. Louis Post-Dispatch 2014; Ware 2014). This collocation, then, seems to indicate that the conflict in Ferguson is more commonly identified as a *protest* rather than a *riot* within the time frame during which these articles were released. Still, some connection of the conflict to the term *riot* cannot be denied. Although the co-occurrence frequencies for collocates with *riots* is still quite low, the presence of both *Los* and *Angeles* as collocates here is worth mentioning. Upon observing all uses of *riots* within the current data set, a number of occurrences reference another event of conflict, such as the 1992 Los Angeles or Rodney King Riots (Dolan, Shallwani, & Kesling 2014; La Ganga & Susman 2014), the 1999 World Trade Organization Riots (La Ganga & Susman 2014), and the 1967 Detroit Riots (Alcindor, Copeland, & Hampson 2014). While such occurrences do not actually label the conflict in Ferguson as *riots*, the connection of these *riots* with conflicts in Ferguson suggests that the events in Ferguson contain some quality that can be represented with the term *riot*. Although the sense of *protest* may be most commonly linked to Ferguson during this time period, some aspects of *riot* do not seem completely removed from the instances of conflict.

5.1.3: Between One Month and Three Months Following the Shooting

News coverage from one month to three months following the shooting saw a slightly unexpected return to focusing on instances of conflict that occurred periodically throughout the time period. While this conflict typically seemed to start because of some new action, such as the destruction of a memorial for Michael Brown (Anonymous 2014; Berman 2014; Jonsson 2014), most appeared to be connected back to the original conflict event in the way that news media discussed them. Aside from these new instances of conflict, news articles would occasionally provide updates on the developing grand jury review of the original conflict event and cover changes to the ways in which the local police handled ongoing instances of conflict. These additional topics seem to have produced a set of articles that, while still quite focused on active conflict, has some range beyond such conflict.

Table 5.3: Data from articles written one month to three months following the shooting

| Word | Frequency | Occurrence per 10,000 Words | Top Collocate | Primary Position | Other Noted Positions |
|------------|-----------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--|---|
| Protest | 104 | 15.65 | Police (11) | NP head; VP head; Adjectival modifier to NP head | N/A |
| protests | 209 | 31.45 | Ferguson (45); police (21) | NP head | N/A |
| protesters | 269 | 40.48 | Police (56) | NP head | Possessive modifier to NP head |
| Riot | 39 | 5.87 | Gear (30) | Adjectival modifier to NP head | Intensifier to adjective (riot ready); NP head; VP head |
| Riots | 9 | 1.35 | Police (4) | NP head | N/A |
| Rioters | 1 | 0.15 | N/A | NP head | N/A |

The data in Table 5.3 present further evidence of trends identified in tables 5.1 and 5.2. The rate of occurrence for *protest* and *protesters* has again increased, and, as would seem appropriate in a set of data focused on more active instances of conflict, the rate of occurrence for *riot* is higher here than in the set of articles covering one week to one month after the event. Collocations also seem to generally mirror patterns in the previous two data sets, with *police* serving as a prominent collocate for all three protest terms and *gear* again appearing as the top collocate for *riot*. Still, a few points of data in Table 5.3 do not conform to previously recognized patterns. In one such departure, *protests* actually increases rather than decreases in its rate of occurrence despite the articles' general return to active conflicts as a primary purpose. This increase may be at least partially attributed to increase in co-occurrences of *protests* and its top collocate, *Ferguson*. Although these articles may have returned to describing new, current instances of conflict rather than just those that occurred in the past, an established label for the conflict in Ferguson, the *Ferguson protests*, is still a prevalent term in discussing any conflict that directly followed the original conflict event. *Riots*, while not as clearly represented through a decreased frequency and a single top collocate *police*, has also undergone some change in use as additional time has passed. In this set of articles, the references back to previous events that have been called *riots* are gone; now, most articles that use the term *riots* refer back to the conflict immediately following the shooting of Michael Brown (Bosman & Davey 2014; Byers 2014a, 2014b; Hennessy-Fiske & Pearce 2014; Muskal 2014). While the connection of the conflict in Ferguson to the term *riot* may be less frequent in this set of articles than in those written one week to one month after the shooting, the link between the two is more direct here.

5.1.4: Between Three Months and One Year Following the Shooting

The Ferguson conflict becomes rather difficult to evaluate when examining articles written just over three months following the shooting of Michael Brown. During this time, the grand jury considering the shooting decided not to indict the police officer accused in the case. This lack of an indictment then led to a second conflict that was more a response to a new conflict event (the grand jury decision) than the original (the shooting). As this conflict may have been described differently from that in response to the original shooting, this inquiry has attempted not to include articles focused on the conflict following the grand jury decision. This choice, however, provided a somewhat restricted picture of the first few months of this time period. Later portions of the period, meanwhile, less frequently described Ferguson as the primary conflicts in the area became increasingly distant. With both of these factors combined, the set of articles from this time period is smaller than the set for any other time period despite its coverage of a larger portion of time. Still, the data included within this set of articles offer several important findings regarding coverage of the Ferguson conflict as a past event.

Table 5.4: Data from articles written three months to one year following the shooting

| Word | Frequency | Occurrence per 10,000 Words | Top Collocate | Primary Position | Other Noted Positions |
|------------|-----------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Protest | 21 | 5.88 | groups (5) | Adjectival Modifier to NP Head | NP Head; VP Head |
| protests | 110 | 30.82 | Ferguson (16); police (15) | NP Head | N/A |
| protesters | 65 | 18.21 | police (21) | NP Head | Possessive Modifier to NP Head |
| Riot | 17 | 4.76 | gear (11) | Adjectival Modifier to NP Head | NP Head |
| Riots | 20 | 5.6 | police (5) | NP Head | N/A |
| Rioters | 2 | 0.56 | N/A | NP Head | N/A |

The data presented in Table 5.4 are quite different from those in previous tables. While rates of occurrence for both *protest* and *protesters* only increased between tables 5.1 and 5.3, both terms saw a rather sharp decline with the data displayed in Table 5.4. While the rate of occurrence for the third *protest* term, *protest*, did not increase in this time period, it did not see a decline nearly as severe as either *protest* or *protesters*. Perhaps this relatively high prevalence of *protests* is the result of its connection with *Ferguson*. Since most articles within this time period refer back to the past conflict that had occurred in Ferguson, they may be more likely to use the label *Ferguson protests* to refer to the whole period of conflict rather than either *protest* to address a single instance of conflict or *protesters* to describe those acting within a recent or ongoing conflict. In that sense, *protests* has become the term that names the past conflict in Ferguson while *protest* and *protesters* were more popular in describing present events. One other interesting point to note with *protest* terms in this data set is the shift of *protest* from primarily occurring as a phrase head to primarily occurring as a modifier. In this data set, *protest* seems more likely to occur in constructions such as *protest groups* (Lowery 2014; Salter 2014; The Associated Press 2015) and *protest leaders* (Somashkhar 2014) than as a noun recognizing an event. However, unlike *riot* in the construction *riot gear*, this patterning of *protest* typically involves the term modifying one that matches its (the term's) definitional qualities of organization and opposition. As such, *protest's* use as a modifier is not quite as surprising as *riot's* occurrence in the same position. When considering the three *riot* terms, a change in the rate of occurrence for *riots* is particularly intriguing. While the rate of occurrence for *protests* just stayed similar to what it had been in the previous time periods in order to become the most frequently-occurring of the *protest* terms, *riots* increased substantially in its rate of occurrence from any previous set of articles. A couple uses of *riots* within this data set do reference the

Baltimore Riots that began in April 2015 (Krishnamurthy 2015; Lieb 2015), but most occurrences are in discussing the conflict in Ferguson that immediately followed the shooting of Michael Brown (Anonymous 2015; Dolan 2015; McDermott 2015; Nakamura & Lowery 2015; Paulson 2014; Ramadan 2015; Somashekhar 2014). When looking at the conflict as a past event, then, *riots* seems to have become more prominent in generally describing an event than *riot* in its more descriptive construction of *riot gear*. Overall, when looking at these data that refer primarily to the conflict in Ferguson as a past event, *Ferguson protests* is the predominant name for the conflict; still, the suggest that *riots* did happen within this period of conflict recognized as *protests*.

5.1.5: Summary of News Coverage for Ferguson

The data considered in this investigation of Ferguson provide some responses to the two major points of interest within this chapter. These points are especially apparent in changes to the rate of occurrence for each term over time. Figure 5.2 (below) visually displays such changes:

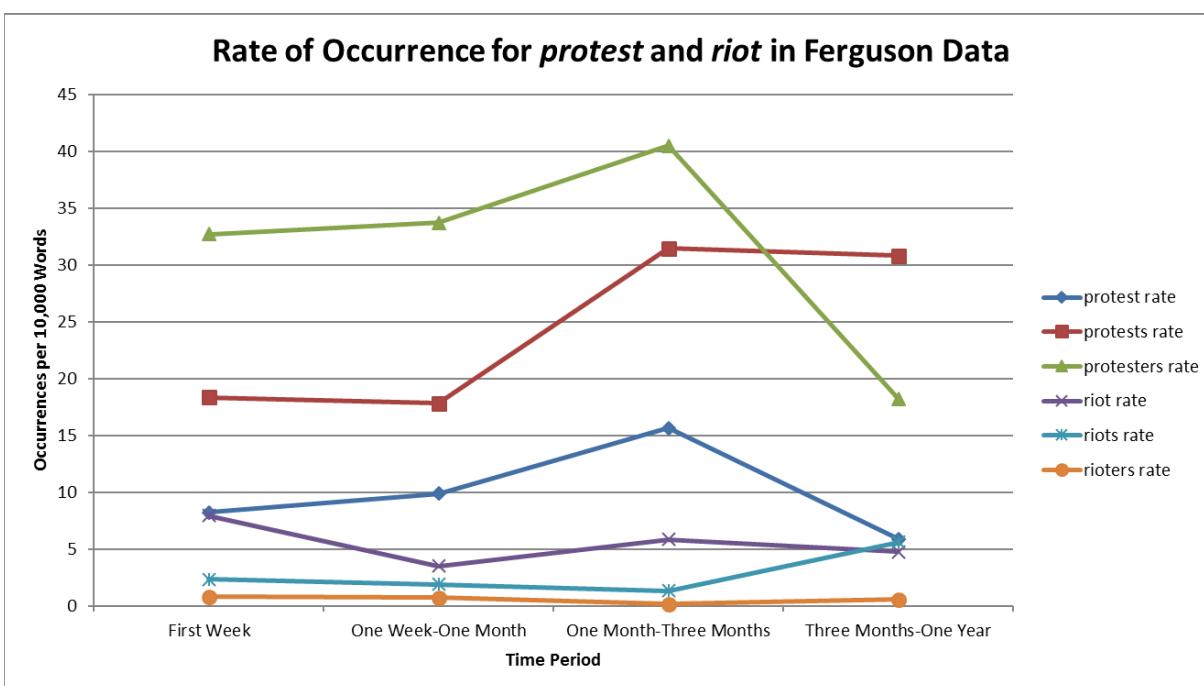


Figure 5.2: Rate of Occurrence for protest and riot in the Ferguson Articles

In considering Figure 5.2, the changes that *protest* and *riot* undergo while conflict is still ongoing are often subtle. Frequencies and rates of occurrence may change slightly from one period to the next, but the general patterns of use for each term are fairly consistent. When the news coverage of a conflict transitions from describing an ongoing situation to discussing a past event, however, changes can become more dramatic. More specifically, terms that depict single instances of conflict or actors in that conflict become less popular while terms that can label a whole period of conflict become increasingly prominent. Turning towards any insights regarding the prevalence of *riot* in an event that has clear connections to a particular racial identity, it would seem that *riot*, while certainly not attested as prevalently as *protest* throughout all news coverage and often found in a descriptive construction rather than a direct reference to an event, is still present to a limited extent in describing active conflict and becomes slightly more apparent in discussing the conflict in Ferguson as a past event. Based on these findings, the conclusion is not that *riot* overshadows *protest* in any conflict that has ties to a racial identity; rather, it is simply that *riot* occurs right alongside *protest* to frame the conflict differently than the term *protest* alone would. An evaluation of news coverage related to the 2011 conflict in New York City should reveal if this same sense of *riot* still appears in an instance of conflict that has no clear link to racial identity.

5.2: *protest* and *riot* in articles on ‘Occupy Wall Street’ (‘OWS’) in New York City

Unlike that in Ferguson, the ‘Occupy Wall Street’ conflict did not seem to arise as a reaction to any single conflict event. Instead, this conflict originated with a general frustration over the income inequality present in the contemporary United States. While socioeconomic status does have some connection to race, this connection did not seem to have any strong presence among participants in the conflict. These participants identified a group of major

business leaders and other social elites as the “1%” who control the majority of wealth in the United States and who the participants opposed. The participants, on the other hand, typically characterized themselves as forming the “99%” who split the remaining minority of wealth. Though some segments may have included racial distinctions, the conflict as a whole consistently kept this singular economic focus (Dominguez 2011; Moynihan 2012; Noveck 2011).

Since ‘Occupy Wall Street’ quickly expanded beyond New York City, articles that pertained just to conflict within that one location proved somewhat more difficult to find than articles related to conflict in Ferguson. Many newspapers chose to cover all major national and international instances of conflict combined as ‘Occupy Wall Street,’ and others focused specifically on their local branch of ‘Occupy.’ Still, several newspapers within New York City and a number located elsewhere in the United States would cover major progressions related specifically to conflict in New York City. In total, the collection used for this evaluation of conflict in New York City consisted of 238 Articles and 156,635 words among 10,954 possible word types. A frequency distribution of all words from these articles appears below:

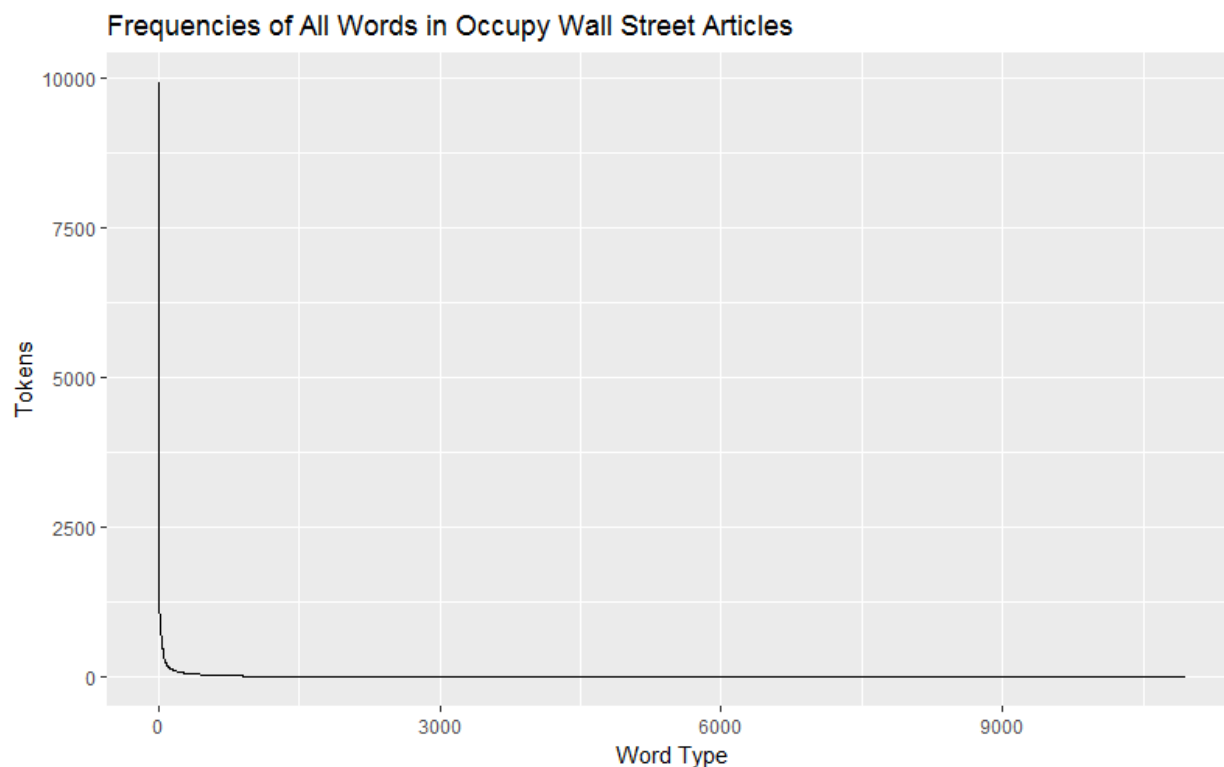


Figure 5.3: Frequencies of all words in the ‘OWS’ articles

In shape alone, the data from this collection form a curve that is almost identical to the one created by data from articles on the conflict in Ferguson. Such a match is not particularly unexpected, as this shape basically indicates that, like the collection of data from the Ferguson articles and like many other linguistic corpora, this collection of articles on ‘OWS’ in New York City contains only a few word types with a large number of tokens and a large number of word types with only a few tokens (Kretzschmar 2009, 2015). The prevalence of the three *protest* terms and corresponding *riot* terms, however, does partially differ from the Ferguson collection. While *protest*, *protests*, and *protesters* all occur within the top 5% of most frequently occurring word types (in fact, these three terms are all within the top 1% in this collection), *riot*, *riots*, and *rioters* all fall below this high frequency level. *Riot* and *Riots* still occur within the top 10% and top 20%, respectively, of most frequently occurring word types, which allows both terms to fall

within the general category of word types that accounts for the majority of word tokens when using the 80/20 rule. *Rioters*, however, does not even occur within the top 50% of most frequently-occurring word types. Though data both from larger linguistic corpora and the Ferguson collection would indicate that *riot*, *riots*, and *rioters* occur less frequently than *protest*, *protests*, and *protesters*, the distribution of the six terms within the data from this collection does show some difference from the relatively high frequencies that all six terms had in the Ferguson collection.

This comparison of whole collections begins to suggest that there is some difference between this collection of news articles on ‘OWS’ conflict and the Ferguson collection, but it cannot recognize any distinctions in the way that articles detailing each set of conflict use both *protest* and *riot* throughout news coverage of the conflict. An evaluation at such a level requires a more specific consideration of *protest* and *riot* within different periods of coverage for ‘OWS.’

5.2.1: One Week Before and One Week After Notable News Coverage Began

As noted in the previous introduction to the ‘OWS’ conflict, this conflict did not suddenly emerge as the result of a single conflict event. Since this conflict was not a reaction to any particular conflict event, news media seemed to be slower in beginning full coverage of the conflict. For this evaluation of the ‘OWS’ conflict, full coverage starts with news media’s general recognition and use of the name ‘Occupy Wall Street’ (for the purposes of this study, that naming will serve as the ‘OWS’ conflict’s original conflict event). Based on this collection of articles, such regular use seemed to begin on September 25, 2011, approximately one week after the conflict first began on September 17, with “80 ‘Occupy Wall Street’ Protesters Arrested” (Gardiner 2011). With neither the set of articles from September 17 to September 25

nor the set from the week following September 25 containing over 10,000 words alone, both sets were combined for the purposes of this evaluation.

The table below contains data concerning the use of *protest* and *riot* within articles covering the ‘OWS’ conflict around the time that notable coverage of the conflict began:

Table 5.5: Data from articles written near the first notable coverage of ‘OWS’

| Word | Frequency | Occurrence per 10,000 Words | Top Collocate | Primary Position | Other Noted Positions |
|------------|-----------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|---|
| protest | 55 | 46.34 | Wall, Street (12); spokesman (6) | NP head | Adjectival modifier to NP head; VP head |
| protests | 25 | 21.06 | during (5) | NP head | N/A |
| protesters | 70 | 58.98 | police (15) | NP head | Possessive modifier to NP head |
| Riot | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| Riots | 4 | 3.37 | Summer, discussing, commanders (2) | NP head | N/A |
| rioters | 1 | 0.84 | N/A | NP head | N/A |

This first time period of coverage for conflict associated with ‘OWS’ does match the data from the first week of Ferguson coverage in that the three *protest* terms occur more frequently than the equivalent *riot* terms. The actual differences in frequencies between the two groups, however, seems more dramatic in the data for the ‘OWS’ Conflict. While both *protest* and *protests* occurred at rates under 20 per 10,000 words in the Ferguson data, both occur at a higher rate in these data. *Protests* is admittedly still close to its rate of 18.34 per 10,000 words in the Ferguson data, but it is also now the least frequent of the three terms (in the Ferguson data, *protest* occupied that position with a rate of 8.21 per 10,000 words). *Protest* and *protesters*, meanwhile, both extend substantially beyond the most frequently occurring term in the Ferguson data, *protesters* (occurring there with a rate of 32.71 per 10,000 words). Even from the beginning

of news coverage for the ‘OWS’ conflict, *protest* seems much more prevalent here than in describing the Ferguson conflict. The less frequent *riot* terms generally appear less commonly in describing the early instances of the ‘OWS’ Conflict as well. *Riot*, the most frequently occurring term of the three in the Ferguson data, is completely absent here. *Riots* and *rioters* both occur at similar rates of occurrence here in comparison to those within the Ferguson data. Aside to one mention of a hypothetical fear that the ‘OWS’ conflict could become riots (Dominguez 2011), occurrences of *riots* and *rioters* reference other conflicts in Egypt (Dominguez 2011) and London (Goldstein 2011; Sanchez 2011). The presence of *riot* within these data, then, seems purely relational to other hypothetical or actual conflicts rather than descriptive of the ‘OWS’ Conflict itself. When considering collocations and positions in the data, most points are similar to those within the Ferguson data. Still, two top collocates are worth noting: *wall* and *street*. While these top two collocates of *protest* are not restricted to one pattern of use, several co-occurrences of the three terms do form one of two names: The *Occupy Wall Street protest* (Anonymous 2011; Ngo 2011a) and the *Wall Street protest* (Paye & Arinde 2011). The formation of these two titles differs from the Ferguson data in two respects. First, the conflict in Ferguson did not seem to have any title when it started to receive news coverage. This delayed formation of a title may have been the pattern for the ‘OWS’ conflict as well. By not recognizing notable coverage of the ‘OWS’ conflict as beginning before news media started to use the name ‘Occupy Wall Street,’ however, the data here could incorrectly present the ‘OWS’ conflict as though it began with a title attached to term *protest*. Second, this early data for the ‘OWS’ conflict features *protest* rather than *protests* in forming a title. Perhaps this preference for the singular form could be a result of news media viewing ‘OWS’ as one collective conflict rather than a series of smaller conflicts that occur as time passes. Still, with the conflict being so new at

the point that news media selected this singular form, it seems entirely possible that *protests* could become the more favored variety as the ‘OWS’ conflict continued for a longer period of time. At that point, news reporters could more reasonably view the ‘OWS’ conflict as a series of many smaller instances of conflict than as just one occurrence of conflict.

5.2.2: *One Week After to One Month After Notable News Coverage Began*

As with the Ferguson conflict, the ‘OWS’ conflict seemed to continue actively for some time beyond the first week of notable coverage. In fact, the ‘OWS’ conflict may have kept its status as consistently ongoing for longer than the Ferguson conflict due to the substantial spread of the conflict to major national and international destinations. Regular coverage of the event on this larger of scale, however, did make it increasingly difficult to find articles related to the ongoing conflict specifically occurring within New York City. While many of these articles with this more broad scope of coverage do still mention New York City as one major place where the ‘OWS’ conflict progressed, their inclusion of descriptions for several other locations make it difficult to discern just which uses of *protest* and *riot* specifically address the events in New York City. Including coverage of major instances of conflict that arose just in New York City combined with that related to everyday occurrences in the ongoing occupation allowed for a sufficient collection of data to consider how news media covered the conflict specifically within that one location.

Data regarding the uses of *protest* and *riot* by news media from the week after notable coverage began through the first month of such coverage appears in the table below:

Table 5.6: Data from articles covering the first month of ‘OWS’

| Word | Frequency | Occurrence per 10,000 Words | Top Collocate | Primary Position | Other Noted Positions |
|------------|-----------|-----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| protest | 176 | 25.91 | street (25) | NP head | Adjectival modifier to NP head; VP head |
| protests | 152 | 22.38 | street (28) | NP head | N/A |
| protesters | 574 | 84.51 | street (72) | NP head | Possessive modifier to NP head |
| Riot | 7 | 1.03 | police (6); gear (5) | Adjectival modifier to NP head | NP Head |
| Riots | 5 | 0.74 | Crown, Heights (3) | NP head | N/A |
| rioters | 1 | 0.15 | N/A | NP head | N/A |

The data within this time period appear to match the corresponding Ferguson data in a few respects. Most notably, all six of the terms are used in discussing the ‘OWS’ Conflict during this time period, and *protesters* and *riot* are the most frequently occurring terms among the *protest* set and *riot* set, respectively. Additionally, while they are not exactly the same as those present in the Ferguson data, the rates of occurrence for *protest* and *protests* are now somewhat closer to the rates in the Ferguson data and much closer to one another than in the time period including the first notable coverage of the ‘OWS’ Conflict. Still, like this conflict’s first time period, the frequencies for both the *protest* terms and the *riot* terms are more extreme here than in the Ferguson data. Once again, all three *protest* terms occur at rates higher 20 per 10,000 words, and *protesters* even sees an increase from just below 60 per 10,000 words to over 80 per 10,000 words. Meanwhile, the most frequently occurring *riot* term, *riot*, has a rate just above 1 per 10,000 words, and both *riots* and *rioters* occur at a rate of less than 1 per 10,000 words. Despite the emergence of *riot* within this time period, the three *riot* terms seem to be less prevalent proportionately than they were within the first time period of ‘OWS’ coverage.

While word positions of the six terms seem to match the previous data for both ‘OWS’ and Ferguson, collocations within this time period seem somewhat distinct. All three *protest* terms now share the same top collocate: *street*. Here, a majority of co-occurrences for two terms (13 of 25 for *protest* and 17 of 28 for *protests*) and over one-third of co-occurrences for the third (29 of 72 for *protesters*) involve the placement of the term at the end of the title *Occupy Wall Street*. This title, then, seems to have progressed beyond favoring *protest* to the other two terms. At this point, *Occupy Wall Street* stands on its own as a title that can combine with any *protest* term to describe the individual instances of conflict that have made up ‘OWS,’ the collective conflict that is ‘OWS’ as a whole, or the participants in any ‘OWS’ conflict. In this sense, the title *Occupy Wall Street* is notably more versatile than *Ferguson* in that it is not restricted to regularly co-occurring with just one of the *protest* terms. Collocates for *riot* and *riots* may seem somewhat more expected. While the top collocate for *riot* in this time period is *police* rather than *gear*, 6 of the 7 occurrences of *riot* still feature the term as a modifier for either *gear* or *police*. As such, *riot* does seem to occur as would be expected based on the Ferguson data and the data from larger linguistic corpora as, unlike *protest*, is still quite hard to find directly in reference to an actual instance of conflict. *Riots*, meanwhile, has *Crown* and *Heights* as its two top collocates. These two words relate to the title of another conflict (the *Crown Heights riots* in 1991), and two uses of *riots* within this time period are part of that title (Gardiner & El-Ghobashy 2011). Again, *riots* seems to occur here at least partially in reference to other conflicts rather than in describing the ‘OWS’ Conflict.

With the data from this time period, trends in use for *protest* and *riot* are beginning to emerge. The three *protest* terms have increasingly become parts of a unit with the title *Occupy Wall Street*, and the corresponding *riot* terms have become increasingly infrequent. Data from

subsequent time periods will determine if such trends will continue as news media shift from covering the ‘OWS’ conflict as an active occurrence to discussing it as a past event.

5.2.3: One Month After to Three Months After Notable News Coverage Began

Upon considering this time period, another major difference in progression between the ‘OWS’ conflict and the Ferguson conflict emerges. While the Ferguson conflict slowly transitioned from being an active occurrence to a past event, the ‘OWS’ conflict had one event that generally designates this change. On November 15, 2011, Zuccotti Park, the makeshift headquarters for participants in the ‘OWS’ conflict within New York City, was forcibly emptied for a cleaning. Although participants in the ‘OWS’ conflict were allowed to return to the park after the cleaning was completed, they were no longer permitted to use the site as a campground. This restriction effectively stopped the park from serving as a permanent headquarters for participants in ‘OWS.’ News Media still covered several instances of conflict that occurred in New York City after this point, but they did not continue to discuss the actual occupation within the conflict as an ongoing situation. In this sense, a noteworthy part of the ‘OWS’ conflict did become a past event with the clearing of Zuccotti Park.

Since this partial shift in coverage towards viewing the ‘OWS’ conflict as a past event is one notable part of this time period, it may have some impact on the way in which news media used both *protest* and *riot* during the period. Data on such uses appear in the table below:

Table 5.7: Data from articles released in the second and third months of 'OWS'

| Word | Frequency | Occurrence per 10,000 Words | Top Collocate | Primary Position | Other Noted Positions |
|------------|-----------|-----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| protest | 99 | 24.81 | occupy (16) | NP head | Adjectival/Possessive modifier to NP head, VP head |
| protests | 43 | 10.78 | street (10) | NP head | N/A |
| protesters | 419 | 105.01 | police, occupy (57) | NP head | Possessive modifier to NP head |
| Riot | 16 | 4.01 | police (11); gear (10) | Adjectival modifier to NP head | NP head |
| Riots | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| Rioters | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | N/A |

Though data do partially conform to the trends recognized in analyzing the second time period of the 'OWS,' there are some points within these data that appear to contradict these trends. Consideration of such points begins with *protests* and *protesters*. While the Ferguson data suggest that *protests* should increase in frequency and that *protesters* should decrease in frequency as news media transition into covering the 'OWS' conflict as a past event, the two actually have the opposite changes here. *Protests'* rate of occurrence decreases by approximately 10 per 10,000 words, and *protesters'* rate of occurrence increase by just over 20 per 10,000 words. With such variations in frequency, *protests* occurred at a substantially lower frequency than either *protest* or *protesters*. This pattern of use for the *protest* terms has two possible implications. First, the pattern could indicate that the three *protest* terms function somewhat differently in the context of the 'OWS' conflict than they do in the context of the Ferguson conflict. Considering the possibility of all three terms to modify the title *Occupy Wall Street* and the frequent collocation of all three terms with some word in this title within both the previous time period and this time period, it is possible that all three terms may be capable of appearing in some title to refer back to past events. Second, the pattern could simply indicate that news media

coverage has not yet fully transitioned. The high frequencies of *protesters* here combined with the increased frequencies of *riot* (another term that appeared most commonly as part of a descriptive construction describing police involved in ongoing conflict within the Ferguson data) generally support this possibility, and the fact that news articles related to the clearing of Zuccotti Park account for most uses of *riot* within this time period (Barr & Hawley 2011; Kapp, Einhorn, & Kennedy 2011; Long & Dobnik 2011; Ngo 2011b; Popper, Baum, & Susman 2011; Spector 2011; The Associated Press 2011) further indicates that it may actually be the very presence of this clearing that prevents news reports from fully viewing the ‘OWS’ conflict as a past event instead of a present occurrence. Regardless of how far the transition in coverage has progressed, the data for this time period do show one other significant change: both *riots* and *rioters* are completely absent from the data. While decreases in frequencies for any of the three *riot* terms is not unexpected, it still seems somewhat interesting that two terms with at least a marginal presence in the previous two time periods for the ‘OWS’ conflict were completely absent. This particular point may be worth further consideration if present in the next data set.

5.2.4: Three Months After to One Year After Notable News Coverage Began

While news coverage of the ‘OWS’ conflict certainly decreased some after the clearing of Zuccotti Park, it still experienced some surges in activity. As noted in the previous section, the clearing of Zuccotti Park marked the end of an ongoing occupation as part of the ‘OWS’ conflict in New York City. Individual instances of conflict, however, still occurred periodically throughout the remainder of the year. Although Ferguson’s main resurgence in active conflict seemed to be a response to a new event entirely, most subsequent instances of conflict related to ‘OWS’ still connected back to the frustration regarding economic inequality that started the movement. As a result, new instances of conflict that related to the original conflict event did not

stop in the same way that they did with the Ferguson conflict. The result may be that news coverage for the ‘OWS’ never shifted completely away from active conflict.

Perhaps some data related to uses of *protest* and *riot* from this nine-month time period provide a better picture of how far this transition progressed. Such data appear in the table below:

Table 5.8: Data from articles released three months to one year following ‘OWS’

| Word | Frequency | Occurrence per 10,000 Words | Top Collocate | Primary Position | Other Noted Positions |
|------------|-----------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| protest | 58 | 15.7 | they (11); occupy (7) | NP head | Adjectival modifier to NP head; VP head |
| protests | 74 | 20.03 | occupy (22) | NP head | N/A |
| protesters | 324 | 87.7 | occupy (54) | NP head | Possessive modifier to NP head |
| Riot | 9 | 2.44 | gear (7) | Adjectival modifier to NP head | NP head |
| Riots | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| rioters | 0 | 0 | N/A | N/A | N/A |

A few changes within the data here do seem to mirror those within the Ferguson data. Specifically, both *protest* and *protesters* have declined in frequency from the previous time period while *protests* has increased. In the Ferguson data, this increase in frequency of *protests* seemed to signal the presence of more instances in which news media would use the title *Ferguson protests* to refer back to the conflict that had previously occurred in Ferguson. With ‘OWS,’ however, previous data would suggest that any of the three *protest* terms can occur as part of a title with *Occupy Wall Street*. As all three *protest* terms for this data set feature *occupy*, a part of the title *Occupy Wall Street*, as a notable collocate, the connection of the title to all three of the *protest* terms seems even further supported here. Still, the plural form *protests* could better

describe a series of conflicts that occurred throughout the past than the singular form *protest*, which would indicate that these multiple instances were just one larger state of conflict. Whether this increased frequency of *protests* marks progress in the transition of news media perspectives, the frequencies of the three *protest* terms in the ‘OWS’ data still display a noticeable difference from the Ferguson data. While the Ferguson data has *protests* replace *protesters* as the most frequently occurring of the three *protest* terms, the ‘OWS’ data shows that *protesters* is still more frequent than *protests*. *Protesters* here may be capable of referring to the group of people who previously occupied Zuccotti Park; however, the term as a whole is generally more agentive in its use than either *protest* or *protests*. Since such agency is typically associated with active occurrences, it would seem that news media still view some instances of conflict associated with ‘OWS’ as ongoing situations rather than just past events. Once again, the presence of *riot* within the data set further supports this conclusion since four of the term’s nine occurrences describe new instances of conflict that arose within the current time period (Harvey 2012; Newman & Moynihan 2012; Ngo et al. 2012; Susman & Tangel 2012). Overall, then, the increased frequency of *protests* suggests that a perceptual change towards viewing the ‘OWS’ conflict as a past event has begun, but the remaining prominence of *protesters* and continued presence of *riot* indicate that such a transition has not yet occurred in full.

One similarity from the previous time period also warrants mentioning: the continued absence of both *riots* and *rioters*. While *riots* actually seemed to increase in frequency within the Ferguson data as news media began to discuss the conflict as a past event, the term does not see any such revival here. Instead, *riots* and *rioters* have both lost the marginal connection that they had with the ‘OWS’ conflict as this conflict began to be increasingly discussed as a past event.

5.2.5: Summary of News Coverage for ‘Occupy Wall Street’

In a general sense, the ‘OWS’ conflict is similar to the Ferguson conflict in that news media seem to primarily title both events with the term *protest*. At any deeper level, though, the way in which *protest* and *riot* function in news media presentations of the ‘OWS’ conflict differ from the Ferguson conflict. Such differences appear in Figure 5.4 (below), a visual representation for changes in rates of occurrence throughout coverage of the ‘OWS’ conflict:

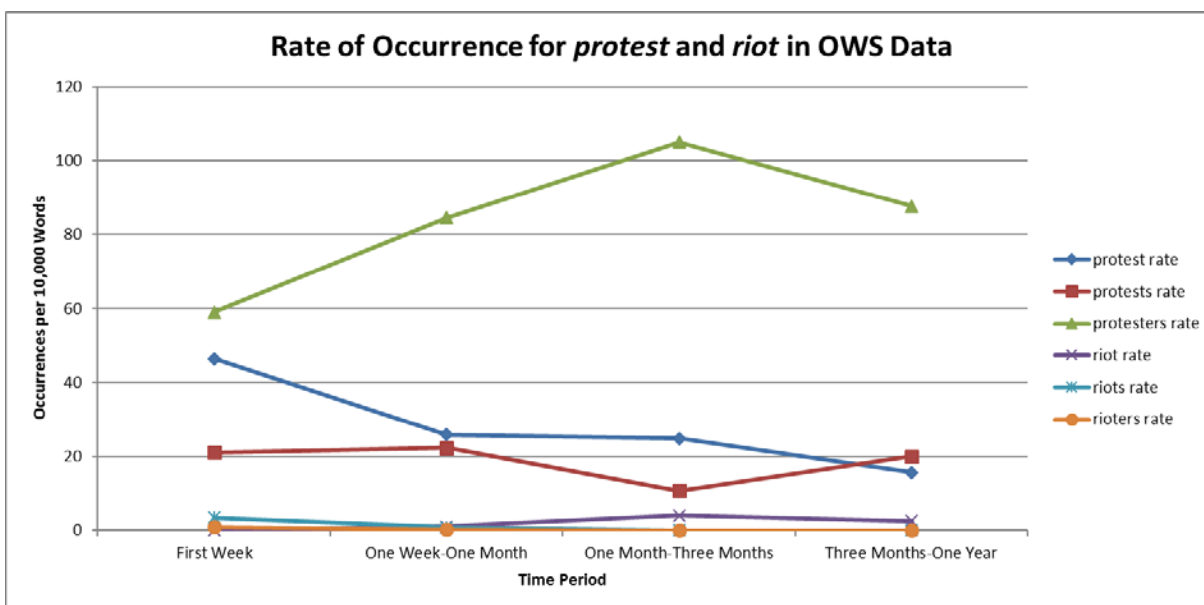


Figure 5.4: Rate of occurrence for protest and riot in the ‘OWS’ articles

The high rate of occurrence for *protesters* in the ‘OWS’ data leads Figure 5.4 to have a y-axis with a much larger range than Figure 5.2, but differences in the datasets represented by the two figures are still apparent. From the start of notable coverage, *protest* seems to be the substantially more prevalent term, and the singular form *protest* seemed connected to the title *Occupy Wall Street* almost as soon as news media adopted that title. As coverage of the ‘OWS’ conflict progressed, all three *protest* terms seemed to keep their rates of occurrence and to form a more substantial connection with the title *Occupy Wall Street*. With some slight variations in frequency, all three *protest* terms were regularly present within a year of descriptions related to

‘OWS,’ and three titles, *Occupy Wall Street Protest*, *Occupy Wall Street Protests*, and *Occupy Wall Street protesters*, were all quite prevalent in the collection of news articles. Conversely, *riot* was never more than marginally present in describing the ‘OWS’ conflict. *Riot* did manage to occur somewhat regularly in discussions of police responses, but *riots* and *rioters* only seemed to occur limitedly in relation to other conflicts that may have had a slight relation to the ‘OWS’ conflict in New York City. Rather than becoming a term that would occasionally reference the ‘OWS’ conflict, though, *riots* disappeared altogether. Ultimately, news media seemed to almost universally call the ‘OWS’ conflict a *protest* and almost never call it a *riot*.

5.3: Discussion

In consideration only of the data presented in this chapter, the results for both inquiries are affirmations. As seems evident in both the Ferguson data and the ‘OWS’ data, word frequencies, word collocations, and (even if just minimally with *protest*) word positions do change across each of the four time periods evaluated. Rates of occurrence for the plural form *protests* (and, in the Ferguson data, the plural form *riots*) in particular saw an increase in frequency within the three-months-to-one-year period, indicating that such a form may become more useful in describing a past conflict instead of a present one. When considering what the two data sets do differently rather than similarly, it seems quite apparent that the Ferguson data contains a stronger presence of the term *riot* than the ‘OWS’ data. Though the presence of *riot* is relatively minor near the beginning of coverage for both conflicts, it changes quite differently as coverage progresses in each case. For Ferguson, *riots* eventually becomes an acceptable term to describe some past instances of conflict; for ‘OWS,’ however, *riots* is completely absent from the time periods that may describe some early moments of conflict as past events. Essentially,

riot seems to increase in prevalence for the conflict with some African American identity while it decreases in prevalence for the conflict with no definite racial identity.

While a closer inspection of the content within news articles does not interfere with the analysis of variation in *protest* and *riot* through the progression of a single case, it may lead to significant doubts regarding the use of a comparison to connect racial identity and the presence of *riot*. Articles related to early instances of conflict in Ferguson do contain some rather violent behaviors (such as participants in the conflict throwing Molotov cocktails at police and destroying a local gas station); articles describing ‘OWS,’ however, never contained a similar level of violence. The prevalence of arrests associated with the ‘OWS’ conflict could be taken as a sign of implied violence, but most descriptions of such arrests seem to indicate that they were the result of relatively nonviolent behavior, such as blocking street traffic. Since the Ferguson conflict and ‘OWS’ conflict do not appear to contain equal degrees of violent behavior based on the descriptions of each event in news articles, the difference in the prevalence of *riot* between the two conflicts is just as likely to be related to differing levels of violence within the two conflicts as it is to be associated with a presence or absence of racial identity tied to the conflict. As such, a comparison of the Ferguson conflict and the ‘OWS’ conflict is not fully capable of presenting definitive results regarding the connection of *riot*’s presence and racial identity within a conflict.

With both the actual data presented in the chapter and this closer evaluation of context in mind, this chapter has effectively explored how *protest* and *riot* change in their use as news coverage of an event changes. While the findings in Chapter 4 were able to address (Q1) by indicating general frequencies, collocates, and positions of *protest* and *riot*, this chapter has expanded that answer by capturing how these attributes change over the course of fully covering

a conflict. This small-scale approach reveals how different occurrences of *protest* and *riot* may be from a whole distribution associated with the two words when limited to just a single time period. Furthermore, it indicates that the distributions of *protest* and *riot* change as time periods change, especially if those periods allow for news media to transition from describing a conflict as an active occurrence to presenting it as a past event. As such, this chapter further supports (H1) by revealing not only that *protest* and *riot* have distinctions from one another that extend beyond their traditional meanings but also that these distinctions change over time as news media continue to cover a conflict. Unfortunately, this chapter did not fully address (Q2) with a test the implications that variations in the distribution of *protest* and *riot* between conflicts may have. While the greater prevalence of *riot* within news coverage of the Ferguson conflict than coverage of the ‘OWS’ conflict could indicate that the presence of an African American identity among participants in a conflict is linked to an increase in the use of *riot* within news coverage of that event, it could just as easily indicate that this increase in the use of *riot* is related to the degree of violent behavior within a conflict, a connection that seems quite justified based on *riot*’s traditional meaning. Furthermore, it is also possible that lower socioeconomic status of participants in a conflict, a factor that is often linked with race (Horsfall 2012), could influence news media to more frequently use *riot* (especially in the pair *rioting and looting*) in describing a conflict. These alternatives prevent the present study from confirming (H2) despite the discovery of some data that seem to support it.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

The main findings discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 reveal some answers regarding the present study's research questions. With regards to (Q1), a question of how *protest* and *riot* occur within news media, both larger linguistic corpora and both case studies of Ferguson and 'OWS' indicate that *protest* is more prevalent throughout discussions of conflict than *riot*. While larger linguistic corpora frequently have *protest* collocated with such terms as *peaceful* and *organizers*, the two case studies more frequently featured some word from a title (either *Ferguson* or *Occupy Wall Street*) or *police* as top collocates. Throughout these actual case studies, then, *protest* seemed to change from a word used to describe participants in an active conflict who were often placed in opposition to police to a word that formed a title to reference a conflict as a past event. *Riot*, meanwhile, seemed to remain more descriptive in any of its uses. In ongoing conflicts, *riot* almost always seems closely collocated with police descriptions (in constructions such as *riot gear* and *riot police*) and, with such collocations, rarely refers directly to a conflict. As news coverage shifts to covering a conflict more so as a past occurrence, though, *riot* seems to undergo one of two possible changes. Coverage of certain events sees the plural form *riots* emerge as a somewhat prominent way to describe certain past instances of conflict, while coverage of other events sees the general presence of *riot* decline altogether. This divergent pattern of use for *riot* within the case studies of Ferguson and 'OWS' partially addresses (Q2), a question regarding any implication that uses of *protest* and *riot* may have. Since Ferguson and 'OWS' differ on the matter of racial identification, it could be possible that

the increased prevalence of *riot* in news articles discussing the Ferguson conflict is related to the presence of an African American identity among participants in that conflict. However, it also seems that many instances of conflict in Ferguson also had a higher level of violence than those in ‘OWS.’ With “violent” generally being a part of traditional definitions for the word *riot*, this difference in the level of violence present within the two conflicts seems to be a more reasonable explanation for the differences in the uses of *riot* by news articles describing each conflict. As a result, the present study can conclude that the use of *riot* may have some connection to racial identity, whether directly as the present study’s analysis of Ferguson and ‘OWS’ attempted to test or indirectly as may occur if an additional factor were to connect conflicts with African America participants to lower socioeconomic statuses and violent behavior. However, the present study cannot offer any definitive proposal regarding the connection of *riot*’s occurrence within news coverage of a conflict and the association of an African American identity with that conflict.

To further explore conclusions of this study, sections of this chapter will explore implications of the results when considering the previous literature, notable limitations that arose in completing the study, and possible directions for future inquiry regarding related topics.

6.1: Discussion

With the strongest findings of the present study being more linguistic than social in nature, implications of the present study may be most apparent when considering previous research in linguistics. In particular, the present study seems to present another generally successful combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to accompany Baker et al. (2008) and Samala (2011). While both Baker et al. (2008) and Samala (2011) do seem to borrow some more complex methods from critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics that are not

attempted here, the results of the present study do mirror Baker et al. (2008) and Samala (2011) in that they seem possible only through this combined analysis of corpus data and context. For the present study, a simple analysis of all data combined could not have indicated any of the changes that *protest* and *riot* undergo as news coverage of a conflict moves beyond active occurrences, and an explanation of such changes would not have been possible without a general understanding of the set of articles displaying the changes. Similarly, Baker et al. (2008) required some knowledge of context to explain just what any connections of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants to other words and phrases meant, and Samala (2011) needed to consider context in order to determine the connotations of words associated with *wahhabi* and *wahhab's*. Without qualitative analyses, all three studies would have failed to capture just what the connections of certain words may mean; without any quantitative methods, they could not have shown how widespread such connections are.

Though perhaps less significant any connections to linguistic theory and methods, this study does still seem to have two implications worth discussing. The first of these implications relates to Franzosi, De Fazio, & Vicari's (2012) regarding agency in news media. Overall, Franzosi, De Fazio, & Vicari (2012) found that agents were largely absent from news articles related to lynchings, which they suspect is a means of disguising the identities of those who performed the illegal activity. In considering agency within news reports on more modern conflict, agency does seem somewhat more present. While it is somewhat less common in the larger linguistic corpora, *protesters*, a term used to describe participants in a conflict, often appears as the most frequent of the six terms observed in the present study within a single time period in either the Ferguson data or the 'OWS' data. *Protesters* does have some anonymity in that it does not typically recognize any individual participants in a conflict, but it is still agentic

in denoting the group of people that performed a certain action within a conflict. An interesting point regarding agency within contemporary media emerges when comparing *protesters* to *rioters*. As previously noted, *protesters* is often the most frequent term used by news media in describing conflict. *Rioters*, however, is almost always the least frequent term of the six observed. It would seem, then, that agency in news media descriptions of conflict is much more easily linked with *protest* than with *riot*. When considered with the absence of agency that Franzosi, De Fazio, & Vicari (2012) found in news descriptions of lynchings, the findings of the present study may recognize a relationship between legitimacy of an action and the agency used by news media in discussing that action. The second implication, meanwhile, results from a review of Horsfall's (2012) and Rothman's (2005) descriptions of racial discrimination in attempting to further consider the present study's H2. Within their descriptions of racial discrimination, Horsfall (2012) and Rothman (2005) connect both socioeconomic status and law enforcement attention to race. In certain respects, these three characteristics match certain variables used to distinguish the Ferguson conflict from the 'OWS' conflict. Race of the participants was the variable of interest for the present study, but law enforcement attention, if increased for more violent situations, could also be a variable that differs between the two conflicts. Socioeconomic status, while possibly less explicit, may also vary. Though members of the 'OWS' movement marketed themselves as "99%" that splits a small amount of all resources, many participants in the occupation itself likely had the means not only to get to New York City for the occupation but also to return to life after the occupation ended. In contrast to this separation of participating in conflict from everyday life, certain qualities of the Ferguson conflict, such as instances of the conflict becoming more major at night, may indicate that participants in that conflict did not just set ordinary life aside to participate. This difference in the

ability of participants to postpone regular life may generally suggest that participants in the ‘OWS’ conflict had the means to set life aside and, as such, are generally of a higher socioeconomic status than participants in the Ferguson conflict. With Horsfall (2012) and Rothman (2005) linking these three attributes in a description of racial discrimination, it would seem possible that these variables could work together to shape how news media choose to describe a conflict and, more specifically, how they use *protest* and *riot*.

6.2: Limitations

While a number of limitations do apply to this study, the most significant one may be the one that has appeared in recent discussions of findings. Since the case studies of the Ferguson conflict and the ‘OWS’ conflict in Chapter 5 seemed to be just as much of a test for the connection of violence and the prevalence of *riot* as a test for the relationship of racial identity and the presence of *riot*, the present study cannot really lead to any definite conclusions regarding racial implications associated with the use of *riot* in contemporary news articles. This limitation may partially be the result of general error in selecting an event, but it also seems to be a product of the time period used for select. For the present study, *contemporary* essentially implied that the selection range of events should be limited to a time close to the present. With electronic forms of news becoming increasingly popular as computer and phone technologies have developed in recent decades, this implication generally limited selection of an event to the past 10 years. Such a restriction in the selection range may have resulted in the present study failing to consider relatively modern conflicts that may have been more comparable to the Ferguson conflict, such as the 1999 world trade organization conflict in Seattle. Although this expansion of the selection range for conflicts may change the study into one of news media in

general rather than contemporary news media, it could still produce substantially more useful findings than the attempted comparison made in the present study.

Further limitations in the present study relate to methods for data collection and data analysis. Considering the overview of *protest* and *riot* presented in Chapter 4, data collection from COCA and the NOW Corpus did attempt to restrict results to those from news media rather than other possible sources. However, no methods in this study actually attempted to control what these corpora classified as news media. While the “newspapers” category in COCA presumably limits data to print and electronic newspapers, no such “newspapers” option was present for the NOW Corpus. As such, data from the NOW Corpus could feature uses of *protest* and *riot* both by online newspapers and by any other online source that the NOW Corpus classifies as news. Though data collection for the overview seems to potentially provide to broad of a range, data collection methods for the case studies of Ferguson and ‘OWS’ may be too specific. In each of these cases, only a single database, Proquest, was used to obtain a collection of news articles. This database generally provided a decent mix of both major and minor newspapers, but it still only offered a limited selection of possible news sources overall. In providing the basic distribution of *protest* and *riot* within multiple time periods, the limited variety included in the database seemed acceptable. For any further inquiry that might seek to compare news source biases by evaluating the ways in which several smaller newspapers from an area in which a conflict occurred describe that conflict, however, a more detailed selection of these smaller news sources would need to take place.

Though not strictly shortcomings of the present study, two additional limitations came from the selection of terms. The first such limitation arose from the choice to focus on nominal rather than verbal forms of *protest* and *riot*. As they often occur in different contexts from

nominal forms, verbal forms of *protest* and *riot* may introduce new phrase positions and collocates to consider in fully explaining the meanings of *protest* and *riot*. With a nearly exclusive analysis of only verbal forms, the present study cannot indicate how valuable such different positions and collocates of verbal forms would be in fully describing *protest* and *riot* in contemporary news media. The second limitation here relates to the general consideration of *riot* as an equivalent term to *protest*. While *protest* did have some flexibility in that it could regularly occur either directly in reference to a conflict or as a modifier in a descriptive construction (such as *protest march*), *riot* occurred much more frequently as a modifier in a description construction than as a head that directly references a conflict. Despite the present study's decision to count modifiers in a larger construction as occurrences of a word, it cannot be denied that such uses of a word carry a different meaning from uses of the words that directly reference conflict. As such, the frequencies of *riot* provided in the present study expand well beyond how often a certain conflict was actually called a *riot*.

6.3: Further Inquiry

Although the lack of similarity between the two conflicts compared within the present study is certainly a limitation, it does also present one clear avenue for further inquiry. A future study could easily attempt to repeat the comparison of conflicts performed here with a different conflict in place of 'OWS.' As previously indicated, the 1999 World Trade Organization conflict in Seattle could be closer to the Ferguson conflict. However, if a researcher wished to keep the selection range limited to a time period with prevalent electronic news sources, an instance of more recent conflict related to either Donald Trump's presidency or his presidential race may have more parallels to the Ferguson conflict than 'OWS.' While such conflicts were considered for the present study, they would not have received a full year of coverage at the time that the

present study was conducted and could thus not be fully compared to the year of coverage for the Ferguson conflict. A future investigation of the same topic may not encounter such an issue of timing, though.

Another area that may warrant further inquiry relates to the variety of conflict terms, words used to describe a conflict, that may occur in news coverage of a conflict. For the present study, only two such terms, *protest* and *riot*, were considered. In reviewing articles related to both the Ferguson conflict and the ‘OWS’ conflict, two additional conflict terms, *unrest* and *demonstration*, also seemed to occur quite regularly in news coverage of both events. While the expansion of an inquiry to include all possible conflict terms could present some interesting findings regarding the words that news media typically use to discuss conflict, even the addition of just a few more conflict terms could enable a future study regarding news media descriptions of conflict to approach news coverage as occurring upon a sort of spectrum rather than within a binary measure. Such a change in the evaluation of conflict terms may allow a study to become more about the way in which news media discuss all conflict than about the way news media use a certain number of conflict terms.

6.4: Closing

Ultimately, the present study was one regarding the meaning of two terms, *protest* and *riot*, based on their appearances in contemporary news media. In considering more explicit meanings, the present study seemed to produce some notable findings. The clear divide of *protest* and *riot* based on their dictionary definitions does not remain quite as opaque in news coverage of conflict, as *protest* generally appears in descriptions of conflicts that fit the definition of *riot*. Still, the two terms do not seem interchangeable, as *riot* frequently occurs as part of constructions such as *riot gear* where *protest* would seem generally nonsensical. Implicit

meanings for the two terms related to the present study's findings, however, remain more elusive. Inspired by Pager's (2003) discovery of the mark of an assumed criminal record upon African Americans in the job market, the present study set out to test for such a mark in the way that news media discuss conflict. While results from the comparison of Ferguson and 'OWS' could certainly be used to argue such a point, the existence of a much more obvious variable that distinguishes the two conflict, the level of violence in each, makes such an argument seem unreliable. Until further inquiry on the topic provides a more accurate test, the full connotations of the conflict terms explored here remain obscured within a network involving the distribution of words, violence, and racial identity.

REFERENCES

- Alcindor, Yamiche, Larry Copeland, & Rick Hampson. 2014, 19 August. "Seeking a Path to Peace in Ferguson." *Reno Gazette-Journal*: 1.
- Anonymous. 2011, 26 September. "Economic Unrest: 80 People Arrested as 'Occupy Wall Street' Enters its Second Week." *The Charleston Gazette* [Charleston, W.V.]: A.6.
- Anonymous. 2014, 24 September. "New Tensions Flare in Ferguson, Mo.; Up to 200 Protesters Returned to St. Louis Suburb's Streets after Michael Brown Memorial Burned." *Wall Street Journal*.
- Anonymous. 2015, 5 March. "Closure in Ferguson; Even Eric Holder Exonerates Police Officer Darren Wilson." *Wall Street Journal*.
- Anthony, Laurence. 2016. Antconc (Version 3.4.4). Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University.
<http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>
- Baker, Paul, Costas Gabrielatos, Majid Khosravinik, Michał Krzyzanowski, Tony Mcenery, & Ruth Wodak. 2008. "A Useful Methodological Synergy? Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to Examine Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press." *Discourse & Society* 19(3): 273-306.
- Barr, Meghan & Chris Hawley. 2011, November 16. "Occupy Movement: Crackdowns Reach Epicenter of Wall Street Protests." *The Charleston Gazette* [Charleston, W.V.]: A.11.
- Barry, Dan. 2014, 22 August. "Police, Protesters and Reporters Form Uneasy Cast for Nightly Show in Ferguson." *New York Times*: A.15.

- Bauerlein, Valerie & Cameron McWhirter. 2016, 22 September. "Man Shot, State of Emergency Declared as Charlotte Protests Continue; Protests erupted after a fatal police shooting of Keith Lamont Scott on Tuesday; Officials say he was armed." *Wall Street Journal*.
- Berman, Mark. 2014, 25 September. "A Day of Unrest in Ferguson Ends With Protesters and Police Facing Off." *The Washington Post*.
- Best, Joel. 2013. "The Media and Claims." Pp. 127-159 in *Social Problems, Second Edition*, edited by K. Bakeman. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Blinder, Alan. 2016, 21 September. "Police Shooting Sets Off Protest in Charlotte." *New York Times*: A18.
- Bosman, Julie & Alan Blinder. 2014, 17 August. "Missouri Orders Nighttime Curfew to Quell Looting." *New York Times*: A1.
- Bosman, July & Monica Davey. 2014, 8 November. "Ferguson Waits Uneasily for Grand Jury's Decision." *New York Times*: A.10.
- Boyle, Michael P. & Mike Schmierbach. 2009. "Media Use and Protest: The Role of Mainstream and Alternative Media Use in Predicting Traditional and Protest Participation." *Communication Quarterly* 57(1): 1-17.
- Byers, Christine. 2014a, 3 October. "Black and in Blue: A Ferguson Police Sergeant Reflects on a Tough Time." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*: A.1.
- Byers, Christine. 2014b, 4 October. "St. Louis County Police to Command Protest Detail in Ferguson." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*: A.1.
- Calvert, Scott & Kris Maher. 2015, 28 April. "Violence Erupts in Baltimore --- Governor Summons the National Guard, Declares State of Emergency After Riots Sweep City." *Wall Street Journal*: A1.

- Choi, Hyun Jin and Clionadh Raleigh. 2015. "Dominant Forms of Conflict in Changing Political Systems." *International Studies Quarterly* 59(1): 158-171.
- Choudhry, Shazia. 2016. "Towards a Transformative Conceptualization of Violence against Women – A Critical Frame Analysis of Council of Europe Discourse on Violence against Women." *The Modern Law Review* 79(3): 406-441.
- Cole, Heather. 2014, 25 August. "Legal Observers Keep an Eye on Rights as Protest Rules Shift." *Missouri Lawyers Media* [St. Louis, Mo.].
- Cronin, Tracey and Heather Smith. 2011. "Protest, Exit, or Deviance: Adjunct University Faculty Reactions to Occupational Rank-Based Treatment." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 41(10): 2352-2373.
- Dahlberg, Lincoln. 2014. "Capitalism as a Discursive System? Interrogating Discourse Theory's Contribution to Critical Political Economy." *Critical Discourse Studies* 11(3): 257-271.
- Davey, Monica & Tanzina Vega. 2014, 21 August. "Tangle of Leadership Helps Fuel Chaos in Ferguson." *New York Times*: A.16.
- Davies, Mark. 2016. Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). Salt Lake City, Utah: Brigham Young University. <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>
- Davies, Mark. 2016. NOW Corpus (News on the Web). Salt Lake City, Utah: Brigham Young University <http://corpus.byu.edu/now/>
- Della Porta, Donatella. 2008. "Eventful Protest, Global Conflicts." *Distinktion: Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory* 9(2): 27-56.
- Dewan, Shaila. 2006, 24 September. "100 Years Later, A Painful Episode Is Observed at Last." *The New York Times*: 22.

- Dolan, Matthew, Pervaiz Shallwani, & Ben Kesling. 2014, 19 August. "Strong Police Presence Felt After Night of Violence in Ferguson; Tuesday Brings Calm After Violent Evening, Repeating Pattern." *Wall Street Journal*.
- Dolan, Matthew. 2015, 9 July. "Missouri Gov. Signs Law Reforming Courts in Wake of Michael Brown Case; Legislation Caps Fines, Sets Standards for Courts and Police Departments." *Wall Street Journal*.
- Dominguez, Robert. 2011, 17 September. "'Wakeup Call' Protest Set for Wall St." *New York Times*: 20.
- Eligon, John & Kay Nolan, 2016, 15 August. "Angry After Milwaukee Police Shooting, Protesters Turn Against Media, Too." *New York Times*.
- Fausset, Richard & Alan Blinder. 2016, 22 September. "More Violence Hits Charlotte After Shooting." *New York Times*: A1
- Fodor, Janet Dean and Crain, Stephen. 1990. "Phrase Structure Parameters." *Linguistics and Philosophy* 13(6): 619-659.
- Franzosi, Roberto, Gianluca De Fazio & Stefania Vicari. 2012. "Ways of Measuring Agency: An Application of Quantitative Narrative Analysis to Lynchings in Georgia (1875-1930)." *Sociological Methodology* 42(1): 1-42.
- Frazier, Lyn & Clifton, Charles. 1996. *Construal*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Gamson, William A. & Modigliani, Andre. 1989. "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach." *American Journal of Sociology* 95(1): 1-37.
- Garber, Doris A. 1987. "Framing Election News Broadcasts: News Context and Its Impact on the 1984 Presidential Election." *Social Science Quarterly* 68(3): 552-568.

- Gardiner, Sean. 2011, 25 September. "80 'Occupy Wall Street' Protesters Arrested." *Wall Street Journal*.
- Gardiner, Sean & Tamer El-Ghobashy. 2011, 18 October. "Demonstration Tests Police Playbook --- Crown Heights Riots Defined NYPD Tactics." *Wall Street Journal*: A.21.
- Glawe, Justin. 2014a, 15 August. "An Uneasy Peace Falls on Ferguson after Local Cops Called Off: The World is Watching Missouri Again Tonight, as Hundreds of Demonstrators March, with the New Top Cop--a Black Ferguson Native--at Their Side." *The Daily Beast*.
- Glawe, Justin. 2014b, 16 August. "After a Night of Relative Calm, Have the Ferguson Police Made Things Worse Again?: Ferguson, Mo., has returned to a state of wary unease after local cops both name the officer who shot Michael Brown to death and say Brown was a criminal." *The Daily Beast*.
- Goldstein, Joseph. 2011, 27 August. "Demonstrations Test Police Trained for Bigger Threats." *New York Times*: A.17.
- Golgowski, Nina, Meg Wagner, & Corky Seimaszko. 2014, 30 August. "3 Ferguson Protest Cops off the Force." *New York Daily News*: 8.
- Gulliver, Trevor & Lindsay Herriot. 2015. "'Some Liken It to Arab Spring': Youth and the Politically Legitimate Subject." *Critical Discourse Studies* 12(2): 206-225.
- Harvey, Christine. 2012, 18 September. "Occupy Birthday Boosts Arrests Fewer Marchers, but More Held in NYC Protests." *Journal-Gazette (Ft. Wayne, Indiana)*: A.3.
- Heim, Irene & Kratzer, Angelika. 1998. *Semantics in Generative Grammar*. Malden, MA & Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Hennessy-Fiske, Molly & Matt Pearce. 2014, 29 September. "A Tense Ferguson Fears More Unrest Ahead." *Los Angeles Times*: A.5.

- Horsfall, Sara T. 2012. *Social Problems: An Advocate Group Approach*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Jonsson, Patrik. 2014, 24 September. "Fresh Ferguson Protests Born of Distrust, Fueled by Resolve." *The Christian Science Monitor*: 9.
- Kapp, Trevor, Erin Einhorn, & Helen Kennedy. 2011, 15 November. "Out of the Park Protesters to Mark 2-Mos. Of OWS with Day of Action." *New York Daily News*: 3.
- Kretzschmar, William A., Jr. 2009. *The Linguistics of Speech*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kretzschmar, William A., Jr. 2015. *Language and Complex Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Krishnamurthy, Madhu. 2015, May 14. "Building Trust Key to Preventing Civil Unrest, Suburban Police Chiefs Say." *Daily Herald* [Arlington Heights, Ill.].
- La Ganga, Maria L. & Susman, Tina. 2014, 21 August. "No End in Sight to Ferguson Turmoil; Authorities and Community Leaders Have Yet to Map out a Path to Peace." *Los Angeles Times*: A.8.
- Lichtenberk, Frantisek. 2005. "On the Notion of 'Adjective' in Toqabaqita." *Oceanic Linguistics* 44(1): 113-144.
- Lieb, David A. 2015, 2 August. "Ferguson Missouri Shooting Spurs 40 New State Measures." *The Ledger* (Lakeland, Florida).
- Liversedge, Simon P., Branigan, Holly P., Pickering, Martin J., & van Gompel, Roger P.G. 1998. "Processing Arguments and Adjuncts in Isolation and Context: The Case of *By*-Phrase Ambiguities in Passives." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 24(2): 461-475.

- Long, Colleen & Verena Dobnik. 2011, 16 November. "Protesters Evicted from Park: New York City Officials Crack Down on Occupy Wall Street Epicenter; Protest's Future Uncertain." *Charleston Daily Mail*: A.3.
- Lowery, Wesley. 2014, 12 November. "Missouri Governor Pledges Safety in Ferguson as City Awaits Grand Jury Ruling: 'Safety and speech' are 'dual pillars' After Upcoming Grand Jury Decision in the Brown Shooting, Jay Nixon Says." *The Washington Post*.
- McCready, Eric & Ogata, Norry. 2007. "Adjectives, Stereotypicality, and Comparison." *Natural Language Semantics* 15(1): 35-63.
- McDermott, Kevin. 2015, 2 August. "Ferguson, One Year Later: From a City to a Symbol." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*: A.1.
- McLeod, Douglas M. & Detenber, Benjamin H. 1999. "Framing Effects of Television News Coverage of Social Protest." *Journal of Communication* 49(3): 3-23.
- Moynihan, Colin. 2012, 17 September. "Rallies Planned Today for Occupy Wall St. Anniversary." *New York Times*: A.20.
- Muskal, Michael. 2014, 25 September. "Fire Sparks a Fresh Wave of Unrest in Ferguson, Mo: 5 Arrested, at least 1 Store Vandalized in St. Louis Suburb." *Orlando Sentinel*: A.6.
- Nakamura, David & Wesley Lowery. 2015, 19 May. "Obama Will Restrict Military-Style Police Gear to Local Police Departments: President Says Military Equipment Can Give Police Departments the Feel of an Occupying Army." *The Washington Post*.
- Nerad, Julie Cary. 2007. "Leaping into the Fire: Women in United States Race Riots." *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 40(2): i-xxiv.
- Newman, Andy & Colin Moynihan. 2012, 2 May. "At May Day Demonstrations, Traffic Jams and Arrests." *New York Times*: A.20.

- Ngo, Emily. 2011a, 26 September. "Protesters Vow to Stay on Wall St." *Newsday*: A.36.
- Ngo, Emily 2011b, 15 November. "Eviction at Zuccotti Occupy Wall Street Demonstrators Told to Leave Cops Say They Can Return Once Park is Deemed Safe." *Newsday*: A.4.
- Ngo, Emily, Maria Alvarez, Igor Kossov, Joseph Mallia, & William Murphy. 2012, 18 September. "Return to Zuccotti Protesters Jam Park to Mark OWS Anniversary NYPD Says at least 160 Demonstrators Arrested." *Newsday*: A.4.
- Noveck, Jocelyn. 2011, 09 October. "Wall Street Protest Gains Diversity in Age, Gender, Race, Profession." *Sunday Gazette-Mail* [Charleston, W.V.]: A.13.
- Pager, Devah. 2003. "The Mark of a Criminal Record." *American Journal of Sociology* 108: 937-975.
- Paye, Amity & Nayaba Arinde. 2011, 29 September. "Wall St. Siege." *New York Amsterdam News*: 1.
- Paulson, Amanda. 2014, 11 November. "Missouri Governor: 'Violence will not be tolerated' in Ferguson Again." *The Christian Science Monitor*: 8.
- Peters, Mark, Ben Kesling, & Barrett Devlin. 2014, 15 August. "Missouri Police Change Tactics." *Wall Street Journal*: A1.
- Popper, Nathaniel, Geraldine Baum, & Tina Susman. 2011, 16 November. "NYPD Raids Occupy Camp Wall Street Protest Faces Uncertainty After Mayor's Move." *South Florida Sun-Sentinel* [Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.]: A.3.
- "protest." merriam-webster.com. 2015. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/protest> (8 July 2016).
- "protest." oxforddictionaries.com. 2016. http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/protest (8 July 2016).

- Rafferty, Andrew & Phil Helsel. 2016, 30 April. "Protestors and Police Face Off Outside Trump Speech in California." *NBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2016-election/protesters-police-clash-outside-trump-rally-california-n564991>
- Ramadan, Lulu. 2015, 8 February. "Anti-Defamation League Hosts Post-Ferguson Talks." *Palm Beach Daily News* [West Palm Beach, Fla.]: A.1.
- "riot." merriam-webster.com. 2015. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/riot> (8 July 2016).
- "riot." oxforddictionaries.com. 2016.
http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/riot (8 July 2016).
- Robertson, Campbell. 2014, 22 August. "Among Whites, Protests Stir a Range of Emotions and a Lot of Perplexity." *New York Times*: A.15.
- Rothman, Robert A. 2005. *Inequality and Stratification: Race, Class, and Gender, Fifth Edition*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Salter, Jim. 2014, 12 November. "Missouri Governor Outlines Ferguson Preparations." *Springfield News Leader* [Springfield, Mo.]: 9.
- Samala, Amir H.Y. 2011. "Ideological Collocation and the Recontextualization of Wahhabi-Saudi Islam Post-9/11: A Synergy of Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis." *Discourse & Society* 22(3): 315-342.
- Sanchez, Ray. 2011, 30 September. "Wall Street Protesters to Target N.Y. Police." *Orlando Sentinel*: A.15.
- Somashekhar, Sandhya. 2014, 12 November. "Ferguson Protest Organizers: 'I sleep, eat and breathe for this.'" *The Washington Post*: A.1.

- Spector, Joseph. 2011, 16 November. "NYPD Clears Zuccotti Park of Occupy Wall Street Protesters, 200 Arrested." *The Journal News* [White Plains, N.Y.]: AWP.11.
- Speer, Shari R. & Clifton, Charles. 1998. "Plausibility and Argument Structure in Sentence Comprehension." *Memory & Cognition* 26(5): 965-978.
- Stenvall, Maija. 2014. "Presenting and Representing Emotions in News Agency Reports: On Journalists' Stance on Affect Vis-à-Vis Objectivity and Factuality." *Critical Discourse Studies* 11(4): 461-481.
- St. Louis Post-Dispatch. 2014, 21 August. "Grand Jury Convenes; Justice Center is Target of Marches; Ferguson Police Shooting." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*: A.1.
- Stolberg, Sheryl G. 2015, 28 April. "Clashes Rock Baltimore After Funeral; Curfew Is Set." *New York Times*: A1.
- Stubbs, Michael. 2001. *Words and Phrases: Corpus Studies of Lexical Semantics*. Oxford; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.
- Susman, Tina & Andrew Tangel. 2012, 18 September. "Protesters March Back to Wall Street; Scores are Arrested as Occupy Activists Mark the Movement's First Anniversary." *Los Angeles Times*: A.8.
- Sulzberger, A.G. 2011, 20 June. "As Survivors Dwindle, Tulsa Confronts Past." *The New York Times*: 16.
- The Associated Press. 2011, 15 November. "Crackdowns Reach Epicenter of Wall Street Protests." *Ocala Star-Banner* [Ocala, Fla].
- The Associated Press. 2014, 22 August. "Guard Begins to Depart Town Ferguson Sees its Quietest Night Since Shooting." *Journal-Gazette* [Ft. Wayne, Ind.]: A3.

- The Associated Press. 2015, 18 February. "More Police Departments Choosing Restraint Over Quick Action." *Gainesville Sun* [Gainesville, Fla].
- Tsvetkov, Yulia & Wintner, Shuly. 2014. "Identification of Multiword Expressions by Combining Multiple Linguistic Information Sources." *Computational Linguistics* 40(2): 449-468.
- Vega, Tanzina, Timothy Williams, & Erik Eckholm. 2014, 16 August. "Dueling Police Statements as Anger Rises in Missouri." *New York Times*: A1.
- Vitali, Ali. 2016, 29 April. "20 Arrested as Crowd Turns Violent Outside Trump Rally in California." *NBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/protesters-block-traffic-near-trump-rally-california-n564526>
- Vives, Ruben, Matt Pearce, & Matt Hamilton. 2016, 29 April. "Protests Rage Outside Trump Rally in Orange County; 17 Arrested, Police Car Smashed," *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-gays-for-trump-crowd-gathers-at-costa-mesa-rally-20160428-story.html>
- Ware, Robert Bruce. 2014, 24 August. "A View from the Front Lines in Ferguson." *The Daily Camera* [Boulder, Co.].
- Yardley, Jim. 2000, 5 February. "Panel Recommends Reparations in Long-Ignored Tulsa Race Riot." *The New York Times*: 1.