

Does the picture match the frame?

A media framing analysis: CNN vs FOX. #BlackLivesMatter

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ABSTRACT

May 25th, 2020 became a historical day when the death of a black man at the hands of the police was recorded on camera and went viral over the internet. (BBC News, 2020). That Monday officer Derek Chauvin took the life of George Floyd. Chauvin's action, made public for the world to see, reignited the cause we all know today as the Black Lives Matter movement. Through a line of events, the Black Lives Matter movement has gotten a lot of news coverage worldwide. However, not all news stories convey the same message as news agencies tend to characterize their news towards their audiences (Watkins, 2001). As framing theory suggests, a story can be told in many different ways with the focus lying in how certain information is presented, and how this can influence the audience and their perception of this information. Based on this, a qualitative framing analysis is conducted on how events of the Black Lives Matter movement are framed considering the two news agencies CNN and Fox News. For this study, a qualitative content analysis is conducted through the means of analyzing online news articles from the CNN and Fox News website. The analysis process consist of a complementation of grounded theory and a thematic analysis. Based on the analysis several existing and some new news frames have been detected, compared to the five most common news frames proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). The results implicate that differences in news framing can be found between the news agencies CNN and Fox News. As many studies suggest that news agencies cover news objectively and unbiased, this study provides an answer that contradicts this. Primary result show significant differences in news framing by CNN and Fox News and propose that CNN has a politically left-leaning bias, whereas Fox News has a politically right-leaning bias. Some limitation can be found in the nature of this study. As this study solely incorporates text driven data, recommendation for future research is made to incorporate audio and visual analysis as well.

KEYWORDS: *Framing analysis, CNN, Fox News, Black Lives Matter, political affiliation*

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1. Introduction

May 25th, 2020 became a historical day when the death of a black man at the hands of the police was recorded on camera and went viral over the internet. (BBC News, 2020). That Monday officer Derek Chauvin took the life of George Floyd. Chauvin's action, made public for the world to see, reignited the cause we all know today as the Black Lives Matter movement.. Through a line of events, the Black Lives Matter movement has gotten a lot of news coverage worldwide. However, not all news stories convey the same message as news agencies tend to characterize their news towards their audiences (Watkins, 2001). Consequently, this can result in a story being interpreted and written about in a different way depending on the target audience. Regarding the United States, this concept of characterization becomes very interesting to study, as it can potentially result in high levels of polarization among the public. (Merkley & Stecula, 2018).

In a democratic society, the media plays a very important role in informing public opinion. (Merkley & Stecula 2018). A lot is happening on a global scale and people tend to rely on media as their primary news source for information and updates on events (Freyenberger, 2013). However, with many different news sources providing daily updates, it becomes important to understand how each story is covered, or differently put, framed. This concept can be explained through the means of framing. As framing theory suggests, a story can be told in many different ways with the focus lying in how certain information is presented, and how this can influence the audience and their perception of this information (Tettah & King, 2011). Through the use of salience, a key feature in framing theory, media can 'frame' a piece of information to make it more noticeable, meaningful and memorable so it will better resonate with their audience (Entman, 1993). This is a widespread technique in news reporting and is why salience is an important aspect to take into account when analyzing the impact of media influence on public opinion.(Watkins, 2001).

In the United States, many news agencies exist, yet not all present the news exactly the same way. Some channels cover news more conservatively, whilst others present the news in a more liberal way (Mitchell et al., 2014). Mainly this is because of the political preference of the audience, as one's political affiliation can influence the way someone views certain aspects of the world (Mitchell et al, 2014). As news agencies seek to resonate with their audience, we can find this in news broadcasting as well as written news communications(Merkley & Stecula, 2020). Previous research suggests that an interesting comparison can be found in news coverage between news agencies CNN and Fox News (Nielsen & Engsholt 2020), and that especially based on the values of news transparency, it can be insightful to study the differences that can be found in the way these two agencies cover the same events. Furthermore, while research suggests that both news agencies cover news based on ideological standpoints of its viewers, a lack of theory and analysis exists on this part concerning one of the larger societal movements of the last decade, the Black Lives Matter movement (Merkley & Stecula, 2020). Due to the societal impact of the movement, as well as the polarization in news broadcasting, a framing analysis is an interesting and appropriate topic. In this paper, events of the Black Lives Matter

movement will be studied through the qualitative analysis of news articles published by both news agencies. To this end, the following research question was formulated: “*How are the events surrounding the Black Lives Matter movement framed by CNN and Fox News?*”. To answer the main research question, a set of sub-questions are/were formulated to aid the process. These are/were the following:

1. *How are events of the BLM movement framed by Fox News?*
2. *How are events of the BLM movement framed by CNN?*

Based on previous research, expectations were that Fox News, being acknowledged as more conservative, would cover news from a conservative point of view, often identified with right-winged political values. Similarly, CNN was expected to cover news from a more liberal point of view, often identified with left-winged political values. The context of how ideologies are embedded in different news coverages remains to be considered in future research.

2. Theoretical Framework

In this section, a theoretical foundation will be presented in which all relevant theory is discussed regarding the topics of framing theory, political affiliation, CNN and Fox News and how this relates to the Black Lives Matter movement. The chapter consists of four parts with a set of sub-sections for each. First, the concept of framing theory will be/is discussed followed by studies on news frames. Second, political affiliation will be/is discussed, with an eye towards the US media landscape and the political sphere within it. Thirdly, a comparative framework of the news agencies CNN and Fox News will be/is presented accompanied by a discussion of the communalities and differences between these using studies that exemplify their distinctive features. Lastly, all theory will be linked to the topic of this study, being the Black Lives Matter movement. Within this section, the movement itself will be briefly introduced followed by theory that will help guide this study as a whole.

2.1 Framing the news

The concept of framing theory, and a practical outline of what certain frames incorporate, are both important features of this study in order to understand how CNN and Fox News relate to one another and to examine how certain events are framed in both of their news coverage. In the following section, a brief introduction of framing theory will be discussed as well as an outline of some existing literature on previously determined news frames. Both subjects will aid in creating the foundation of this study and guide the reader through the scope of this research.

2.1.1 Framing Theory

Every day we are exposed to certain types of media, sometimes without being aware of the fact. This can be through watching television, reading a newspaper, the use of social media or even through a simple conversation between friends or family. Yet how we understand and interpret these forms of information depends on how certain information is presented, the choice of media outlet and ourselves as individuals

(Goffman, 1974). Moreover, the various ways of how information can be presented, illustrates the concept of media framing (Goffman, 1974). Framing incorporates the actual contents of a message and can be used as a tool to structure and convey information in a certain way (Goffman, 1974).

Scheufele and Twombs (2007) argue that media framing can be explained, based on how news reports are characterized and highlighted, and how a message in reports like these can be contextualized through the means of selecting “some parts of a perceived reality” to enhance their presence “in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and /or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, p. 53). In other words, media frames are there to help audiences “locate, perceive, identify and label” the discourse around them

(Goffman,1974). According to Scheufele and Tweeksbury (2007), the framework of media framing exists on two different levels, being the macro-, and micro level construct (Scheufele & Tweeksbury, 2007). The macro-level construct refers to the way certain information is presented, characterized and highlighted so that it resonates with the audience. The micro-level construct focuses on how an individual interprets such information and creates one's own impression of the subject (Scheufele & Tweeksbury, 2007). Both constructs play a part in the eventual outcome of the story (Scheufele & Tweeksbury, 2007).

The act of characterization and highlighting a news story can also be explained through the concept of salience (Entman, 1993). Salience means “making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audience” (Entman,1993, p. 53). The use of salience can help a certain message to resonate with its audience which can result in, for example, the message to be better understood or remembered (Entman, 1993). Salience is a key component in media framing and can be detected in any news frame To create a better understanding of this, many studies have been done in the past that analyze and detect different sorts of news frames. The next section will introduce the most relevant studies that help build this research.

2.1.2 News frames

The ‘us’ and ‘them’ frame

In 2020, a framing analysis investigating the partisanship between news agencies CNN and Fox News with regards to the reporting of former President Trump's impeachment trial identified significant polarization between these agencies (Nielsen & Engsholt 2020). Through sampling highlighted proceedings of the trial, clear differences were found on how these events were covered by both agencies. During this research, news articles reported by both agencies about the same events were studied. As a result, a distinction was found presenting an overall ‘us’ and ‘them’ frame, with ‘us’ representing the agencies’ respective target audiences and ‘them’ representing those who disagreed with the agencies’ respective published view of events. This frame will also be investigated in the study of the Black Lives Matter movement.

The five most common news frames

Whilst a number of studies have contributed to the an impressive collection of literature on the understanding of frames and framing theory (e.g., Edelman, 1993; Entman, 1991, 1993; Fiske & Taylor,1991; Gamson, 1992; Goffman, 1974), a set of content analysis indicators have yet to be standardized to reliably measure the prevalence of common frames in the news. A study done by Semetko and Valkenburg added significant value to this context as they investigated five common frames that were identified in earlier studies on framing and framing effects (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). These five frames that were identified have contributed to a larger understanding of how news

can be framed and how to make sense of the news using the established frameworks. In order to understand what these frames mean to this research, I will briefly discuss the content of each frame and conclude what can be considered important for the overall analysis.

First off, *conflict frame*. Conflict frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups or institutions (Neuman et al., 1992). Often, a conflict frame can be found in political discussions, electoral campaigns and other events where (political) parties, groups or individuals oppose each other. Academic observations have been made that political discussion among the elite during campaigns reduces complex substantive political debate to overly simplistic conflicting statements or points of view (Patterson, 1993). Conflict frame is closely related to the concept of strategy coverage (Jamieson, 1992; Patterson, 1993) which concerns itself with news coverage that makes winning and losing the central focus. Strategy coverage can generally be found in reporting on subjects such as war, sports and competitions of all kinds. It will become interesting to see how Prevalent a conflict frame is compared to other common frames in the news.

Second is the *human interest frame*. This frame brings a human face or personal angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem. Sometimes described as the “human impact” frame, this frame adds personalization which contributes to the character of a story (Neuman et al., 1992). As journalism has become more and more competitive, agencies have sought ways to capture and retain the attention of the audience (Bennet, 1995). Framing news in terms of human interest is an effective approach to do this as it helps to personalize and dramatize news stories.

Third is the *economic consequences frame*. This frame refers to a particular event, problem or issue that carries a certain impact in terms of the economic consequence it will have on an individual, group, institution, region or country. The economics consequences frame presents the news from the perspective of the actual economic impact or consequence that event has (Neuman et al., 1992). This type of effect creates more important value to the news as it helps the issue to become more relevant to the audience (Gamson, 1992).

Fourth is the *morality frame*. This frame puts the event, problem or issue in the context of religious belief or moral imperative. Because journalism is intended to be objective, journalists often make use this framework by reporting a particular issue through the already existing perspectives of their target audience. In other words, by using the views or beliefs of a certain group, a journalist can introduce a topic of discussion without having to ask permission or opionate on the issue themself. Such frames can contain subjects that address moral proscriptions, or offer social expectations on how to behave in certain situations (Neuman et al., 1992).

Lastly is the *responsibility frame*. This frame puts focus on assigning responsibility to either a government, an individual or a group as the responsible protagonist for a relevant issue or problem. The responsibility frame helps in shaping public understanding on certain key social problems. An example of this is illustrating a point of view on poverty by reporting on a homeless person who is held up to be responsible for his own choices, rather than his welfare being the responsibility of the

government or other organized system (Iyengar, 1987).

To summarize, the five above mentioned frames proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) all incorporate social constructs that are present in our society. By understanding the practical and contextual use of each frame, it can become more clear how news agencies make use of the different frames and why. It is also highly likely that one or more than these frames can be detected in the articles written on the Black Lives Matter movement that are used in this study. The BLM movement encompasses multiple social issues such as real and perceived racism, human rights and matters of equality. As various frames are detected, the frames determined by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) will serve as guidance, as well as a comparative tool to the analysis.

Separately and furthermore, it is also important to note that the media landscape in the United States, as well as the relevance of political affiliation within that landscape are additional and essential parts of the foundation of this study. We will now proceed to that topic.

2.2 The US media landscape and political affiliation

This section will discuss the topic of political affiliation and the influence this has on individuals, as well as on media outlets. In the United States, the political system is based on a majoritarian system (Thompson, 2019). What this means is that candidates have to receive a majority of the votes to be elected. Often two large political parties are opposed to each other. When elected, the winning party obtains all power of governance. In such a system, political affiliation is divided into opposing parties, usually with contrasting ideologies. To get a better understanding of how both parties view the Black Lives Matter movement, it is important to understand the way both parties hold different views on how they perceive the world.

2.2.1 The US media landscape

In a democratic society, mass media play an important role. However as important as they are, media and in particular news media, can cause a great deal of divide and polarization (Merkley & Stecula, 2018). Ever since the rise of the internet, the media landscape has changed in the United States (Merkley & Stecula, 2018). New technological developments created a shift in the news industry as local news sources decreased, and new news sources, often embedded with ideological tints, entered the news markets (Merkley & Stecula, 2018). Moreover, with the growth of social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, the way how Americans consume news changed as well. One of the reasons for this are algorithms, promoting content which arouse sensation, yet also promote divisiveness (Merkley & Stecula, 2018). At this stage, political affiliation becomes a factor of play on what news is consumed and how this resonates with one's individual views on society (Merkley & Stecula, 2018).

Considering news coverage, political affiliation can determine what news is consumed and by whom (Grieco, 2020). The reason for this can be explained by the audience that watches a certain news channel. Consequently, each audience will consume the news of their preferred news outlet. Pew Research Center conducted a study into the viewers of certain media outlets. As a result, Fox News shows that 93% of its viewers identify themselves as Republicans, and 79% of CNN's viewers, identified themselves as Democrat (Grieco, 2020). Between both political parties, a high contrast of ideology exists. These ideologies have a significant influence on how the parties are shaped, yet also affect the views of the people endorsing these parties (Kemmelmeyer, 2008). What this means in terms of news outlets, with the fact that 93% of Fox News's viewers identify themselves as Republicans, it can be suggested that the content broadcasted by Fox News have similar views as to its audience. Similarly, this can be applied to CNN as well.

2.2.2 Political affiliation

Before taking a closer look at how different media embed features of political ideology, it is important consider what the differences in ideology between Republicans and Democrats are and why it is such an important factor within the discourse of studying CNN and Fox News. First off, the divide between conservative and liberal opinion continues to grow, as does the amount of people that find themselves on either end of the political debate (Abramowitz and Saunders 2008). Noting this growing sense of political affiliation among individuals, research has started to investigate whether and how political affiliation can have an influence on ones' thoughts, feelings and behavior (Fraley et al. 2012; Jost et al. 2003). Moreover, results show that political affiliation plays an important role in ones' individual identity, this for three reasons. First, political values are of importance in shaping core values (Vernon and Allport 1931). Second, the ideological inclination that a person has, are detected from an early age. This ultimately shapes the development of self-concepts through adolescence and early adulthood (Fraley et al. 2012). Lastly, among other aspects that shape ones' social identity, political ideology characterizes certain views and values which shape someone's thoughts, feelings and actions (Jost et al. 2003; Nail et al. 2009).

Theory of the dominance-based social hierarchy

Another important facet that is affected by political affiliation, concerns the theory called 'legitimacy of dominance-based social hierarchy' (Jost et al. 2003). In short, this translates to views on how social hierarchy should be shaped based on social status and ranking. This is something on which conservative and liberal ideologies maintain opposing beliefs. A major aspect within this spectrum is the attitude towards inequality. The conservative ideology considers the hierarchical structure to be legitimate, as it reflects on the notion that if people work hard, hard work is rewarded. This to be represented in the appropriate level within the social hierarchy (Jost et al. 2003). Liberalism however,

considers this hierarchical structure to be illegitimate, as they assume that all people work hard, yet some obtain higher ranks in the hierarchy due to luck or social connections (Crawford et al. 2015). This ultimately reflects, in the case of conservatives, to the higher social dominance orientation, which can be characterized by the legitimacy of the social hierarchy (Crawford et al. 2015).

Reflecting on this theory, the assumption can be made that due to the stronger belief in this social hierarchy, conservatives show less support for redistributing wealth in society, as opposed to liberals (Crawford et al. 2015; Ordabayeva and Fernandes 2017). Furthermore, propositions are made that these differences can be appointed because people tend to adopt hierarchy beliefs that fit and confirms their ideology. With that said, this chain of causality extends from political ideology to hierarchy beliefs, and thus eventually to a difference in preference which then resonates with what news a person consumes or not (Ordabayeva & Fernandes, 2018).

What this means in context of the Black Lives Matter movement, is that the influence of a particular political affiliation may reflect on how issues are viewed about the movement and how media chooses to frame certain events. Issues that are addressed in the movement concern racial oppression, human rights and forms inequality, all of which can relate to the way someone views the social hierarchy. With that said, this study investigates whether aspects of social hierarchy and other values found in the difference of political affiliation can be identified in the comparison of news articles by CNN and Fox News.

2.3 Fox News versus CNN

Fox News and CNN are two of the largest news channels in the United States (Statista, 2021). As both belong to the major broadcasters in the news industry in the US, it becomes of interest to study how this success came to be and why. With a first look at the viewers of each channel, it becomes interesting to see that an initial divide can be found among the viewers and their political preference. As stated earlier, 93% of Fox News' viewers identify themselves as Republicans, and 79% of CNN's viewers, identify themselves as Democrat (Grieco, 2020). Moreover, according to a study done by Pew Research Center, another divide can be found in the trustworthiness viewers have towards general news sources. Overall, Republicans view many sources across a range of platforms as untrustworthy, while at the same time, Democrats view many of those sources credible and rely on them to a greater degree (Jurkowitz et al., 2020). While such differences exist between the trustworthiness of news channels among viewers, what does this mean on how news is covered by the 'preferred' news channels. For this we focus on the comparison of Fox News and CNN.

With a closer look at Fox News and CNN, it can be noted that consumers of these media, are affected through a theory that is called the 'confirmation bias' (Song, 2016). What this means is that people tend to select information in a way that is in line with their existing beliefs and partisan predisposition (Song, 2016). Song (2016) argues that it is likely people expose themselves to

information, driven by ones' subjective need to reaffirm their views. Because of this, it can be suggested that Fox News and CNN are then allocated to the 'ideology' of the appropriate, partisan viewer, suggesting Fox News to be conservative and CNN liberal. This does not necessarily mean that both channels exercise political bias. However, some significant differences do exist between the two (Pasley, 2019).

As audiences become more polarized, the way how agencies present news changes as well (Pasley, 2019). In this context, Fox News tends to present entertainment-based news stories and is more likely to maintain opinion-based news reporting, whereas CNN sets up to be a source of breaking news and boots-on-the-ground reporting, rather than sharing personal views and commentary. (Pasley, 2019). Moreover, a larger distinction between the news agencies developed after the rains of Fox News fell into the hands of Roger Ailes, who became CEO of Fox News in 1996 and is known for creating the success of what we know today as The Fox News Factor (Aulette, 2003).

2.3.1 The Fox News Factor

After the Gulf War of 1991, CNN's news ratings increased drastically as they were the main news agency that covered everything that happened during and after the war (Morris, 2005). The approach that CNN maintained provided news coverage that was sophisticated, topical and remarkable in its dramatics. As a competing agency, Fox News was not anything of a close second to CNN considering success ratings, it was mid-1990's that Robert Ailes took the means to change this. According to Morris (2005), the success of Fox News can be explained by three aspects (Morris, 2005). First, Fox News was pioneer in developing advanced audio and visual presentation capabilities during news broadcasting. News episodes contained viewer friendly headlines, sounds effects per new item introduced and exceptional multimedia visuals (Morris, 2005).

Secondly, Fox News challenges conventional forms of journalism, something that is in favor of a large portion of its viewers, appealing the more conservative American (Alterman 2003). "Fox has brought prominence to a new sort of TV journalism that casts aside traditional notions of objectivity, holds contempt for dissent and eschews the skepticism of government as mainstream journalism's core" (Rutenberg 2003). Fox News instead exercises forms of skepticism towards mainstream media and other rivaling network companies (Collins 2004). In this process, news anchors and journalists of Fox News were given more room to editorialize. Because of this, throughout the second Gulf- and the Iraqi War, more frequent news reports emerged with heavy tones of American patriotism using phrases such as "our troops" and "terror goons", also similar to the 'us' and 'them' frame found by Nielsen and Engsholt (Nielsen & Engsholt 2020).

Lastly, Fox News made the transition of laying more focus on 'soft news', also known as entertainment-based news, rather than 'hard news' which concerns the consequential side of news such as politics, international affairs and business (Davis and Owen 1998; Fox and Van Sickle 2001).

Soft news stories generally tend to focus on a sensationalist form of news broadcasting, often focusing on aspects such as crime and disaster rather than public policy (Baum 2003).

Analyzing the Iraqi war some significant examples can be found of the Fox News Factor, in Fox News' coverage. In a visual content analysis, Silcock (2008) investigated potential ideological differences in news coverages between Fox News and CNN on the Iraqi war. While both agencies claim to be objective and balanced, a study by the Project for Excellence in Journalism (2005) found Fox News to be particularly one-sided. The news channel voiced their coverage more positively skewed towards the Bush administration while other news agencies reportedly maintained a neutral tone. The study showed that 71% of Fox News' news coverage contained journalistic opinion, while CNN only reported 2% in this category, exercising less bias (Silcock, 2005). Ironically, A study by Pew Research (2003) revealed that news audiences make a distinction between both agencies as well, stating that people that tend to get their information from Fox News are more likely to argue that other news outlets show significant bias, rather than viewers of CNN and other news agencies (Silcock, 2005).

Throughout the news coverage on the Iraqi war, Fox News was keen on adding passionate patriotism to the news coverage maintaining a more sensational approach. This ultimately resulted in successful viewer ratings, yet emphasized the levels of bias (Silcock, 2005). While CNN and other news channels maintained neutrality, Fox News laid focus on 'The great patriot', which became more visible through the story of the rescue of Private Jessica Lynch. Even though all news agencies regarded the story of Lynch as "good news", Fox News in particular used this to outline the great efforts and sacrifices of the United States as freedom fighter for the world. They dedicated more time towards the patriotic act of a hero, rather than focusing on the war itself, objectively. The Lynch story received more attention as Fox News continued to paint an iconic hero, a female freedom fighter from a typical American town coming to save the world. Objective news stories were replaced with soft bits of heart felt patriotism and less coverage on the war itself (Silcock, 2005). As a result, Fox News' rating skyrocketed as many Americans were in need of good news against all that was bad, however what objective journalism concerned, not much was left. In conclusion, making use of great visualization of the American patriot, a challenge towards traditional journalism through the use of opinion-based news anchoring, and taking the merits of sensationalistic news reporting, the definition of what the Fox News Factor incorporates becomes more visible.

To summarize, the success of the Fox News Factor can be explained by the advanced audio and visual presentation capabilities, the extent to which news anchors have freedom to editorialize news bites and the way of presenting entertainment-based news stories, also known as soft-news. In the news coverage of the Iraqi war, a clear example can be seen of how Fox News uses the editorial freedom by adding passionate patriotism as a sensational approach. This can be seen as opinion-based news reporting.

While Fox News can dedicate some of its success to the Fox News Factor, CNN also

maintains a form of news reporting that distinguishes itself from the competition in the field of journalism.

2.3.2 The CNN effect

Similarly to Fox News, CNN has a way of shaping their narrative based on a framework which is called The CNN effect (Gilboa et al., 2016). Unlike Fox News, presenting their news stories from an internal affairs point of view of the American society, CNN takes a broader perspective focusing more on policy-making and international affairs, being well-known for covering humanitarian interventions over the past decades (Robinson, 2013). The Gulf War in 1991 marked a turning point in the history of communication and that of CNN prominently. The success of the news coverage that CNN provided shaped the way they present news and has since then become a decisive factor in determining policies and outcomes of significant events (Gilboa et al., 2016).

In a research paper on clarifying the CNN effect, Livingston (1997), identified three distinct features that fall under the understanding of the CNN effect. Livingston argues that the media functions as first, a policy agenda-setting agent, second, an obstacle to the attainment of policy goals and third, a tool to excel policy decision-making. (Livingston, 1997; Benabid, 2021). Through the means of laying focus on a particular event, international incident or act of diplomacy, ongoing media coverage effectively forces political attention, as the people responsible in that particular event often attempt to convey that they are “on top of” current issues. (Livingston, 1997). According to Belknap (2001), the effect of the media providing real time news coverage, has led to instant public awareness and an open review of strategic decisions and internal affairs as these stories unfold (Belknap, 2001). With the aim to increase transparency, public figures often release statements or take action, however when done poorly this may complicate diplomatic relationships even more which then require immediate action from governments to minimize political risk. The global mass media, through the means of 24-hour news ‘surveillance’ thus accelerates the policy-making process, demanding fast paced decisions and action to prevent being perceived as a leadership vacuum, meaning the ineffectiveness of leadership (Belknap, 2001).

A study done by Mhamdi (2017), investigated the news coverage of CNN on the first two months of the Iraqi war in 2003. Conducting a qualitative framing analysis, the paper shows how the conflict, issues, strategies, and parties were referred to in CNN’s content. (Mhamdi, 2017). At the time, a lot of ambiguity lingered among the American people whether going to war with Iraq was the right decision or not. In the coverage of CNN a strong case advocating going to war was present, as a reoccurring theme was found that illustrated America to ‘oust’ the evil dictator out of Iraq and discard the threat it poses to U.S. interests and national security (Mhamdi, 2017). Alongside, many subjects followed that strengthened the discourse on the war against Iraq consisting of themes such as war, terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and non-existing diplomacy that were particularly prominent.

All themes were carefully chosen, creating an American-centered war narrative, whilst reflecting a pro-U.S. nationalistic approach of the United States as the protector of democracy with the moral responsibility to fight all evil in the world (Mhamdi, 2017).

Besides direct themes such as the coverage of the moral duty of the United States, strong cases for indirect themes were found to reoccur as well. Main findings suggested themes of ‘non-compliance’ which relate to the neglect of negotiations between the U.S. and Iraqi war leader Saddam Hussein. Next to non-compliance, a strong case was made for an international law theme reoccurring prominently, which also maintained strong sentiments towards the history between U.S. and Al Qaeda dating back to September 11th, 2001 (Mhamdi, 2017). Employing this analysis according to what is known on the CNN effect some clear cases become visible as to how CNN tends to position news stories. Comparing the news coverage of Fox News and CNN a significant distinction can be found in the context of hard- and soft news.

In conclusion, CNN maintains an approach that is focused largely on policies and policy-making. The CNN effect can be explained by three factors which suggest that the media functions as a policy agenda-setting agent, an obstacle to the attainment of policy goals and lastly, a tool to excel policy decision-making. (Livingston, 1997; Benabid, 2021). As can be seen in the study done on the Iraqi war, CNN tends to focus on international affairs and democratic image (Mhamdi, 2017). In contrast to Fox News, CNN maintains an approach of covering hard-news, also perceived as factual and less sensationalistic news reporting, whereas Fox News maintains a more entertainment-based, soft-news approach.

2.4 Black Lives Matter

The Black Lives Matter movement is a social movement that is known globally and continues to raise a lot of awareness and attention (Maqbool, 2020). However, the social movement does not receive equal forms of support or the other. In order to understand why this divide exists, a greater understanding must be raised which can help to answer this. In the following section a brief introduction will be discussed on the origin of the Black Lives Matter movement, as well as a proposed theory that helps explain the divide of support through the means of a theory called the racial threat hypothesis (Blalock, 1967).

2.4.1 Origin of the Black Lives Matter movement

On July 13th, 2013, George Zimmerman got acquitted of the fatal shooting of Trayvon Martin, a Black teenager who had been a victim of racial profiling and was unjustly killed in Florida. A year later on August 9th, 2014, another incident occurred where a police officer shot and killed Michael Brown, another Black teenager, in the streets of Ferguson, Missouri. After the shooting, Michael’s

body lay on the site for over four hours, in plain view (Bosman & Goldstein, 2014). As an accumulation of events, the former incident has led to the origin of the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter, which over the course of four years has developed into a globally supported social movement (Kirby, 2020). Only a year ago, on the 25th of May, 2020, the day is marked which changed the social movement towards a new stage. One of the first times the death of another Black man, killed by the hands of the police, was shot and recorded in broad daylight for the world to see. From this day demonstrations, internet protests and vigil movements have erupted around the world. Thousands of people protesting for days calling for the justice and the eradication of systemic racism (Kirby, 2020). The visibility of the Black Lives Matter movement remained prominent as each incident only strengthened the momentum by drawing national attention to “the seemingly endless litany of dead black bodies needing to be named, mourned, and remembered” (Hooker, 2016, p. 465).

The #BlackLivesMatter movement was initiated as a hashtag and went viral on social media. Since the start of the online movement, many organization joined the cause by organizing demonstrations, action and vigils (Ruffin, 2015). The hashtag was created to raise awareness for the injustice towards the black community, originated on Twitter. Currently #BlackLivesMatter has the top two hashtags on social media on social justice (Ruffin, 2015). This suggests the internet to be a strong and important tool in creating awareness and engaging in movements for social change on a global scale. In the scope of this study, the internet will be a central environment as the articles written on events of the #BlackLivesMatter movement will be gathered from the online web pages of CNN and Fox News.

2.4.2 The racial threat hypothesis

As there seems to be a divide among people whether they support or oppose to the #Black LivesMatter movement, for this study we attempt to seek an explanation to why this is, one idea that has been proposed being the theory of the racial threat hypothesis. Considering academic research, substantial theory has yet to be developed on the understanding of why certain individuals and institutions oppose a movement such as the Black Lives Matter movement (Updegrave, Cooper, Orrick, & Piquero, 2018). In the meantime, an alternate framework has been presented to help understand why some people reject the movement, explained by the racial threat hypothesis, which will also be used for this study (Blalock, 1976). The racial threat hypothesis was originally used to analyze why majority groups (typically white communities) organize in social control against Black communities (Blalock, 1967). As for an example, in the consensus that law enforcement is a form of social control, members of the majority society may regard an unarmed Black man, fatally shot by the police, as the protection of their interests from the “threatening” Black population (Parker, MacDonald, Jennings, & Alpert, 2005).

The racial threat hypothesis is a thoroughly reviewed theory among academics (Parker, Stults & Rice, 2005) and proves to be a prevalent framework in the explanation of racial inequalities within the criminal justice system (Dollar, 2014; Wang & Mears, 2010). According to racial threat position, it is not accidental nor unintentional that inequalities exist in the criminal justice system. Instead, the criminal justice system is viewed as a systematic tool for the dominant culture and those in power to maintain their positions of dominance and control minority groups that pose potential threat to their privileged position. Meaning, in areas where minority groups increase in size and excel, people of a dominant culture may be more likely to impose forms of social control to maintain their position in society (Blalock, 1967). In other words, racial threat hypothesis implies that the Caucasian majority has control over the U.S. government, law, economy and justice system and that they use these positions of power to retain control and avoid a loss of control to other groups (Blalock, 1967).

Considering the threat that is felt by the dominant culture, maintaining fear of losing its privileged position in society, similar features can be traced back to earlier findings on the dominance-based social hierarchy theory, proposed by Jost et al. (2003). Endorsers of the social hierarchy show less support for matters such as redistributing wealth or anything that gives up positions of power (Jost et al., 2003). As results showed that conservatives were more likely to support the social hierarchy, in the study done on the racial threat hypothesis, participants who were male, older, Republican, and conservative were all more likely to oppose the BLM movement in the present day. Towards that end, being Republican or conservative had a 1.6 and 2.6 times higher likelihood of opposing the BLM movement (Updegrave, Cooper, Orrick, & Piquero, 2018).

What this means in regard to the Black Lives Matter coverages by Fox News and CNN more research has yet to be developed. However, implications can be made that through the Fox News Factor effect, Fox News is likely to present news in a way that centers the interest of the American citizen. An accumulation of sensationalist patriotism and a potential “us” and “them” frame with support for law enforcement is likely to be incorporated (Morris, 2005; Nielsen & Engsholt 2020). As expected differently, CNN will potentially take a broader, more international point of view addressing policies, international affairs and government responsibility, based on what is known on the CNN effect (Mhamdi, 2017).

As the internet provides a vast amount of resources in the field of communication, this study will take the advantage of using the large databases of articles presented on the CNN and Fox News’ news websites. With the aim of seeking to understand why certain people accept or reject a social movement such as the Black Lives Matter movement, the framework of the racial threat hypothesis will aid in the process of finding relating aspects to other subjects that are incorporated in this study such as political affiliation and the use of certain frames.

3. Method

In this section, all relevant methodological approaches will be presented and discussed. In consideration of this study, a qualitative research approach is selected in the form of a framing analysis. The data that is collected consists of news articles, extracted from the news websites of CNN and Fox News. The data analysis method consists of a combination of grounded theory and a thematic analysis. Because of this, the data can be analyzed in a structured way whilst making use of existing literature to guide the process of interpretation. In the following sections, an elaboration on all parts will be discussed.

3.1. Research design

The aim of this research is to study the concept of media framing and how certain events of the Black Lives Matter movement are covered by the news agencies Fox News and CNN. On this subject, a deliberation was made whether the appropriate methods should consist of quantitative research methods, or qualitative research methods, as both are applicable in this case.

Quantitative methods, mostly incorporate standardized procedures, intending to study social phenomena through the means of numbers and hypothesis testing (Silverman, 2006). Due to the standardized means, quantitative studies are viable for considerably larger samples than qualitative studies (Silverman, 2006). This consequently makes it possible to draw broader conclusions and generalize on the findings (Patton, 2002). However, not all social phenomena are properly measurable through the use of quantitative methods, numbers and statistics, as this type of data might limit the probability of uncovering various aspects of these phenomena (Silverman, 2006).

In contrast, qualitative methods take an in-depth approach which is mostly concerned with a rather small and more specified sample (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest that qualitative research tends to focus on the deeper meaning and understanding of a social construct, studying through the means of words, opinions and experiences rather than statistical meaning (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Moreover, qualitative research often operates on an inductive approach, seeking to discover theory, rather than proving theory. As not a lot is known on the topic of this study, an inductive approach aids to the exploratory nature of qualitative research (Taylor & Bogdan 1998). However, qualitative methods tend to be considered more subjective, which can be affected through personal investment of the researcher. Moreover, qualitative research is often rather limited for generalizability as studies mostly look at individual and purposely selected samples, opposed to larger random samples that can be found in quantitative studies (Bryman, 2008)

For this study, the aim is to investigate *how* certain events are covered in the news and to what extent these reporting's are framed by the media. For this research, a selection of 3 events is made over the course of the Black Lives Matter movement, being the deaths of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor and Michael Brown. On these events, purposely selected samples are drawn and analyzed from

both news agencies. The aim is to uncover a deeper understanding on how the events of the Black Lives Matter movement are framed by the media. This research is designed to aid the conduct of a comparative analysis, based on online articles published by the chosen news agencies. The researcher does not seek to generalize the results, yet tries to find more insights on how media is framed between two opposing news agencies. Because of this, the appropriate method for this study will be of a qualitative content analysis.

3.2. Data collection method

For this study, the aim is to investigate events of the Black Lives Matter movement and how these events are covered in the news by CNN and Fox News. The news articles that are studied consist of online news articles. Due to the changing environment of news reporting, online presence has become more prominent (Merkley & Stecula, 2018). This makes the analysis of online news articles current and relevant. The choice of comparing CNN to Fox News is based on the foundation of their large audiences and their previously established difference in political opinion (Nielsen & Engsholt 2020). Moreover, previous studies have conducted comparative analysis on CNN and Fox News, which makes it a reliable comparison to study (Merkley & Stecula, 2018).

The unit of analysis consist of online news articles published by CNN and Fox News, based on a set of the 3 highlighted events of the Black Lives Matter movement. On each of these events a total of 10 articles were analyzed per news agency, published by CNN and Fox News. The events that were used in the sample were purposively chosen. The articles however, were chosen based on a random selection by the researcher.

The purposive sampling selection of the events are based on a study done by Pew Research Center. In this study, the main events of the Black Lives Matter movement are presented, based on the highest frequency of the use of #BlackLivesMatter on social media. Based on this, the 3 events with the highest frequency of the hashtag were selected for this study. The events of the investigation consist of deaths of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor and Michael Brown (Anderson, 2016; Rahman, 2020). Once the events were selected, the articles were chosen based on random sampling. The sample criteria consisted of articles containing at least 300 words. The data was collected from the websites of CNN and Fox News.

After all data was collected, every article was imported into the program Atlas.ti, this is software designed for doing rigorous and structural qualitative analysis, which aids the data analysis process. The analysis provides a structured way to interpret the large amount of data through the means of initial-, axial-, and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In the following section, the coding process will be further discussed.

3.3. Data analysis method

Due to the nature of this study, the selection of the appropriate research design and data analysis is crucial (Ritchie et al., 2003 p. 274-275). As many analysis methods serve their own purpose, for this study, an analysis is considered that helps deconstruct, reconstruct and reinterpret data to obtain new insights for building theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). First formulated by Glaser and Strauss (1967), and further developed by Corbin and Strauss (1990), grounded theory methodology has developed in a number of ways that help building theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Through the systematic and structural methodology that grounded theory allows, researchers are aided to conduct theory development which is grounded in the data (Demuth & Mey, 2015). On the subject of media framing, many previous studies have been done. However, with the topic that is chosen for this research, not a lot of theory exists. Because of this, a framing analysis on this particular subject will present new findings of which theory yet has to be formed. Ultimately, this makes Constructivist Grounded theory an appropriate method of analysis.

However, Constructivist Grounded theory implies that the analysis is conducted without any prior theory or preconceived ideas on the topic to maintain an open and unbiased position (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). To complement this process, an additional method of analysis is applied in which prior theory may be used to guide the analysis process. For this reason, a combination of Constructivist Grounded theory and a thematic analysis is maintained. The application of a thematic analysis allows this research to create themes based on the data and existing literature. Ultimately, this aids the process of developing theory (Babbie, 2014).

Additionally, grounded theory and thematic analysis make use of a coding system which helps the researcher to deconstruct and reconstruct the data systematically (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The coding process consists of open coding, axial coding and selective coding. Meaning that with open coding, anything that is seen can be recorded, descriptively. Here, anything substantial that is written in the articles will be noted which concern aspects like certain forms of wording, views, beliefs, ideologies and any other relevant description that is related to the tone of the article. Axial coding allows the researcher to engage in potential relationships between created categories based on the open codes. At this stage, connections are made between the different aspects found in the articles. The researcher attempts to categorize similar findings and structure groups of open codes to prepare for the selective coding stage. Selective coding consists of the process where patterns can be found and established between the axial codes. Through the part of the thematic analysis, the findings of this study were compared against and structured to a predefined set of five different news frames consisting of attribution of responsibility-, conflict-, human interest-, economic consequences-, and morality frames (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Based on research done by Semetko & Valkenburg, these frames provide a background to contextualize and interpret the collected data.

Throughout this process, all articles were imported and analyzed with the help of Atlas.ti. Within the tool, the articles were read in which any remarkable description was highlighted to be further analyzed in the followed stage. After all the initial codes were collected, the selection process helped to connect the articles of CNN and Fox News, which provided an overview of recurring categories based on the initial codes. In the end, the formed categories provided a broad view of topics that are connected to the respected news agencies and the way each article was framed. This in turn, aided the researcher to construct abstract ideas into substantial themes in the framing analysis, upon which these themes were prioritized to eventually develop news frames and help build theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

3.4. Possible limitations

Some limitation can be found during this study. As the amount of data available online is vast, the choice of which articles that were used for the analysis can contain a sense of subjectivity. To minimize this risk, this study tried to exhaust the data until the point of saturation. Moreover, Fox News and CNN also operate under broadcasting news on television. This study only included data that was presented on their news websites. Future research would suggest to investigate televised broadcasting as well.

4. Results

The concept of news framing has been a well-educated topic in academia for decades and remains to be an insightful and impactful tool in the process of information dissemination. For this study, the interest is in how events surrounding the Black Lives Matter movements are framed. Three different events were chosen throughout the timeline of the Black Lives Matter movement to be analyzed, being the deaths of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor and Michael Brown. On each event, ten articles were examined per news agency to investigate how these events were framed. The analysis process is conducted per event separately to investigate what the differences are in framing, without being distracted by an overwhelming amount of information. Each event has found three different frames that were used, all based on multiple themes and sub-categories that originated out of the coding process. The results will aid in the process to build new theory on the understanding of news framing between CNN and Fox News. In this chapter, all results will be presented and each frame will be explained on how it was discovered. The interpretation of the results will be discussed in the conclusion chapter.

4.1 Framing the death of George Floyd

The death of George Floyd has had a significant impact on the Black Lives Matter movement as it is one of the first moments, the death of a black man by the hands of the police, was recorded and spread over the internet. This event has gained worldwide attention and is till today a topic of discussion in the news. The results of the analysis of CNN and Fox News have brought similar findings, yet also present clear differences in how the media has framed the events, including articles on the death of George Floyd and news coverage of the protests that followed his death. In the following sections the results can be found, reported per news agency separately.

4.2.1 CNN framing the death of George Floyd

Investigating the news coverage of CNN on the events surrounding the death of George Floyd, three different frames emerged that cover the topics and themes that CNN maintained reporting the event. The news frames detected are a *social development frame*, *responsibility frame* and *authority frame*. All frames will be discussed based on how these frames were detected through analyzing the themes and sub-categories.

Social development frame

First off, the *social development frame*. This frame is detected based on two themes, which consist of *social issues* and *accountability*. *Social issues* is a reoccurring theme throughout the articles published by CNN on the George Floyd events. The sub-categories included in this theme are *social change and racial inequality*. Uncovering the sub-categories, a significant amount of coverage is dedicated to CNN addressing social change. Throughout the articles, CNN frequently talks about how the world reacts to the death of George Floyd in assertions of social change, yet also addresses the need for social change through the emphasis on racial inequality. Examples of this can be seen in sections describing acts of social change:

“Coronavirus also exposed the interconnectedness of human vulnerability, which provides a new lens through which Whites can view Floyd's killing, said Emory University” and

*"I never would've imagined I would see a day when the Washington football team would **change its name**," said Tyran Steward"*

Whilst also mentioning many statements that emphasize racial inequality:

"The only way in which Black people will have success or the same level of equity is their interests have to converge with White interests," Yancy said. "It's not genuine equity. It conforms to the interests of White people."

Amongst many other examples found in the articles, CNN exhibits to add salience on behalf of *social issues* mentioned in their news coverage. Complementing the theme of *social issues*, the theme *accountability* reoccurred frequently as well. On this part, CNN dedicated a significant amount of time appointing accountability to the officer that killed George Floyd as well as the government failing to adequately manage the protests that followed his death. Comments that point this out are:

"The Legal Aid Society and the New York Civil Liberties Union issued a joint statement saying the report, "confirms that the shocking violence the NYPD employed during the George Floyd protests was directly traceable to the leadership failures of Mayor de Blasio, Police Commissioner Shea and other police leaders who created a de facto policy permitting and encouraging individual officers to target protesters for brutal treatment and unlawful arrests."

More comments such as this remark that CNN frames their messages with the attempt to appoint accountability and raise awareness of present social issues which consequently function as fundament for a the frame to be detected, *social development frame*.

The development of this frame is based on the responsibility frame, proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) argue that the responsibility frame attempts to assign responsibility to either a government, individual or group as responsible actor for an issue or a problem that has been caused (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Ultimately, this can be found in the social development frame as well however, more aspects are addressed than the sole attribution of responsibility or accountability. In addition, the social development frame attempts to address the awareness of the social issues at hand which indicates a development aspect. Because of this, the *social development frame* is identified.

Responsibility frame

As for the second frame, the *responsibility frame* was detected, one of the proposed frames identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). This frame is built up based on two themes being *lack of professionalism* and *counteract (to police misconduct)*. In the theme lack of professionalism, CNN dedicated a significant amount of attention to the sub-categories *police training*, and *police misconduct*. The category of police training incorporates two stages. One being the officers that were on sight when George Floyd died, whom lacked police training which ultimately resulted in the death of George Floyd. Second, the focus on the need for police training to prevent officers from acting as poorly as they did during the protests. Amongst others, comments were made such as:

"We needed an objective ... look at what happened in May and June," the mayor said. "We needed to understand what went right, what went wrong, what needs to be different, what needs to be better. I

certainly take full responsibility for the issues that are raised in the report and the changes that we have to make."

In addition, a large amount of comments laid emphasis on the sub-category police misconduct. In this category the subject of police officers acting with excessive force and officers managing to escalate demonstrations rather than facilitating were overly prominent. Many paragraphs include sections such as:

"The NYPD didn't implement a proper strategy to handle the protests, first by not deploying enough officers and later on by using "disorder control tactics" which led to confrontations instead of de-escalation, the report says."

Comments such as these align fairly similar to the overarching theme of *counteract (to police misconduct)*. This theme is based on the sub-category *protest escalation* and focusses on how the protesters react towards police misconduct, resulting in protest escalation. Within this topic, comments are dedicated to the fact that protesters are emotionally driven by injustice. Sections here describe, that due to the use of excessive force and other drastic measures, protests escalate only more. Examples in this segment are comments such as:

"And while the report acknowledges that emotions among protesters ran high and spilled over into abuse and violence against police officers, the report also says NYPD officers engaged in actions that were unprofessional or excessive."

The combination of all themes add to CNN attempting to emphasize on the state being responsible for the outcome of certain escalated events. This brings fundament to argue that a *responsibility frame* is detected. Considering what is known on the responsibility frame proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), it can be seen that the news reports of CNN fall within the features of the proposed frame, attributing responsibility to the government as the cause or influential actor of the problem at hand (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

Authority frame

As for the last frame that is detected in the coverage of George Floyd, the *authority frame* is found. The *authority frame* is built up based on two main themes, being *government action* and *status reports*. With a look at *government action*, two sub-categories emerged out of the articles. These sub-categories consist of *government responsibility* and *government measures (to control)*. Within this section CNN appoints focus on how the government was able to take responsibility for wrongdoing by the police and consequently introduces measures on how to properly control protests and regulate police acts. CNN lays emphases on policy changes such as police accountability bills and protest mediation.

“The report listed 20 recommendations, including the creation of a protest response unit and a patrol guide policy for protests, that NYPD Commissioner Dermot Shea said he would include.”

The third and last sub-category consist of status reports, mainly of officers making arrests and being injured. Complementing each other, the themes *government responsibility*, *government measure* and *status reports*, the overarching frame of an *authority frame* was detected. The authority frame is a new established frame, similar to the social development frame, yet not based on theory by Semetko & Valkenburg. With regard to the theory of the CNN effect (Livingston, 1997; Benabid, 2021), features of this theory were found throughout the articles of CNN mainly focusing on policies and the attention towards responsibility (of the authorities). The combination of addressing such issues with regard to ‘authorities’ has brought the identification of the *authority frame*.

In conclusion to the framing analysis on the news coverage of George Floyd by CNN, three news frames were detected consisting of a social development frame, a responsibility frame and an authority frame. In the following section, the framing analysis on the news coverage of Fox News will be presented and briefly discussed.

4.1.2 Fox News framing the death of George Floyd

In the investigation of Fox News on the coverage of George Floyd, three news frames were detected. The frames consist of a *patriotism frame*, a *conflict frame*, and a *human interest frame*. All frames will be discussed on the basis of how these frames were detected through analyzing the themes and sub-categories.

Patriotism frame

First off, the *patriotism frame*. This frame is detected based on two themes, being *righteousness* and *counter act*. Righteousness is a reoccurring theme that is based on two different sub-categories which consist of *civilian patriotism* and *justification of police force*. Fox News attempts to lay focus on the justification of the means that police officers and groups of vigilant citizens took when exercising counteracts against protesters. During the protests that followed George Floyds death, many instances were reported of violent protesting and protesters looting and destructing property. Significant emphasis is on behavior, suggesting that the act of looting and destruction of property cannot be tolerated and deserves appropriate (counter) action. Examples that substantiate these findings are comments such as:

“In Philadelphia, local residents from a group called “Stand Up Philly” banded together to deter looters from going after a Target store.”, and

“Earlier, police said protesters smashed windows at the federal courthouse, and authorities on loudspeakers declared the gathering a civil disturbance.”

The abovementioned themes have similar emphasis as the theme *counter act* in which comments of police using excessive force is justified because of the disproportionate behavior of rioting and looting, by protesters. Claims are made that police officers were in need of using excessive force in attempt to get the protesters under control.

“Boston made a turn for a worse overnight when protesters clashed with officers, throwing rocks, breaking into several stores, and lighting a police vehicle on fire. Police were forced to react with heavy measures”

Due to heavy contact among protesters, police officers and protecting locals, Fox News made a strong case creating contrast between the parties, maintaining an “us” and “them” portrayal. Examining these sub-categories, the overarching themes of *righteousness* and *counteract* make a strong case for the detected news frame of *patriotism*.

The development of this frame is based on the conflict frame, proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). Neuman et al. (1992) argue that the conflict frame attempts to emphasize on conflict between individuals, groups or institutions (Neuman et al., 1992). This feature of conflict can clearly be found in the news coverage of Fox News. Maintaining an “us” and “them” case strengthens the notion of conflict even more, a frame that was also found by Nielsen and Engsholt (Nielsen & Engsholt 2020). However, more aspects are addressed than the sole attribution of conflict. In addition, the case of the vigilant citizen in pursuit to protect property against the violent protester suggests a layer of patriotism. This is complemented with the tone of justification for the counteract against the rioting and looting protesters. Considering the additional layer of justification and patriotism, the *patriotism frame* is detected.

Conflict frame

For the second frame, a *conflict frame* was detected. This frame is identified based on two themes, consisting of *conflict* and *harm to authority*. Among these themes, a lot of emphasis is set on the conflict between the protesters and the police, this from a view point that conflict is unnecessarily caused because of the protesters. Fox News lays focus on the fact that the authorities are trying to maintain peace against the ‘rioters and the looters’ destroying property what is not theirs. Frequent paragraphs reoccur on this segment, containing comments such as:

“A Sunday afternoon of mostly peaceful protests in Boston made a turn for a worse overnight when protesters clashed with officers, throwing rocks, breaking into several stores, and lighting a police vehicle on fire.”

Complementing this segment, Fox News emphasizes on the fact that because of violent protests, many officers got injured and have been hospitalized. The salience of a negative tone overshadows a lot of news coverage on the George Floyd protests.

“Boston police tweeted that at least 40 people had been arrested as of 3 a.m. Monday, adding that seven police officers had been hospitalized and 21 police cruisers were damaged.”

The themes that build up the frame, consisting of *conflict* and *harm to authorities* capture the pure essence that Fox News is trying to illustrate a divide between good versus bad, giving all credit to the authorities. This all concludes to a clear frame of conflict that is used throughout the articles. Considering what is known on the conflict frame proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), it can be seen that the news reports of Fox News fall within the features of the proposed frame, emphasizing on conflict between individuals, groups or institutions (Neuman et al., 1992). Differently from the patriotism frame, the conflict frame is mainly focused on conflict between parties which is why a distinction is made between the conflict- and the patriotism frame.

Human interest frame

As for the last frame that is detected in the coverage of George Floyd, the *human interest frame* is found. This frame is built up upon two themes which consist of *justification* and *social movement*. With regard to the other frames detected in Fox News' coverages, the human interest frame takes a slight turn in the sense of voicing. Frequent topics that reoccurred were the incentives for demonstration as well as the logic of an increased amount of demonstration around the country. The justification theme is based on two sub-categories, being *incentives for demonstration* and *government responsibility*. While adding a significant amount of emphasis on conflict, Fox News also appropriates a fair amount of coverage on the reasons why people protest, and the call to justice voiced through increasing protests.

“Though sparked by Floyd's death, the protests in these countries also focused on systemic issues of racism seen there. The protest in London saw chants in the historically black neighborhood of Peckham of “the UK is not innocent.”

More paragraphs dedicated itself to society not being innocent of exercising racism. While the mayor was attempting to take responsibility for his town reflecting signs of racism towards minority groups in the community, protesters continue to march on the grounds of targeting systemic racism. This is captured in news coverage of Fox News as well.

“As many as 4,000 people gathered in Toronto on Saturday to protest Canada's racism. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau said it is a very “real” issue in his country. The protests, though, remained peaceful as protesters dispersed around nightfall.”

Maintaining a nuanced view on both the protesters as the governing authorities, Fox News attempts to add a human interest minded layer on their news coverage. Examining the themes of *incentives for demonstration* and *government responsibility*, a *human interest frame* is detected. Considering what is known on the human interest frame proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), it can be seen that the news reports of Fox News fall within the features of the proposed frame, emphasizing on the human impact of an issue and attempting to contribute to the character of a story (Neuman et al., 1992). The story why people protest helps to personalize and dramatize news events, ultimately pointing towards a human interest frame.

In conclusion to the framing analysis on the news coverage of George Floyd by Fox News, three news frames were detected consisting of a patriotism frame, conflict frame and a human interest frame. In the following section, the framing analysis on the news coverage of Breonna Taylor will be presented and discussed per news agency.

4.2 Framing the death of Breonna Taylor

The death of Breonna Taylor has had a significant impact on the Black Lives Matter movement as it raised a questionable amount of ambiguity as to where the accountability lied. Different cases are made as to whether Breonna Taylor was involved in alleged drug trafficking, yet also whether the police officers on duty that night were acting according to protocol. With deep rooted discrimination issues in Louisville, the death of Breonna Taylor raised a broad social debate on where the problem lies. CNN and Fox News have brought similar findings, yet also provide some differences in what point of view is the center of attention, including articles on the death of Breonna Taylor and news coverage of the protests that followed her death. In the following sections the results can be found, reported per news agency separately.

4.2.1 CNN framing the death of Breonna Taylor

Investigating the news coverage of CNN on the events surrounding the death of Breonna Taylor, three different frames emerge that cover the topics and themes that CNN maintained reporting the event. The news frames detected are the *accountability frame*, *social development frame*, and *cause/effect frame*. All frames will be discussed based on how these frames were detected through analyzing the themes and sub-categories.

Accountability frame

First off, the *accountability frame*. This frame is detected based on two themes, which consist of *status reports* and *investigation*. The theme of *status reports* is a reoccurring topic which includes a

significant amount of divisiveness on what happened before and during the night of Breonna Taylor's death. An outline of the topics of interest can be structured by the two sub-categories *case details of suspect* and *review police reports*. Both sub-categories try to uncover what happened and appoint accountability to the rightful source however, both maintain a contrasting view. In the examination of the categories, *case details of suspect* lays focus on what and why the police raided the house of Breonna Taylor. CNN dedicates some time to review the motives of the police which uncovered that Breonna's house was allegedly a location for drug trafficking. This indicates that the police would have had motive to storm the house which ultimately resulted in the death of Breonna. In contrast, CNN also reviews the police as they may have acted out of protocol. In the sub-category *review police reports*, CNN spends time covering the story that the police officers of that night were acting on a false search warrant and thus were not allowed to raid the house of Breonna which would have prevented her death from happening.

The theme of *status report* comes together with *investigation*, which is shaped through the sub-category *investigation FBI*. Due to the divisiveness on the case, CNN covers a significant part to the re-investigation of the case, conducted by the FBI.

"Cameron was named a special prosecutor in the case in May, and the FBI opened an investigation as well. After the announcement of the grand jury's decision FBI Louisville in a statement said the agency 'continues to investigate all aspects of the death of Breonna Taylor. Our work will continue beyond the state charges announced today.'"

Examining the topics of police motives, review of police reports and re-investigation by the FBI, a pattern can be found which indicated the presence of an *accountability* frame. Looking at the features of the accountability frame, a close resemblance can be found in the comparison towards the responsibility frame, proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). However, in this frame the focus lies more on seeking what side should be held accountable for everything that happened surrounding the death of Breonna Taylor as more factors are in play. This layer adds to the conclusion that the frame of accountability fits more appropriately.

Social development frame

For the second frame, a *social development frame* was detected. This frame is identified based on two themes, which consist of *social issues* and *accountability*. The theme of social issues is one that has taken up significant space in the amount of time spent on the case of Breonna Taylor. A walkthrough of background of this particular event can be illustrated through the sub-categories *racial inequality* and *policy changes*. Delving into the category of *racial inequality*, a lot of unrest exists in the black community in Louisville. On various cases, the facilities among black communities are

underdeveloped and lives are undervalued by the government. CNN dedicates a significant amount of time reviewing this inequality. Examples of this include statements such as:

"We are really dealing with a system that for centuries has maintained power over Black and brown bodies," Helm said. "There is a lot more that needs to happen. And it's really petty to think we would just be satisfied with pieces of justice."

More paragraphs like this exemplify that justice for the death of Breonna Taylor does not solve the deep rooted issues that are present in the community. To complement this segment, CNN frequently spends time addressing policy changes that are needed to restore these forms of inequality. Examples of this include statements that the black community has limited access to healthcare, school and job opportunities which has to change.

"Louisville is a racially divided community where Black neighborhoods are neglected and marked by abandoned buildings and limited access to jobs, health care and schools." and

"Louisville's police department should cut its budget and invest more money into creating opportunities for Black residents."

With the background of the situation in mind, CNN dedicates a significant amount of time on the demand for accountability, found in the sub-category *demand for accountability*. In this segment, advocates call for police accountability for the death of Breonna Taylor. The context of the statements all take a point of view, arguing that besides the inequality that already exists at least justice must be served for the acts of the police.

"Black Americans are #sickandtired of the lack of justice for police killings. The Breonna Taylor decision is yet another disappointment.", and

"Basic necessities have been taken out of our community," Herron said. "The cry for justice is not just police being held accountable but saying Black people's voices matter."

Examining the sub-categories and the relation between the themes *social issues* and *accountability*, a clear case can be made in detecting a *social development frame* throughout the articles of CNN. Similar to the social development frame found in the events of George Floyd, this frame focuses on appointing responsibility and social issues. What can be seen differently, is that framing the death of Breonna Taylor incorporates much more focus on social issues such as racial inequality and addressing policies to change this, rather than the articles on George Floyd. As addressing policies is a familiar topic that CNN tends to include in their news coverage, a development over time can be seen to what extent they attempt to include this in their news coverage, opposed to the events on George Floyd. Examining the responsibility frame proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), the added layer of addressing social issues concludes the identification of a social development frame.

Cause/effect frame

As for the last frame that is detected in the coverage of Breonna Taylor, the *cause/effect frame* is found. The *cause/effect frame* is built up out of two main themes, being *unprofessional act* and *ramification*. The relation between both themes explain the cause and effect pattern effectively. The theme of *unprofessional act* is found based on the sub-category *police misconduct*. In the articles of CNN, often the subject is covered of the police acting outside of protocol and handling unprofessionally. Consequently, this subject is followed with the set of consequences that resulted out of this police misconduct, explained by the sub-category *ramification*. In this segment, the relation is formed that due to forms of police misconduct, the officer on duty has faced termination.

“Gentry writes that Jaynes violated standard operating procedure with regards to preparation for search warrant execution and untruthfulness.”

“The letter, sent from Interim Chief of Police Yvette Gentry, informed Jaynes of the "present intention to terminate (his) employment" and that the action is based upon a review of the findings of the "Professional Standards Investigation into the preparation and execution of the search warrant" at Taylor's apartment.”

The relation between the themes of *unprofessional act*, and *ramification* create a clear link on which the *cause/effect frame* can be detected. The cause/effect frame is based on the economic consequence frame proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). This frames concerns a particular event, problem or issue that carries a certain impact in terms of the (economic) consequence (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). In the case of the cause/effect frame, the interest is shifted towards the consequence- and not so much the economic part of the frame. Since the economic part does not hold within the context of the cause/effect frame, the decision was made to focus on the consequential part, resulting in establishing a cause/effect frame.

In conclusion to the framing analysis on the news coverage of Breonna Taylor by CNN, three news frames were detected consisting of an accountability frame, social development frame, and a cause/effect frame. In the following section, the framing analysis on the news coverage of Fox News will be presented and briefly discussed.

4.2.2 Fox News framing the death of Breonna Taylor

In the investigation of Fox News on the coverage of Breonna Taylor, two news frames were detected. The frames detected consist of a *justification frame*, and a *social development frame*. All frames will be discussed on the basis of how these frames were detected through analyzing the themes and sub-categories.

Justification frame

First off, the *justification frame*. This frame is detected based on two themes, which consist of *well-being* and *counter act*. The main point of view in both themes are that of the police. Within the theme of *well-being*, the sub-categories *police harm* and *prayers for police*, were found. In both categories, Fox News dedicated a significant amount of time on the fact that police officers were shot at during the raid on Breonna Taylor's house. On the night that police officers stormed the house, Breonna's boyfriend opened fire after being surprised by the raid. One of the officers got shot. This ultimately resulted in the police opening fire which ended the life of Breonna. Followed by the police officer getting shot, multiple mentions were made of prayers being sent by former president Trump and the mayor of Louisville, among others.

"President Trump on Wednesday night tweeted he was "Praying for the two police officers that were shot tonight in Louisville, Kentucky. The Federal Government stands behind you and is ready to help. Spoke to @GovAndyBeshear and we are prepared to work together, immediately upon request!"

The tone of voice that is maintained through the sub-categories of *police harm* and *prayers for police* continues in the sub-category *police justification*, which serves as base for the theme *counter act*. Fox News frequently mentions that the tragic death is a result of Breonna's boyfriend opening fire, on which the police officer counter acted. Examples of this can be found in the statements on officer Mattingly, the officer that shot Breonna.

"Mattingly was shot in the leg during the March 13, 2020, raid by Taylor's boyfriend, who said he feared an intruder was breaking into the apartment. Officers returned fire, killing Taylor, a Black woman whose death sparked huge protests."

More reports were mentioned, discarding the accountability of the police. Examining the themes of *well-being* and *counter act*, a *justification frame* is detected. The justification frame has similar features as to the responsibility frame, proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). However, instead of appointing responsibility to a responsible actor, Fox News attempts to discard accountability of law enforcement, providing a form of justification for their actions. This sort of story telling is maintained over the course of multiple articles. Because of this, a justification frame is identified.

Social development frame

As for the second frame that is detected in the coverage of Breonna Taylor, the *social development frame* is found. The *social development frame* is built up out of two main themes, being *justice* and *accountability*. With a look at *justice*, two sub-categories emerged out of the articles. These sub-categories consist of *demand for justice* and *rise in protests*. Based on the background of the situation in Louisville, combined with the death of Breonna Taylor, Fox News dedicates a significant

amount of time on the demand for justice placed by members of the black community. The connection is made that the demand for justice serves as an indicator for the rise in protests. As the police officer that shot Breonna Taylor got indicted for his actions, the black community does not accept only one termination as fitting for the situation. Frequent mentions are made that the problem within Lewisville lies deeper than just the death of Breonna Taylor. These circumstances result in an increase in protests, which is an overarching subject that can be found in the articles of Fox News.

“The indictment against former officer Brett Hankison is seen as an affront to justice as Black Lives Matter protesters decry the use of excessive force by police against Black people and minorities.”

In regards to the background of the Lewisville community and the case of Breonna Taylor, frequent comments are made of acknowledgements by government officials. President Biden pays respect to Breonna Taylor, proposing police reform and addressing discrimination.

"Breonna Taylor's death was a tragedy, a blow to her family, her community, and America," Biden wrote. "As we continue to mourn her, we must press ahead to pass meaningful police reform in Congress. I remain committed to signing a landmark reform bill into law."

The cases for a call for justice, being achieved through the act of protests provides a framework for social change, this is combined with the acknowledgement of injustice and racism, and the need for police reform. Examining all sub-categories and themes, a *social development frame* is detected. What is interesting to see with the social development frame used by Fox News, opposed to CNN, is that Fox News does not take the same perspective in appointing responsibility towards a party whereas CNN does. Moreover, the social development frame of Fox News focuses on the social development within the community of Lewisville, rather than addressing social development in appointing accountability and raising awareness which CNN tends to do. Based on the focus of social development rather than any other aspect related to the proposed news frames of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), the social development frame is identified.

In conclusion to the framing analysis on the news coverage of Breonna Taylor by Fox News, two news frames were detected consisting of a justification frame and a social development frame. In the following section, the framing analysis on the news coverage of Michael Brown will be presented and discussed per news agency.

4.3 Framing the death of Michael Brown

The death of Michael Brown has had a significant impact on the Black Lives Matter movement as it opened up to the scope of broad and deep-rooted racial issues. Not only on the subject of systemic

racism is Michael Brown an important case, yet also on the day itself exists a significant amount of divisiveness among the community and the police in regard to where the truth and the blame lies. Different cases are made as to whether Michael Brown was surrendering or attacking the police officer. A FBI case shines light on what happened, yet does not receive the same amount of attention when it comes to the news coverage by CNN and Fox News. With deep-rooted discrimination issues in Ferguson, the death of Michael Brown raised a broad social debate on where the problem lies. CNN and Fox News have brought differentiating findings which shows it to be an interesting case for analysis. In the following sections the results can be found, reported per news agency separately.

4.3.1 CNN framing the death of Michael Brown

Investigating the news coverage of CNN on the events surrounding the death of Michael Brown, three different frames emerged that cover the topics and themes that CNN maintained reporting the event. The news frames detected are the *social development frame*, *responsibility frame*, and *human interest frame*. All frames will be discussed on the basis of how these frames were detected through analyzing the themes and sub-categories.

Social development frame

First off, the *social development frame*. This frame is detected based on two themes, which consist of *social issues* and *social change*. The topics that surround the themes of *social issues* and *social change* incorporate a much broader, and deeper-rooted problem than just the death of Michael Brown. CNN takes the opportunity to spend a significant amount of time addressing this. In Ferguson, the town where Michael Brown was shot and killed, a lot of unrest exists based on racism and the lack of diversity. As Brown's death was a tragedy, the community uses this to address these problems. Within the theme *social issues*, the sub-categories were found being *deep-rooted racial history* and *lack of diversity*. As discussed just now, Ferguson holds a history with deep-rooted racial issues. In the articles of CNN on the death of Michael Brown, this is frequently mentioned. Besides the already existing tension, due to the way the police handled the death of Michael Brown, this tension grows even more. Examples of these cases can be found in segments such as;

“These are deep and existing problems not only in Missouri but in America. This has clearly touched a nerve, and that nerve is not merely from this horrific incident that happened just a few short days ago.”

Adding to the sub-category on the deep-rooted history between the community and the police, CNN continues to address the subject of the lack in diversity within the government and police department of Ferguson. As tensions are growing, the fact that the black community is underrepresented within

these institutions does not help. This ultimately affects the relation struggle within the community. Examples of this can be found in segments such as:

“Dan Isom, retired chief of police in St. Louis and a criminal justice professor at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, said the diversity of the police rank and file and command definitely affects community relations.”, and

“Two-thirds of Ferguson's population is black, and yet the mayor is white, and so are five of the six city council members.”

As tensions overboil, the need for change increases with it. CNN dedicates a fair amount of time on the fact that policy changes are in place to target the systemic racism within the Ferguson community. A reoccurring topic here is found in the sub-category of *need for policy changes*. Frequent segments display this need.

“Advocates for effective policing contend that law enforcement should reflect the diversity of the community it polices. When that is out of balance, however, an incident such as the Brown shooting can cause tensions to boil over”, and

“The next steps I think are legislative change,” French said, “trying to make sure that in cases like this we get a special prosecutor by law, and to create a new level of civilian oversight over police departments.”

Examining the sub-categories and themes, a clear case can be made that issues exist, and that these issues require change. With the attention of implementing policy changes to improve social relations, the frame of *social development* is detected. According to the previously established social development frames, a development in frames can be detected as well. As the social development frames initially started of with high levels of appointing responsibility, similar to the responsibility frame proposed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), this social development frame prominently lays focus on racial inequality and the need for change rather than responsibility. This makes the frame to be the strongest case for a social development frame, yet also provides a case of development in the particular frame throughout the events. In conclusion, the social development frame is identified.

Responsibility frame

For the second frame, a *responsibility frame* was detected. This frame is identified based on two themes, being *social action* and *escalation*. Within the theme of *social action*, the two sub-categories were found consisting of *call for justice* and *demand for justice*. CNN dedicates a fair amount of time to display the effect of Michael Brown's death in regard to civil rights cases and the

overall Black Lives Matter movement. The record shows various segments that address issues such as police violence and brutality. Examples that illustrate this are paragraphs such as:

"Brown's death set off protests in Ferguson and across the country as Black citizens called for an end to police violence and racism, and led to violent confrontations with heavily armed police."

The theme of *social action* is complemented by the sub-category *demand for justice* which is more focused on the family and friends of Michael Brown demanding justice for his death. Frustrations are displayed throughout the articles of CNN and segments argue that in the a lack of justice, more tensions can grow.

"I think you have a lot of people who will be disappointed if this does turn out to be the case. The community and the family wanted a day in court, an opportunity to see all the evidence laid out, cross-examined," French said. "And it looks like that's not going to happen. I hope we don't have any violence as a result of this."

As protests are increasing, so is the defense line of the police and so the tension among all parties. The sub-category *escalation* is detected as CNN dedicated time to display clashes between the protester and the police. Protesters demand accountability and the police is merely trying to mediate the protests which ultimately results in an increase in frustration.

"The Ferguson Police Department received assistance from some surrounding agencies to help maintain the crowd, who police said threw bottles, metal screws and wooden sticks at officers. Some protesters ripped off letters on the building's sign and spray-painted a sign post and the road, police said."

"Protests have turned violent. Tensions remain high after isolated looting incidents and dozens of arrests in the St. Louis suburb of 22,400."

Examining the call- and demand for justice, combined with an escalation during the demonstration between protesters and police, a case can be made that responsibility for the death of Michael Brown is sought. Based on this, a *responsibility frame* is detected. Considering what is known on the responsibility frame proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), it can be seen that the news reports of CNN fall within the features of the proposed frame, attributing responsibility to the government as the cause or influential actor of the problem at hand (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). With this, a clear distinction can also be detected comparing the responsibility frame with the newly proposed social development frame. Based on these findings, the responsibility frame is identified.

Human interest frame

As for the last frame that is detected in the coverage of Michael Brown, *human interest frame* is found. The *human interest frame* is built up out of two main themes, being *witness statement and human interest*.

An ongoing debate exist whether Michael Brown had his hands up or was charging towards the police at the moment he got shot. CNN makes a case that is in favor of Michael Brown, dedicating time to witness statements that Michael was not perceived as a threat, yet was complying to the requests of the officers to put his hands up. Simultaneously, CNN dedicates time to build a story of character around Michael Brown out of memories that were shared by family and friends. Segments show Michael to be a good, and quiet kid, never with any intension to harm people. The character of Michael is built up on future aspects and other kind words shared by close friends.

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

“Friends and family said the teenager was ecstatic about starting classes at Vatterott College.”

“He was a leader. He knew what he wanted out of life,” his father said. “He was a good kid.”

Examining the cases that are made building on Michael innocence, and character forming through words of his family and friends, a *human interest frame* was detected. Considering what is known on the human interest frame proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), it can be seen that the news reports of CNN fall within the features of the proposed frame, emphasizing on a human face and personal angle of the issue, attempting to contribute to the character of a story (Neuman et al., 1992). Based on this the human interest frame was detected.

In conclusion to the framing analysis on the news coverage of Michael Brown by CNN, three news frames were detected consisting of an social development frame, responsibility frame, and human interest frame. In the following section, the framing analysis on the news coverage of Fox News will be presented and briefly discussed.

4.3.2 Fox News framing the death of Michael Brown

In the investigation of Fox News on the coverage of Michael Brown, two news frames were detected. The frames detected consist of a *conflict* and *justification frame*. Both frames will be discussed based on how these frames were detected through analyzing the themes and sub-categories.

Conflict frame

As for the first frame, a *conflict frame* was detected. This frame consists of 2 themes, being *altercation* and *counter act*. As opposed to CNN, Fox News lays the focus on the death of Michael Brown from a different point of view. As CNN maintained a neutral, slightly more positive skewed view towards Michael Brown, Fox News tends to side more with the police. In the sub-category *altercation*, Fox News dedicated a significant amount of time on the clash between as well as the protesters and the police, as to the clash between Michael Brown and the police officer on duty at the time of Brown's death. Segments show that Michael Brown was exhibiting violent behavior towards the officer, moments before he got shot. The day Brown got shot, the officer and Brown had an altercation which escalated quickly when Brown allegedly tried to take the gun of the officer. After Brown walked away, he turned around and charged the police officer on which he opened fire and shot Brown to death, Fox News reported. Moreover, escalated clashes with the police and protesters were present, including segments such as:

"According to the well-placed source, Wilson was coming off another case in the neighborhood on Aug. 9 when he ordered Michael Brown and his friend Dorain Johnson to stop walking in the middle of the road because they were obstructing traffic. However, the confrontation quickly escalated into physical violence, the source said.", and

Fox News continues to dedicate a significant amount of time on reporting injuries to the police officer that shot Michael Brown, explaining that the police officer was in fact fending for his life during the altercation.

"Darren Wilson, the Ferguson, Mo., police officer whose fatal shooting of Michael Brown touched off more than a week of demonstrations, suffered severe facial injuries including a bone fracture near one eye and was nearly beaten unconscious by Brown moments before firing his gun, a source close to the department's top brass told FoxNews.com."

The theme of *counter act* complements the theme *altercation* as it focussed on police retaliation during the protests. In order to mediate the protests, police has engaged in crowd control, counter acting the escalation formed on the streets.

"Protesters faced heavily armed police who occasionally trained automatic weapons on them from an armored truck."

All sub-categories as well as the overarching themes show prominent focus on the clash between parties which indicates a *conflict frame*. . Considering what is known on the conflict frame proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), it can be seen that the news reports of Fox News fall within the features of the proposed frame, emphasizing on conflict between the protesters and the police (Neuman et al., 1992). Another interesting remark on this segment is the focus towards

defending law enforcement which indicates signs of the racial threat theory, where the acceptance of this theory is in favor of exercising social control (Blalock, 1967).

Justification frame

As for the second frame, a *justification frame* was detected. This frame is identified based on one theme, being *accountability*, on which *accountability* is found based on four sub-categories, consisting of *police defense*, *faulting Michael Brown*, *investigation justifies act* and *police cleared of charges*. All sub-categories form a discourse on what happened during the altercation and investigation between Michael Brown and the police officer on duty. Fox News dedicates a significant portion on building a case that defends the actions of the police officer and why the police officers was in his rights. The sub-category *police defense* provides a thorough analysis on what happened the day Michael Brown got shot. As the police officer and witnesses state, before Brown was shot the two were in an altercation which resulted in Brown attempting to grab the gun of the police officers and eventually violently charging him. The main sections of the articles maintain the tone which voices that the police officer was defending himself and acted out of fearing for his life. This segment is elaborated with a more extensive background on the run-up of that day, found in the sub-category *Faulting Michael Brown*. Fox News reported that before the altercation of Brown and the police officer, Brown was allegedly acting in a robbery, which has later been confirmed. Footage of the store that Brown robbed, show Brown behaving violently which corroborates the violent behavior against, and fear of the police officer during the altercation. Segments that illustrate this coverage include sections such as:

"They ignored him and the officer started to get out of the car to tell them to move," the source said. "They shoved him right back in, that's when Michael Brown leans in and starts beating Officer Wilson in the head and the face.", and

"Wilson has testified that after Brown stopped running, he turned around and began charging back toward the officer. Wilson said he feared for his life as he then fatally shot Brown.", and

"At the same news conference in which officer Darren Wilson was named, Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson released documents alleging that Brown stole a \$48.99 box of cigars from the convenience store, then strong-armed a man on his way out."

A thorough investigation was initiated by the FBI to examine the altercation based on entry wounds, signs of struggle, witness reports and other viable information that aids the case. Fox News' coverage shows that the conclusion of the investigation defends the actions of the police officer and corroborates that signs of struggle were present, as well as logical entry wounds of the bullets that

explain what happened. Moreover, experts that have advised on the case argue that the officer acted properly and logically.

“Based on this investigation, the Department has concluded that Darren Wilson’s actions do not constitute prosecutable violations,” the federal report said.”

In conclusion of the investigation, all physical evidence and witness statements present that no charges will be filed against the police officer and that he acted appropriately. Sections covering the final conclusion of the investigation include segments such as:

“A federal investigation that cleared a Ferguson, Missouri, police officer for killing Michael Brown concluded that the physical evidence and credible witnesses all bolster the officer’s account that he feared for his life when he fatally shot the black 18-year-old.”

Based on all findings, the sub-categories *police defense, faulting Michael Brown, investigation justifies act, police cleared of charges* and the theme of *accountability, a justification frame* is detected. The justification frame has similar features as the responsibility frame, proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). However, instead of appointing responsibility to a responsible actor, Fox News attempts to discard accountability of law enforcement, providing a form of justification for their actions. This sort of story telling is maintained over the course of multiple articles. Because of this, a justification frame is identified.

In conclusion to the framing analysis on the news coverage of Michael Brown by Fox News, two news frames were detected consisting of an a conflict frame and a justification frame. In the following chapter, All frames will be discussed and thoroughly reviewed in the context of existing literature.

5. Conclusion

In this section, the results will be discussed based on the sub-questions that were formulated for this study. Each sub-question will be discussed in the form of analyzing the detected frames and how each frame relates to existing knowledge. First, all frames detected within the articles of CNN will be discussed. Second, all frames detected within the articles of Fox News will be discussed. Lastly, both sections will be discussed in a concluding section answering the main research question. In the end, three sections will discuss the contribution to existing academia, certain limitations of this study and recommendations for future research.

5.1 Events framed by CNN

As existing research provides, framing theory is a well-known and -studied concept that exists for decades and goes inseparably in the world of news journalism. Conducting a qualitative framing analysis between CNN and Fox News, many studies are prior to this one. However, research done between the two agencies in regard to the Black Lives Matter movement has yet to be developed. This study adds to the first additions in the missing gap of existing literature.

According to the framing analysis, findings suggest many similarities towards previous studies. Here we can see clear links to the theory on both the CNN effect and the Fox News Factor that exist in other framing analysis. However, some similarities are not just found in comparison to findings of existing framing analysis, yet also can be explained with theory on the subject of political affiliation. Consequently, this is connected to how the Black Lives Matter movement is viewed between both left- and right-winged advocates. In the findings of the framing analysis on CNN, five frames were detected throughout the examination of 30 articles. These five frames consist of a *social development-*, *responsibility-*, *human interest-*, *cause/effect-* and an *authority frame*. The first observation that can be made is that two of the five frames can be retraced back to the research done by Semetko and Valkenburg on news frames, consisting of the responsibility frame and the human interest frame (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The research done by Semetko and Valkenburg identified the five most common news frames. In light of their research, it can be explained that at least one, and in this case two of the previous established frames are found in this study as well. The other three frames are newly detected frames which are a result of new insights from this study. These frames consist of the detected *social development frame*, *cause/effect frame* and the *authority frame*. In reflection on all frames, each frame will be analyzed and discussed.

First of, the *social development frame*. Throughout the articles on all three events, the social development frame was detected three times. This suggests that the social development frame is consistent frame used by CNN. With a closer look to what topics were highlighted within this frame, it can be seen that addressing issues regarding race, a lack of diversity, accountability of the state and policies were the main points of focus. In regard to political affiliation, some observations can be

made. As literature suggest that CNN is to some extent leaning to the left side of the political spectrum, an argumentation can be made that this explains the liberal attitude towards addressing topics of (systemic) racism and a lack of diversity. A part of this can be explained through the theory of the dominance-based social hierachry (Crawford et al. 2015). The theory suggests, in regard of left-winged advocates, that liberals lean more towards a fair distribution of wealth, healthcare, education and job opportunities. This may suggest that a potentially left-leaning media company spends more time adressing issues such as racism and a lack of diversity, since both issues represent an inbalance of social equity. Another interesting observation that can be made is that of the CNN effect. A reoccurring topic that is mentioned throughout the articles of CNN is that of addressing the presence of- and the need for policy changes. Livingston (1997) argues that addressing the content of policies and policy changes is one of the key features of the CNN effect (Livingston, 1997; Benabid, 2021). This can be consistently identified throughout articles of CNN.

As second, the *responsibility frame*. Throughouth the articles on all three events, the responsibility frame was detected three times. As for the social development frame, this suggests that articles by CNN are frequently framed by the means of a responsibility frame. As Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) argue, the responsibility frame lays focus on assigning responsibility to either a government, an individual or group as the responsible actor for an issue or problem that has been caused (Neuman et al, 1992). With a close look at the topics that were found within the responsibility frame, CNN most frequently addresses reviews of police reports, (re-) investigation of ongoing cases and the address of why police and protesters act in certain ways. Considering these topics, all have a core focus of examining where the responsibility lies of certain acts. This ultimately corroborates with the research done by Semetko and Valkenburg (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Moreover, found in the articles on Michael Brown, CNN spends a significant amount of time adressing the deeper underlying motivation of protesters, as to why they protest. What can be observed on this regard is that CNN tends to focus on issues from a larger scale, instead of just portraying the situation as is. This can also be found in research done by Mhamdi (2017), who studied news framing of CNN during the Iraqi war. (Mhamdi 2017). Mhamdi found that CNN often reported from an external perspective, addressing more underlying themes than just the reporting of the war itself. Similarities that can be observed are that in both studies, CNN was found to report events from a broader more external scale than just the event itself.

As for the third frame, the *human interest frame*. This frame was mainly detected in the articles of Michael Brown. Themes and categories that build this frame consist of subjects that create a favorable persona around Michael Brown. CNN dedicated a large portion to witness statements and building a human interest character that defended his integrity. Under the assumption that CNN is a politically left-leaning news agency, it can be argued that this is based on the liberal attitude that comes with being on the left side of the political spectrum. In the theory on the dominance-based social hierarchy, liberals tend to value inclusion and a fair distribution of social equity (Crawford et

al., 2015). This would suggest that making a case for Michael Brown is favorable, instead of discrediting his character and encourage segregation. In the study done by Mhamdi (2017), CNN made a strong case for a -pro-U.S. nationalism, protector of democracy with a moral responsibility- theme (Mhamdi, 2017). This may imply that CNN maintains the moral responsibility of defending the integrity of one of its citizens, being that of Michael Brown.

As of fourth, the *cause/effect frame*. This frame was mainly detected in the articles on Breonna Taylor. The main takeaway of this frame is based on the unprofessional acting of the police surrounding Breonna's death and the ramifications that came from this police misconduct. What can be said on this regard is that CNN takes the responsibility of appointing moral judgement on the situation. Throughout the reporting on Breonna Taylor, CNN took upon the moral obligation of addressing what happens when one acts outside of protocol. This can also be found in the findings of Mhamdi on the analysis of the Iraqi war (Mhamdi, 2017) where the United States found itself obligated to function as a moral leader.

As for the last, the *authority frame*. In this segment, the main focus of CNN is on reviewing details of the situation, including police reports; injuries, arrests and other status reports and the responsibility of the government as acting authority to mediate what is happening. With the concept of authority as main focus, CNN again tends to report from a broader perspective with the attention towards responsibility (of the authorities) and policies. Looking at existing literature, this does align to a larger extend to what is known about CNN, for one being the CNN effect which argues that media serves the purpose of being a policy agenda-setting agent (Livingston, 1997: Benabid, 2021).

With all these frames in mind, it can be said that many similarities can be found in how CNN frames events of the Black Lives Matter movement to other topics that CNN has previously covered. CNN consistently applies features of the CNN affect, addressing policies and policy-making. Moreover, CNN maintains a broad perspective while reporting news, often addressing accountability and responsibility rather than just report what is happening at the time of the event. However, an interesting case can be made in how CNN exhibits features of a political bias. Implications can be made that some of the aspects align with political values, left of the spectrum. This can be explained by the rejection of the dominance-based social hierarchy theory, advocating for a fair distribution of social equity and an intrinsic value of protecting each citizen of the United States, similar to the case of Michael Brown.

Overall, CNN tends to cover stories from an external point of view, often laying focus on more aspects than just the sole 'event' that is being covered. Analyzing features that describe the values of CNN, being aspects such as external affairs, interest in shaping policies and humanitarian topics, it can be said that with framing the events of the Black Lives Matter movement these features are also the main focus of CNN.

In the following section, all frames detected within the articles of Fox News will be discussed.

5. 2 Events framed by Fox News

Conducting a qualitative framing analysis, some interesting findings can be examined which would not become apparent without a comparative component. For this study, the analysis on Fox News becomes interesting when compared to CNN, instead of a sole analysis of Fox News articles only. Throughout the articles of Fox News, some reoccurring themes are present that explain the perspective that they normally maintain. Findings suggest many similarities towards existing literature as well. This is mainly towards the Fox News Factor and a strong advocation for both theories on the dominance-based social hierarchy and the racial threat theory. In the findings of the framing analysis on Fox News five frames were detected throughout the examination of 30 articles. The five detected frames consist of a *patriotism-*, *conflict-*, *justification-*, *human interest-*, and *social development frame*. The first observation that can be made, similar to that of CNN, is that one of the five frames identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), was found in the articles of Fox News being the conflict frame (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). This indicates that one of the five most common news frames was used by Fox News as well. Interestingly so, four new news frames were detected as a result of this study. The newly detected frames include the *patriotism-*, *justification-*, *human interest-*, and *social development frame*. In reflection on all frames, each frame will be analyzed and discussed.

First off, the *patriotism frame*. The patriotism frame is one that was mainly detected in the articles on George Floyd. One of the reasons for this, is that surrounding the death of George Floyd a lot of extreme demonstrations originated which divided citizens of the United States in two separate groups, being protesters and protectors. The main voicing throughout the patriotism frame is an ‘us’ and ‘them’ theme, one that has been detected in previous research by Nielsen & Engsholt (2020), who argued to have potentially found significant polarization among citizenship because of this (Nielsen & Engsholt 2020). Fox News has been familiar with the ‘us’ and ‘them’ approach which also became visible in their reporting on the second Gulf- and the Iraqi War, using heavy tones of American patriotism with phrases such as “our troops” and “terror goons” (Morris, 2015). In the process of basing the patriotism frame on themes and sub-categories, the main focus lied on the topics of civilian patriotism, protecting property from rioters, and the justification for the use of excessive force by the police. Fox News lays emphasis on protecting the order of the social system and impose forms of social control to maintain their position in society, also argued through the racial threat theory by Blalock (Blalock, 1967). This tone of voice is apparent through other frames as well and form a thread which illustrates the perspective maintained by Fox News.

As second, the *conflict frame*. This frame reoccurred multiple times throughout the articles of Fox News. As the name already states, the frame mainly covers news from the point of view of conflict. In the articles of Fox News, the main focus is on clashes between police forces and protesters. In these segments, Fox News lays a lot of emphasis on a divide between parties and the conflict between these parties. Whilst examining the articles, strong senses of sensationalism are present which directly relate to one of the features of the Fox News Factor, argued by Morris. (Morris, 2005). Next to

sensationalism, another aspects of the Fox News Factor becomes visible which is the editorialization of news coverage. Fox News adds a fair amount of opinion throughout its articles which emphasize the 'us' and 'them' tone placing the police against the protesters. Most frequently, Fox News sides with the police and against the (black) protester, which potentially confirms features of the racial threat theory, endorsing social control against minority groups in order to maintain privileged positions in the social hierarchy (Blalock 1967). Siding with authorities is a reoccurring themes throughout this and other frames, maintained by Fox News.

As for the third frame, a *justification frame* was found. This frame is one that also reoccurred multiple times throughout the articles of Fox News. Complementing the above mentioned frames, the justification frame almost completely revolves around defending all acts of social control. When the opportunity appears to justify the acts of authority and/or discredit the opposing party, Fox News is keen to make use of this. In the analysis of Fox News articles alone, it does not become noticeable that this happens, yet when comparing the articles of two different agencies next to each other, this form of taking sides becomes visible. In the examination of the justification frame, some clear features of the racial threat theory become apparent. Strong emphasis on maintaining social control and advocating for authorities is present.

Examining the fourth and fifth, a *human interest frame* was found, which largely aligns with a *social development frame*, found in the articles of Fox News. Both frames have similar tones of neutrality rather than opinion-based journalism. Both frames incorporate the subjects of government acknowledgement and incentives for demonstration. In this regard, Fox News dedicates a significant amount of time reviewing why demonstrations increase and towards the accountability of the government for the poor execution of facilitating these demonstrations. Examining the strong tones of editorialization in other frames and more nuanced reporting in these frames, some journalistic neutrality can still be found. Considering all frames found in the articles of Fox News, some clear cases of the Fox News Factor are present. The majority of the articles are written with a sensationalistic approach and tend to focus around a conflict sphere between 'us' and 'them'. Moreover, some features of an advocacy for the racial threat theory can be detected, this would certainly help pointing out that Fox News does have some affiliation to right-winged political values. However, as research suggests it is difficult to appoint political bias towards any news agency as they are expected to maintain journalistic neutrality.

5.3 Frames by CNN and Fox News

In this study, the aim was to investigate CNN and Fox News, and how in context of news framing on events of the Black Lives Matter movement they differentiated or not. In light of this subject the following research question was formulated: “*How are the events surrounding the Black Lives Matter movement framed by CNN and Fox News?*”. In an attempt to answer the above mentioned research question, both sub-questions were discussed that help this to reach to a conclusion.

The use of a qualitative framing analysis between two agencies has brought some insightful findings which would not have become visible in the case of analyzing one news agency solely. Both news agencies are expected to conduct their news coverage as factual and as neutral as possible, as that is the obligation of journalistic professionalism. In the attempt of analyzing a news agency separately, not a lot stands out. Both news agencies, separately, appear to cover news fairly objective, factual and with a neutral tone. The moment the articles of both news agencies are compared to each other, this changes. The concept of framing becomes significantly visible when can be seen where the salience of a story lies. Something that is very different between CNN and Fox News.

When answering the question of how events are framed by CNN, existing literature already reveals a significant part. The concept of the CNN effect is one that is incorporated throughout the style of writing that CNN provides. Mainly, CNN remains to be very nuanced and neutral to all parties concerned in a covered event. CNN tries to maintain a neutral point of view and this can be seen throughout the articles. However, looking at the political spectrum, it can be suggested that CNN tends to lean more to the left side of things. This can be seen in a rejection of the theory of the dominance-based social hierarchy, and a rejection of the racial threat theory as CNN endorses social equity. Another prominent aspect that is present in the articles of CNN is the consistent address of policy matters. This has proven to be one of the key topics that CNN lays focus to, something that has presented itself frequently in the news coverage on the Black Lives Matter movement.

In an attempt to contrast the way CNN frames their news stories, the question of how events are framed by Fox News provide interesting insights which validates existing literature also. For the most part, the writing of Fox News can be explained through the Fox News Factor. The majority of articles written by Fox News incorporate cases of sensationalism, soft-news stories and opinion-based writing, something that is not traditional in the field journalism, yet provides a lot of success for Fox News’ viewer ratings. Another clear difference of Fox News towards CNN is that they tend to write about what is happening at the time of the event, maintaining a zoomed in perspective, whereas CNN tends to focus from an external point of view, maintaining a broader scale perspective.

An ongoing debate on both agencies is that of political affiliation, a topic that carries a lot of ambiguity in answering. As journalism is expected to be unbiased, factual and neutral, the immediate answer that is found is that nor CNN or Fox News cover news on either side of the political spectrum. However, some argumentations can be made which would suggest that they do in fact, skew to one of

both sides. Examining one news agency, it is difficult to notice that what is written is, or is not, a summation of facts. In most cases, news coverage includes only factual information. However, the answer lies in what is present in the article and what is not.

In regard of Fox News, it can be seen that a lot of emphasis lies in social control and law enforcement against groups that pose a threat to the social hierarchy. This goes combined with an endorsement of exercising social control towards minority groups. Both endorsers of the dominance-based social hierarchy theory and the racial threat theory, illustrate conservative values and thus show features of right-winged political views. Similarly, this goes for CNN that, throughout its framing of events, opposes to both the dominance-based social hierarchy theory and racial threat theory, which indicates features of left-winged political values. In conclusion of this argumentation, one agency might not seem to exercise any form of bias, yet when examining aspects of what is highlighted and what is not, some aligning values can be detected which indicate a preference in political views.

5.4 Theoretical implications

With its societal and contemporary focus on the social issues of the Black Lives Matter movement, this study contributes to existing research on qualitative framing analysis with an added political dimension. Besides the analysis on potential similarities and differences within news framing, this study attempts to provide an answer to the question whether news agencies exercise political bias or not. As some studies suggest that the label of a ‘conservative’ or ‘liberal’ news agency can only be explained by the political affiliation of its viewers (Mitchell, Gottfried, Kiley, & Matsa, 2014; Grieco, 2020; Kimmelmeier, 2008), this study argues that the political bias can be found in the way a news agency frames their news as well. According to acceptance or rejection of the theories on the dominance-based social hierarchy and the racial threat theory, this study suggests that Fox News does reflect politically right skewed views and that CNN reflects politically left skewed views. Furthermore, the newly detected news frames contribute to the existing knowledge of news frames. This being the *social development frame*, *cause/effect frame* and the *authority frame* for CNN and the *patriotism-*, *justification-*, *human interest-*, and *social development frame* for Fox News. These frames can be added to the existing literature on news framing.

5.5 Limitations

The study has a number of limitations. First, as the subject of this research is concerned with political affiliation for a great part, a potential bias can be found in that of the researcher’s political affiliation. This research attempts to maintain an unbiased point of view, yet may unintentionally reflect politically left-leaning values throughout the argumentation. Due to a preconceived affiliation towards either side of the political spectrum, this research may potentially favor one side over the

other, which can influence the tone of argumentation. Second, this research consist of the sole analysis of textual data. As Morris (2005) proposes in his research on the Fox News Factor, one of the key elements is the use of advanced audio and visual presentation (Morris, 2005). Ultimately, this aspect of audio and visual content could not be analyzed in this study. Research done by Silcock (2005) on news coverage by Fox News on the Iraqi war, similarly addresses the use of visual representation which served as a key component to his analysis. This emphasizes the argument that the lack of analyzing audio and visual data serves as limitation to this study.

5.6 Recommendations of future research

In regard to the limitations of this study, suggestions can be made for future research. As this study admits to have a potential bias towards left-winged political views, a recommendation can be of replicating a similar study in which the researcher does not apply any form of bias, or maintain a potential bias towards right-winged political views. This could ultimately balance the outcome of both studies. Second, as this study analyzes textual data only, suggestions for future research can be made to incorporate audio and visual data as well. With this in mind, more layers of framing could be detected opposed to an analysis only covering textual data. Lastly, this study is of qualitative nature, due to the small sample findings may not be generalizable. To complement this study, a quantitative study is recommended for the findings to be interpreted on a larger scale.

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Appendix
Coding of George Floyd
Fox News

News frames

Selective group

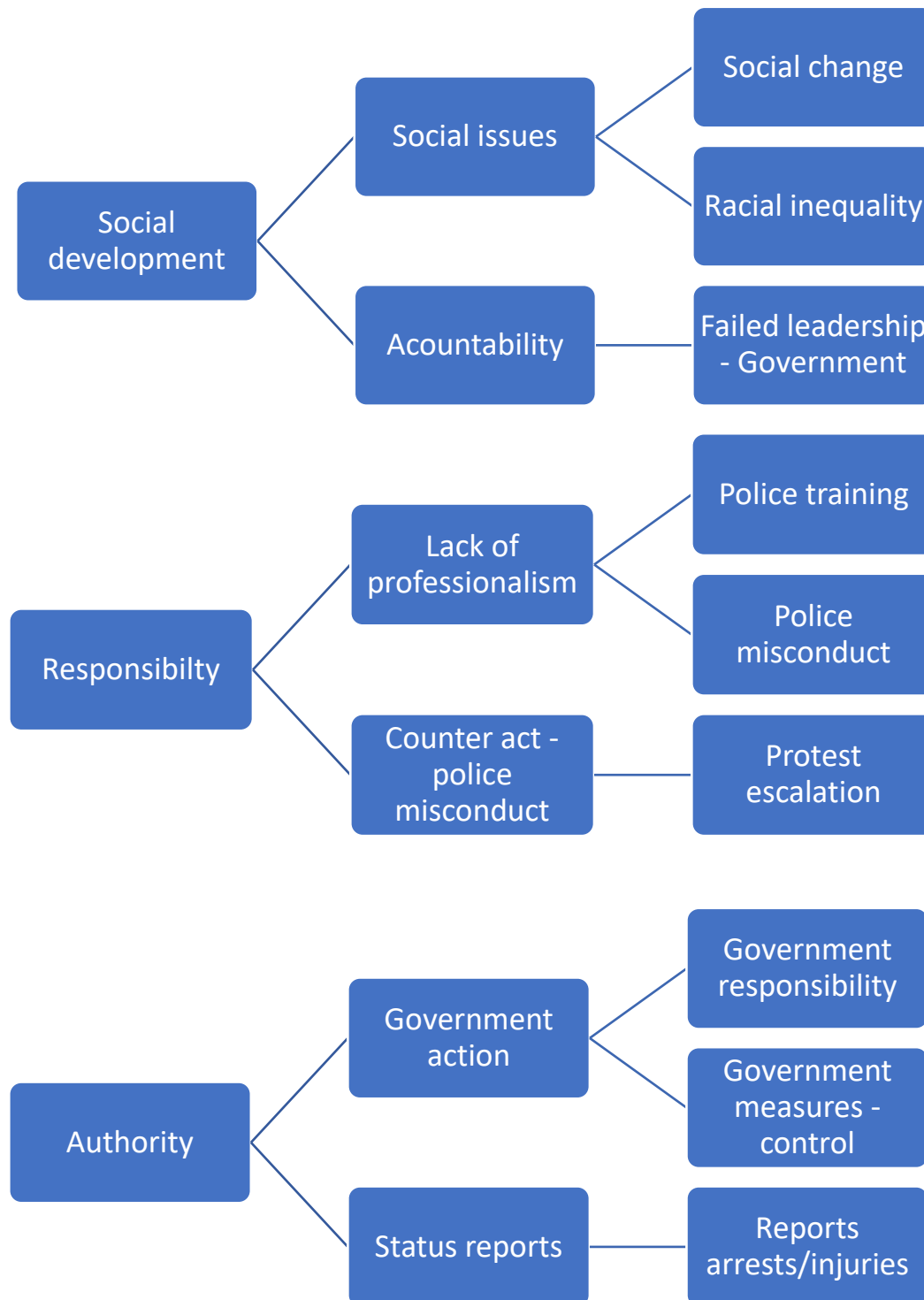
Axial (group) Code



News frames

Selective group

Axial (group) Code



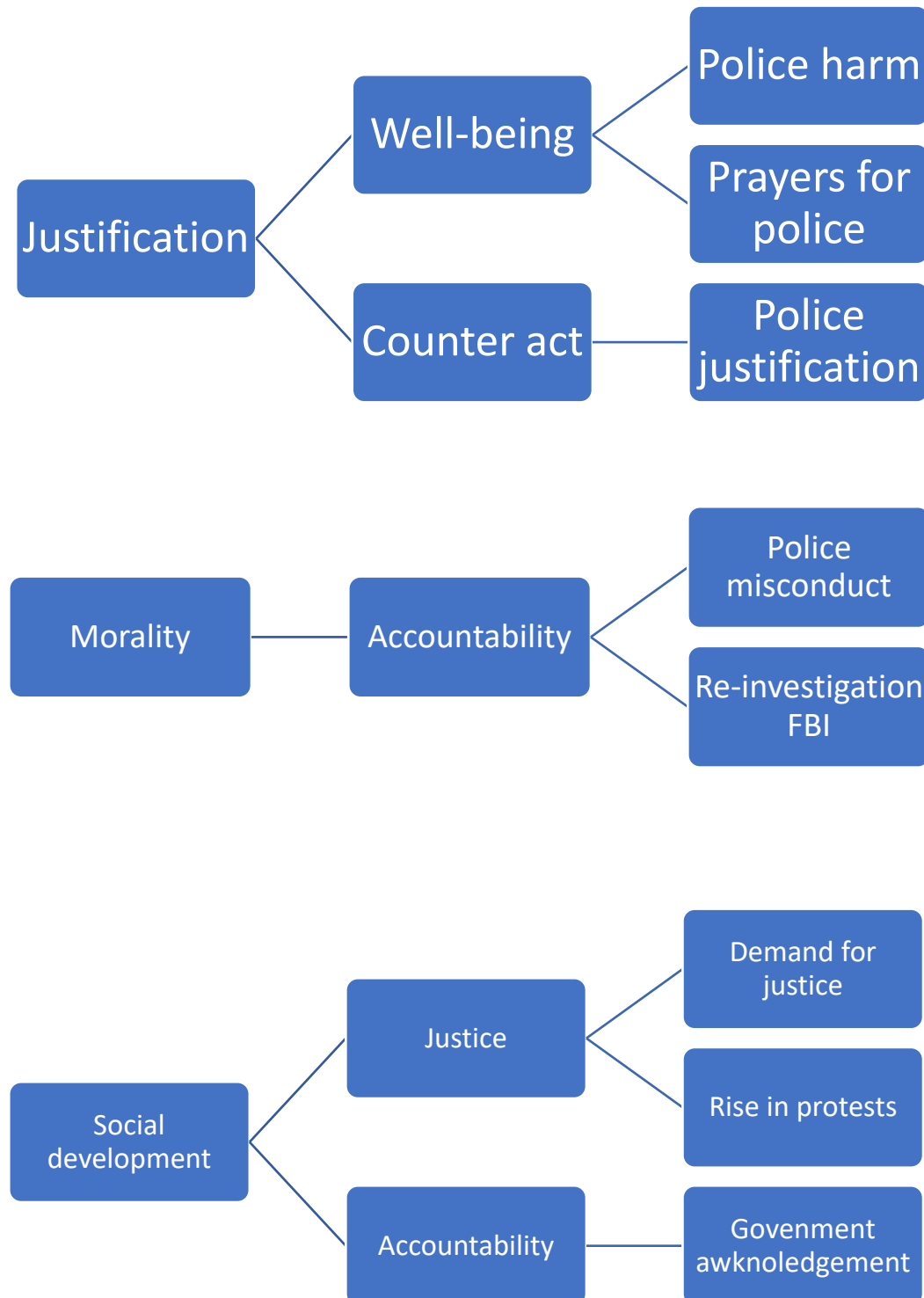
Coding of Breonna Taylor

Fox News

News frames

Selective group

Axial (group) Code



News frames

Selective group

Axial (group) Code



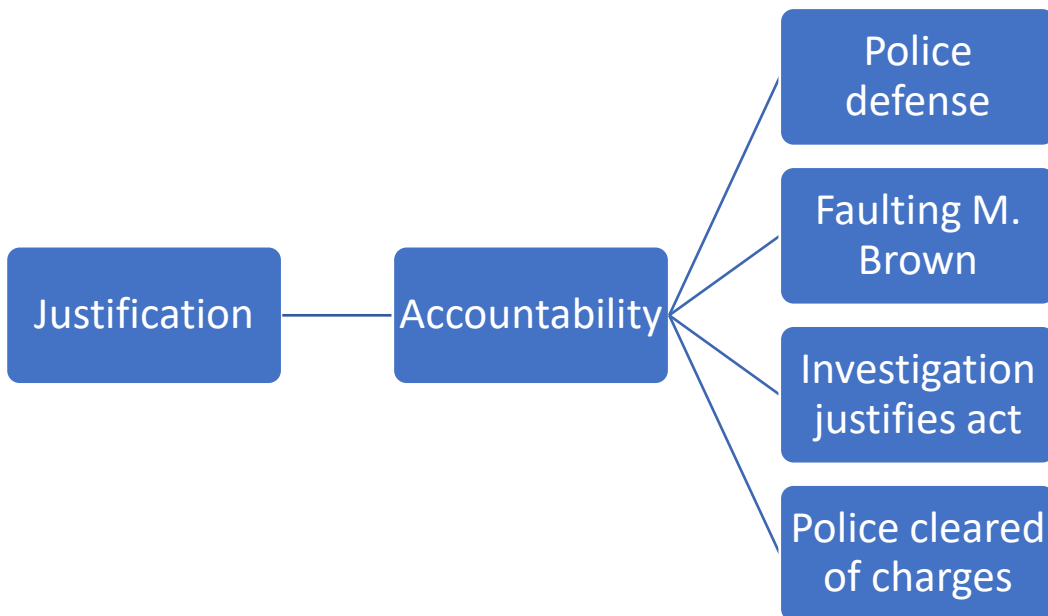
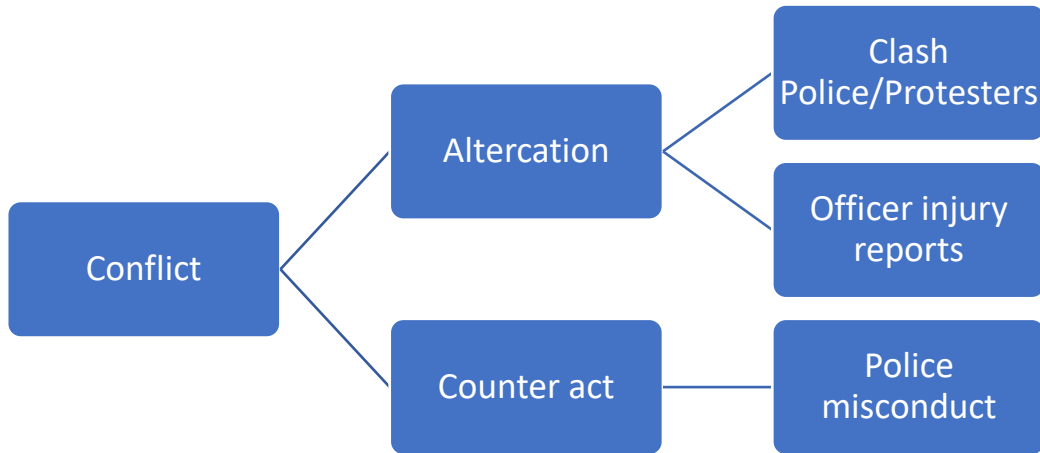
Coding of Michael Brown

Fox News

News frames

Selective group

Axial (group) Code



News frames

Selective group

Axial (group) Code



Project: George Floyd by CNN - Codes

Document Report

Selected documents (2)

Article 1: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

(CNN)New York Police Department officials did not anticipate the large number of protesters or violence that came at them during the George Floyd demonstrations and that, combined with insufficient staffing and lack of training, led to poor judgment and excessive force, according to a report released Friday.

Photo

NYPD body cameras are 'a powerful tool' but don't reduce use of force, report says

The city Department of Investigation, appointed by Mayor Bill de Blasio to analyze the NYPD's response into the Floyd demonstrations in late May and into much of June, released their 115-page report on Friday.

And while the report acknowledges that emotions among protesters ran high and spilled over into abuse and violence against police officers, the report also says NYPD officers engaged in actions that were unprofessional or excessive.

"The Department itself made a number of key errors or omissions that likely escalated tensions, and certainly contributed to both the perception and the reality that the Department was suppressing rather than facilitating lawful First Amendment assembly and expression," DOI Commissioner Margaret Garnett said in the report.

Mayor takes 'full responsibility'

The report listed 20 recommendations, including the creation of a protest response unit and a patrol guide policy for protests, that NYPD Commissioner Dermot Shea said he would include.

"close Email Capture Inline Zone"

The report called for NYPD officers in riot gear to be off to the side and only used when needed, additional training and policies, daily roll call messages about the constitutional rights of protesters, and a stronger role for community affairs officers and the bureau as a whole.

"In general terms the report captured the difficult period that took place in May/June of 2020 and presents 20 logical and thoughtful recommendations that I intend to incorporate into our future policy and training," Shea said in a statement.

Mayor Bill de Blasio said he fully supported the report's conclusions and recommendations and that accountability "starts with me and the commissioner."

"We needed an objective ... look at what happened in May and June," the mayor said. "We needed to understand what went right, what went wrong, what needs to be different, what needs to be better. I certainly take full responsibility for the issues that are raised in the report and the changes that we have to make."

The Legal Aid Society and the New York Civil Liberties Union issued a joint statement saying the report, "confirms that the shocking violence the NYPD employed during the George Floyd protests was directly traceable to the leadership failures of Mayor de Blasio, Police Commissioner Shea and other police leaders who created a de facto policy permitting and encouraging individual officers to target protesters for brutal treatment and unlawful arrests."

New York City Police Benevolent Association President Patrick J. Lynch said the report "confirms what police officers knew on the first night of riots: our city leaders sent us out with no plan, no strategy and no support to deal with unrest that was fundamentally different from any of the thousands of demonstrations that police officers successfully protect every single year."

Lynch noted that more than 400 officers were injured, "struck with bricks, bottles, fire extinguishers and folding chairs."

28 Codes:

- **Additional training police requested**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 3:9 The report called for NYPD officers in riot gear to be off to the side.....
(1521:1802) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **Bodycams are powerful tool**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 3:3 NYPD body cameras are 'a powerful tool' but don't reduce use of force,.....
(406:487) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **Daily roll call messages about constitutional rights, police education**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 3:9 The report called for NYPD officers in riot gear to be off to the side.....
(1521:1802) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **High emotion protesters**

- 1 Quotations:**

3:4 And while the report acknowledges that emotions among protesters ran h.....
(699:931) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests,
city report says

- **High emotions protesters, high unprofessional measures police**

1 Quotations:

3:4 And while the report acknowledges that emotions among protesters ran h.....
(699:931) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests,
city report says

- **Mayer accepts responsibility bill, police needs training**

1 Quotations:

3:11 Mayor Bill de Blasio said he fully supported the report's conclusions.....
(2050:2202) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd
protests, city report says

- **Mayer supports police training policy document**

1 Quotations:

3:11 Mayor Bill de Blasio said he fully supported the report's conclusions.....
(2050:2202) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd
protests, city report says

- **Mayer takes responsibility**

1 Quotations:

3:7 Mayor takes 'full responsibility' (1259:1292) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely
escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **Mayor calling out for change, don't repeat bad behavior police controlling
activities**

1 Quotations:

3:12 "We needed an objective ... look at what happened in May and June," th.....
(2203:2519) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd
protests, city report says

- **Mayor taking responsibility**

1 Quotations:

3:13 The Legal Aid Society and the New York Civil Liberties Union issued a.....
(2520:2974) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd
protests, city report says

- **No support and guidance towards protests by Mayor**

1 Quotations:

3:14 New York City Police Benevolent Association President Patrick J. Lynch.....
(2975:3355) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **NYPD lack anticipation for number of protesters and violence**

1 Quotations:

3:2 (CNN)New York Police Department officials did not anticipate the large.....
(87:396) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **NYPD mistakes likely escalated tensions**

1 Quotations:

3:1 NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, ci..... (0:84)
- D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **Officers injured during protests**

1 Quotations:

3:15 Lynch noted that more than 400 officers were injured, "struck with bri.....
(3356:3479) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **Police department acting out of their responsibility to control**

1 Quotations:

3:6 and certainly contributed to both the perception and the reality that.....
(1028:1255) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **Police department, suppressing rather than facilitating**

1 Quotations:

3:6 and certainly contributed to both the perception and the reality that.....
(1028:1255) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **Police department responsible for errors and escalation**

1 Quotations:

3:5 "The Department itself made a number of key errors or omissions that l.....
(932:1026) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **Police handled unprofessionally, used excessive force**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 3:4 And while the report acknowledges that emotions among protesters ran h.....
(699:931) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **Police in riot gear requested to back down**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 3:9 The report called for NYPD officers in riot gear to be off to the side.....
(1521:1802) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **Police needs to hold themselves accountable, mayor finds**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 3:11 Mayor Bill de Blasio said he fully supported the report's conclusions.....
(2050:2202) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **Police were aware of being sent to protests without game plan Mayor**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 3:14 New York City Police Benevolent Association President Patrick J. Lynch.....
(2975:3355) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **Police: Insufficient staff led to police violence**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 3:2 (CNN)New York Police Department officials did not anticipate the large.....
(87:396) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **Police: Lack of anticipation for violence led to excessive force**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 3:2 (CNN)New York Police Department officials did not anticipate the large.....
(87:396) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests, city report says

- **Police: Lack of anticipation for violence led to poor judgement**

- 1 Quotations:**

3:2 (CNN)New York Police Department officials did not anticipate the large.....
(87:396) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd protests,
city report says

- **Report listing measures for protest response and patrol guide policies for protesters**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 3:8 The report listed 20 recommendations, including the creation of a prot.....
(1293:1478) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd
protests, city report says

- **Report stating police act failure due to leadership failures of Mayor**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 3:13 The Legal Aid Society and the New York Civil Liberties Union issued a.....
(2520:2974) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd
protests, city report says

- **Terms settled based on history lesson of protests of May/June 2020**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 3:10 "In general terms the report captured the difficult period that took p.....
(1803:2045) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd
protests, city report says

- **Thoughtful recommendation that incorporate future policy and training for police**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 3:10 "In general terms the report captured the difficult period that took p.....
(1803:2045) - D 3: NYPD mistakes 'likely escalated tensions' at George Floyd
protests, city report says

Article 2: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

Text document, 14 quotations

How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

(CNN)The George Floyd police brutality protests are different -- bigger, fiercer, more sustained -- than demonstrations prior.

America rises up regularly. It's in the DNA of a country founded on dissent. Millions have forged their anger into action, from the tax revolts of the nation's earliest days, to the labor, housing and busing protests that helped shape the civil rights movement. The Me

Too-fueled women's marches of 2017 and 2018 and the March for Our Lives demonstration, born of the Parkland school shooting, each drew a seven-figure attendance.

Before Floyd's killing, the highest estimate for any American protest -- the 2017 Women's March -- was 4.6 million. Polls indicate that, as of mid-June, as many as 21 million adults had attended a Black Lives Matter or police brutality protest. They continue today, more than 10 weeks after a Minneapolis policeman knelt on Floyd's neck till the life left his body.

It's not just people and protests, though. It's also policies and points of view.

"I never would've imagined I would see a day when the Washington football team would change its name," said Tyran Steward, assistant history professor at Williams College, noting demands once deemed nonstarters are now on the table.

The Women's March of 2017 drew millions to the streets of Boston and other American cities.

Police accountability bills have been introduced in Congress. Americans are discussing what defunding law enforcement actually means. Corporations are recognizing Juneteenth. Mississippi is changing its flag. Tributes to Confederates and others who espoused hate are falling. Athletes kneeling during the National Anthem aren't seen as so un-American anymore.

Why now? People demanded change after Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, after Freddie Gray in Baltimore, after Walter Scott and the Mother Emanuel massacre in South Carolina.

Publisher and former St. Louis Alderman Antonio French, a staple of 2014's Ferguson protests, oversees coverage of the ongoing unrest in his city. Nationally, there are "daily reminders of why they need to be out in the streets protesting and demanding change," and he's proud they've been overwhelmingly peaceful, he said, but don't take it for granted.

"What started in 2014 in the streets of Ferguson has just spread across the country," he said. "Having this kind of turmoil with that many unemployed young people, with this kind of national leadership that has zero empathy ... this is the makings of real conflict, and I think we should be really concerned."

The reaction to Floyd's killing has indeed been different, experts say, owing to the graphic nature of the video that captured it, the nation's calls for justice in other killings, a pandemic disrupting normality, widespread unemployment, a phenomenon known as "vicarious trauma" and White people joining people of color in the streets.

19 Codes:

- **America is waking up to unrighteousness**

1 Quotations:

5:3 America rises up regularly. It's in the DNA of a country founded on di.....
(217:647) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

- **Approval of potests demanding change, equality**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 5:10 Publisher and former St. Louis Alderman Antonio French, a staple of 20.....
(1961:2315) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

- **Athletes kneeling during national anthem**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 5:8 Police accountability bills have been introduced in Congress. American.....
(1423:1780) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

- **Discarding hategroups**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 5:8 Police accountability bills have been introduced in Congress. American.....
(1423:1780) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

- **Discussing defunding law enforcement**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 5:8 Police accountability bills have been introduced in Congress. American.....
(1423:1780) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

- **Fueled anger by civilians, coming in action**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 5:3 America rises up regularly. It's in the DNA of a country founded on di.....
(217:647) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

- **George floyd death ingites racial reckoning**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 5:1 How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no sign.....
(0:87) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

- **George floyd protests becoming different, more fierce**

1 Quotations:

5:2 The George Floyd police brutality protests are different -- bigger, fi..... (95:214)
- D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

○ **George floys murder changed views due to video**

1 Quotations:

5:12 The reaction to Floyd's killing has indeed been different, (2626:2683) - D 5:
How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

○ **Murder**

4 Quotations:

1:1 'murder' (25:32) - D 1: George Floyd's death was 'murder' and the accused officer 'knew what he was doing,' Minneapolis police chief says / 1:3 the death of George Floyd was "murder" (167:204) - D 1: George Floyd's death was 'murder' and the accused officer 'knew what he was doing,' Minneapolis police chief says / 1:10 one intentionally caused it and the others failed to prevent it. This..... (595:708) - D 1: George Floyd's death was 'murder' and the accused officer 'knew what he was doing,' Minneapolis police chief says / 5:4 Before Floyd's killing, (648:670) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

● **Non empathetic government**

1 Quotations:

5:11 "What started in 2014 in the streets of Ferguson has just spread across..... (2316:2625) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

● **Not just protests for people but for policies and views**

1 Quotations:

5:6 It's not just people and protests, though. It's also policies and poin..... (1014:1095) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

● **Number of protesters rise enourmess**

1 Quotations:

5:5 Before Floyd's killing, the highest estimate for any American protest..... (648:1013) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

● **People demand change, recial awareness**

1 Quotations:

5:9 Why now? People demanded change after Michael Brown in Ferguson, Misso..... (1783:1960) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

● Police accountability bill introduced

1 Quotations:

5:8 Police accountability bills have been introduced in Congress. American..... (1423:1780) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

○ Protests demanding change, proud of the nations

1 Quotations:

5:10 Publisher and former St. Louis Alderman Antonio French, a staple of 20..... (1961:2315) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

● The little people protesting for rights, national leadership zero empathy

1 Quotations:

5:11 "What started in 2014 in the streets of Ferguson has just spread across..... (2316:2625) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

● Washington football team changing name due to racial background

1 Quotations:

5:7 "I never would've imagined I would see a day when the Washington footb..... (1096:1328) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

○ White people joining people of color on the streets

1 Quotations:

5:14 and White people joining people of color in the streets. (2906:2961) - D 5: How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

Project: George Floyd by Fox News - Codes

Document Report

Selected documents (2)

Article 1: George Floyd case Protests erupt across the country after Minnesota man's death

Text document, 29 quotations

George Floyd case: Protests erupt across the country after Minnesota man's death

Multiple cities across the U.S. exploded into outcry on Wednesday night, just days after Minneapolis resident George Floyd, a 46-year-old black man, died while in police custody.

In contrast to the peaceful protests that spawned the Minneapolis streets on Tuesday, the demonstrations Wednesday descended into chaos soon after the sun fell.

Images show hundreds of demonstrators gathering around the Third Precinct headquarters, and later an apartment complex and several businesses on fire.

Police documented incidences of looting, and local reports highlighted a number of shops such as Target and a liquor store were targeted. The frenzied night also brought with it another loss of life, as a man was found unresponsive on a sidewalk near Bloomington and Lake Street, believed to have succumbed to a gunshot wound.

The police said the deadly shooting was connected to the looting of a pawn shop, whereby the business owner allegedly opened fire.

GEORGE FLOYD PROTESTS IN MINNEAPOLIS TURN DEADLY AS CITY MAYOR URGES CALM

The death of Floyd, whose arrest was captured on video by several bystanders – showing the man panting that he could not breathe as a police officer jarred a knee into his neck for eight minutes until he was rendered motionless – also spawned demonstrations through the streets of Los Angeles and Memphis.

In Los Angeles, around 1,000 people from the Black Lives Matter chapter converged downtown in a call for justice on Wednesday night — with dozens blocking the 101 Freeway, one of the city's main traffic arteries.

Local reports and footage show a police cruiser on the scene being assailed and its window shattered, with a man seemingly riding on its hood as it drove away before rolling to the ground. He was later hospitalized.

The Los Angeles CBS affiliate reported that several could be seen burning an American flag. Despite the violent twist the demonstrations took, no arrests were made.

Meanwhile, scores took to the streets in Memphis, congregating outside the Memphis Midtown Police precinct and prompting authorities to shutter a portion of the road.

Nashville's News25 reported that the crowds moved through the city well into the night, chorusing Floyd's haunting last words, "I can't breathe."

The Black Lives Matter protesters were, according to WREG NewsChannel 3, met by counter-demonstrators belonging to the Confederate 901 – an activist outfit that takes on

the 901 Memphis area code and bills itself as "a group of patriots who stand up for the Constitution and freedom." Despite an apparent exchange of words, tensions between the two did not escalate.

More demonstrations protesting police violence are planned in the upcoming days, including one in Seattle on Saturday.

Minneapolis Mayor Jacob Frey, who has demanded the arrest of the police officer who had his knee on Floyd, has called for calm during the demonstrations.

DEADLY SHOOTING NEAR GEORGE FLOYD PROTEST AS LOOTING, ARSON GRIP MINNEAPOLIS

The demonstrations come at a time when racial tensions are flaring following the recent shooting death of jogger Ahmaud Arbery in Georgia, and a time when local leaders are urging residents to wear masks, practice social distance and stay home when possible, as the coronavirus pandemic drags on.

The U.S. Department of Justice said in a statement Thursday that the federal investigation into Floyd's death is a "top priority." Four officers involved in the incident were fired from the Minneapolis Police Department earlier this week.

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According to the Minneapolis Star Tribune, "kneeling on a suspect's neck is allowed under the department's use-of-force policy for officers who have received training in how to compress a neck without applying direct pressure to the airway. It is considered a 'non-deadly force option,' according to the department's policy handbook."

However, "a chokehold is considered a deadly force option and involves someone obstructing the airway," and the police department's handbook mandates that officers "only an amount of force necessary that would be objectively reasonable."

No charges have been filed in connection with Floyd's death.

34 Codes:

- **Black Lives Matter protesters were counter demonstrated by Confederates**

0 Codes

- **Black man**

0 Codes

- **Black man in police custody**

0 Codes

- **Burning american flag, demonstrators were not convicted yet**

0 Codes

- **Chaos in front of police station led police to shut down portion of the roads**
 - 0 Codes**
- **Confederate community standing up to BLM protestors for the Constitution of freedom**
 - 0 Codes**
- **Deadly shooting as looting, arson grip minneapolis by protestors**
 - 0 Codes**
- **Death captured on video**
 - 0 Codes**
- **Demonstration emotionally driven due to racial tensions of Ahmaud Arbery**
 - 0 Codes**
- **Demonstrations protesting police violence scheduled for coming days**
 - 0 Codes**
- **Four officers involved in the incident were fired from Minneapolis Police Department**
 - 0 Codes**
- **George on the floor panting for breath, minutes later found dead**
 - 0 Codes**
- **Hundreds of protestors gathering around Police station**
 - 0 Codes**
- **Instead of peaceful protest, protests descended in chaos**
 - 0 Codes**
- **Kneeling on suspect's neck is allowed as a use of force if one has received training**
 - 0 Codes**
- **LA and Memphis spawned demonstrations as well**
 - 0 Codes**
- **Los Angeles, people from BLM chapter converged in call for justice**

0 Codes

- **Minneapolis Mayor has called for calm during demonstrations**

0 Codes

- **Multiple cities exploded with protests after death George floyd**

0 Codes

- **No charges filed in connection to Floyd's death**

0 Codes

- **Police cruiser being assailed and destroyed**

0 Codes

- **Police officer harmed and hospitalized, due to protesters**

0 Codes

- **Police said deadly shooting was a man protecting his business**

0 Codes

- **Policy states that a chokehold may only add an amount necessary to retain suspect**

0 Codes

- **Policy states that kneeling on neck is a 'non-deadly force'**

0 Codes

- **Protest because of man's death**

0 Codes

- **Protesters blocking the streets and traffic**

0 Codes

- **Protesters looting and distroying stores and property**

0 Codes

- **Protesters make the police intervene**

0 Codes

- **Reports show protesters demonstrating through the night, chanting**

0 Codes

- **Several businesses on fire due to protesters**

0 Codes

- **Stores targeted by protesters, destruction**

0 Codes

- **The protests resulted in a man got shot and died**

0 Codes

- **Uncontrolled chaos by protesters**

0 Codes

Article 2: Rioting, looting linked to George Floyd protests leaves trail of destruction across American cities

Text document, 29 quotations

Rioting, looting linked to George Floyd protests leaves trail of destruction across American cities

American cities are spending Monday morning digging out from scenes of destruction after demonstrations against the police-involved death of George Floyd gave way to a fifth straight night of looting and rioting, resulting in another wave of arrests.

As of Monday morning, at least 4,400 people have been taken into custody nationwide in relation to the chaos, according to an Associated Press tally. Meanwhile, countless more business owners whose livelihoods already have been impacted by the coronavirus pandemic are finding their stores damaged and ransacked.

“It's one of the most challenging times that I've seen in my 30 years of policing,” NYPD Commissioner Dermot Shea told “Fox & Friends” on Monday after a night of looting in Manhattan’s Soho neighborhood left sidewalks outside high-end retail stores littered with debris and broken glass. “I can tell you that we had thousands of police officers deployed last night.”

People run out of a broken-into smoke shop in New York City early Monday as police arrive. (AP)

FOX NEWS CREW REPORTS HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE SEEN STEALING FROM STORES IN NEW YORK CITY

“In terms of protest, in terms of balancing orderly protest, respecting people’s rights to peacefully assemble, that was going on all day, large crowds in Brooklyn, smaller crowds in Queens, significant crowds in Manhattan,” Dermot continued. “But then it turned dark, it turned ugly and it turned that way fast.”

The New York Post reports that police arrested dozens of looters in the Big Apple overnight. A witness told the newspaper that some of them acted in an apparent system where suspects would break into stores before leaping into getaway vehicles outside.

Videos on social media showed crowds targeting a wide array of businesses throughout Manhattan, emerging from shattered storefronts with everything ranging from Chanel handbags to bicycles.

The ongoing demonstrations that have gripped the U.S. and the entire world were sparked by the death of Floyd, a black man who pleaded for air as a Minneapolis officer pressed a knee into his neck. That officer – Derek Chauvin – has been charged with third-degree murder and reportedly has been transferred to a maximum-security prison.

George Floyd protests put COVID-19 and social distancing on the backburner

Dr. Marc Siegel says he's very concerned about the spread of COVID-19 amid the nationwide protests.

Floyd's death came after tensions had already flared after two white men were arrested in May for the February shooting death of black jogger Ahmaud Arbery in Georgia, and the Louisville police shooting death of Breonna Taylor in her home in March.

HISTORIC MINNEAPOLIS RESTAURANT BURNED DOWN BY RIOTERS JUST DAYS BEFORE REOPENING

Despite fresh concerns about the spread of coronavirus, Americans from all walks of life have come together en masse to demonstrate against the deaths and call for the reform of police departments and the criminal justice system. While many of the gatherings have been peaceful – including some that saw officers take a knee in solidarity with protesters – others have frequently turned violent, often when late afternoon gives way to nightfall.

A Sunday afternoon of mostly peaceful protests in Boston made a turn for a worse overnight when protesters clashed with officers, throwing rocks, breaking into several stores, and lighting a police vehicle on fire.

Philadelphia police push up curfew, barricade police headquarters amid protests

Jacqui Heinrich reports from the scene after a day of violence in the city.

Boston police tweeted that at least 40 people had been arrested as of 3 a.m. Monday, adding that seven police officers had been hospitalized and 21 police cruisers were damaged.

RANDOM PILES OF BRICKS REPORTED AT GEORGE FLOYD PROTESTS

In Portland, Oregon, police deployed tear gas to disperse a large crowd downtown late Sunday night after authorities said projectiles were thrown at officers.

Earlier, police said protesters smashed windows at the federal courthouse, and authorities on loudspeakers declared the gathering a civil disturbance.

Demonstrators near the White House in Washington, D.C. protest the death of George Floyd on Sunday. (AP)

A protest along the historic Route 66 into downtown Albuquerque also turned violent early Monday after police reported demonstrators setting small fires and officers said they were fired upon.

Albuquerque police spokesman Gilbert Gallegos told the Associated Press that officers reported shots fired at them in front of the historic Kimo Theater after a mostly peaceful demonstration disbanded. Gallego said there was damage to several properties in the area, including broken windows and some stealing from stores – although there were no reports of injuries.

GEORGE FLOYD UNREST: RIOTS, FIRES, VIOLENCE ESCALATE IN SEVERAL MAJOR CITIES

And in Texas, police fired rubber bullets and pepper spray late Sunday night at demonstrators who gathered outside the downtown police station in Austin. Some people – in television footage of the standoff -- could be seen throwing water bottles at police.

A little farther north in Dallas – one of the many U.S. cities to have instituted a curfew in hopes of quelling the unrest – police made dozens of arrests.

Some Americans have even tried to get in the way of the looters, with mixed results.

A man protecting a liquor store in Chicago Sunday night was hit in the right arm by gunfire and was rushed to a hospital, where he is now said to be in good condition, according to the Chicago Sun-Times.

In Philadelphia, local residents from a group called “Stand Up Philly” banded together to deter looters from going after a Target store.

Anthony, one of its members, told Fox29 that the locals are against what happened to Floyd, calling it “disgusting” and vowing that “it has to stop.”

“But we have to unite the city and what is happening throughout the city right now is dividing the city, it is not uniting the city,” he said. “There is no justice in robbing stores and looting your own neighborhood and burning the city down.”

Even though an estimated 16,000 National Guard troops have been mobilized to quell the rioting and looting, it’s not clear when the violence will end.

But in the meantime, Shea is calling on all Americans to show restraint.

“I think people need to understand, when they see officers out there on the line as they’re doing now trying to keep peace, they’re doing the best they can in an extremely, extremely difficult situation,” he told ‘Fox & Friends’. “This goes across the country and they need your support.”

38 Codes:

- 4400 people in custody as of monday

0 Codes

- **A sundat afternoon started peaceful then turned violent as protester clash with officers**

0 Codes

- **American cities digging through scenes of destruction**

0 Codes

- **Authorities declared civil disturbance by protesters**

0 Codes

- **Bosten police tweeted 40 people arrested and 7 police were hospitalized**

0 Codes

- **Civilians attempting to stop looters**

0 Codes

- **Countless business owners in dispair due to destroyed property by rioters**

0 Codes

- **Curfew installed, police made arrests**

0 Codes

- **Demonstraters throwing water bottles**

0 Codes

- **Despite of coronavirus, many people for a call for the reform of police departments**

0 Codes

- **Despite of coronavirus, many people for a call of justice**

0 Codes

- **Fifth night of looting and rioting resulted in arrests**

0 Codes

- **Floyd's death came after tension of earlier deaths of black jogger and black girl**

0 Codes

- **Fox news reports hundreds of people seen stealing from local stores**

0 Codes

- **Group of locals banded together to protect store from looters**

0 Codes

- **Man protecting liquor store got shot by protester**

0 Codes

- **Minneapolis restaurant burned down by rioters**

0 Codes

- **National guard have been called up**

0 Codes

- **No certainty when violence will end**

0 Codes

- **Officer responsible charged with third-degree murder**

0 Codes

- **Officers reported to be fired upon by protesters**

0 Codes

- **Once started as peaceful protest but turned dark and ugly very fast as protesters rioted and started looting**

0 Codes

- **One of the most challenging times in 30 year policing due to riots and destruction**

0 Codes

- **Ongoing demonstrations gripped US and the world.**

0 Codes

- **Police arrested dozens of looters**

0 Codes

- **Police deploy teargas after authorities said projectiles were thrown at officers**

0 Codes

- **Police fired at protesters**
0 Codes
- **Police reported being shot at**
0 Codes
- **Police reported protesters smashing windows. Authorities declared civil disturbance**
0 Codes
- **Protest turned violent as demonstrators setting small fires**
0 Codes
- **Protesters continue to break windows and steal from stores**
0 Codes
- **Protesters have damaged 21 police cruisers**
0 Codes
- **Protesters leave trail of destruction, looting and rioting**
0 Codes
- **Protesters throwing stones, breaking into stores and lighting police car on fire**
0 Codes
- **Shattered storefronts reported due to rioting protesters**
0 Codes
- **Videos show crowds targeting a wide array of businesses.**
0 Codes
- **While some demonstrations remain peaceful, others frequently turned violent**
0 Codes
- **Witnesses report people leaping into stores, loot and drive off in a getaway vehicle**
0 Codes

Project: Breonna Taylor by CNN - Codes

Document Report

Selected documents (2)

Article 1: Louisville police move to fire two detectives involved in Breonna Taylor raid

Text document, 12 quotations

Louisville police move to fire two detectives involved in Breonna Taylor raid

The Louisville Metro Police Department is seeking to fire two detectives connected to the Breonna Taylor case, attorneys for the men told CNN.

Detective Joshua Jaynes received a pre-termination letter from the department earlier Tuesday, his attorney Thomas Clay said.

The letter, sent from Interim Chief of Police Yvette Gentry, informed Jaynes of the "present intention to terminate (his) employment" and that the action is based upon a review of the findings of the "Professional Standards Investigation into the preparation and execution of the search warrant" at Taylor's apartment.

A bust of Breonna Taylor was damaged in an apparent act of vandalism

Taylor, a 26-year-old emergency room technician, was shot and killed by Louisville police officers in her apartment during a flawed forced-entry raid in the early morning hours of March 13.

Gentry writes that Jaynes violated standard operating procedure with regards to preparation for search warrant execution and untruthfulness.

"Your actions have brought discredit upon yourself and the Department. Your conduct severely damaged the image our Department has established within our community," Gentry wrote. "I cannot tolerate this type of conduct or untruthfulness by any member of the Louisville Metro Police Department."

"close dialog"

A police hearing on the matter is scheduled for Thursday, according to the letter.

Clay said the hearing is a formality "because there's no doubt in my mind that there's already been a decision reached to terminate him without regard to what he has to say at this pre-termination hearing."

Clay called the investigative process a "fiasco" and believes his client is being given undue blame.

"Detective Jaynes is being made a scapegoat through a whimsical and farcical investigation by the Louisville Metro Police Department," Clay said.

Kentucky board denies request from Breonna Taylor's family for special prosecutor

Detective Myles Cosgrove also received a pre-termination letter, according to his attorney, Jarrod Beck. Beck declined to comment further.

The Louisville Metro Police Department said Tuesday that it is unable to discuss the cases "until an internal investigation is closed, and discipline (if any) has been determined," according to spokesman Sgt. John Bradley.

The police union, in a statement, said it was aware that two members had received pre-termination letters and would coordinate with them and their attorneys through the process.

Former detective Brett Hankison has been indicted, but not for Taylor's killing. He is charged with three counts of wanton endangerment in the first degree for allegedly firing blindly bullets that ended up in an apartment next to Taylor's. He has pleaded not guilty.

He was fired in June.

13 Codes:

- **Breonna Taylor shot and killed by police**

1 Quotations:

1:4 aylor, a 26-year-old emergency room technician, was shot and killed by.....
(742:829) - D 1: Louisville police move to fire two detectives involved in Breonna Taylor raid

- **Detective Cosgrove received termination letter**

1 Quotations:

1:10 Detective Myles Cosgrove also received a pre-termination letter, accor.....
(2015:2153) - D 1: Louisville police move to fire two detectives involved in Breonna Taylor raid

- **Detective Jaynes being made scapegoat**

1 Quotations:

1:9 "Detective Jaynes is being made a scapegoat through a whimsical and fa.....
(1783:1928) - D 1: Louisville police move to fire two detectives involved in Breonna Taylor raid

- **Detective Jaynes termination letter received**

1 Quotations:

1:2 Detective Joshua Jaynes received a pre-termination letter from the dep.....
(223:306) - D 1: Louisville police move to fire two detectives involved in Breonna Taylor raid

- **Detective violating standard operating procedures**

1 Quotations:

1:6 Gentry writes that Jaynes violated standard operating procedure with r.....
(931:1071) - D 1: Louisville police move to fire two detectives involved in Breonna Taylor raid

- **Hearing is formality, no doubt of termination detective**

1 Quotations:

1:8 Clay said the hearing is a formality "because there's no doubt in my m.....
(1475:1681) - D 1: Louisville police move to fire two detectives involved in Breonna Taylor raid

- **Letter of termination detective Jaynes**

1 Quotations:

1:3 The letter, sent from Interim Chief of Police Yvette Gentry, informed.....
(349:667) - D 1: Louisville police move to fire two detectives involved in Breonna Taylor raid

- **No comment until discipline is determined**

1 Quotations:

1:11 The Louisville Metro Police Department said Tuesday that it is unable.....
(2154:2374) - D 1: Louisville police move to fire two detectives involved in Breonna Taylor raid

- **Police distancing from detective Jaynes action. - Discredit to LMPD**

1 Quotations:

1:7 "Your actions have brought discredit upon yourself and the Department.....
(1072:1365) - D 1: Louisville police move to fire two detectives involved in Breonna Taylor raid

- **Police misconduct, as in Taylor case police irresponsible shooting action**

1 Quotations:

1:12 Former detective Brett Hankison has been indicted, but not for Taylor'.....
(2555:2822) - D 1: Louisville police move to fire two detectives involved in Breonna Taylor raid

- **Police officers execute flawed forced-entry**

1 Quotations:

1:5 officers in her apartment during a flawed forced-entry raid in the ear.....
(831:920) - D 1: Louisville police move to fire two detectives involved in Breonna Taylor raid

- **Police: seeking to fire detectives connected to breonna**

1 Quotations:

1:1 The Louisville Metro Police Department is seeking to fire two detectiv.....
(80:188) - D 1: Louisville police move to fire two detectives involved in Breonna Taylor raid

○ Search warrent unthruthful, police misconduct

1 Quotations:

1:6 Gentry writes that Jaynes violated standard operating procedure with r.....
(931:1071) - D 1: Louisville police move to fire two detectives involved in Breonna Taylor raid

Article 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

Text document, 34 quotations

Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

(CNN)On Breonna Taylor's kitchen wall, a sign with a cup of coffee reads "Love You A Latte," bullet holes cut into her cabinets, through boxes of breakfast foods and even through her brightly colored pots and pans.

More bullet holes are seen piercing through a wall just below a picture of teal-colored flowers, and in a room a bullet has shot through a shoebox and into the sole of a sparkly sneaker.

Louisville Metro Police Department's investigative files in Breonna Taylor case released

In her closet, filled with shoeboxes, another bullet landed near a snakeskin-print boot. A Mickey Mouse bath toy set is suction-cupped to the tile above one bathtub. A wall decal of the Eiffel Tower matches the bedspread and pillowcases in one bedroom. A colorful hanging piece on her front door reads, "Home."

Inside this apartment were remnants of a young life gunned down after police burst in, late one March night. Her family says her life was changing. She'd just bought a new car, her mother told Vanity Fair, and was thinking about having a baby at some point.

"And she had just recently started saying, 'Yeah, I think I'm almost ready. I just want to get a house first and then go from there,'" Tamika Palmer said.

Artwork on the front door of Breonna Taylor's home.

What led Louisville Metro Police to this home to execute a search warrant related to a drug investigation just after midnight on March 13 has been the focus of months of inquiries. The botched raid ended Taylor's life and has been intensely scrutinized and captured the public's attention, with nationwide protests and a movement to "Say her name."

"close dialog"

No officers involved in the raid were indicted on charges connected with Taylor's death. But former detective Brett Hankison was indicted on three counts of wanton endangerment in the first degree for allegedly firing blindly into Taylor's apartment. He has pleaded not guilty.

Officer testified that police knocked 'six or seven' times before Breonna Taylor was fatally shot

Taylor, 26, an EMT-turned-ER technician and aspiring nurse, had no criminal history. No drugs, money or paraphernalia were found inside Taylor's apartment, Kentucky Attorney General Daniel Cameron said. An investigator with his office told grand jurors that officers didn't go forward with executing the search warrant they had for Taylor's apartment.

Documents that were part of a public integrity unit investigation were made public Wednesday, releasing photos of the scene hours after Taylor was killed and details of an investigation into an alleged drug trafficking ring that ultimately led police to her apartment.

In the months before Taylor was killed, a police investigation involving a one-time boyfriend, Jamarcus Glover, led them back to her home address multiple times, according to police records. Glover is a convicted felon who Louisville Metro Police believe helped supply drugs to the ring.

A police photograph of a letter from Jamarcus Glover found at Breonna Taylor's home.

A CNN investigation in July found that detectives had linked Taylor's home to Glover, who was suspected of supplying a local drug house. Police said Glover had recently used Taylor's residence as his "current home address," according to an affidavit for a search warrant.

Taylor's family has consistently denied she was tied to a drug ring and her mother spoke about how the allegations angered her in August.

"I am pissed off because I know how hard Breonna worked," Palmer said. "I know that Breonna ain't about that life. Breonna couldn't tell you where to buy a dime bag of weed. She isn't that person on the news."

Black Americans are #sickandtired of the lack of justice for police killings. The Breonna Taylor decision is yet another disappointment

Police documents show Taylor bonded Glover out of jail for two cases in 2017. Glover had been listing Taylor's apartment address on Springfield Drive as his residence as recently as Feb. 20, according to a police summary of the case. Detectives obtained his bank records, where he also used her apartment as his mailing address, according to police documents.

Inside Taylor's apartment on the day of her death, police photos show mail addressed to both Glover and Taylor's boyfriend at the time, Kenneth Walker III. Walker was with Taylor the night she died, and fired a gun he was licensed to carry as plainclothes officers "violently broke down the door," Walker claims in a lawsuit, setting off a storm of

bullets. Walker's shot hit and wounded an officer, according to Kentucky Attorney General Daniel Cameron, something Walker's attorney denies.

A police photograph of one letter from Glover found at Taylor's home reads: "From day one, I kept it real and let you know that I'm trying to build something with you."

Two months before Taylor's death

According to police documents summarizing the case, on Jan. 2, Louisville Metro Police installed a camera outside of a house they had homed in on for a narcotics investigation on Elliott Avenue, 20 minutes from Taylor's home.

Within an hour of putting it up, police say they saw 15 to 20 vehicles go to and from the home, which the police records say "is indicative of narcotics trafficking." Later that day, officers say they saw a car registered to Taylor pull up in front of the home, and Glover exited from the passenger side.

There were conflicting accounts about packages sent to Breonna Taylor's address before fatal raid, documents say

Glover was arrested the next day on drug charges, and called Taylor from jail at least 26 times, police records show.

Glover tells Taylor, "Just be on standby so you can come get me. Love you."

"Love you, too," she said.

Ju'Niyah Palmer, Taylor's sister, previously told CNN that Taylor was not involved in Glover's alleged drug operation and had forbade him from bringing that aspect of his life into her personal life.

"You cannot come up in my house with any drugs," she quoted her sister as telling Glover. "My sister live(s) here and I can't jeopardize her getting hurt because of what you do."

On Jan. 10, police installed a GPS tracking device on a car that Glover sometimes drove after detectives "exhausted all conventional means of surveillance," police records show. Police say they tracked the car going to Taylor's apartment in January at least six times, and in one of those instances police took photos of Glover leaving her apartment on Jan. 16 with what police suspected was a USPS package.

'That girl got killed over you'

Included in the crime scene photos released by police is a picture of a white board with the title "No knock warrants" and "Knock and Announce" written at the top, and multiple addresses listed, including Taylor's. CNN obscured portions of this image to remove visible addresses.

One month before Taylor was killed, on Feb. 13, police surveillance images showed a car registered to Taylor pull up to the Elliott Avenue home, according to police documents. Glover got out of the driver's side and went into the home. A few minutes later, Taylor got out of the passenger side of the car, looked around and went back in.

The police records say that detectives saw Taylor's car pull up to the home "numerous times at varying hours of the day/night."

Laws ending no-knock warrants after Breonna Taylor's death are 'a big deal' but not enough

CNN has reached out to attorneys for Taylor's family for comment on the newly released reports. They previously maintained that Taylor was not involved in Glover's alleged drug trade.

"It's always been our position and still is that she was never involved in any illegal activity," Taylor's family attorney Lonita Baker previously told CNN.

On March 13, the day Taylor was killed, police executed a search warrant at the home where they say they found a "large amount" of suspected crack cocaine and suspected Fentanyl pills that were hidden inside of a Crown Royal bag. Police say they also found a large amount of cash, digital scales and "other evidence of narcotics trafficking."

At the same time as the home on Elliott Avenue was being raided, police officers were also executing a search warrant at the apartment on Springfield Drive that Glover listed as his home -- Breonna Taylor's home.

Judge hears arguments on whether to allow grand juror in Breonna Taylor case to speak freely

Included in the crime scene photos released by police is a picture of a white board with the title "No knock warrants" and "Knock and Announce" written at the top, and multiple addresses listed, including Taylor's. Photos of five men are taped to the board, under the word "TARGETS." Jamarcus Glover's face and name appears in that list. Neither Breonna Taylor nor Kenneth Walker's name appear anywhere on the board.

The same day, during a series of recorded jailhouse calls with a woman whose name is redacted in police records, Glover discusses Taylor's death and their relationship.

"Chop (Glover's nickname) that girl got killed over you," the woman says during a morning call.

"All my mail and s*** ... it ain't got nothin' to do (with) Bre's house," Glover said.

Later that day, Glover tells the woman that while he has mail at Taylor's home, "Me and Bre ain't been around each other in over two months," he says. "I ain't got nothing going on with Bre."

Glover says in another call with the woman that Taylor had \$8,000 of his money.

"This is what you got to understand, don't take it wrong but Bre been handling all my money, she been handling my money," Glover said.

Fired police officer thought his colleagues were being 'executed' during Breonna Taylor raid, grand jury recordings show

Police did not find drugs or money at Taylor's home, according to grand jury testimony. Glover spoke about the claims Taylor was involved in a drug ring with the Courier Journal in August. He was arrested shortly after the interview was published for failure to

pay bail on separate drug offenses, according to a spokesman for the Commonwealth Attorney's Office.

"The police are trying to make it out to be my fault and turning the whole community out here making it look like I brought this to Breonna's door," Glover told the news outlet. "There was nothing never there or anything ever there, and at the end of the day, they went about it the wrong way and lied on that search warrant and shot that girl out there," he said.

The report shares excerpts of another jailhouse call where Glover tells an unnamed woman in April that he believed police seized his car and had taken a bank statement out of it.

"They got that bank statement out the arm rest, boom, it got Bre's address on there," Glover said. "They see Bre got that new car (...) She livin' through her job, though, (she) not livin' off nothin' else."

37 Codes:

- **Bedroom and closet Breonna house destroyed with bullet holes**

1 Quotations:

2:3 In her closet, filled with shoeboxes, another bullet landed near a sna.....
(562:872) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Black american are sick and tires of lack of justice for police killings**

1 Quotations:

2:18 Black Americans are #sickandtired of the lack of justice for police ki.....
(3714:3848) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Breonna found shot to death after police burst is**

1 Quotations:

2:4 Inside this apartment were remnants of a young life gunned down after.....
(873:980) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Breonna was almost ready for next step in life, family says**

1 Quotations:

2:6 "And she had just recently started saying, 'Yeah, I think I'm almost r.....
(1131:1285) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Breonna was getting her life together, car baby house**

1 Quotations:

2:5 Her family says her life was changing. She'd just bought a new car, he.....
(981:1130) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Breonna, aspiring nurse with no criminal history**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 2:10 Taylor, 26, an EMT-turned-ER technician and aspiring nurse, had no cri.....
(2094:2177) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Breonna's family denies she was in drug business**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 2:16 Taylor's family has consistently denied she was tied to a drug ring an.....
(3362:3499) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Bullet holes throughout the house of breonna**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 2:2 More bullet holes are seen piercing through a wall just below a pictur.....
(282:468) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Car registered to breonna pulling up to 'narcotics' house - Jamarcas exiting the car**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 2:23 Within an hour of putting it up, police say they saw 15 to 20 vehicles.....
(5129:5433) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **CNN reaches out to Breonna's attorneys - request statement on new police info**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 2:29 CNN has reached out to attorneys for Taylor's family for comment on th.....
(7434:7617) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Documents released on the investigation of Breonna - alleged drug traffic business**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 2:13 Documents that were part of a public integrity unit investigation were.....
(2446:2714) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Family states that breonna was not involved in drug trafficking**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 2:30 It's always been our position and still is that she was never involved.....
(7620:7774) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Frequent vehicles to and from the house - implying narcotic trafficking**

- 1 Quotations:**

2:23 Within an hour of putting it up, police say they saw 15 to 20 vehicles.....
(5129:5433) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **House of breonna taylor, destroyed and bullet holes**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 2:1 On Breonna Taylor's kitchen wall, a sign with a cup of coffee reads "L.....
(72:280) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Injustice: No drugs, money or paraphernalia found in breonna's apartment**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 2:11 No drugs, money or paraphernalia were found inside Taylor's apartment,.....
(2178:2295) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Investigation to why search warrant related to drugs. Intensive scrutenation**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 2:7 What led Louisville Metro Police to this home to execute a search warr.....
(1340:1688) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Investigator told jurors that officers did not go forward with search warrent**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 2:12 An investigator with his office told grand jurors that officers didn't.....
(2297:2444) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Jamarcas arrest on frugs charges - called breonna 26 times**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 2:24 Glover was arrested the next day on drug charges, and called Taylor fr.....
(5551:5668) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Month before breonna killing, police see car pulling up to house, Jamarcus and Breonna got out of car**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 2:27 One month before Taylor was killed, on Feb. 13, police surveillance im.....
(6873:7210) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Mother Breonna angry about false allegations**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 2:17 "I am pissed off because I know how hard Breonna worked," Palmer said.....
(3500:3709) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **No officers were indicted connected to Breonna**

1 Quotations:

2:8 No officers involved in the raid were indicted on charges connected wi.....
(1714:1864) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **One time boyfriend Jamarcus was spotted several times - alleged drug supplier to the drugring**

1 Quotations:

2:14 In the months before Taylor was killed, a police investigation involvi.....
(2715:3002) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Police did not find anything at breonna's house**

1 Quotations:

2:33 Police did not find drugs or money at Taylor's home, according to gran.....
(9729:10089) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Police documents show connection of Breonna to Jamarcus. Jamarcus had Breonna's home listed as home**

1 Quotations:

2:19 Police documents show Taylor bonded Glover out of jail for two cases i.....
(3850:4209) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Police installed camera outside of how for narcotic investigation**

1 Quotations:

2:22 According to police documents summarizing the case, on Jan. 2, Louisvi.....
(4903:5128) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Police misconduct - police lied on warrant**

1 Quotations:

2:34 "The police are trying to make it out to be my fault and turning the w.....
(10092:10454) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Police misconduct, Breonna's death is their responsibility**

1 Quotations:

2:34 "The police are trying to make it out to be my fault and turning the w.....
(10092:10454) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Police misconduct: Detective Hankinson indicted on three counts for firing blindly into Breonna's apartment**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 2:9 detective Brett Hankinson was indicted on three counts of wanton endangerment.....
(1814:1990) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Police photograph of letter from Jamaricus - genuine and honest message**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 2:21 A police photograph of one letter from Glover found at Taylor's home r.....
(4701:4869) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Police records show Breonna's car pulling up numerous times day/night**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 2:28 The police records say that detectives saw Taylor's car pull up to the.....
(7211:7338) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Police report Jamaricus going over to Breonna multiple times**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 2:26 On Jan. 10, police installed a GPS tracking device on a car that Glover.....
(6151:6555) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Police report show that after first raid they also went to Jamaricus 'home', being Breonna's house**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 2:32 At the same time as the home on Elliott Avenue was being raided, police.....
(8118:8330) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Police report show that at day of murder police found large amounts of drugs and money in house Breonna**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 2:31 On March 13, the day Taylor was killed, police executed a search warrant.....
(7775:8117) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Police trying to turn fault on Jamaricus, but it is them that lied on the search warrant**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 2:34 "The police are trying to make it out to be my fault and turning the warrant.....
(10092:10454) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Reports show detectives linked Jamarcus to Breonna and was using her home as supply house drugs**

1 Quotations:

2:15 A CNN investigation in July found that detectives had linked Taylor's.....
(3090:3361) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Sister Breonna told CNN Breonna was not involved in drug acts of Jamarcus**

1 Quotations:

2:25 Ju'Niyah Palmer, Taylor's sister, previously told CNN that Taylor was.....
(5772:5971) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

- **Walker who was at Breonna's death shot because 'door was violently broken down' - received storm of bullets**

1 Quotations:

2:20 Inside Taylor's apartment on the day of her death, police photos show.....
(4210:4700) - D 2: Inside Breonna Taylor's apartment, and why police homed in on it

Project: Breonna Taylor by Fox News - Codes

Document Report

Selected documents (2)

Article 1: Breonna Taylor shooting Video purportedly shows tense moments after officer was struck by gunfire

Text document, 12 quotations

Breonna Taylor shooting: Video purportedly shows tense moments after officer was struck by gunfire

A new video has emerged purportedly showing the tense moments after Louisville Police Sgt. Jonathan Mattingly was struck by gunfire while responding to Breonna Taylor's apartment on the night she was killed.

In the bodycam footage – which attorney Todd McMurtry tells Fox News he received from Mattingly – an officer is heard repeatedly yelling “put him on the trunk” while colleagues purportedly escorted Mattingly away from the scene of the shooting for medical attention. Mattingly reportedly said a bullet struck his femoral artery and he later had to undergo surgery.

“They called him a ‘murderer,’ when all he did was defend himself,” McMurtry said in a tweet accompanying the video.

LOUISVILLE OFFICERS INVOLVED IN BREONNA TAYLOR'S DEATH STILL ON ADMINISTRATIVE LEAVE, POLICE CHIEF SAYS

In a separate statement to Fox News, McMurtry said he represents “John in his affirmative claims against people who slandered him by calling him a ‘murderer.’”

Police in the video can also be heard saying “grab under his arms” and “cover him, let's go” as they move the wounded officer. “Go a little faster,” one then says.

The footage of Mattingly began after officers applied a tourniquet to his injured leg, according to news WAVE3.

As of Friday, Mattingly remains on leave following the death of Taylor on March 13. Interim Police Chief Robert Schroeder did not reveal Thursday during a virtual news briefing when Mattingly would report back to work.

Officer Myles Cosgrove, left, and Sgt. Jonathan Mattingly both remain on administrative leave from the Louisville Metropolitan Police Department, officials said Thursday. Both were involved in the March 13 raid that ended with the death of Breonna Taylor. (Louisville Metro Police Department)

Breonna Taylor, 26, died after officers initiated what was reported to be a no-knock warrant on her apartment during a drug investigation. They fired 20 rounds into the home, striking Taylor eight times. Authorities said they opened fire after Taylor's boyfriend, Kenneth Walker, started shooting at them.

Kentucky Attorney General Daniel Cameron said on Wednesday that the police officers knocked and announced themselves before breaching the door to Taylor's apartment

Walker claims he shot at the officers in self-defense after they failed to announce they were law enforcement and attempted murder charges against him were eventually dropped.

A federal investigation into Taylor's death is ongoing. Mattingly was not indicted this week by a Jefferson County grand jury for his involvement in Taylor's death.

12 Codes:

- **Boyfriend breonna acted in self defense - charges dropped**

1 Quotations:

1:11 Walker claims he shot at the officers in self-defense after they faile.....
(2319:2494) - D 1: Breonna Taylor shooting Video purportedly shows tense moments after officer was struck by gunfire

- **Breonna Taylor died after police to be 'no knock' warrent. Shot 20 times**

1 Quotations:

1:8 Breonna Taylor, 26, died after officers initiated what was reported to.....
(1846:2047) - D 1: Breonna Taylor shooting Video purportedly shows tense moments after officer was struck by gunfire

- **Federal investigation into Taylor's death. Mattingly not indicted**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 1:12 A federal investigation into Taylor's death is ongoing. Mattingly was.....
(2495:2659) - D 1: Breonna Taylor shooting Video purportedly shows tense moments after officer was struck by gunfire

- **Justification: Authorities said police opened fire after boyfriend started shooting at them**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 1:9 Authorities said they opened fire after Taylor's boyfriend, Kenneth Wa.....
(2049:2150) - D 1: Breonna Taylor shooting Video purportedly shows tense moments after officer was struck by gunfire

- **Justify: Police knocken and anouncing before breaching door**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 1:10 Kentucky Attorney General Daniel Cameron said on Wednesday that the po.....
(2152:2316) - D 1: Breonna Taylor shooting Video purportedly shows tense moments after officer was struck by gunfire

- **Officer Mattingly remains on leave after death Taylor**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 1:7 As of Friday, Mattingly remains on leave following the death of Taylor.....
(1332:1550) - D 1: Breonna Taylor shooting Video purportedly shows tense moments after officer was struck by gunfire

- **Officer was sturck by gunfire**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 1:1 moments after officer was struck by gunfire (55:97) - D 1: Breonna Taylor shooting Video purportedly shows tense moments after officer was struck by gunfire

- **Officer: Injured police**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 1:6 The footage of Mattingly began after officers applied a tourniquet to.....
(1220:1331) - D 1: Breonna Taylor shooting Video purportedly shows tense moments after officer was struck by gunfire

- **Officer: Night breonna was killed, officer was shot**

- 1 Quotations:**

1:2 A new video has emerged purportedly showing the tense moments after Lo.....
(101:308) - D 1: Breonna Taylor shooting Video purportedly shows tense moments
after officer was struck by gunfire

- **Officer: Officer had to undergo surgery after struck by bullet**

1 Quotations:

1:4 Mattingly reportedly said a bullet struck his femoral artery and he la.....
(576:672) - D 1: Breonna Taylor shooting Video purportedly shows tense moments
after officer was struck by gunfire

- **Officer: officer in need of medical attention**

1 Quotations:

1:3 In the bodycam footage – which attorney Todd McMurtry tells Fox News h.....
(309:573) - D 1: Breonna Taylor shooting Video purportedly shows tense moments
after officer was struck by gunfire

- **Officer: Police commenting while moving wounded officer**

1 Quotations:

1:5 Police in the video can also be heard saying “grab under his arms” and.....
(1056:1219) - D 1: Breonna Taylor shooting Video purportedly shows tense moments
after officer was struck by gunfire

Article 2: Breonna Taylor ‘armed’ protesters prompt Louisville police to declare ‘unlawful assembly’

Text document, 17 quotations

Breonna Taylor ‘armed’ protesters prompt Louisville police to declare ‘unlawful assembly’

A protest in Louisville, Kentucky, on Saturday night, on the one-year anniversary of the death of Breonna Taylor, was declared an unlawful assembly, according to police.

Some protesters, "while armed," blocked vehicular traffic and forced motorists to turn around, the Louisville Metro Police Department wrote in a Twitter message.

"Arrests will be made to those that refuse to disperse," the police message said.

The tweet included a photo of protesters gathered along the city’s Ohio River waterfront.

No arrests had been made as of 11 p.m., police spokesman Dwight Mitchell told Louisville FOX station WDRB-TV. He added that police had not needed to use tear gas or any other chemical agents on the crowd.

**MOTHER OF BREONNA TAYLOR FILES COMPLAINTS AGAINST 6
LOUISVILLE POLICE OFFICERS**

A woman who was seen handcuffed by police was later released, according to the FOX station.

Earlier in the evening, Louisville Mayor Greg Fischer had thanked the crowd for being peaceful during the weekend's demonstrations.

Protesters in Louisville, Kentucky, call for justice for Breonna Taylor, Sept. 25, 2020. (Associated Press)

"Breonna's death devastated her family, friends and coworkers, and it has deeply shaken our community and our country," the mayor said, according to the Courier-Journal of Louisville. "Her death, along with those of George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery and too many others, serve as painful reminders for Black Americans of the injustice, discrimination and violence they've faced for centuries – and too often still face today."

President Biden also posted a Twitter message, acknowledging the anniversary of Taylor's death.

"Breonna Taylor's death was a tragedy, a blow to her family, her community, and America," Biden wrote. "As we continue to mourn her, we must press ahead to pass meaningful police reform in Congress. I remain committed to signing a landmark reform bill into law."

Gatherings were held in Louisville and other cities across the U.S. as protesters pushed for authorities to prosecute police officers who were involved in a raid at Taylor's home on March 13, 2020, that resulted in the shooting death of the 26-year-old woman.

"Until a jury trial tells us that these officers are not guilty, there's always time to indict, arrest and convict the cops that murdered Breonna Taylor," attorney Lonita Baker, one of the lawyers involved in a wrongful death lawsuit filed by Taylor's family, said at an afternoon rally at Jefferson Square Park, according to WDRB.

This undated photo shows Breonna Taylor in Louisville, Kentucky. (Courtesy of Taylor Family attorney Sam Aguiar via AP)

During the raid, Taylor was struck by six shots and died in her hallway as police confronted her boyfriend, Kenneth Walker, who told authorities afterward that he fired at police, thinking the officers were intruders trying to break into the home.

Walker has since been cleared of wrongdoing and three police officers linked to the raid have been fired but none has faced criminal charges, WDRB reported.

Walker on Friday filed a federal lawsuit against the Louisville Metro Police Department, ABC News reported.

Four days earlier, Taylor's mother, Tamika Palmer, filed complaints against six police officers in connection with her daughter's death, alleging police misconduct.

The complaint names Sgt. Kyle Meany, Det. Anthony James, Det. Mike Nobles, Sgt. Amanda Seelye, Det. Mike Campbell and Lt. Shawn Hoover.

Former Det. Brett Hankison was charged with wanton endangerment last September for firing into an apartment next to Taylor's and showing "extreme indifference to human life."

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A man, a pregnant woman and a child were inside the other apartment at the time, authorities have said.

In September, Taylor's family reached a \$12 million settlement with the city in a separate legal case. The terms included the city's pledge to make changes in police policies and procedures.

Louisville police have told Fox News the case remains under investigation and they take Palmer's ongoing concerns seriously.

"The department places the highest priority on conducting thorough and impartial investigations, and the complaints received from Ms. Palmer's attorney are no exception," the LMPD told Fox News in a statement. "We are committed to being as transparent as possible within the confines of those limitations outlined by law of the Commonwealth."

17 Codes:

- **Acknowledgments for death of Breonna and other black deaths**

1 Quotations:

6:10 "Breonna's death devastated her family, friends and coworkers, and it.....
(1214:1634) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

- **'armed' protesters prompt police to declare 'unlawful assembly'**

1 Quotations:

6:1 Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare..... (0:89)
- D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

- **Arrests will be made police says**

1 Quotations:

6:4 "Arrests will be made to those that refuse to disperse," the police me.....
(424:503) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

- **Biden acknowledging death Taylor, proposes police reform**

1 Quotations:

6:12 "Breonna Taylor's death was a tragedy, a blow to her family, her commu.....
(1731:1993) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

- **Casualties of blindly fire of police officers**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 6:15 A man, a pregnant woman and a child were inside the other apartment at.....
(3733:3837) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

- **Complaints filed for police misconduct**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 6:14 Four days earlier, Taylor's mother, Tamika Palmer, filed complaints ag.....
(3221:3385) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

- **FBI places high priority on thoroughly investigating**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 6:16 "The department places the highest priority on conducting thorough and.....
(4154:4496) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

- **Louisville police states that case remains under thorough investigation**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 6:17 Louisville police have told Fox News the case remains under investigat.....
(4029:4153) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

- **Mayor thanked crowd for peaceful protest**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 6:9 Earlier in the evening, Louisville Mayor Greg Fischer had thanked the.....
(972:1103) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

- **Mother of Taylor filed complaints against police**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 6:7 MOTHER OF BREONNA TAYLOR FILES COMPLAINTS AGAINST 6
LOUISVILLE POLICE..... (801:878) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters
prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

- **No arrests made yet, police did not use tear gas or chemicals**

1 Quotations:

6:6 No arrests had been made as of 11 p.m., police spokesman Dwight Mitche.....
(596:800) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

● Police reporting: Woman seen handcuffed is released

1 Quotations:

6:8 A woman who was seen handcuffed by police was later released, accordin.....
(880:971) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

● President Biden acknowledging anniversary for Taylor's death

1 Quotations:

6:11 President Biden also posted a Twitter message, acknowledging the anniv.....
(1635:1730) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

● Protest declared unlawful assembly by police

1 Quotations:

6:2 A protest in Louisville, Kentucky, on Saturday night, on the one-year.....
(90:261) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

● Protester 'while armed' blocked police traffic. Forces people to turn around

1 Quotations:

6:3 Some protesters, "while armed," blocked vehicular traffic and forced m.....
(262:423) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

○ Tweet showed photo of protesters gathered Ohio waterfront

1 Quotations:

6:5 The tweet included a photo of protesters gathered along the city's Ohi.....
(506:595) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to declare 'unlawful assembly'

○ Until police officers are not guilty, there is time to indict and convict involved police officers

1 Quotations:

6:13 "Until a jury trial tells us that these officers are not guilty, there.....
(2254:2585) - D 6: Breonna Taylor 'armed' protesters prompt Louisville police to
declare 'unlawful assembly'

Project: Michael Brown by CNN - Codes

Document Report

Selected documents (2)

Article 1: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

Text document, 14 quotations

Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

(CNN)Protesters demonstrated outside the Ferguson Police Department on Sunday night to mark the 6th anniversary of the police killing of Michael Brown.

Ferguson Police said over 100 people gathered at the department, and police ultimately arrested four protesters for failure to disperse.

Brown, an unarmed Black 18-year-old, was shot and killed in the street in 2014 by a White police officer, who said he shot in self-defense. He was not arrested or charged with wrongdoing, and just last week, St. Louis County prosecuting attorney Wesley Bell declined to charge the officer after a reinvestigation of the case.

Brown's death set off protests in Ferguson and across the country as Black citizens called for an end to police violence and racism, and led to violent confrontations with heavily armed police.

The protests elevated the "Black Lives Matter" phrase that remains central to protests across the country. Also on Sunday, protests continued in Portland, Oregon, and in Chicago, large groups of people gathered after police shot at a suspect they said had fired at officers.

Protesters in Ferguson, Missouri gathered on the 6th anniversary of Michael Brown's death.

In Ferguson earlier Sunday, citizens gathered where Brown was killed, with some laying flowers on the spot, CNN affiliate KMOV reported.

"close dialog"

"Six years ago to today, this community was rocked," Ferguson Police Chief Jason P. Armstrong said to those at the site. "This nation was rocked."

Democratic Congressional candidate Cori Bush was also on hand for the gathering.

"This is where I started from, fighting for justice. We have to stand up for Black lives every single day," Bush told KMOV.

Police arrest 4 for failure to disperse

Later in the evening, officers wearing helmets and holding shields stood in lines in the parking lot facing the crowds of protesters at the police department, according to video shot by affiliate KMOV.

Police erected a barricade made of bicycle racks fastened together and put the barricade in front of the police department parking lot. They also blocked off S. Florissant Road to vehicle traffic to protect the protesters, the police said in a press release.

How George Floyd's death ignited a racial reckoning that shows no signs of slowing down

According to police, some members of the crowd removed the barricades, made hostile and threatening remarks to the officers and tried to enter the property.

The Ferguson Police Department received assistance from some surrounding agencies to help maintain the crowd, who police said threw bottles, metal screws and wooden sticks at officers. Some protesters ripped off letters on the building's sign and spray-painted a sign post and the road, police said.

After repeated announcements to the crowd to not throw objects or enter the parking lot, police declared an unlawful assembly and ordered the crowd to leave. Handheld pepper spray was used to disperse the crowd, police said.

Four St. Louis residents were arrested and charged with failure to disperse. One of the four charged also had an arrest warrant out of St. Louis, they said. Two officers from an assisting agency received minor injuries and were treated at the scene, according to police.

16 Codes:

○ 6th anniversary of police killing Michael Brown

1 Quotations:

4:2 Protesters demonstrated outside the Ferguson Police Department on Sund.....
(100:246) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

● After investigation police officer not charges

1 Quotations:

4:4 He was not arrested or charged with wrongdoing, and just last week, St.....
(524:709) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

● Brown's death set off protests to end police violence and racism

1 Quotations:

4:5 Brown's death set off protests in Ferguson and across the country as B.....
(710:903) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

○ **Democratic congressional Cori Bush at hand for gathering Michael**

1 Quotations:

4:7 Democratic Congressional candidate Cori Bush was also on hand for the.....
(1577:1657) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

○ **Escalation between protesters and police**

1 Quotations:

4:6 The protests elevated the "Black Lives Matter" phrase that remains cen.....
(904:1178) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

○ **Four protesters arrested due to failure to disperse**

1 Quotations:

4:14 Four St. Louis residents were arrested and charged with failure to dis.....
(3057:3327) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

○ **Michael, unarmed black man shot by police. Claims to be shot in self-defense**

1 Quotations:

4:3 Brown, an unarmed Black 18-year-old, was shot and killed in the street.....
(384:521) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

○ **Police arrest 4 for failure to disperse**

1 Quotations:

4:8 Police arrest 4 for failure to disperse (1782:1821) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

○ **Police called for unlawful assembly and ordere crowd to leave - pepperspray**

1 Quotations:

4:13 After repeated announcements to the crowd to not throw objects or ente.....
(2832:3056) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

- **Police conflict: crowd threw bottles, metal scraps and spray paint.**

1 Quotations:

4:12 The Ferguson Police Department received assistance from some surroundi.....
(2532:2831) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

- **Police preparing on the streets for protest**

1 Quotations:

4:10 Police erected a barricade made of bicycle racks fastened together and.....
(2024:2281) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

- **Police reported some crowd member removed barricades, made hostile and threatening remarks**

1 Quotations:

4:11 According to police, some members of the crowd removed the barricades,.....
(2375:2531) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

- **Police wearing gear, holding shield stood in lince facing crowd**

1 Quotations:

4:9 Later in the evening, officers wearing helmets and holding shields sto.....
(1822:2023) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

- **Protester gather outside PD for anniversay Michael**

1 Quotations:

4:1 Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of.....
(0:92) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

- **Protests elevated the Black Lives Matter phrase**

1 Quotations:

4:6 The protests elevated the "Black Lives Matter" phrase that remains cen.....
(904:1178) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary of Michael Brown's death

- **Protests led to violent confrontation with heavily armed police**

1 Quotations:

4:5 Brown's death set off protests in Ferguson and across the country as B.....
(710:903) - D 4: Protesters gather outside Ferguson Police Department on anniversary
of Michael Brown's death

Article 2: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

Text document, 30 quotations

Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

Before Saturday's police shooting of an African-American teenager, Ferguson, Missouri, was known as one of hundreds of municipalities designated by a national nonprofit as a "Playful City USA," a place where children are supposed to have access to more opportunities to play in their communities.

But the shooting death of Michael Brown, a college-bound 18-year-old, by a police officer has brought national attention to the mostly black community for another reason.

Witnesses and residents say the young man was unarmed. Police say he tried to take an officer's gun. Authorities, citing threats and safety issues, have refused to identify the officer. Protests have turned violent. Tensions remain high after isolated looting incidents and dozens of arrests in the St. Louis suburb of 22,400.

To locals and longtime observers, the tension has been brewing since the 1970s, when Ferguson underwent a racial transformation.

Once predominantly white, the city became overwhelmingly black as white families moved out during the racial integration of public schools. At the same time, many African-American families started to move to Ferguson from St. Louis and surrounding communities.

"This whole situation has been boiling for a while," said Antonio French, a St. Louis alderman who lives five miles from Ferguson. "It's not just the death of Michael Brown but the way it's been handled by the local government and the response to the community's outrage that forced this to boil over."

A white man's response to Ferguson

On Thursday, Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon acknowledged long-simmering tensions between the community and police.

"This feels a little like an old wound that has been hit again," he said. "The key to this is ... ultimately getting to some of these deeper problems. These are deep and existing problems not only in Missouri but in America. This has clearly touched a nerve, and that nerve is not merely from this horrific incident that happened just a few short days ago."

Advocates for effective policing contend that law enforcement should reflect the diversity of the community it polices. When that is out of balance, however, an incident such as the Brown shooting can cause tensions to boil over.

What's happening in Ferguson today is a perfect example, said Beryl Satter, a history professor at Rutgers University in New Jersey.

"This is what happens when you have massive racial change in a community and the power structure remains in the hands of whites and the police force acts as this sort of mediating force between the white power structure and what is now a black community and has very little empathy or knowledge about that community."

Racial disparity

Two-thirds of Ferguson's population is black, and yet the mayor is white, and so are five of the six city council members.

The police chief is also white. There are only three African-Americans on the 53-person police force.

"This all gets back to segregation," Satter said. "The school boards, the police force, the juvenile courts remain the same. The population changes before the power structure changes. ... It happened across the country when there was very rapid resegregation of a town, a neighborhood or a city."

Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson admitted Wednesday that diversity on the force was a "constant struggle" but said race relations were a top priority for his department. He also said the officer who shot Brown was assaulted before opening fire on the young man.

According to a 2013 report released by the Missouri attorney general, African-Americans are not under-represented in crime statistics. They accounted for 93% of arrests after traffic stops, 92% of searches and 86% of traffic stops.

The St. Louis area has always been one of the most racially segregated regions in the country, according to Satter and other experts.

It was in St. Louis that a federal judge in 1847 returned Dred Scott to slavery in a decision upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled that African-Americans were not American citizens and could not sue in federal court.

Deadly race riots erupted in East St. Louis in the early 1900s. The looting and angry protests that followed Brown's death, Satter said, are part of the "historical lineage of violence and segregation."

While all the facts surrounding the Brown shooting have yet to come out, Satter said, the disconnect between the community and law enforcement can have lasting effects.

"It's just a terrible spiral of oppression," she said. "The reaction of rioting in response to police brutality is classic. It's so personal. Other kinds of oppression that black people face, say in the school or other places, it's not on your body. It's not as personally invasive. But police brutality hurts in a sharper, more profound and immediate way. People can relate to what happened to this boy."

Racial profiling training

Jackson told CNN this week that he was working to improve the diversity of the force. Racial profiling, he said, was "strictly forbidden."

"We actually have mandatory racial profiling training that we have to take to be certified," he said. "Racial profiling is against our policies. It actually benefits nothing."

David Klinger, a criminal justice professor at the University of Missouri-St. Louis and a former Los Angeles police officer, said that a more diverse police force doesn't always translate into better police relations with a community.

"If the cops are not treating the citizens appropriately, is it a question of the cops not doing their job right because they're not trained well or they're knuckleheads or they hold racial animus?" he said. "Who knows? But if you bore down and it turns out that there's racial animus, then you have a real big problem on top of the lack of professionalism, because that's a flashpoint in our society. We have a rough history in America regarding race relations. And the police, unfortunately, have been on the wrong side of that."

Dan Isom, retired chief of police in St. Louis and a criminal justice professor at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, said the diversity of the police rank and file and command definitely affects community relations.

"When you look across the nation, it's not uncommon for police departments to have a racial makeup that is not consistent with the community," he said. "You don't have a political or community push for improvement until something like the Michael Brown shooting happens."

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, about a quarter of police officers across the nation were ethnic minorities in 2007, compared with a sixth of officers in 1987.

Isom hopes the tragedy leads to change.

"There are so many questions to be asked beyond just the shooting," Isom said. "Certainly, the police department's makeup, the relationship with the community. Hopefully, this brings a bigger conversation: Why does this happen in the African-American community? What are the deeper issues we have to resolve between communities and police?"

Other factors about Ferguson need to be considered, observers said.

According to the 2010 census, community residents are mostly young; the average age is 31. Median household income is \$37,000: about \$10,000 less than Missouri as a whole. About one-fifth of Ferguson residents live in poverty.

African-Americans are much worse off economically than whites, with a 25% poverty rate that's more than twice that of whites, according to the most recent government estimates from two years ago. Their median income is only about 60% that of their white counterparts.

"Ferguson's black community is a very transient community, living in rental housing," said French, the St. Louis alderman. "Not many people register to vote, and even less participate in elections. ... People are living day to day out there, and part of their daily existence is negative encounters with the police. They want to be heard. They want their frustration to be recognized."

Complete coverage on Michael Brown's shooting

Ferguson police slammed for 'escalating the situation'

33 Codes:

- **Advocated argue for effective policy changes**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 6:13 Advocates for effective policing contend that law enforcement should r..... (2050:2277) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Afrocan-amaerican teenager, Michael, Shot in ferfugson**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 6:2 Before Saturday's police shooting of an African-American teenager, Fer..... (59:355) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Anger in protest root deeper into history Black/white**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 6:21 While all the facts surrounding the Brown shooting have yet to come ou..... (4331:4499) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Authorities claim Michael was a threat and acted out of safety**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 6:5 Authorities, citing threats and safety issues, have refused to identif..... (628:711) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Blacks not under respresented in crime statistics**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 6:19 man. According to a 2013 report released by the Missouri attorney gene..... (3531:3767) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Changing policies. Improvement training for racial profiling in place**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 6:23 Jackson told CNN this week that he was working to improve the diversit..... (4932:5070) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Community changes racially but power structure does not**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 6:17 "This all gets back to segregation," Satter said. "The school boards,..... (2973:3267) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Deep existing problems, not just in Missouri but whole America**

1 Quotations:

6:12 These are deep and existing problems not only in Missouri but in Ameri.....
(1843:2048) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

• Deeper issues to be uncovered than just Michael Brwon

1 Quotations:

6:29 "There are so many questions to be asked beyond just the shooting," Is.....
(6721:7061) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

• Frustrations not only due to death Michael Brown, but how local government handled situatiion - racial tension

1 Quotations:

6:9 "This whole situation has been boiling for a while," said Antonio Fren.....
(1244:1546) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

• Hopes this changes, policies

1 Quotations:

6:28 Isom hopes the tragedy leads to chang (6681:6717) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

• Law enforcement should reflect diversity policies

1 Quotations:

6:13 Advocates for effective policing contend that law enforcement should r.....
(2050:2277) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

○ Locals and longtime observers experience tention has been breweing for 30 years due to racial transformation

1 Quotations:

6:7 To locals and longtime observers, the tension has been brewing since t.....
(854:982) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

• Longterm tension betwee community (Black) and police

1 Quotations:

6:10 On Thursday, Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon acknowledged long-simmering tensi.....
(1584:1691) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

• Michael brown protest shows racial divide

1 Quotations:

6:1 Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide (0:56) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Need for policy racial profiling, in action**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 6:24 "We actually have mandatory racial profiling training that we have to..... (5071:5246) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Not enough racial diversity in police**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 6:26 an Isom, retired chief of police in St. Louis and a criminal justice p..... (6015:6233) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Once predominantly white changed as Ferguson became overwhelmingly Black due to racial integration**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 6:8 Once predominantly white, the city became overwhelmingly black as whit..... (983:1243) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Police chief admits that racial diversity lacks in the police department**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 6:18 Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson admitted Wednesday that diversity..... (3270:3535) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Police chief is white**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 6:16 The police chief is also white. There are only three African-Americans..... (2871:2972) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Police not racially diverse. Something has to happen like Michael Brown to change that**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 6:27 "When you look across the nation, it's not uncommon for police departm..... (6234:6503) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Protests have turned violent**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 6:6 Protests have turned violent. Tensions remain high after isolated loot..... (713:853) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Racial inequality. Black are worse of than Whites**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 6:30 African-Americans are much worse off economically than whites, with a.....
(7357:7555) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Racial profiling exist, need for change**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 6:25 "If the cops are not treating the citizens appropriately, is it a ques.....
(5482:6011) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Racial transformation already ongoing for decades**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 6:7 To locals and longtime observers, the tension has been brewing since t.....
(854:982) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Riots against police brutality is logical/personal. History between Black/White**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 6:22 "It's just a terrible spiral of oppression," she said. "The reaction o.....
(4500:4905) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Shooting of Michael Brown has brought national attention**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 6:3 ut the shooting death of Michael Brown, a college-bound 18-year-old, b.....
(357:526) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Situation opens up old wounds. Getting in to deeper problems then just Michaels death**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 6:11 "This feels a little like an old wound that has been hit again," he sa.....
(1692:1840) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **The reaction to Brown's death are deeply rooted in history between black and white**

- 1 **Quotations:**

- 6:20 Deadly race riots erupted in East St. Louis in the early 1900s. The lo.....
(4128:4330) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **This is what happens when a massive racial change, but police remains white. - tensions**

1 Quotations:

6:14 "This is what happens when you have massive racial change in a communi.....
(2413:2730) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Two thirds of Ferguson is black, yet mayor and five council are white**

1 Quotations:

6:15 Two-thirds of Ferguson's population is black, and yet the mayor is whi.....
(2748:2870) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **When diversity policies are out of balance, an instance like this can cause tensions to over boil**

1 Quotations:

6:13 Advocates for effective policing contend that law enforcement should r.....
(2050:2277) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

- **Witnesses claim Michael was unarmed**

1 Quotations:

6:4 Witnesses and residents say the young man was unarmed. Police say he t.....
(527:625) - D 6: Michael Brown shooting, protests highlight racial divide

Project: Michael Brown by Fox News - Codes

Document Report

Selected documents (2)

Article 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

Text document, 20 quotations

Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown, says source

Darren Wilson, the Ferguson, Mo., police officer whose fatal shooting of Michael Brown touched off more than a week of demonstrations, suffered severe facial injuries including

a bone fracture near one eye and was nearly beaten unconscious by Brown moments before firing his gun, a source close to the department's top brass told FoxNews.com.

"The Assistant (Police) Chief took him to the hospital, his face all swollen on one side," said the insider. "He was beaten very severely."

According to the well-placed source, Wilson was coming off another case in the neighborhood on Aug. 9 when he ordered Michael Brown and his friend Dorain Johnson to stop walking in the middle of the road because they were obstructing traffic. However, the confrontation quickly escalated into physical violence, the source said.

"They ignored him and the officer started to get out of the car to tell them to move," the source said. "They shoved him right back in, that's when Michael Brown leans in and starts beating Officer Wilson in the head and the face."

The precise extent of Wilson's injuries are unclear. The source told FoxNews.com on Wednesday that the officer had sustained a fractured eye socket in the incident, and repeated that assertion early Friday morning, in response to a conflicting report on the severity of the injuries.

The source claims that there is "solid proof" that there was a struggle between Brown and Wilson for the policeman's firearm, resulting in the gun going off – although it still remains unclear at this stage who pulled the trigger. Brown started to walk away according to the account, prompting Wilson to draw his gun and order him to freeze. Brown, the source said, raised his hands in the air, and turned around saying, "What, you're going to shoot me?"

At that point, the source told FoxNews.com, the 6-foot-4, 292-pound Brown charged Wilson, prompting the officer to fire at least six shots at him, including the fatal bullet that penetrated the top of Brown's skull, according to an independent autopsy conducted at the request of Brown's family.

Wilson was left dazed by the initial confrontation, the source said. He is now "traumatized, scared for his life and his family, injured and terrified" that a grand jury, which began hearing evidence on Wednesday, will "make some kind of example out of him," the source said.

The source also said the dashboard and body cameras, which might have recorded crucial evidence, had been ordered by Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson, but had only recently arrived and had not yet been deployed.

A spokesman for the St. Louis County Police Department, citing the ongoing investigation, declined late Wednesday to say whether Wilson required medical treatment following the altercation.

Edward Magee, spokesman for St. Louis County Prosecutor Robert McCullough, said the office will not disclose the nature of the evidence it will reveal to a grand jury.

"We'll present every piece of evidence we have, witness statements, et cetera, to the grand jury, and we do not release any evidence or talk about evidence on the case."

Nabil Khattar, CEO of 7Star Industries – which specializes in firearms training for law enforcement and special operations personnel – confirmed that police are typically instructed to use deadly force if in imminent danger of being killed or suffering great bodily injury.

“You may engage a threat with enough force that is reasonably necessary to defend against that danger,” he said.

Wilson is a six-year veteran of the Ferguson police force department, and has no prior disciplinary infringements.

Massive protests have since taken over the St. Louis community, prompting Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon last Thursday to place Highway Patrol Capt. Ron Johnson at the helm of security operations in an effort to calm ongoing tensions. The federal government is also investigating the death, and Attorney General Eric Holder has taken the lead – calling “the selective release of sensitive information” in the case “troubling.”

On Friday, Ferguson police released surveillance video showing Brown stealing cigars from a convenience store just before his death. Jackson came under intense criticism for disclosing the tape and a related police report as he also insisted that the alleged robbery and the encounter with Wilson were unrelated matters. Brown’s family, through their attorney, suggested the tape’s release was a strategic form of “character assassination.”

However, FoxNews.com’s source insisted that there was absolutely no spin agenda behind the tape’s release and that there were a number of Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) media requests filed by media outlets seeking it. Tom Jackson is said to have waited on publicly releasing it, and did not want it shown until Brown’s grieving mother first had the chance to see it.

“He defied the FOIAs as long as he could,” noted the insider. “A powerful, ugly spin has completely ruined public discourse on this whole situation.”

20 Codes:

- **After Michaels death massive portests begun. Police try calming it down**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 1:16 Massive protests have since taken over the St. Louis community, prompt..... (3676:3901) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **Bodycams might have interesting details, have not been released yet**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 1:10 The source also said the dashboard and body cameras, which might have..... (2430:2645) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **Brown's family calls stealing video strategic form of Character assassination**

- 1 Quotations:**

1:19 Brown's family, through their attorney, suggested the tape's release w.....
(4416:4535) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **CD/Conflict: Officer was ignored by Michael, came out of car and got pushed back in when Michael started assaulting officer**

1 Quotations:

1:5 "They ignored him and the officer started to get out of the car to tel.....
(887:1117) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **CD/conflict:Brown charged officers to attack in which officers shot brown 6 times**

1 Quotations:

1:8 At that point, the source told FoxNews.com, the 6-foot-4, 292-pound Br.....
(1858:2153) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **CD: Chief took him to hospital: Badly beaten**

1 Quotations:

1:3 "The Assistant (Police) Chief took him to the hospital, his face all s.....
(418:557) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **CD: Cop badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown**

1 Quotations:

1:1 Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown, says sour.....
(0:72) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **Conflict: Officer wilson ordered Michael to stop walking as they obstructed traffic. Confrontation quickly escalated**

1 Quotations:

1:4 According to the well-placed source, Wilson was coming off another cas.....
(558:886) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **CP: Officer Wilson sever facial injuries and bone fracture before shooting Brown**

1 Quotations:

1:2 Darren Wilson, the Ferguson, Mo., police officer whose fatal shooting.....
(75:417) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **Extend of injuries officer unclear. But severe damage**

1 Quotations:

1:6 The precise extent of Wilson's injuries are unclear. The source told F.....
(1119:1399) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **FBI investigating the case**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 1:17 he federal government is also investigating the death, and Attorney Ge.....
(3905:4094) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **Fire arms teacher: You may engage in force when in danger**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 1:14 "You may engage a threat with enough force that is reasonably necessar.....
(3448:3560) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **Firearms training confirms police use deadly force when in imminent danger**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 1:13 Nabil Khattar, CEO of 7Star Industries – which specializes in firearms.....
(3174:3447) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **Office will not disclose nature of evidence it will reveal to jury**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 1:11 Edward Magee, spokesman for St. Louis County Prosecutor Robert McCullo..... (2836:3003) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **Officer wilson, traumatized for life by attack brown**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 1:9 Wilson was left dazed by the initial confrontation, the source said. H.....
(2154:2429) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **Release evidence to jury, but not talk about it in the open**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 1:12 "We'll present every piece of evidence we have, witness statements, et.....
(3004:3173) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **Solid proof of struggle, when Brown walked away officer drew gun. Brown antagonized**

- 1 Quotations:**

- 1:7 The source claims that there is "solid proof" that there was a struggl.....
(1403:1857) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

- **Stealing video released because of Freedom information act**

- 1 Quotations:**

1:20 However, FoxNews.com's source insisted that there was absolutely no sp.....
(4537:4754) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

○ **Surveillance video released Michael brown stealing cigars earlier**

1 Quotations:

1:18 On Friday, Ferguson police released surveillance video showing Brown s.....
(4096:4226) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

○ **Wilson, in 6 years no prior disciplinary infringements**

1 Quotations:

1:15 Wilson is a six-year veteran of the Ferguson police force department,.....
(3561:3675) - D 1: Missouri cop was badly beaten before shooting Michael Brown

Article 2: Ferguson shooting Police, protesters clash after disclosures

Text document, 12 quotations

Ferguson shooting: Police, protesters clash after disclosures

Anger spurred by the death of a black teenager at the hands of white police officer boiled over again early Saturday morning in Ferguson, Missouri, when protesters stormed into a convenience store — the same store that Michael Brown was accused of robbing.

Police and about 200 protesters began clashing late Friday after another tense day in the St. Louis suburb, a day that included authorities identifying the officer who fatally shot Brown on Aug. 9. At the same news conference in which officer Darren Wilson was named, Ferguson Police Chief Thomas Jackson released documents alleging that Brown stole a \$48.99 box of cigars from the convenience store, then strong-armed a man on his way out.

Just before midnight, some in what had been a large and rowdy but mostly well-behaved crowd broke into that same small store and began looting it, said Missouri State Highway Patrol Capt. Ron Johnson.

Some in the crowd began throwing rocks and other objects at police, Johnson said. One officer was hurt but details on the injury were not immediately available.

Johnson said police backed off to try and ease the tension. He believes looting may have spread to a couple of nearby stores. No arrests were made.

"We had to evaluate the security of the officers there and also the rioters," Johnson said. "We just felt it was better to move back."

Meanwhile, peaceful protesters yelled at the aggressors to stop what they were doing. About a dozen people eventually blocked off the front of the convenience store to help protect it.

Gov. Jay Nixon on Thursday appointed Johnson to take over security after concerns were raised about how local police had used tear gas and rubber bullets on protesters earlier in the week. Johnson said one tear gas canister was deployed Friday night after the group of rioters became unruly.

Jackson's decision to spell out the allegations that Brown committed the robbery, and his releasing of surveillance video, angered attorneys for Brown's family and others, including U.S. Rep. William Lacy Clay. Earlier Friday night, the Democratic congressman took a bullhorn and told protesters, "They have attempted to taint the investigation. They are trying to influence a jury pool by the stunt they pulled today."

Family attorney Daryl Parks acknowledged that the man shown in the surveillance footage "appears to be" Brown. But he and others said Brown's family was blindsided by the allegations and release of the footage. They said that even if it was Brown, the crime didn't justify the shooting of a teen after he put up his hands in surrender to the officer, as witnesses allege.

Another family attorney, Benjamin Crump, said police "are choosing to disseminate information that is very strategic to try to help them justify the execution-style" killing, said Crump, who also represented the family of Trayvon Martin, the teenager fatally shot by a Florida neighborhood watch organizer who was later acquitted of murder.

The surveillance video appears to show a man wearing a ball cap, shorts and white T-shirt grabbing a much shorter man by his shirt near the store's door. A police report alleges that Brown grabbed the man who had come from behind the store counter and "forcefully pushed him back" into a display rack.

Police said they found evidence of the stolen merchandise on Brown's body.

Brown's family and supporters have been pushing for release of the officer's name. Wilson is a six-year police veteran — two in neighboring Jennings and four in Ferguson — and had no previous complaints filed against him, Jackson said.

The police chief described Wilson as "a gentle, quiet man" who had been "an excellent officer." Wilson has been on paid administrative leave since the shooting. St. Louis County prosecutor Bob McCulloch said it could be weeks before the investigation of the shooting wraps up.

St. Louis County Executive Charlie Dooley on Friday asked Missouri Attorney General Chris Koster to take over the case, saying he did not believe McCulloch could be objective. Koster said Missouri law does not allow it unless McCulloch opts out. McCulloch spokesman Ed Magee said McCulloch has no plans to surrender the case.

Also Friday, the Justice Department confirmed in a statement that FBI agents had conducted several interviews with witnesses as part of a civil-rights investigation into Brown's death. In the days ahead, the agents planned to canvass the neighborhood where the shooting happened, seeking more information, the statement said.

12 Codes:

- **Brown reportedly robbed store**

1 Quotations:

6:4 Brown stole a \$48.99 box of cigars from the convenience store, then st.....
(656:758) - D 6: Ferguson shooting Police, protesters clash after disclosures

● **Conflict Protesters throwing rocks at police**

1 Quotations:

6:6 Some in the crowd began throwing rocks and other objects at police, Jo.....
(961:1121) - D 6: Ferguson shooting Police, protesters clash after disclosures

● **Conflict: Police and protesters clash**

1 Quotations:

6:1 Ferguson shooting: Police, protesters clash after disclosures (0:60) - D 6:
Ferguson shooting Police, protesters clash after disclosures

● **Conflict: Protesters began clasgin to police**

1 Quotations:

6:3 olice and about 200 protesters began clashing late Friday after anothe.....
(320:516) - D 6: Ferguson shooting Police, protesters clash after disclosures

● **Demcrats opposing: Saying police is trying to taint the investigation**

1 Quotations:

6:9 Jackson's decision to spell out the allegations that Brown committed t.....
(1882:2301) - D 6: Ferguson shooting Police, protesters clash after disclosures

● **Police retracted its position**

1 Quotations:

6:7 "We had to evaluate the security of the officers there and also the ri.....
(1270:1404) - D 6: Ferguson shooting Police, protesters clash after disclosures

● **Police trying to link the robbery to the killing of brown**

1 Quotations:

6:10 Family attorney Daryl Parks acknowledged that the man shown in the sur.....
(2302:2672) - D 6: Ferguson shooting Police, protesters clash after disclosures

● **Police using video to justify the means of killing Mihcael**

1 Quotations:

6:11 Another family attorney, Benjamin Crump, said police "are choosing to.....
(2674:3014) - D 6: Ferguson shooting Police, protesters clash after disclosures

○ **Protester broke out and started looting in the night**

1 Quotations:

6:5 Just before midnight, some in what had been a large and rowdy but most.....
(760:960) - D 6: Ferguson shooting Police, protesters clash after disclosures

○ **Protesters storming into convenience store, the same as Michael robbed**

1 Quotations:

6:2 Anger spurred by the death of a black teenager at the hands of white p.....
(62:318) - D 6: Ferguson shooting Police, protesters clash after disclosures

○ **Protesters yelling**

1 Quotations:

6:8 Meanwhile, peaceful protesters yelled at the aggressors to stop what t.....
(1405:1589) - D 6: Ferguson shooting Police, protesters clash after disclosures

○ **Wilson is gentle quite man, he did his job**

1 Quotations:

6:12 he police chief described Wilson as "a gentle, quiet man" who had been.....
(3629:3903) - D 6: Ferguson shooting Police, protesters clash after disclosures