



MEDIA@LSE
Department of **Media** and **Communications**

MEDIA@LSE MSc Dissertation Series

Compiled by Bart Cammaerts, Nick Anstead and Richard Stupart

**An Examination of American Mainstream Media
Discourse of Solidarity and Citizenship in the
Reporting of the Black Lives Matter Campaign**

Eilis Yazdani,
MSc in Global Media and Communications

Other dissertations of the series are available online here:

[http://www.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/mediaWorkingPapers/
ElectronicMScDissertationSeries.aspx](http://www.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/mediaWorkingPapers/ElectronicMScDissertationSeries.aspx)

Dissertation submitted to the Department of Media and Communications, London School of Economics and Political Science, August 2016, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the MSc in Global Media and Communications. Supervised by Shakuntala Banaji

The author can be contacted at: Eilisyazdani@gmail.com

Published by Media@LSE, London School of Economics and Political Science ("LSE"), Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE. The LSE is a School of the University of London. It is a Charity and is incorporated in England as a company limited by guarantee under the Companies Act (Reg number 70527).

Copyright, Eilis Yazdani © 2017.
The authors have asserted their moral rights.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means without the prior permission in writing of the publisher nor be issued to the public or circulated in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published. In the interests of providing a free flow of debate, views expressed in this dissertation are not necessarily those of the compilers or the LSE.

An Examination of American Mainstream Media Discourse of Solidarity and Citizenship in the Reporting of the Black Lives Matter Campaign

Eilis Yazdani

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine how solidarity and citizenship are defined and apportioned in reporting, by American mainstream news outlets, about the Black Lives Matter movement. An examination was guided by performing a critical discourse analysis of six news program transcripts, obtained via online, from three different news outlets; FOX News, CNN News, and MSNBC News. Through utilizing Fairclough's three-dimensional approach of critical discourse analysis four distinct definitions of solidarity and citizenship were discovered. Two conflicting definitions of solidarity were presented in the media through the discussion of BLM. The first definition of solidarity presented was contingent on agreed forms of reasoning, focus, methods, and conformity. The second definition of solidarity given, by BLM activists, was inclusive of all types of reasoning, methods, and embraced resistance, for the common aim of justice. Two different definitions of citizenship were also presented in the media in the reporting of BLM. The first definition of citizenship was displayed as someone who does not protest, question the establishment, is 'respectable' and white. The second definition of citizenship offered, by BLM members, is someone who participates in activism, exposes the establishment, resists being 'respectable', and is not considered a citizen. Due to the way these four different definitions were apportioned in the media the first definitions of both solidarity and citizenship take precedence over the others because of quantity and exposure. Thus, an emphasis on the first two definitions are taken and their ability to authenticate, reinforce and maintain hegemonic power and dominant ideology. Moreover, a discussion regarding the significance of each definition and how they align with previous literature and the research question is given followed by reflections and suggestions for further research.

INTRODUCTION

Black Lives Matter (BLM), created by three African-American women, is a nationwide campaign that was initiated in 2013 through a twitter hashtag (#BlackLivesMatter) following the death of a black teenager (Black Lives Matter, 2016). BLM is recognized for their demonstrations and struggles in resistance to systematic discrimination and violence of African-Americans since the deaths of Eric Garner and Michael Brown in 2014 (Black Lives Matter, 2016). America is at a crossroads with the country's first black president many people proclaim that the nation is in a post-racial period (Speri, 2014). Conversely, a greater scrutiny of America's atmosphere reveals a country of racial limitations and isolation with a reality similar to the Jim Crow period (United States, National Park Service, n.d.). As killings of weaponless African-Americans by law enforcement resume and BLM led demonstrations throughout the country and world grow, it is the ideal time to explore this movement in the media (Hassan, 2016).

Due to BLM's unorthodox tactics of disruption and the questioning of powerful structures the movement has become a controversial topic, especially in the media (Black Lives Matter Movement, 2015). BLM is also disputed among the public, where only four out of ten Americans support the movement and one in five people oppose it (Horowitz and Livingston, 2016). The campaign name itself, Black Lives Matter, has sparked controversy and accusations of the movement being, 'racist', 'Nazi party', 'terrorists', and 'an American hate group' (Shear & Stack, 2016; Suen, 2015; Hoilman, 2016). Statements like these have left much of the public angry and questioning why the movement is not called 'All Lives Matter' (Shear & Stack, 2016; Suen, 2015; Hoilman, 2016). The campaign has sparked debates and emotions within the country surrounding issues of race, equality, systemic discrimination, police brutality, incarceration, nationwide murder rates, and the judicial system (Black Lives Matter, 2016). While this is a fairly recent movement the topics it raises are historical within the United States. These heated matters have been discussed and displayed for the public through the media.

As tensions increase between those who support BLM and those who oppose the movement it is a vital time to ask significant and substantial questions surrounding the campaign in order to better understand the climate in the United States. Questions like, how is solidarity expressed in the media? Who is considered to be deserving of solidarity? What does it mean to be a citizen according to the media? Who is considered to be a citizen? What attributes of Americanness qualify people for solidarity? Do black lives actually matter in America?

Not only is BLM a significant movement of our time but the ideas surrounding the campaign could also reveal insightful and contemporary information about concepts like solidarity and citizenship. In addition, an examination could provide a better understanding of the discourses within the media and country. This study attempts to provide a unique perspective, while answer the preceding questions and furthering the clarification and understanding of both solidarity and citizenship.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to attain a strong comprehension of the themes of BLM discourse, in the media, a detailed examination of principle research and theories will be conducted. This review will offer the fundamental outline of the public sphere, solidarity, citizenship, othering and BLM while illustrating how they fit together. Making use of this vast amount of information, at the end of this section, a conceptual framework will be provided grounded in the concepts determined most pertinent and germane.

On the Public Sphere

The public sphere is described as, ‘A realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed’ (Eley, 1999: 289). Academics have referred to mass media as being this realm or ‘master forum’ that constructs civic discussion (Ferree et al., 2002: 10). Additionally, Shani Orgad has expressed mass media as the sphere where ‘ourselves’ and ‘otherness’ are conceived, thus the media performs a vital part in strengthening the state and allegiance (2012: 82). Mainstream media has also been highlighted as spreading social discourse ‘imaginaries’ of nationality and rules of civic participation and status (Myers, 2009: 377). However, there are downfalls of this public sphere such as inequality, exclusion of issues, and exclusion of emotions and passions (Calhoun, 1999; Dahlberg, 2014; Eley, 1999; Negt and Kluge, 1993; Mouffe, 1993, 2005; Rienstra and Hook, 2006).

On Solidarity

The word solidarity, originates from the French word *solidarité*, defined by the Oxford Dictionary as, ‘unity or agreement of feeling or action, especially among individuals with a common interest and mutual support within a group’ (Oxford Dictionary, n.d.). Among academics there is not a consensus as to what solidarity means (Harvey, 2007: 22). This in fact has been one of the critiques of the concept, that it is vague and abstract (Prainsack and Buyx, 2012: 343). On a very basic level solidarity can be seen as a, ‘relation or unity between

people' (Scholz, 2007: 38). However, solidarity is different from other social bonding due to its demand of awareness and consideration while facilitated by a pledge to a conviction (Heyd, 2007: 118). Most scholars consider the concept as having a significant role in society and thus solidarity has been examined by many different disciplines including, 'biology and primatology, psychology, animal ethology, anthropology, sociology, law and political theory, media and communications and everything else that falls in between' (Thalos, 2012: 59).

One significant influence on solidarity is epistemology. A person's beliefs, reasoning and explanations are essential aspects that can influence and shape ideas about solidarity and one's standpoint. One viewpoint is a feminist perspective, which looks at solidarity while 'thinking about the epistemological insights that come from experiences of marginalization' (Scholz, 2015b: 727). Another is Marxist epistemology, which approaches solidarity from the framework that the social creates inequality and that knowledge of the privileged ostracizes (Code, 1996: 198). Finally, studies of decolonization epistemologies are important to the research of solidarity. Decolonization illustrates how for hundreds of years the ruling westernized models, which have moulded academia as impartial, detached and applicable, are actually constructed from a very specific position of power (Grosfoguel, 2007: 213). Therefore, decolonization attempts to shift both the conditions and content of dialogue (Mignolo, 2011: 275). The framework before decolonization left no room for the subaltern, which are classes under policy and rule of the dominant (Green, 2002: 2). These groups include women, slaves, peasants, different races, and religious groups (Green, 2002: 2).

Forms Of Solidarity

While solidarity has many influences and models there are some distinct forms of the concept that highlight particular qualities. The most significant of these forms are social solidarity, civic solidarity, and political solidarity.

Emile Durkheim, a pioneer in social solidarity, theorized the foundational characterization of two types of solidarity based on societies. The first type mechanical solidarity where less developed societies create fragile and effortless connections through similarities, common heritage, and reliance on each other (Durkheim, 2010: 27). The second type organic solidarity where more developed societies create strong connections by having roles in an interdependent societies (Durkheim, 2010: 26). Another significant idea within social solidarity is moral solidarity. Moral solidarity has been influenced by Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, which all have a history and tradition of the concept (Scholz, 2015a: 726). Each of these religions has their own viewpoint of solidarity but most importantly they have, 'determined solidarity means as dependent on the moral weight at play in a particular

context' (Scholz, 2015a: 726). While such religious tradition impact the concept some argue that morality lies at the very centre of solidarity (Scholz, 2015a: 726). This framework asserts that people, especially those in power, have a moral obligation to be in solidarity with those ostracized (Harvey, 2007: 34). Avery Kolers affirms that moral solidarity is less about sharing goals and more about acting collectively and asking for, 'a willingness to act against one's best judgment, including prudential, epistemic, and even moral judgment' (2014: 426). Thus shared human dignities and universal entitlements should connect everyone together and provoke solidarity for each and every person (Scholz, 2015a: 729).

Jean-Jacques Rousseau is one of the initiators of civic solidarity (Brunkhorst, 2005: 59). His objective was to offer a method of union that maintained personal rights while also acknowledging the obligations of being in society (Brunkhorst, 2005: 59). Sally Scholz agrees with this idea and that it is the responsibility of citizens to safeguard liberty and look after the public since society itself generates division (2014: 49). While civic solidarity refers to the state, some scholars suggest a form of international or global solidarity through organizations such as, the European Union, the United Nations, bioethics and climate change initiatives (Prainsack and Buyx, 2012: 343). Some academics have even asserted that despite individualism expanding solidarity has found new systems, such as transnational solidarity and global solidarity that keep it live and well (Wilde, 2013: 20).

Political solidarity is another distinct form that is, 'A collective movement that simultaneously serves those in need while it challenges the social structure that created that need, political solidarity is a social movement that unites individuals because of their shared commitment to a cause or goal' (Scholz, 2007: 40). Thus, political solidarity is an attempt to end oppression or injustice bound by a shared commitment not shared experiences (Scholz, 2007: 40). It emphasizes individual integrity, duty, group accountability, and shared action but also has an intrinsically adversarial essence (Scholz, 2008: 33). Activism is an essential part of political solidarity acting as tool that contests ill treatment and aids in reaching the final objective (Scholz, 2007: 45). Jodi Dean's theory of 'reflective solidarity' entails people being connected through battling against those who intimidate, belittle, and quiet people, therefore building bonds through rebellion (1996: 31).

Feminist political solidarity is different in the sense that solidarity is based on a 'common context of struggle' (Mohanty 2003a: 504). Solidarity is built on 'mutuality, accountability, and the recognition of common interests as the basis for relationships among diverse communities... foregrounds communities of people who have chosen to work and fight together' (Mohanty, 2003b: 7). Black political solidarity is also founded on shared oppression

and is wide enough to encompass dissimilarities between blacks (Fogg-Davis, 2006: 578). These underpinnings of solidarity are in shared heritage, racial identity and the experience of discrimination (Shelby, 2005: 1). While some criticize 'identity politics' and think black political solidarity is foolish, unreasonable, and ethically questionable scholars assert that it is, 'essential for black people to achieve the full freedom and social equality that American ideals promise' (Shelby, 2002: 231-232). While most of political solidarity promotes an idea of people being different but still coming together some theorists argue against this idea since they contend that racialized solidarity is what normally occurs (Hooker, 2009: 24). Thus criticizing solidarity for its lack of accommodation of diversity (Kivisto, 2015: 583).

Lastly, solidarity has also been used to unify people for negative efforts and goals. Such as to push xenophobia, nationalism, capitalist hegemony and as a device in Nazi Germany and the Jim Crow era to keep participants devoted towards racist policies, practices, genocide, and terrorism (Scholz, 2015a: 733). Furthermore, solidarity itself can also display neo-colonial inclinations and discount fringe voices (Scholz, 2015a: 733). Therefore, a blind and naive acceptance and commitment to solidarity alone can also be threatening.

On Citizenship

At its most basic level, citizenship describes membership in a community. Apart from that general observation, however, citizenship is a highly contested term. Citizenship can be described as a legal status, as a set of political or social rights, or even as a symbolic and collective identity (Myers, 2009: 376).

One of the founding fathers of citizenship is Aristotle who described the term as an, 'adult, able-bodied male, son of citizen- parents, sufficient economic means to actively engage in governance' (Sison, 2011: 4). He believed that the duty of being a member of society was to partake in determining what is just and then putting that into action (Sison, 2011: 3).

T.H. Marshall, another influential academic in citizenship, defined the term as the position given to a member that participants in society and thus whoever holds these positions are equal with the same privileges and responsibilities given by citizenship (Marshall, 1950: 34). He also conceptualized citizenship as three parts the civil, political, and social, arguing that besides in emergencies, most people are passive citizens (Marshall, 1950: 31). This democratic model was built on the notion that members would participate and be knowledgeable, however most are passive and there is no indication that citizens even feel compelled to be educated (Kivisto, 2015: 584).

Traditionally there are two distinctive prototypes of citizenship, the first being civic republican and the second liberal rights (Adrian Oldfield, 1990: 29). Civic membership focuses on partaking to benefit everyone while forming societal ties and strengthening public aids (Crane et al., 2003: 7-9). Liberal membership emphasizes the 'negative freedoms' like exemption from illegitimate prosecution and authoritative government (Crane et al., 2003: 7-9). While some still use these distinct models others have departed from the either/or perspective (Pettit, 1997: 121). Jürgen Habermas, for example, conceived his model of deliberative democracy based on both prototypes (Lee, 2006: 14).

One contemporary issue in citizenship is how to include, or exclude, immigrants and other denounced religious and racial groups (Kivisto, 2015: 583). Some academics assert that the early foundation of citizenship, like in America, was built on 'white manhood' (Amaya, 2007: 249). Thus, theorists propose that people's conflicting feelings of diversity come from the doubts over accepting and appreciating dissimilarities (Kivisto, 2015: 587). Consequently, increasing the terms for solidarity but also still forming conditions for a united feel of nationwide identity (Kivisto, 2015: 587). Like academics that argue citizenship has lost its power the nation's ability to defend against inequality has also been questioned (Spiro, 2009: 386).

Citizenship excess examines this issue by looking at how Latino/as are involved or expelled from possessing full membership in the public sphere (Castañeda, 2014: 495). Described as a media theory, Amaya explains how the strategies of 'pushing down' and 'pushing away' are used by conventional media to delegitimizing Latino/as citizenship while also reinforcing the mainstream who enjoy citizenship in excess (Castañeda, 2014: 495).

The struggle of blacks citizenship recognition has also been an area of study. Malcolm X illustrates how blacks Americans do not enjoy the same rights and privilege as other by stating,

I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver, no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare (X, n.d.).

One theory of what Malcolm X and other civil rights leaders were participating in is called 'active citizenship' (Sweetman, 2013: 219). That is how one attempts to create change from

the bottom up by holding nations responsible (Sweetman, 2013: 219). Similar to Paolo Friere's concept of conscientization one must act on their surroundings in order to reveal their social existence to then take additional action (Freire, 2000: 39). While black active citizenship for independence is often seen by whites as a, 'sign of anti-white racism' in reality it is an attempt of refuge where blacks can escape white control (hooks, 2015: 15). In these studies academics have been able to investigate how disregarded people demand rights and established membership despite their separation (Myers, 2009: 377).

Charles T. Lee's tactical citizenship describes how undocumented workers, who do not have rights, enact alternative uses and scripts of citizenship (Lee, 2006: 3). The concept is characterized as a response of the marginal class who lack feasible choices to rectify their position in society (Lee, 2006: 3). He explains that the four traditional ways of participating in citizenship that are replaced by four supplementary ways of tactical citizens that enable immigrant workers or marginalized groups to express resistance in a system that sustains their subservience (Lee, 2006: 5).

As globalization continues to increase some have questioned what citizenship has to offer anymore. Certain scholars have even argued that the state is no longer the source of identity and is stripped of its duty and significance because of things like dual citizenship and so forth (Spiro, 2008: 6). If fundamental rights are given to non-citizens and ideas like human rights are expanding, it provides a big question as to how citizenship is still relevant today (Spiro, 2008; Benhabib, 1999).

On Othering

Othering is a method, often in structures of injustice, of establishing an outcast and thus asserting an inner circle (Tope et al., 2014: 451). Frequently othering presents a dichotomy of 'civilized and savage, intelligent and stupid, hard-worker and lazy, superior and inferior, masculine and feminine, pure and impure, clean and dirty' (Grosfoguel, 2002: 210). This tactic is used in order to protect the elite's interests by eliminating certain people from admission (Novo, 2003: 250).

Jacques Lacan and Emmanuel Lévinas were influential in developing the current employment of the Other as the fundamental equivalent of the Self (McSwite, 1997: 52). Lacan connected the Other to 'symbolic order' while Lévinas related the Other to metaphysical divinity of doctrine making the Other grander and preceding oneself (McSwite, 1997: 52).

Jacques Derrida built on these ideas and re-constructed to the idea of otherness and depictions of an other person (McSwite, 1997: 52).

Michael Schwalbe outlined three forms of othering, which are oppressive othering, implicit othering, and defensive othering. Oppressive othering is when an in-group attempts to benefit by describing an out-group as ethically and mentally lower (Schwalbe et al., 2000: 423). Examples of oppressive othering include racial cataloguing systems like the Klu Klux Klan who use racial classification and dissimilarity among people to uphold their attitude of white supremacy (Blee, 1996: 680). This type of othering was also an integral device in the propaganda used against Jews in Nazi Germany (Grabowski, 2009: 384). Jewish people were presented as the 'alien race' that sucked the life out of the nation, detained wealth, infected its civilization, and imprisoned its labours (Grabowski, 2009: 384). Michael Pickering describes how this typecasting and reduction works as the procedure of categorizing and understanding the other thus manufacturing a divide (Pickering, 2001: 47-48).

This coincides with Edward Said influential description of Orientalism, where the 'imaginative' borders differentiate the West from 'barbarian land' where the Orient is seen as the backwards and less than the West (Said, 1978: 54-58). Thus, Orientalism entails, 'a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient' (Said, 1978: 54-58). Gerd Bauman depicts oppressive othering as a three-stage process of Orientalizing, segmentation, and grammar (Grillo, 2006: 219). Another form of oppressive othering, not as overt, is when non-prejudice Caucasians use wording that marks whiteness as concealed thus defining Caucasians as the normal group (Schwalbe et al., 2000: 423).

The second form is implicit othering, which is the symbolic instruments utilized to achieve oppression by 'identity codes' that are guidelines of presenting and understanding oneself by particular language, acts, and appearance (Mason-Schrock 1996: 125-127). These identity codes are, 'impossible for members of a dominated group to signify, mark subordinates as inferior others' (Delia Fave 1980: 967).

The third type of othering is defence othering, which is the effort done by persons attempting to participate in a prevailing group, in order to redirect the humiliation they encounter as participants of a minority group (Schwalbe et al., 2000: 425). This response is a product of being ill-treated that facilitates more injustice and undercuts minority unity.

On Black Lives Matter

As the BLM campaign is fairly recent there is a small quantity of scholastic studies conducted on the movement. A few of the studies that have been investigated around BLM include a depiction of the group as a modern civil rights campaign and a representation of conflict politics engagement (Rickford, 2015: 35). In addition, there has been research equating BLM to the past American Civil Rights (Shor, 2015; Harris, 2015). Furthermore, the actions of BLM have been examined in connection to discrimination and its distresses on the wellbeing of African-American (García & Sharif, 2015: 27). The women of the campaign have also been researched in relations to how BLM was created and its concerns (Chatelain, 2015: 57). Additionally, BLM has been researched in connection to the free market, socioeconomic status, and race struggle (Ransby, 2015: 32). Finally, BLM has been utilized as a framework for how marginalized members of society create innovative techniques to obtain authority (Marcus, 2015: 4). Even though there has been some research on BLM there is still a significant deficit in scholarship, especially in the way mainstream media discusses the campaign. Examining the description, provided by the media, of solidarity and citizenship while conferring about BLM can allow fresh and important discoveries both to scholarship and to the present racial atmosphere in the United States.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

There are several standpoints one can take in discussing these themes but I propose the following perspective as the best suited for my research. Since this dissertation is constructed around a contemporary civil rights movement concepts of oppressive othering and polarized forms of solidarity and citizenship will assist in representing the different viewpoints.

The concept of oppressive othering has a vital role in the discourse and construct of both solidarity and citizenship thus making it significant to this study. After slavery ended representations of black Americans were constructed as the ferocious unruly aggressor while, 'Black men were also portrayed as dangerous brutes, who, without the controlling force of the white master, had reverted to an imaginary natural uncivilized, "African" state"' (Yartey, 2016: 52-56). Moreover, 'essentializing others' is to produce oppositions where the other is seen as dirty, adulterated and thus distinct, dehumanized and detached from the inner circle (Holslag, 2015: 96). These dichotomies that promote racial cataloguing and dissimilarity help to uphold white supremacy. Ironically, blacks are required to, 'show our solidarity with the white supremacist status quo by over-valuing whiteness, by seeing blackness solely as a marker of powerlessness and victimization' (hooks, 2015: 17-18).

The first concept of solidarity, essential to this study, is Emile Durkheim's concept of mechanical solidarity. This type of solidarity creates basic and fragile links typically within less developed societies (Durkheim, 2010: 27). These bonds are formed on blood relationships, resemblances, shared morals with views that form a 'collective conscious' (Durkheim, 2010: 27). In this model people want others to be well since they signify them (Durkheim, 2010: 27).

In addition, Avery Kolers contrasting form of moral solidarity is most appropriate due to solidarity not being built on similarities but rather coming together to fight oppression towards 'durability' (Kolers, 2014: 426). This outline of solidarity contends that sufferers of domination are worth fighting for asserting that membership is not contingent on personal opinion (Kolers, 2014: 426). Hence, this definition requires deference, to conform to choices decided by others (Kolers, 2014: 426). Kolers writes, 'Rather, solidarity is a principal means for ordinary citizens to promote equity by affirming the equal status of the victims, and to atone for having benefited from injustice, whether they did so willingly or otherwise' (2014: 420). Activism is a common method of visible disapproval and a tool to contest ill treatment and aids toward the final objective (Scholz, 2007: 45).

The first concept of citizenship for this research is Aristotle's definition of a citizen, which includes someone who is high status, male, healthy, an adult and who is active in government (Sison, 2011: 4). Accordingly, requirements for citizenship are highly discriminatory. In Aristotle's model it is the people of privilege who decide what is right for society and implement it (Sison, 2011: 3). Hector Amaya argues that American citizenship, like Aristotle's, is grounded on 'white manhood' explaining, 'because of its abstraction and placelessness, whiteness was the perfect invisible standpoint from which it was possible to think of "objectivity", "reason", and "justice" central elements in the idealized view of democracy' (Amaya, 2007: 249).

Citizenship excess also aids in this study by viewing citizenship from people who are included and excluded from holding full membership in society (Castañeda, 2014: 495). This concept is used to explain the levels of racial inequality and the governmental, social, and legal schemes that support the nation (Castañeda, 2014: 495). Described as a media theory, citizenship excess depicts the tactics of 'pushing down' (racism) and 'pushing away' (xenophobia) that are utilized by the mainstream media who are considered the voice of America (Castañeda, 2014: 495). Therefore, diminishing Latino/as citizenship while strengthening the conventional who exercise it in excess (Castañeda, 2014: 495).

In addition, Charles T. Lee tactical citizenship illustrates alternative ways for the disenfranchised to exercise citizenship (Lee, 2006: 3). He describes the four traditional ways of participation in citizenship as; ‘the in-or-out dichotomy of citizenship, civility and law-abidingness, politics as the supreme activity of citizenship, and system-subject correspondence’ that are then replaced by the supplementary ways of; ‘the neither/nor and both/and, the third space of mimicry, calculated conformity, hidden transcripts, and the Greek notion of metis’ (Lee, 2006: 6). Thus, allowing ways for one to show opposition in a structure that upholds their oppression (Lee, 2006: 5). He contends that most citizenship academics impose ‘proper ways of participating as citizens’, which disregards the vulnerable and ostracized who adjust the scripts imposed on them to appropriate their own experience through routine strategies (Lee, 2006: 6). These strategies include, ‘both overt acts of protesting and striking as well as hidden dissident acts of rule-breaking, transgression, and manipulating spaces of power relations in everyday’ (Lee, 2006: 9).

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This dissertation offers to critically analyze the discourses of solidarity and citizenship in relation to BLM in American mainstream news outlets, through transcriptions of segments via online. While solidarity and citizenship are highly studied, in a variety of fields, they are also unclear and convoluted subjects because of the many definitions and theories. Due to BLM being recently formed there is a lack of research done about the campaign. Moreover, this provides an exciting opportunity to examine solidarity and citizenship in relations to the media and BLM. Therefore, this study attempts to offer not only more clarity but also a unique perspective by examining how these concepts are defined in and by the media when reporting on a controversial movement. Additionally, this dissertation hopes to provide an understanding of how movements are legitimized and strengthened or delegitimize and weakened by the media while also contributing to the discussion of the racial climate in the United States. Finally, this research aims to answer the subsequent research question:

In what ways are citizenship and solidarity defined, and apportioned in reporting by FOX News, CNN News, and MSNBC News about the BLM campaign?

METHODOLOGY

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a multidisciplinary approach that considers language as, ‘a form of social practice’ (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258). This method is concerned with

the location and power relations of discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 4). As language is the channel of control and public influence CDA particularly, 'considers institutional, political, gender and media discourses (in the broadest sense), which testify to more or less overt relations of struggle and conflict' (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 3-4). CDA's foundation has been built on how discourse contributes to the reinforcement or opposition of societal issues. Accordingly, CDA is a highly appropriate method considering my study as it allows one to reflect on social concerns such as race dynamics, grassroots campaigns, and authority structures (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 272). Norman Fairclough outlines CDA objectives as,

To systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (1995: 132).

Consequently, the objectives of CDA fall in place with the intensions of this study. Ergo, CDA allows a consideration of citizenship, solidarity, and BLM rhetoric through looking at news outlet's production of reasoning and understandings through examining rhetorical devices, lexicon, influential strategies, and the strengthening or weakening of governing thought. CDA enables one to look at the, 'opaque and transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language' (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 4). Since these topics are at the core of my research CDA is not only the most appropriate framework but CDA also permits a deep examination of these normally concealed concepts. In addition, this framework allows one to look at how language and social power systems are endorsed inside 'laws, rules, norms, habits, and even a quite general consensus' (Van Dijk, 2001: 354 – 355). Thus, it encourages a study of the bottom up or micro (BLM) and the top down or macro (the media) allowing for a well-rounded examination (Luke, 2002: 102).

In order to conduct a critical discourse analysis Fairclough's model of three interconnected approach was applied and intertwined throughout the examination. This procedure includes: '1) the object of analysis; 2) the processes by which the object is produced and received by human subjects; 3) the socio-historical conditions that govern these processes' (Janks, 1997: 329). Stated simply the first step is the description, followed by the interpretation, concluding in the explanation (Janks, 1997: 340). While CDA directly aligns with my research objectives there are some limitations to the method that one must be aware of.

Limitations of Method

Some scholars have criticized CDA for being excessively subjective and vulnerable to prejudices thus making it difficult for the researcher to distance themselves from the text (Janks, 1997: 330). Therefore, extra measures must be taken by the researcher in order to prevent such biases. The approach has also been widely critiqued for not having a direct theoretical structure thus being ‘essentially unprincipled’ and ‘a strange mixture of theoretical eclecticism and unreflexive modernism’ (Widdowson, 1998; Pennycook, 2001: 87). Nonetheless, my explicit research steps and design will help to alleviate any discrepancy of CDA not being systematic.

Ethical Considerations

To ease any concerns of subjectivity and bias the researchers standpoint will be addressed. To be fully transparent I have decided to be constantly attentive to my own beliefs and prejudices throughout this scholarship. I am a white American female who has only lived in the West and attended Western schools. However, I am a first generation American and come from a family with a mixture of heritage and religion. Thus growing up, this has offered me a unique and understanding perspective of difference. Nonetheless, it makes me an outsider of the BLM movement. My life and understandings are very distinct from the people described and living this movement. One could say these differences could possibility prejudice my examination due to my status within the nation. In efforts to fight against any possible biases a methodized data gathering and analysis structure is given so as to be clear and impartial. Moreover, a deliberate effort was made to evade favoured understandings while conducting the analysis of discourse. Furthermore, an ethics checklist was reviewed and completed to uphold the integrity of this research.

Research Design and Sampling

In order to look at how solidarity and citizenship are allocated and produced in relations to the BLM movement an analysis was conducted on six different segments from Fox News, CNN News, and MSNBC News. These segments were attained via online and then transcribed in full and examined employing CDA (Internet Archives, 2016). It was decided to use television transcripts instead of newspaper articles due to a previous pilot study where newspaper editorials lacked the information dense data needed. Therefore, the television segment transcripts were used in this research due to their better quality and quantity given the concepts examined. These texts concentrating on the BLM campaign were all from one

week (August 27, 2015-September 3, 2015) of discourse in the media. This week was selected due to an ample amount of BLM coverage on various networks surrounding three events related to BLM. Focusing on one week and six segments offered a smaller time frame to provide a detailed and high quality consideration of content. The news outlets were selected due to their widespread popularity, diverse reporting, and public standing. In 2015, FOX News had a viewership of 2.40 million, CNN News of 1.44 million, and MSNBC News of 902 thousand (Kissell, 2016). Making these networks the most viewed news channels in the United States (Kissell, 2016).

The segments were chosen by skimming through an online news library of BLM discourse that aligns with the following conditions; 1) aired on Fox News, CNN News, or MSNBC News; 2) occurred within the dates of August 27, 2015- September 3, 2015; 3) embodies quintessential BLM discourse established in conventional media or embodies an atypical dialogue of BLM to illustrate boundaries; and 4) topics of citizenship and solidarity are displayed.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In order to contextualize the analysis and discussion some background information is provided. All the data from this study was obtained from segments within the dates of August 27, 2015-September 3, 2015, where three major events took place. The first event was the death of Sheriff Darren Goforth of Harris County on August 28, 2015, which led the American news outlets to discuss BLM (Appendix A-F). The following day BLM protesters had a demonstration at the St. Paul Minnesota State Fairgrounds where some protestors chanted, 'Pigs in a blanket, fry 'em like bacon' (Appendix A-F). This second event gained a lot of media coverage and criticism. Then on September 1, 2015 Police Officer Charles Gliniewicz was killed furthering media discussion about BLM (Appendix F). These three events grounded the following discourses and analysis.

Solidarity

In conducting a critical discourse analysis two conflicting ideas of solidarity were presented when reporting the BLM movement. The first definition is reliant on agreed forms of reasoning, focus, method, and conformity. Most of the segments framed BLM as not being worthy of solidarity due to the movement being overly emotional, irrational and illogical. Newscasters othered BLM activists and made statements such as, 'you're screaming', 'emotion and annotates are not facts' and depicted the group as 'angry', 'mad', 'no moderate',

and ‘out of control’ (Appendix A-F). Thus condemning the movement for using emotions and personal feeling, which are defined as underserving reasons of solidarity. In addition, when discussing BLM anchors made comments such as ‘they don’t know their facts’, ‘Black Lies movement L-I-E-S’, ‘if you tell people they are hated and the system is unfair- despite a lot of evidence that’s not true’, and ‘you say all shootings with cops the cop is guilty and that’s not true’ (Appendix B-D). Consequently, presenting BLM as unsound, uneducated, senseless, and lacking statistical or objective evidence and thus undeserving of solidarity. Therefore, illustrating the importance of a particular type of reasoning with facts, evidence, and devoid of all emotions and experiences in order to legitimately qualify for solidarity.

The segments also outlined BLM as not deserving solidarity due to the campaign having the ‘wrong focus’. BLM was criticized on several outlets for focusing on police brutality instead of ‘failing public schools’ or ‘black on back crime’ which ‘people dying by the thousands not by few rare instances of police use of force mode’ (Appendix A-F). One segment pointed to BLM’s ‘legitimate frustration’ but then immediately stated that BLM is ‘targeting, killing, demonizing, and marginalizing’ police, which is the wrong focus and undeserved of solidarity since law enforcement officers ‘do the best they can everyday’ (Appendix B). The disapproval of BLM’s focus was a recurring trend within all analysed segments. Concluding that BLM is concentrating on the wrong priority and therefore does not meet the requirements for solidarity.

In all of the segments the campaign was also condemned for its methods. The movement’s name was one tactic heavily criticized with the media stating, ‘drop qualifier’ and ‘say lives matter’ thus asserting the disapproval of the campaign’s name (Appendix A-F). Another significant dissatisfaction presented in the segments of BLM is how they utilize protest and disruption, such as when BLM demonstrated and interrupted presidential candidate Bernie Sander’s rally (Appendix F). One network stated, ‘the idea of disrupting and protesting Bernie Sanders speeches will change what is wrong with America is lunacy...BLM is focused on the wrong targets, to the detriment of blacks who would like to see real change’ (Appendix F). In addition, every BLM protest that was talked about within the analysed outlets discussed the controversial chant about police, which was met with scrutiny and disapproval of BLM methods (Appendix A-F). Comments such as, ‘wrong kind of attention’, ‘hurt your case’, ‘dangerous rhetoric’, ‘not respectable’, ‘too many factions and so many different leaders’ and ‘unorganized’ were made (Appendix A-F). Thus displaying that due to BLM diverging methods the movement does not fulfil the measures to be granted solidarity.

Lastly, the segments defined BLM as not being meritorious of solidarity due to the campaign going against authority and powerful structures. In the television programs authority is presented in a positive light, using good terms, which are labels of unquestionably good due to their connotations (Weaver, 1965: 212). Statements such as, 'our system of justice requires law enforcement', 'cop lives matter' and 'honour' (Appendix D). While any questioning of the system or authority by BLM is framed in a negative way and pitted against the police using devil terms, which are indisputably bad and othering tactics to distance the group (Weaver, 1965: 212). For example labelling BLM as, 'attempt to weaken institution on policing', 'anti-cop rhetoric sweeping the United States of America fuelled by this group', 'open war on cops', 'silent minority' and 'people are starting to really hate each other' (Appendix A- B). One network even labelled BLM as a hate group stating, 'They're a hate group, and I'm going to tell you right now. I'm going to put them out of business' (Appendix E). Therefore, asserting, not only that BLM is a monstrous organization but also that questioning authority and the system will lead to instability and violence, which needs to be stopped. Hence people who challenge institutions and authority cannot be considered worthy of solidarity.

The second definition of solidarity presented when reporting the campaign, by BLM activists, is an inclusive definition that encompasses all types of reasoning, methods, and embraces resistance for one common goal for justice.

This opposing definition of solidarity welcomes not only objective facts but also emotions. One BLM member stated, 'we're supposed to be very calm and peaceful and respectful movement, I think its crazy' (Appendix F). Thus acknowledging that BLM revolves around heated subjects and struggles so emotion is not only inevitable but a welcomed aspect of the movement. However, this form of solidarity also accepts statistical evidence and facts too. Within the segments BLM leaders often discuss facts stating, 'why is there so much uproar on rhetoric lets talk about facts', 'every 28 hours, a black body is killed', many more statistics are provided affirming that their movement's criteria for solidarity includes both facts and emotion (Appendix D).

This form of solidarity also includes all approaches and methods. One BLM activist stated, 'its important for this movement to be even a little bit disruptive' therefore displaying that using tactics to 'disrupt' are necessary in order to make change and thus BLM should be accepted and supported even if they use unorthodox strategies (Appendix D-F). In response to people criticizing the group for not being 'respectable' in their tactics, one BLM leader affirmed, 'People are telling us to be respectable to targets that just aren't respectable... nothing respectable about white supremacy, oppression, sexism, misogyny, rape, murder and

pillage' he goes on 'this sort of respectability wont necessarily save you from injustices or inequality in this case' (Appendix F). Consequently, all types of people with different competences and ideologies are endorsed since every person in solidarity helps to fight inequality. Asserting, 'front line, gas masks, bandanas, their shirts off, and young ladies with firsts up wearing tank tops' to 'young women at the pentagon wearing Hilary Clinton suits' all are accepted (Appendix F). Thus, 'respectability' does not matter, all methods are embraced in order to reach the goal of justice; therefore solidarity is not contingent on the methods used.

This framework of solidarity also includes adopting resistance. In defence of the accusations that BLM members are anti-cop and violent the activists clearly claim numerous times throughout the segments that they are not anti-cop and do not promote or support any type of violence (Appendix A-F). They commented on their resistance to authority and power structures stating, 'the protest was peaceful and people are trying to use it as a kind of scapegoat because they felt like when a black person says they are going to disrupt, that all hell is going to break loose' (Appendix D). He continued affirming, 'were going to continue to use our voices, were going to continue to come together as a people and the sooner we can do that, where everyone is on board with fighting for justice' (Appendix D). Declaring that BLM is not against police but is against the abuse of power and will continue to fight for justice maintaining, 'we need to change the system not focus on individuals' (Appendix D). Therefore, in order to fight injustice one must go to the source, which is power relations, BLM is attempting to do that peacefully and consequently those aims establish solidarity.

Through these findings, in these six news segments, two different polarized definitions of solidarity were provided. While the proposed theoretical framework was unable to account for all aspects discovered of how solidarity is defined it still provided a baseline for some features. The first form of solidarity defined was most related to aspects of Emile Durkheim mechanical solidarity (Durkheim, 2010: 27). In that the bonds developed are plain and feeble and depend on alike perspectives, morals, and ideas (Durkheim, 2010: 27). This definition leaves a very small and discriminative amount of people who qualify for solidarity. This definition illustration of solidarity in relation to BLM is founded in contingencies. Solidarity is contingent on a certain type of reasoning, certain type of method, certain type of focus, and certain type of compliance and these 'certain types' are defined by the dominant people in power. This definition is similar to unison and different from solidarity since, 'each person's acceptance of ends and means is logically prior to the decision to act together to achieve them' (Kolers, 2012: 365). Thus it is a way to delegitimize other forms of solidarity and reinforce the domination and oppression by the ruling class upholding their beliefs. At the

very lowest level solidarity is about unity and in this presented definition of solidarity the unity is based on conforming to dominant ideology. If one conforms they are deserving of solidarity if they do not then they are disavowed like BLM's campaign. Thus hindering any movement that is in need of unity and solidarity to change the system of elitism. This definition illustrates how solidarity can be defined and used to strengthen and uphold the dominant ideology and agenda (Kolers, 2012: 365).

The second form of solidarity defined, by BLM activist, was closest aligned to Avery Kolers moral solidarity since it is the coming together to fight injustice and oppression (Kolers, 2014: 426). Unlike the previous definition of solidarity presented in the news outlets this definition is not contingent but rather is inclusive. It is open to all sources of reasoning, methods, and struggle in sacrifice for the shared aim of equality. This form requires durability and also deference since it requests, 'a willingness to act against one's best judgment, including prudential, epistemic, and even moral judgment' (Kolers, 2014: 426). However, this form of solidarity does not go without its own issues. Firstly, this definition makes a type of solidarity difficult due to its very high commitment level. Kolers writes, 'agent follows the lead of organised out-groups and defers to their judgment about collective actions to overcome injustice. Rather, solidarity is a principal means for ordinary citizens to promote equity by affirming the equal status of the victims, and to atone for having benefited from injustice, whether they did so willingly or otherwise' (Kolers, 2014: 420). This type of commitment in America is difficult due to society being very individualist and as Malcolm X said, 'that whole thing about appealing to the moral conscience of America -- America's conscience is bankrupt. She lost all conscience a long time ago. Uncle Sam has no conscience' (X, n.d.). This definition of solidarity also encourages a type of 'blind faith' of its participants and therefore can be easily abused. Since in this model one is supposed to have complete allegiance by any means necessary it is also highly vulnerable to its leader and discourages any type of questioning within the movement, which can be dangerous in its own right. However, this type of solidarity, unlike the first defined, does allow for movements to resist and oppose the status quo. It is a definition that demands all Americans to have solidarity with BLM.

What do these contradictory definitions of solidarity mean? How are they understood? They offer a disjointed and confusing account of solidarity for the public to understand. However, due to the way these two different definitions are apportioned in the media one definition takes reign over the other. That is the first definition, which is most represented within the segments and therefore overrides the other construction of solidarity due to quantity. That is the definition of solidarity that reinforces the dominant ideology, through the mass media.

Citizenship

In conducting critical discourse analysis two different definitions of citizenship were presented when discussing the BLM campaign. The first definition of citizenship was displayed as one who does not protest, question the establishment, who is 'respectable' and who is white. This first definition of citizenship characterizes a good citizen as one who does not demonstrate or protesting. Within the segments when citizenship was discussed the Americans who were considered 'good law abiding Americans' were the ones who did not protest but were the 'silent ones in this situation' therefore characterizing a good American as one who does not speak out or demonstrate (Appendix A). BLM's protest was the target of much criticism, in one program the newscaster outright questioned whether BLM members were even entitled to demonstrate and speak their minds stating, 'do you think African-Americans, people part of this protest, have a right to have their voices heard and to protest?' (Appendix A-F). The other anchor responded, 'its not a matter of whether they have a right, it's a matter of whether its legitimate' he then continued with the segment explaining how it is illegitimate (Appendix D). Thus, illustrating that demonstrating and protesting is inappropriate and not an act of a good citizen.

The second attribute of citizenship is not to speaking out or questioning the establishment and system in power. When BLM discussed their movement for equality, which questions power structures and the establishment it was characterized as 'dangerous national rhetoric' presenting the group as unsafe to the nation (Appendix A-F). While the mainstream media offered some acknowledgement of BLM establishing, 'legitimate conversations the country has to have about its social fabric' any consideration was immediately replaced and overshadowed by discussions of how the campaign has dissolved into, 'stoking, this is stoking fear, its stoking hatred. This is movement that has devolved into fear mongering hate mongering' (Appendix B). Thus, when someone is shown as speaking against or questioning the established ideology they are oppressively othered and represented as dangerous. Therefore, in this definition citizenship is affirmed by blindly obeying powerful institutions.

The third quality of citizenship is being respectable (Appendix F). This term was not only used in relation to solidarity and tactics but it was constantly used in connection to citizenship and the BLM campaign (Appendix F). Statements such as, 'not respectable', 'can't be respectable', and the word 'respectable' was repeated over fourteen times in the segments (Appendix F). It presents respectability as how a citizen should be, as the guidelines or 'identity codes' an American is supposed to follow (Mason-Schrock, 1996: 125-127).

Therefore, in order to be a citizen one must practice citizenship in the same way as the masses.

The fourth condition of citizenship is to be white (Appendix A-F). The majority of references to Americans or citizenship are brought up in connection to white people. Such as 'white Americans', 'every white person in America', 'by law we are entitled to presumption of innocence' and 'good abiding Americans' were all said in mentioning white people (Appendix C; Appendix F). Thus using god terms to paint white people not only as citizens but also with all associations of goodness (Weaver, 1965: 212). However, blacks were referred to the majority of the time as a different and the other. Using devil terms and othering tactics to associate the BLM and black citizens as bad, stating, 'subculture', 'underclass', 'ghetto', 'inner city minorities', 'those communities', 'your community', 'black people', 'people of colour in this city', 'black bodies' and 'these people are militants' thus barely referring to blacks as Americans (Appendix A-F). When blacks were acknowledged in the segments as some type of American it was always in a positioning of them being victims, such as, 'American ghetto', '24 unarmed African-Americans killed by police this year', 'when my fellow Americans are murdered in a church in South Carolina I weep' (Appendix A-F). Consequently, in this presented characterization of citizenship one must be white.

The second definition of citizenship offered, by BLM members, is someone who participates in activism, exposes the establishment, resists being 'respectable', and who is not considered a citizen. The first quality of this definition of citizenship is using activism, demonstration, and protest. BLM activists stated, 'I mean, again, were out there using our voices' and 'we're going to continue to use our voices, we're going to continue to come together as a people and the sooner we can do that where everyone is on board with fighting for justice' (Appendix D). This is peculiar due to protesting being a fundamental right in America yet BLM constantly had to defend their use of demonstrations due to mainstream media condemnation (Appendix A-F). Nonetheless, in BLM's description of citizenship citizens use activism, demonstrations, and protests.

The second attribute of citizenship entails questioning and exposing the establishment and system. BLM points out that the media and public get in an uproar because of some protester's words but that the public does not show the same concern every 28 hours that a black person is killed by police in America or that the arrest rates are unproportional among blacks and whites (Appendix D). In one segment it is discussed how black Americans are always under the same type of danger as cops are when on duty, declaring, 'It's not the same thing though! If being black and outside presents the same dangers as being a police officer

who signs up for a dangerous job that's pretty scary. Can you imagine? If just being black' (Appendix C). Thus, exemplifying how there are issues within these establishments that need to be known and addressed. Speaking about institutional racism a BLM leader stated, 'white supremacy like Donald Trump look at black people when they look at Harriet Tubman, to him Harriet Tubman is the exact same person as Nicki Minaj, respectability, our enemy doesn't have a conscious Donald Trump, does not have a conscience. People like him, they really don't care' (Appendix F). Illustrating that there is not only ills within the system but also that the public does not care about these issues therefore more questioning and exposing of this system needs to be done.

The third feature of citizenship described by BLM representatives is the resistance to being 'respectable'. Like displayed previously the campaign has been heavily attacked for not being 'respectable'. However, the members of BLM assert that they should not conform or act according to a structure that does not serve them (Appendix F). They declare that, 'this sort of respectability wont necessarily save you from injustices or inequality in this case' illustrating that even if they did act according to the rules of people in power it still would not bring them equality (Appendix F). BLM leaders, states,

We thought that we could chant our way into making police officers respect us, chant our way into making politicians view us as valid members. I think we now realized that's not possible and no matter what you look like you have a suit and tie on—Martin Luther King Jr. is just dead as Tupac (Appendix F).

Meaning, that BLM members have tried through engaging in active citizenship to get politicians and the public to acknowledge their struggles and some have even conformed to the dominant standards of 'respectability'. However, all these efforts go unnoticed and whether one is 'respectable' like Martin Luther King Jr. or not 'respectable' like Tupac either way you are metaphorically and literally dead (Appendix F). Thus, this form of citizenship is characterized by resisting dominant ideology and what they consider to be 'respectable'.

The fourth quality of citizenship is that one is not considered citizens. It is asserted through several of the segments that black Americans do not get the same treatment as someone who is a citizen in the country. In one segment it is described how law officers are acting as, 'judge jury and executioner, its too many' every time they kill an unarmed person they are stripping that victim of due process, which is their right as a citizen (Appendix C). In another segment the same type of injustice for blacks is exhibited in the judicial system, 'When black people are accused of killing a police officer, you don't see that man down there getting bail. But

what we see on the flip side of that is when a police officer kills an unarmed black male, the system still works in their favour that they are able to get bail' (Appendix C). Demonstrating that blacks are not treated as citizens throughout societal systems. The BLM member continued, 'Everyday as a black man, I'm uncomfortable simply because the color of my skin' and thus he does not experience the same type of life or citizenship that others do (Appendix C).

Within the investigation, of six news segments, two different definitions of citizenship were provided. The first form of citizenship was closest in alignment to Aristotle's definition of citizenship. That is an, 'adult, able-bodied male, son of citizen- parents, sufficient economic means to actively engage in governance' (Sison, 2011: 4). This is similar to the first definition of citizenship because it is very restricted and discriminatory. With this characterization the people who actually fulfil Aristotle's criterion are those of privilege. This becomes very worrisome since it is then the people who run the systems that are also the people to evaluate it. In this first model of citizenship many Americans would be excluded from citizenship. Just one criterion, to be white, eliminates millions of people. While millions more are excluded from the demand to be 'respectable' entailing the proscribed way of being a citizen. Many, including BLM, would argue that this is not simply a few news programs definition of citizenship but rather reflective of the model of citizenship in America, which many people are excluded from. In addition, this description promotes and at time glorifies a passive citizen, someone who does not engage in activism, does not voice their opinion, does not questioning societal systems and someone who just conforms. Thus this definition of citizenship grants very few people access and promotes passiveness. With citizenship defined this way a democracy cannot function since there is nothing democratic about being passive and therefore leaves the elite in control.

The second form of citizenship defined, by BLM activist, was most similar to the concept of citizenship excess and tactical citizenship. Thus citizenship excess helps to describe how BLM members are not considered full citizens in society (Castañeda, 2014: 495). In addition, it aids in describing how the media contributes to delegitimizing and othering blacks by 'pushing down' which is racism and 'pushing away' which is xenophobia (Castañeda, 2014: 495). These tactics used by the media are presented to the public and ascribed as the American voice (Castañeda, 2014: 495). Tactical citizenship helps explain how one can move through the dominant system while also actively going against it through activism, not conforming to its standards of 'respectability', and questioning it validity, to express resistance in the system that oppresses them, which are also part of this definition of citizenship (Lee, 2006: 5). Lee supports in explaining that this form of citizenship is not by

choice but a reaction to a limited amount of choices to execute (Lee, 2006: 3). This displays how marginalized groups who are supposed to have citizenship utilize tactics of non-members to function and resist in society. However, tactical citizenship can also be seen as a form that oppresses too since it enables the marginalized to function within the system decreasing the necessity to revolt out of the system.

Looking at how the two definitions of citizenship were apportioned, the first definition of citizenship was presented the most, in all six segments. Therefore, the first definition is seen to be more influential replacing the other classification of citizenship importance due to amount. That is the definition of citizenship that strengthens the dominant ideology through the mass media.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this research was to investigate how solidarity and citizenship are defined and apportioned in reporting, by American mainstream news outlets, about the Black Lives Matter movement. An analysis was directed by performing Critical Discourse Analysis on six news program transcripts, acquired and transcribed via online, from three distinctive news networks; FOX News, CNN News, and MSNBC News. By operating Fairclough's interconnected approach four diverging definitions of solidarity and citizenship were revealed.

The first description of solidarity displayed was contingent on agreed forms of reasoning, focus, methods, and conformity. This definition resembled aspects of Emile Durkheim mechanical solidarity where ties are fragile and hang on similar morals, viewpoints and beliefs (Durkheim, 2010: 27). This characterization allows for only a limited and discriminative quantity of people to be considered deserving of solidarity. This classification is a way to uphold dominant ideology while also imposing domination and oppression by disenfranchising any movement that does not align with the elite's system.

The second account of solidarity provided, by BLM activists, was inclusive of all types of reasoning, methods, and embraced resistance, for the purpose of one common aim of justice. This definition of solidarity is most similar to Avery Kolers's moral solidarity since it is the joining of people to fight oppression towards 'durability' (Kolers, 2014: 426). BLM characterization of solidarity, like Kolers's, is not based on similarities or personal opinion but rather a way to promote equality that enables movements to resist the status quo.

However, this form of solidarity has its own limitations due to its high commitment level and to a certain extent 'blind faith'.

Two different definitions of citizenship were also presented in the media. The first defined citizenship as someone who does not protest, question the establishment, and is 'respectable' and white. This characterization of citizenship most closely resembles Aristotle's definition as an, 'adult, able-bodied male, son of citizen- parents, sufficient economic means to actively engage in governance' (Sison, 2011: 4). This description only allows for a small portion of people within the United States to gain full access of citizenship. The limited amount of people who do meet these requirements are those people already in power. Thus, the same people who have power then become the ones who assess power structures therefore blocking any type of change to the system. In addition, this definition of citizenship encourages passivity, which in itself is a threat to democracy.

The second depiction of citizenship was someone who participates in activism, exposes the establishment, resists being 'respectable', and is not considered a citizen. This definition is similar to the ideas of citizenship excess and tactical citizenship. Citizenship excess aids in showing how BLM participants are not regarded as full citizens while also describing how the media delegitimizes blacks by 'pushing down' and 'pushing away' (Castañeda, 2014: 495). BLM's definition is also like tactical citizenship in that members respond to society by moving through the elite's system while also purposely going against it through means of activism, nonconformity and questioning the systems (Lee, 2006: 5).

Due to the first definitions of both solidarity and citizenship being greater apportioned in all analysed segments, it is considered the dominant definition. These two definitions, which were most exposed within the segments therefore prevail the other constructions due to quantity. Comparing these first definitions of solidarity and citizenship with BLM activist's definitions offer very polarized classifications. Thus, illustrating that the issue, the people, and/or the media in America are very divided.

Consequently, further research is needed in order to understand this separation and the BLM movement. Further studies could include conducting the same scholarship but adding more segments for a wider framework. In addition, one could potentially add different news outlets and do a comparison examining how dissimilar outlets represent solidarity and citizenship in reporting BLM. Furthermore, as BLM continues to grow more globally the same study could also be conducted on foreign outlets. One could also analyse solidarity and citizenship in relations to BLM in different media such as in print or on the Internet. Any type of further

study on BLM itself is suggested due to the campaign being under researched and the significant aspects of the movement.

REFERENCES

- All In With Chris Hayes: MSNBCW. (2015) URL: https://archive.org/details/MSNBCW_20150902_070000_All_In_With_Chris_Hayes#start/1380/end/1440 [8 June 2016]
- Amaya, H. (2007). 'Latino Immigrants in the American Discourses of Citizenship and Nationalism During the Iraqi War', *Critical Discourse Studies* 4(3): 237-256.
- Amaya, H. (2013). *Citizenship Excess: Latinas/os, Media, and the Nation*, New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Baumann, G., & Gingrich, A. (2005). *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach*, New York, NY: Berghahn Books.
- Bayertz, K. (1998). 'Solidarity and the Welfare State: Some Introductory Considerations', *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 1(3): 293-296.
- Benhabib, S. (1999). 'Citizens, Residents, and Aliens in a Changing World: Political Membership in the Global Era', *Social Research* 66(3): 709-744.
- Black Lives Matter. (2016) About Black Lives Matter, URL: <http://blacklivesmatter.com/about/> [10 April 2016]
- Black Lives Matter Movement. (2015). 11 Major Misconceptions About the Black Lives Matter Movement. URL: <http://blacklivesmatter.com/11-major-misconceptions-about-the-black-lives-matter-movement/> [12 June 2016]
- Blee, K. (1996). 'Becoming a Racist: Women in Contemporary Ku Klux Klan and Neo-Nazi Groups', *Gender and Society* 10(6): 680-702.
- Brunkhorst, H. (2005). *Solidarity: From Civic Friendship to a Global Legal Community*, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Calhoun, C. (1999). *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Castañeda, A. (2014). 'Citizenship Excess: Latino/as, Media, and the Nation', *Latino Studies*, 12(3): 495.
- Chatelain, M. (2015). 'Women and Black Lives Matter', *Dissent*, 62(3): 54-61.
- CNN Newsroom With Brooke Baldwin: CNNW. (2015). URL: https://archive.org/details/CNNW_20150831_180000_CNN_Newsroom_With_Brooke_Baldwin#start/129/end/189 [8 June 2016]
- Code, L. (1996). 'Taking Subjectivity into Account', pp. 191-221 in *Women, Knowledge, and Reality: Explorations in Feminist Philosophy*, New York, NY: Routledge.
- Crane, A., Matten, D., & Moon, J. (2003). 'Can Corporations be Citizens: Corporate Citizenship as a Metaphor for Business Participation in Society', *Business Ethics Quarterly* 15(3): 429-453.
- Dahlberg, L. (2014). 'The Habermasian Public Sphere and Exclusion: An Engagement with Poststructuralist-Influenced Critics', *Communication Theory*, 24(1): 21-41.
- Deacon, D., Pickering, M., Golding, P. and Murdock, G. (2007) *Researching Communications: A Practical Guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Dean, J. (1996). *Solidarity of strangers: Feminism after identity politics*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Oxford Dictionary. (n.d.), Definition of Solidarity in English, URL: http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/solidarity [5 May 2016]

- Della Fave, L. (1980). 'The Meek Shall Not Inherit the Earth: Self-Evaluation and the Legitimacy of Stratification', *American Sociological Review*, 45(6): 955-971.
- Durkheim, E. (2010). 'From Mechanical to Organic Solidarity'. *Sociology: Introductory Readings*, 2(1).
- Eley, G. (1999). 'Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century', pp. 289-339 in C. Calhoun (ed.) *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press.
- Erin Burnett OutFront: CNNW. (2015). URL: https://archive.org/details/CNNW_20150831_230000_Erin_Burnett_OutFront#start/691/end/751 [8 June 2016]
- Fairclough, N. (1995) *Critical Discourse Analysis*, London, U.K.: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2000). 'Multi-Literacies and Language: Orders of Discourse and Intertextuality, pp.162-181 in B. Cope, & M. Kalantzis (ed.), *Multi-Literacies: Literacy Learning and the Design of Social Futures*, London, U.K.: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, London, U.K.: Sage.
- Ferree, M., Gamson, W. A., Gerhards, J., & Rucht, D. (2002). *Shaping Abortion Discourse: Democracy and the Public Sphere in Germany and the United States*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2000). 'Ideal Theory, Real Rationality: Habermas Versus Foucault and Nietzsche' paper presented at the 50th Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association, London, U.K.
- Fogg-Davis, H. (2006). 'We Who Are Dark: The Philosophical Foundations of Black Solidarity', *Perspectives on Politics*, 4(3): 578-579.
- FOX & Friends: FOXNEWSW. (2015). URL: https://archive.org/details/FOXNEWSW_20150831_100000_FOX_Friends#start/2700/end/2760 [9 June 2016]
- Fox and Friends Sunday: FOXNEWSW. (2015). URL: [https://archive.org/details/FOXNEWSW_20150830_100000_Fox_and_Friends_Sunday?q=black live matter#start/180/end/240](https://archive.org/details/FOXNEWSW_20150830_100000_Fox_and_Friends_Sunday?q=black+live+matter#start/180/end/240) [8 June 2016]
- Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Harmondworth, U.K.: Penguin.
- García, J. J., & Sharif, M. Z. (2015). 'Black Lives Matter: A Commentary on Racism and Public Health', *American Journal of Public Health*, 105(8): E27-30.
- Grillo, R. (2006). 'Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 12(1): 261-263.
- Grabowski, J. (2009). 'German Anti-Jewish Propaganda in the General Government, 1939-1945: Inciting Hate through Posters, Films, and Exhibitions', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 23(3): 381-412.
- Green, M. (2002). 'Gramsci Cannot Speak: Presentations and Interpretations of Gramsci's Concept of the Subaltern'. *Rethinking Marxism*, 14(3): 1-24.
- Grosfoguel, R. (2002). 'Colonial Difference, Geopolitics of Knowledge, and Global Coloniality in the Modern/Colonial Capitalist World-System', *Review Fernand Braudel Center*, 25(3): 203-224.
- Grosfoguel, R. (2007). 'The Epistemic Decolonial Turn', *Cultural Studies*, 21(3): 211-223.
- Harvey, J. (2007). 'Moral Solidarity and Empathetic Understanding: The Moral Value and Scope of the Relationship', *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 38(1): 22-37.
- Hassan, J. (2016). How the Black Lives Matter Movement is Sweeping the Globe. URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/07/11/how-the-black-lives-matter-movement-is-sweeping-the-globe/> [20 July 2016]
- Heyd, D. (2007). 'Justice and Solidarity: The Contractarian Case against Global Justice', *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 38(1): 112-130.
- Hoilman, C. (2016). Bill O'Reilly Calls Black Lives Matter a 'Hate America Group' URL: <http://www.theblaze.com/stories/2016/07/09/bill-oreilly-calls-black-lives-matter-a-hate-america-group/> [15 July 2016]

- Holslag, A. (2015). 'The Process of Othering from the 'Social Imaginaire' to Physical Acts: An Anthropological Approach', *Genocide Studies and Prevention GSP*, 9(1): 96-113.
- Hooker, J. (2009). *Race and the Politics of Solidarity*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press.
- hooks, bell. (2015). *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Brooklyn: South End Press.
- Horowitz, J. M., & Livingston, G. (2016, July 08). How Americans view the Black Lives Matter Movement. URL: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/08/how-americans-view-the-black-lives-matter-movement/> [15 July 2016]
Internet Archives. (2016). Internet Archives. URL: <https://archive.org/> [10 June 2016]
- Janks, H. (1997). 'Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 18(3): 329-342.
- Kissell, R. (2016). Fox News Tops All of Cable Viewership for Quarter: CNN Up Triple-Digits in Primetime. URL: <http://variety.com/2016/tv/news/ratings-fox-news-tops-all-of-cable-total-viewers-q1-cnn-up-triple-digits-1201741012/> [20 May 2016]
- Kivisto, P. (2015). 'Introduction: The Puzzle of Incorporation and Solidarity', *Sociological Quarterly*, 56(4): 581-590.
- Kolers, A. (2012). 'Dynamics of Solidarity', *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 20(4): 365-383.
- Kolers, A. (2014). 'The Priority of Solidarity to Justice', *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 31(4): 420-433.
- Kolers, A. (2016). *A Moral Theory of Solidarity*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press.
- Lee, C. (2006). 'Tactical Citizenship: Domestic Workers, the Reminders of Home, and Undocumented Citizen Participation in the Third Space of Mimicry', *Theory & Event*, 9(3): 1-39.
- Luke, A. (2002) 'Beyond Science and Ideology Critique: Developments in Critical Discourse Analysis', *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 22(1): 96-110.
- Lunt, P., & Livingstone, S. (2013). 'Media Studies' Fascination with the Concept of the Public Sphere: Critical Reflections and Emerging Debates', *Media, Culture & Society*, 35(1): 87-96.
- Marcus, D. (2015). 'Citizen Politics', *Dissent*, 62(3): 4.
- Marshall, T. H. (1950). *Citizenship and Social Class*. Cambridge, U.K.: University Press.
- Mason-Schrock, D. (1996). 'Transsexuals' Narrative Construction of the "True Self", *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 59(3): 176-192.
- McSwite, O. (1997). 'Jacques Lacan and the Theory of the Human Subject', *The American Behavioral Scientist*, 41(1): 43.
- Mignolo, W. (2011). 'Geopolitics of Sensing and Knowing: On (De)Coloniality, Border Thinking and Epistemic Disobedience', *Postcolonial Studies*, 14(3): 273-283.
- Mohanty, C. (2003a). "Under Western Eyes' Revisited: Feminist Solidarity Through Anticapitalist Struggles', *Signs*, 28(2): 499-535.
- Mohanty, C. (2003b). *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. London, U.K.: Duke University Press.
- Mouffe, C. (1993). *The Return of the Political*. London, U.K.: Verso.
- Myers, A. (2009). 'Beyond Citizenship: American Identity after Globalization', *International Social Science Review*, 84(3): 192-193.
- Negt, O., & Kluge, A. (1993). *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Novo, C. (2003). 'The 'Culture' of Exclusion: Representations of Indigenous Women Street Vendors in Tijuana,

- Mexico', *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 22(3): 249-268.
- Oldfield, A. (1990). *Citizenship and Community: Civic Republicanism and the Modern World*. London, U.K.: Routledge.
- Orgad, S. (2012). *Media representation and the global imagination*. Cambridge, U.K.: Polity.
- Pennycook, A. (2001). *Critical Applied Linguistics: A Critical Introduction*. London, U.K.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Pettit, P. (1997). *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government*. Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon.
- Pickering, M. (2001). *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation*. Hampshire, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Prainsack, B., & Buyx, A. (2012). 'Solidarity in Contemporary Bioethics- Towards a New Approach', *Bioethics*, 26(7): 343-350.
- Ransby, B. (2015). 'The Class Politics of Black Lives Matter', *Dissent*, 62(4): 31-34.
- Rickford, R. (2015). 'Black Lives Matter', *New Labor Forum*, 25 (1), 34-42.
- Said, E., (1995). *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin
- Scholz, S. (2004). 'Sympathy and Solidarity and Other Essays', *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, 18(4): 336-338.
- Scholz, S. (2007). 'Political Solidarity and Violent Resistance', *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 38(1): 38-52.
- Scholz, S. (2008). *Political Solidarity*. University Park, PA: Penn State Press.
- Scholz, S. (2013). 'Political Solidarity and the More-Than-Human World', *Ethics & the Environment*, 18(2): 81-99.
- Scholz, S. (2014). 'Solidarity as a Human Right', *Archiv des Völkerrechts*, 52(1): 49-67.
- Scholz, S. (2015a). 'Reconceptualizing Work and Building Ruddick's Feminist Solidarity Transnationally', *Politics and Gender*, 11(2): 382-405.
- Scholz, S. (2015b). 'Seeking Solidarity', *Philosophy Compass*, 10(10): 725-735.
- Schwalbe, M., Holden, D., Schrock, D., Godwin, S., Thompson, S., & Wolkomir, M. (2000). 'Generic Processes in the Reproduction of Inequality: An Interactionist Analysis', *Social Forces*, 79(2): 419-452.
- Shelby, T. (2002). 'Foundations of Black Solidarity: Collective Identity or Common Oppression?' *Ethics*, 112(2): 231-266.
- Shelby, T. (2005). *We who are Dark: The Philosophical Foundations of Black Solidarity*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Shor, F. (2015). "Black Lives Matter": Constructing a New Civil Rights and Black Freedom Movement', *New Politics*, 15(3): 28-32.
- Sison, A. (2011). 'Aristotelian Citizenship and Corporate Citizenship: Who is a Citizen of the Corporate Polis?', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 100(1): 3-9.
- Speri, A. (2014). Half of America Thinks We Live in a Post-Racial Society - The Other Half, Not So Much | VICE News. URL: <https://news.vice.com/article/half-of-america-thinks-we-live-in-a-post-racial-society-the-other-half-not-so-much> [15 April 2016]
- Spiro, P. J. (2008). *Beyond Citizenship: American Identity after Globalization*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University

Press.

- Spiro, P. (2009). 'Response to Jackie Smith's Teview of Beyond Citizenship American Identity After Globalization', *Perspectives on Politics*, 7(2): 385-386.
- Suen, B. (2015, October 26). From 'Hate Group' To 'Nazis': Fox News Ramps Up Their War On Black Lives Matter. URL: <http://mediamatters.org/research/2015/10/26/from-hate-group-to-nazis-fox-news-ramps-up-thei/206424> [10 July 2016]
- Sweetman, C. (2013). 'Introduction, Feminist Solidarity and Collective Action', *Gender and Development*, 21(2): 217-229.
- Thalos, M. (2012). 'Solidarity: A Motivational Conception', *Philosophical Papers*, 41(1): 57-95.
- Tope, D., Pickett, J., Cobb, R., & Dirlam, J. (2014). 'Othering Obama: Racial Attitudes and Dubious Beliefs about the Nation's First Black President', *Sociological Perspectives*, 57(4): 450-469.
- Turner, B. S. (1990). 'Outline of a Theory of Citizenship', *Sociology*, 24(2): 189-217.
- United States National Park Service. (n.d.), Jim Crow Laws. URL: https://www.nps.gov/malu/learn/education/jim_crow_laws.htm. [10 April 2016]
- Weaver, R. (1965). *The Ethics of Rhetoric*. Chicago, U.S.: Henry Regnery.
- Widdowson, H. G. (1998). 'The Theory and Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis', *Applied Linguistics*, 19(1): 136-51.
- Wilde, L. (2013). *Global Solidarity*. Edinburgh, U.K.: Edinburgh University Press.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London, U.K.: Sage.
- X, M. (n.d.), Malcolm X: The Ballot or the Bullet. URL: http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/speeches/malcolm_x_ballot.html [10 May, 2016]
- Yartey, F. (2016). 'Race, Solidarity and Dissent in the Trayvon Martin Case: A Critical Analysis', *Visual Studies*, 31(1): 50-62.

APPENDIX A

FOX Friends

FOX News

August 31, 2015

BRAIN: Police officers Tucker shot and killed this year alone, the latest Texas Deputy Darren Goforth shot in the head simply for wearing his uniform. He was assassinated. He left behind a wife and two young kids. And his colleagues are fed up.

SHERIFF HICKMAN: We've heard black live matter, all lives matter, well, cops' lives matter, too. So why don't we just drop the qualifier and just say lives matter.

BRAIN: Well no one is listening sadly, sheriff. Uh now to discuss this is Sheriff David Clarke of Milwaukee county Wisconsin. Sheriff we just discussed this a week ago face to face. It happened again, can you give us an idea what that does for law enforcement when you see this assassination take place?

SHERIFF CLARKE: Well let me start here. First of all, the headline is black man shoots white defenseless police officer. Cause I get sick and tired when it's the other way around when an officer defends his life. They always point out it's a white officer shooting an unarmed black suspect. I thought I had seen the worst when Officers Lou and Ramos NYPD finest were gunned down sitting, simply sitting in their cruiser. And now we have this. Look, President Obama has breathed life into this ugly movement. And it is time now for good law abiding Americans to rise up like they did in Houston around that Chevron Station, an outpouring and it can't just be symbolic. We now have to counter this slime, this filth coming out of these cop haters.

BRAIN: Well Sheriff, a lot of people listening right now will say, no. President Obama shed light on a problem and that's the way blacks are treated by law enforcement in this country for too long. What's your reaction?

SHERIFF CLARKE: That is a lie. President Obama didn't shed light on anything. This is nothing more than an attempt to weaken the institution of policing. If there's anything that needs to be straightened out in this country it is the subculture that is risen out of the under class in the American ghetto. Fix the ghetto and then you'll see a lesser need for assertive police officers or for policing in these areas and then you'll see less confrontation. Stop trying to fix the police. Fix the ghetto

BRAIN: So Sheriff, what is it like on the street for a cop? I know you are a sheriff now, but you are on the streets, you talk to others, you go to conferences. Are things changed right now for law enforcement, for a cop on any level when they go to go to their job?

SHERIFF CLARKE: Sure. They are beleaguered right now, and their beleaguered right now not out of fear of what's going on the street. Look we take this on willingly, we volunteer for this, this service here but what we're beleaguered is the fact that we don't have any support from the political class. We don't have the resources most of these agencies, I know mine is, I'm 150 deputies short. The city of Milwaukee police department is about 300 officers short. So they send the law enforcement officer into these untenable impossible environments and they ask them to work miracles and it just doesn't work like that. We will see support when we start getting the resources we need to deal with these situations. But again Brain, and I'm not going to stay off of this and I'm not going to leave it alone and stick my head in the sand about it. The problem isn't the American police officer, Barak Obama won't admit that these failed urban liberal polices have destroyed these great cities.

BRAIN: Uh Sheriff, you know Ray Kelly has a book coming out and we're starting to get some excerpts from it, and he was the commissioner of New York for a long time, twice actually. And he says uh the crackdown on stop and frisk and stuff like that, helped more for inner city and minorities then they did for anybody else. And the fact that we're pulling back, is affecting those communities more. Your reaction?

SHERIFF CLARKE: Well that's, he hit the nail right on the head. The people who need assertive policing are the good law-abiding black people that live in these communities. And that is the overwhelming majority of people who reside there. And they're the silent ones in this situation because as you can see what happened with the women last week that came out and gave her take on life in the ghetto and then all of a sudden she was attacked by the same people who attacked others, and me when we speak out about this. But I'm not going to stop speak out on this and I'm not going to stop putting the emphasis where it needs to be in terms of all this violence that we see, a growing violence across all these great American cities all throughout America. This stuff can be stopped. This stuff is unnecessary. This stuff has to stop for our way of life. When a law enforcement officer is assassinated and ambushed like over the weekend in Harris County. That's an assault on our way of life our justice system and the rule of law.

BRAIN: Right.

SHERIFF CLARKE: It's no different than if a judge was killed or a prosecutor was assassinated for doing their job. This is no different.

BRAIN: I got it. Uh here is the sheriff in Milwaukee, we have a State Fair stopped in Minnesota and then we have an assassination in Texas. It's nationwide. Sheriff David Clarke thanks so much.

(LATER SEGMENT)

ELIZABETH: Well, it's a video that you need to hear to believe.

(VIDEO CLIP)

PROTESTERS: Pigs in a blanket, fry 'em like bacon! Pigs in a blanket, fry 'em like bacon!

BRAIN: Well the chant taunting police officers during the Minnesota State Fair on Saturday, wreaked havoc in Minnesota hours after Texas Deputy Darren Goforth was executed in Texas. So what's going on in our country? Sitting with us right now to react is executive director of Black Sphere, Kevin Jackson. Kevin your reaction to Friday's events followed by Saturday's events?

KEVIN: Well, the Friday events were tragic and uh certainly a stain on the nation. Saturday is pretty much uh par for the course these days. Brain, uh if you recall, they had the same chant a while back when another officer was killed or and then of course we've had the officer who got beat up on camera and they filmed him. So the unfortunate thing is this Black Lives Matter movement, which uh can only be described as nonsense, is creating a lot of this type of thing around the country. And it's going to backfire, quiet honestly.

ELIZABETH: Sure. Kevin why has the black lives movement Black Lives Matter movement not been classified yet as a hate group? I mean, how much more has to go in this direction before someone actually labels it as such?

KEVIN: Well, they should do it. But unfortunately, it's being financed by the leftist. And ironically, it's people that have nothing really, no concern at all about black lives. Uh people like George Soros and of course it's, it's a trickle-down theory trickle-down on the left with this going forward. But the sad part about it is the impact that it's going to have in the black community and the fact that it takes away so much thought about what really is the problem in black community, which is the lack of whole black families and what it allows people to do is say hey, let's point the finger at everything except where it really needs to point. If we had more black families whole in the community we would have a lot less of this. If we had clergy who were willing to support real issues and change in the black community we would have a lot less of this. And of course, we've got the congressional black caucus, who actually love this type of strife.

BRAIN: Well, it's very interesting they interrupt Bernie Sanders, they interrupt Governor O'Malley and they start to harass Hilary Clinton. And they are all afraid of losing the African-American vote that Barak Obama locked up. They all want that sect; it's so valuable for the primaries. So politically they don't know what to do.

KEVIN: Politically, what they're doing, Brain, they want this to be the thing that rallies blacks off their seats and into the polling booths. The irony is that it is going to have the exact opposite impact. The overwhelming majority of blacks in America want what every other human being wants in America, white, black, or otherwise. And they do not support this movement. It's something like 64% against it.

BRAIN: I'd like to see the push back.

ELIZABETH: Yeah. And Doctor Ben Carson had a thoughtful piece last week that I think may speak in large part to all people in all communities. Thank you Kevin for your time, always.

KEVIN: My pleasure.

APPENDIX B

Fox and Friends Sunday

FOX News

August 30, 2015

TUCKER: We appreciate the update, Kristen Fisher from Washington. Well, this has set off of course a firestorm not just of grieving the family and friends of this man slammed senselessly but also analysis of why did this happen? What are the circumstances that lead to the murder two days ago in Harris County Texas? Here's Ron Hickman he's the sheriff there, giving his view of how this occurred.

SHERIFF HICKMAN: Some of the very dangerous national rhetoric that's out there today, our system of justice absolutely requires law enforcement to be present to protect our community. So any point when the rhetoric ramps up, to the point where calculated cold-blooded assassination of police officers happened, this rhetoric has gotten out of control. We've heard black live matter, all lives matter, well, cops' lives matter, too. So why don't we just drop the qualifier and say lives matter.

ANNA: Yeah they absolutely do um yet somehow at the State Fair in Minnesota in St. Paul, a branch of the Black Lives Matter group was chanting something terribly disgusting, listen to this.

(VIDEO CLIP)

PROTESTERS: Pigs in a blanket, fry 'em like bacon! Pigs in a blanket, fry 'em like bacon!

ANNA: Fry like bacon pigs in a blanket and this is not long this is hours after this innocent deputy was gunned down execution style in cold blood.

TUCKER: And just to be clear they're not talking about a Denny's breakfast. They're about murdering police officers.

PETE: Oh absolutely. I go to the Minnesota State Fair every year and they called it hashtag blackfair this year. They were trying to raise awareness, supposedly. Uh but this isn't raising awareness. This is stoking, this is stoking fear, it's stoking hatred. This is movement that has devolved into fear mongering; hate mongering in so many places had an opportunity to raise some legitimate issues. Instead, we're talk about you know killing cops.

ANNA: Well and that's why what your saying is so important because there is a section of the Black Lives Matter movement that just feels like they have grievances that they want to express. But this is not the way to do it. There is so many groups flying under the same banner um and the silent minority that's not getting as much attention needs to speak out against these groups that are saying such vile and disgusting things.

TUCKER: It is a racially exclusive group that is promoting violence in the open up. And yet democratic candidates and the White House have sucked up to them pretty insidiously, again and again. And you wonder where does this lead? Does this create an environment where violence can flourish? Sheriff David Clarke says, yes. He thinks it; he thinks it has created exactly that environment.

SHERIFF CLARKE: I'm too pissed off tonight to be diplomatic about what's going on. And I'm not going to stick my head in the sand about it. I said last December the war had been declared on the American police officer led by some high profile people. One of them coming out of the White House, one coming out of the United States department of justice. And uh it's open season right now. There's no doubt about it. Look any time a law enforcement officer is killed, a little of every police officer in America dies along with them.

PETE: You know he mentioned, he mentioned President Obama it will be very interesting to see what kind of rhetoric comes out of the White House. How they respond to this, do they respond to this? Do they give it the kind of attention it should that so many others things have gotten attention for.

TUCKER: Well he spent most of his second term, really, picking at scab I would say and encouraging people to feel aggrieved.

PETE: Uh hu.

TUCKER: And using those grievances for his political benefit. And I'm not blaming this on any politician of course it's the work of one man, one lunatic who appears to be in jail right now. But I do think that rhetoric does matter.

If you tell people, you are hated and the system is unfair- despite a lot of evidence that's not true. You know, I don't know people get mad, right?

PETE: Sure they do. And then when you point at cops, as opposed to take Minneapolis, St. Paul for example. Failing public schools, 40 years of failing public schools in Minneapolis, St. Paul that have done a disservice to minority inner city black community

TUCKER: That's for sure.

PETE: You know what I mean, there's a lot of places you could point legitimate frustration and right now we're pointing at cops who are doing their very best every single day. And now they've become targets.

ANNA: Well essentially when folks are just online looking at social media with these hashtags of Black Lives Matter and they don't even have their facts straight. I mean you remember the hands up, don't shoot. There's a big group of people out there that still think that that actually happened and it didn't according to investigators.

PETE: Hey in Minneapolis just one last specific aspect. They were pointing to a shooting in January of Marcus Goldan who has a long history of threats towards police and he tried to charge police with a SUV, he had a gun in his truck, charge police who were called on scene. He's made to be a martyr when that incident in Minneapolis, which charged that prompted a lot of those protesters in particular had a ton of shades of gray, its never as clear as they say.

TUCKER: That's exactly right. And I have to say I'm glad that people aren't drawing quick, and dirty, and perhaps inaccurate racial implications from this shooting in the way that democrats immediately jumped on every single police shooting and made it into a race case. That's just not helpful at all.

(LATER SEGMENT)

TUCKER: Well you just heard Kristen say it; this is the 23rd murder of this kind this year. At some point you have to declare that a trend and this certainly seems to be.

PETE: Absolutely, you know rhetoric has consequences and now they've got to move to also the prosecution phase of this. And one of those involved in Devon Anderson, she's the Harris county district attorney. She's talking about what she calls open warfare for police right now. Take a listen.

ANDERSON: It is time for the silent majority in this country to support law enforcement. There are a few bad apples in every profession that does not mean that there should be open warfare declared on law enforcement. The vast majority of officers are there to do the right thing, are there because they care about their community and want to make it a safer place. What happened last night is an assault on the very fabric of society? It is not anything that we can tolerate. It is time to come forward and support law enforcement and condemn this atrocious act.

TUCKER: Well, that's exact. It is assault on society. The only reason why you have a society in the first place is to establish some order and prevent people from hurting one other and paving the roads and extra. But that's the first order of business for a society.

ANNA: You go to keep people safe and otherwise we would have chaos. And you know what else is so disgusting and atrocious if you saw the Minnesota State Fair, if you've seen this video, well here it is again. It's unbelievable. Just a few miles south of the state fairgrounds, Black Lives Matter groups were chanting this.

PROTESTERS: Pigs in a blanket, fry 'em like bacon! Pigs in a blanket, fry 'em like bacon!

PETE: Wait a second is this the same group?

ANNA: Yeah, they weren't talking about football food or bacon and eggs breakfast.

TUCKER: They were talking about murdering police officers and there is racial overtones too. This is the same group that has met with every democrat running for president. Shouldn't they be asked about this?

ANNA: Well here's what part of the problem is this Black Lives Matter movement has got so many different factions and so many different leaders and they are all flying under the same flag, under the same banner and using the same hashtag.

TUCKER: Where's the moderate faction? I haven't seen them.

ANNA: Well they need to come forward and speak.

PETE: That's right, there is one, that has there are some legitimate conversations that this country has to have about our social fabric but its devolved into instability. And Black Lives Matter has justified violence. And even, no it really has. And Mike O'Malley had an opportunity; he talked about all lives matter and then backed away.

ANNA: He backed down. Oh I'm sorry.

PETE: These cops are saying it now all lives matter because they're seeing it front and center the results of this rhetoric.

TUCKER: I just wonder. I mean I'm totally opposed to police brutality. Which I think it's a real thing, I know, I've seen it. But who deputized Black Lives Matter as the spokesman for all victims of police brutality. These people are militants they're promoting violence and there are racial overtones to what they're saying. So why suck up to them? There's no legitimate spokesman against police brutality? There are! There's not with this group.

ANNA: And one grievance that this community could be having a conversation about is black on black crime, which we don't hear them chanting about instead we see this. The fry like bacon and pigs in a blanket.

PETE: And we see officers being targeted, you know. With Deputy Sheriff Cody Cazalas from Galveston, Texas recently talked about that targeting and what it's doing to police officers.

CODY: It was never as personal as it is now. Police officers are definitely being targeted now and from the top down, nobody is saying anything about it. Make no mistake about it. This was an execution, a brutal brutal killing, an assassination. He shot him in the back of the head and then stood over him and shot him several more times in the head. Brutal.

PETE: There's no other word for it, it's brutal.

TUCKER: And sad. And anybody whose been whipping up grievance, I would say politicians, ought to be ashamed. I mean that didn't commit this murder but they are creating an atmosphere where people are starting to really hate each other and they ought to be ashamed of themselves.

ANNA: Yeah and handcuffing the hands of cops. You remember what we saw in Baltimore too and how much that city was destroyed in one night because the cops were told to stand down.

PETE: Yeah the question is, and really again its not President Obama is not at fault, but will he step in as a leader and really drive a real conversation about this.

TUCKER: And say that it's illegitimate for Black Lives Matter to call for the murder of police! I mean, come on.

APPENDIX C

Erin Burnett Out Front

CNN News

August 31, 2015

ERIN: Tonight a Texas sheriff saying anti-police rhetoric from groups like Black Lives Matter led to the death of a sheriff's deputy who was shot execution style Friday night. As investigators search for a motive the accusations that the deputy was targeted because he wore a uniform are sparking new tensions between the Black Lives Matter movement and law enforcement. The suspect 30 year old Shannon Miles he made his first court appearance today as we see, shackled and staring straight ahead as the prosecutor detailed the brutal murder of Deputy Darren Goforth shot fifteen times point blank. The suspect allegedly unloading his entire pistol into the father of two. Adelin Daria is out front in Houston.

DARIA: It was so quiet when Shannon Miles walked into the Houston courtroom you could only hear the sound of shackles around his ankles and waist. A show of force looking are on several sheriffs deputies stared down the man accused of killing their fellow officer.

PROSECUTOR: He unloaded the entire weapon into deputy Goforth.

DARIA: Prosecutors gave the most detailed account yet of how Shannon Miles allegedly ambushed Deputy Goforth as he was walking back to his petrol car at pump number 8.

PROSECUTOR: He runs up behind Deputy Goforth and puts a gun to the back of his head and shoots and shoots Deputy Goforth hits the ground and then he continues to unload his gun shooting repeatedly in the back of Deputy Goforth.

DARIA: The prosecutor says Miles empty all the rounds from his 40 caliber handgun 15 shots in all, before walking to his truck and driving away from the scene. Deputy Goforth left dead in the pool of his own blood, shell casing on the around him. On this spot now a memorial of teddy bears and flowers has blossomed in Deputy Goforth honor. Investigators say ballistic tests link the shell casings at the crime scene to a handgun found in Shannon Miles home garage. Investigators are trying to determine a motive for a shooting investigators describe as cowardly and cold-blooded. But the sheriff says Deputy Goforth was targeted because he wore a uniform.

RON HICKMAN, HARRIS COUNTY SHERIFF: This rhetoric has gotten out of control. We have heard black lives matter. All lives matter. Well, cops' lives matter too.

So why don't we just drop the qualifier and just say, lives matter? And take that to the bank.

DARIA: According to Miles Facebook page, he bounced around various Houston universities, including the university where Sandra Blane was supposed to work.

(VIDEO CLIP)

POLICE OFFICER: Get out of the car.

SANDRA: Don't touch me. I'm not under arrest you don't have the right to touch me.

POLICE OFFICER: You are under arrest.

(sounds of struggle)

DARIA: Blane's case garnered intense scrutiny this summer when she was found dead in her jail cell after being arrested during a traffic stop. All of this happened just a few miles down the road from where Miles lives and where he allegedly shot and killed Deputy Goforth.

And tonight one of the lawyers for Shannon Miles tells me one of the first things they will be doing is working down psychological exam to determine whether or not their client will be fit to stand trail and that is a process that is just now starting here in Harris County.

ERIN: Adelin Daria, thank you so much for that. And out front CNN political commentator Mark Lamont Hill and Milwaukee Sheriff David Clarke thanks for coming on. Sheriff Clarke, this is horrific what happened, obviously.

But do you think its fair to link this murder to the Black Lives Matter movement when we still don't know the suspect's motive?

SHERIFF CLARKE: I think its very fair, in light of the anti-cop rhetoric that is sweeping the United States of America, fueled by this group. Some of the vulgar, vile, vicious rhetoric that's coming out talking about killing cops, that's just some of the night stuff, some of the stuff I can't even say on TV. But uh there is no doubt in my mind that the two New York officers Ramos and Lu were gunned down by an individual who made Facebook postings about wanting to kill pigs and he was going to go out and hunt down officers down. There have been officers across the United States who have had their cruisers shot at and struck while they patrolled St. Louis. The same thing. Yes, this is part of a pattern now and you would have to stick your head in the sand to think this thing here wasn't fuelled by this vile, vulgar, slimy movement.

ERIN: Mark?

MARK: I disagree with your characterization of BLM. But I would be curious to as you; do you think that every cop who has been killed this year is connected some how? The death is connected to BLM?

SHERIFF CLARKE: No, but there's an increase in assaults on police officers, killings of police officers. It may not be directly related to this movement but you know what, there's no fear anymore about assaulting or attacking, fighting, disarming or generally like I said assaulting law enforcement officers. And you know what? If the shoe fits, wear it. Just like the Dylann Roof right, went into a church and slaughtered nine church goers and every white person in America by this Black Lies movement was L-I-E-S was indited because of that and other people came out and talked about slavery, discrimination being alive and well and that's why I say if the shoe fits, wear it.

MARK: Here's what I'm saying. Right, I'm glad you are saying if the shoe fits because as a police office, I would hope you would want to emphasize things like probable cause, due suspension, investigation. The police.

SHERIFF CLARKE: Darren Wilson didn't get, Mark, you know that.

MARK: Sheriff. Sheriff... hold on.

SHERIFF CLARKE: The officers in the Freddie Gray case did not get that presumption of innocence so for you to just stand up and throw that now its just

MARK: Sheriff. Sheriff I haven't spoken, okay I'll let you finish.

SHERIFF CLARKE: It's just hypocritical. The police officers in the Freddie Gray case did not get that presumption of innocence. Darren Wilson did not get that presumption of innocence.

MARK: Alright, I've let you speak the entire segment, let me respond. Please let me respond. By law we are entitled to a presumption of innocence. Even if you think that those people didn't get what they deserve, as a police officer I hope you wouldn't say two wrongs make a right. If anything we should be emphasizing due process and investigation here. And in this case, the people handling the case in Texas themselves have said very clearly we don't know the motive. So you're essentially saying that your colleagues in law enforcement who say we don't know the motive are wrong and that you know the motive. The second piece I want to say is your characterization of Black Lives Matter is absolutely incorrect. The argument of Black Lives Matter is not to say that police officers should be killed, that police officers should be demonized, the police officers should be marginalized. The argument of Black Lives Matter is that police officers should be held to standards of accountability just like everybody else. And the increased number of black bodies, or the sustained number of black bodies, which die at the hands of state violence needs to end. It means while we regard all lives, we cannot exclude black lives.

SHERIFF CLARKE: What about. What about. What about the black victim that die at the hands of other black people? That doesn't seem to matter.

MARK: Doesn't matter to who?

SHERIFF CLARKE: And they're dying by the thousands not by the few rare instances of police use of force mode.

ERIN: Let me ask you this Sheriff Clark, just looking at the numbers here, if we are going to bring that up. There were 24 unarmed African-Americans killed by police this year, that's according to the Washington Post. So when you take into account, Sheriff Clark, do you think that African-Americans, people part of this protest, have a right to have their voices heard and to protest?

SHERIFF CLARKE: It's not a matter of whether they have the right; it's a matter of whether it's legitimate. There are 104 homicides in the city Milwaukee right now I think there were 79 last years. Baltimore 214, they have

already matched all of 2014. So when you want to take that 24 I'm not saying that none of that is legitimate in terms of taking a look at them. But how many of them were ruled justifiable. How many of the uses of force were determined to be reasonable and justifiable? And then lets compare that 24 to the number of stops made by police officers during that time period. And you'll find that is a very, very fractional percentage of deaths that occur at the hands of police officers. That's what the data shows anyway.

MARK: I've been pretty active both following, covering, and as a protester being engaged in this struggle. And I've never seen anyone in the Black Lives Movement or any other principle movement against police violence say that most police stops in unlawful executions or unlawful shootings or unlawful violence. The argument is that it happens too often and when it does we don't have the sufficient mechanisms of accountability.

SHERIFF CLARKE: And what's too often, what's too often?

MARK: Let me finish, let me finish. Well, anytime someone gets killed unlawfully or a police officer acts like judge, jury, and execution, it too many. I hope you would agree that even one would be too many but we've seen dozen of them.

SHERIFF CLARKE: Well that's a mischaracterization right there. That every time law enforcement officer has to use force they're acting as judge, jury, and executor.

MARK: I did not say that. Hold on, I did not say that.

SHERIFF CLARKE: Let's apply the facts of the case to the rule of law, if the rule of law gives the benefit of doubt to the officer.

MARK: But Sheriff, I did not say that, I didn't say that, you are just making arguments here and I did not say that. What I said was under the circumstances when that the case, one is too many. I didn't say every time it happens that's the case, under the circumstances, when.

SHERIFF CLARKE: Emotion and anecdotes are not facts, Mark.

MARK: They're not anecdotes, they're strong evidence. See the problem is that police officer are the overseers, and so you all decide what cases are legitimate and which ones aren't. And that in its self, in and of its self is the problem and that's what we're trying to deal with.

ERIN: And by the way though to give the other side of the stats, Sheriff Goforth is the 25th officer, a person in uniform killed just this year, 24 unarmed black men, he is the 25th officer to be killed.

SHERIFF CLARKE: Way too many.

ERIN: Way too many on both sides. We can all agree.

MARK: (laughs) No, it's not the same thing though! If being black and outside presents the same danger as being a police officer who signs up for a dangerous job that's pretty scary. Can you imagine? If just being black attached to the same.

SHERIFF CLARKE: (that's just the taste of the loser life) of Officer Goforth, defenseless, shot in the back of the head

MARK: No. Nobody said that, nobody should die!

ERIN: I think we can all agree that nobody should die.

SHERIFF CLARKE: Shot in the back of the head and had a gun unloaded on him, we signed up for that Mark?

MARK: Nobody should die; you're just playing to the cheapsies.

SHERIFF CLARKE: I didn't sign up for that and I don't send men and women out everyday to serve their communities to end up that as a result.

MARK: I hope not.

ERIN: Mark Lamont Hill, David Clarke thank you for this lively discussion. Thank you guys we really appreciate it. Thanks.

APPENDIX D

CNN Newsroom With Brooke Baldwin

CNN News

August 31, 2015

NICK: Harris County district attorney believes that Shannon Miles, this 30-year-old man, is the gunman. And over the weekend we heard some very charged words, some choice words by Ron Hickman the sheriff there in Harris County. And while there is no official motive given just yet, Brooke. Hickman may said there's no mistake to him why this happened.

SHERIFF HICKMAN: So in any point, the rhetoric ramps up, the point where calculated cold-blooded assassination of police officers happened, this rhetoric has gotten out of control. We've heard black live matter, all lives matter, well, cops' lives matter, too. So why don't we just drop the qualifier and just say lives matter. And take that to the bank.

NICK: Miles of course is charged with capital murder. And in Texas, you know this as well as I know this, he could face the death penalty. Our local affiliates say, do not expect a trial to happen until next year. But just incredibly sad just to see the family photo released over the weekend. Goforth's wife putting out this photo, we can't forget that this deputy is survived by his wife as well as two children, 12 years old and 5 year old, two children that will never see their father again. Brooke?

BROOKE: Nick Valencia, thank you so much. You know, let's stay on part of this point here. Proponent of the Black Lives Matter movement are distancing themselves from this Texas deputy killing. They say this murder has nothing to do with their movement but critics of Black Lives Matter point out this protest Saturday in St. Paul Minnesota, more than 1100 miles from the crime scene, in Houston. Watch this.

(VIDEO CLIP)

PROTESTERS: Pigs in a blanket, fry 'em like bacon! Pigs in a blanket, fry 'em like bacon!

BROOKE: David Katz CEO of the Global Security Group and formerly with the DEA and I also have Rashad Anthony Turner he's the lead organizer of Black Lives Matter in St. Paul, Minnesota. So gentlemen, thank you both so much for being on with me.

RASHAD: Thanks for having me Brooke.

BROOKE: Um Rashad first to you and I know I've heard you, you know more than once express your condolences for this family in Texas who lost you know, a father and a husband and this deputy. But explain to me, with this video, why protestors would use this kind of language. Pigs in a blanket, fry them like bacon. I understand your movement wants attention but isn't this the wrong kind of attention? Doesn't this hurt your cause?

RASHAD: Brooke, I think that the question we should be asking is why so much uproar over rhetoric and not the same uproar over the facts. Obviously we send our condolences to the officer.

BROOKE: But can you, with all, can I just.

RASHAD: Go ahead.

BROOKE: Could you just answer that first and we'll get to that question. I promise we will. But just first the answer to that before we get into your point about rhetoric.

RASHAD: Well, I mean, again, we're out there using our voices and I don't think that anyone with our movement, anyone with Black Lives Matter St. Paul is promoting violence against police officers. Our mission is to end violence against black people and the fact that every 28 hours, a black body is killed and we really feel like the protest was peaceful and people are trying to use it as a kind of scapegoat because they felt like when a black person says they are going to disrupt, that all hell is going to break loose. So I think a lot of people were disappointed that things were peaceful and they are looking for something to hang their hats on. Obviously we're not promoting any type of violence.

BROOKE: I, I applaud you know, any kind of peaceful movement, absolutely. And I have had a number of people on the show, who absolutely support what you do, including people who founded Black Lives Matter, they've been on. But again, back to the violent rhetoric, when you say pigs in a blanket, Rashad. I want you to tell me what that is supposed to mean.

RASHAD: I mean, I mean it's an example of, even with this case we're seeing down in Houston. When people of color, black people are accused of killing a police officer, you don't see that man down there getting bail. But what we see on the flip side of that is when a police officer kills an unarmed black male that the system still works in their favor that they are able to get bail. So when we say fry, we're not speaking of you know kill a police officer.

BROOKE: You're not?

RASHAD: But we are saying you know treat the police the same as your going to treat a civilian who commits murder against a police officer.

BROOKE: David Katz, sort of representing the law enforcement side, um how do you hear that?

DAVID: It took a long time for him to answer that question. The fact of the matter is, you can't just simply say this is not representative of our movement. You have people holding that sign, making those comments. You have protestors on the Brooklyn Bridge saying what do we want, dead cops, when do we want them, now. You got two dead cops in New York City, Deputy Goforth shot in the head by a racist murderer because of what these guys are doing.

BROOKE: We don't know his motivation, let's just be clear. We don't.

DAVID: Uhhhh, Okay. We certainty.

RASHAD: Exactly David I mean you sound like an intelligent man, David you should know the difference between racism and prejudice.

DAVID: Hang on, wait a minute. I didn't- my friend, did I interrupt you? I did not interrupt you.

RASHAD: I didn't ask if you interrupted me.

DAVID: It's really interesting when you commented on many, many shootings, particularly the one that started this off way back when and when a police officer was attacked by Michael Brown and you still can't admit that he acted correctly, when you started this movement, you has no problems saying this was a racist white police officer. So why should I be held to a different standard when I'm discussing a guy who walks behind a white police officer. By the way, to me it makes no difference. He wears the uniform, white, black, wears the uniform, doesn't wear the uniform. When my fellow Americans are murdered in a church in South Carolina I weep. When you start weeping for white cops who got shot down in Houston. Then I'll be talking the same message that you talk.

RASHAD: And David I think its very you know courageous to tell me what I weep about. Again, going back to my point earlier, the uproar over this rhetoric does not match the uproar that we see when black person is killed every 28 hours by police. I mean in St. Paul Minnesota we have the deadliest police department in our state. So I mean, were not, you know why we went to get hung up on rhetoric rather than addressing the facts. We need police reform. Otherwise the climate in this country will continue to be an us verse them climate and that helps no one. We all suffer from that David.

BROOKE: Let me, let me ask you this Rashad and I, I 100% peaceful movement, I've talked to, we talked to somebody who was down at Ebenezer Dr. King's church in Atlanta. Who said to me just recently, Brooke you it's important for this movement to be even a little bit disruptive. That what we did back in the day, that's the way people are going to, you know, help bring about change. My question is though, when you say this is peaceful and you don't want you know this to lead to violence but when you are saying what you are about pigs in a blanket, I'm wondering if there are other people Rashad not at all affiliated with you all but hear that and that then motivates them to violence, does that worry you?

RASHAD: Brooke, I don't think its fair that we need to be responsible for the actions of individuals who, first of all, don't represent our movement, don't represent our values. So to associate us with someone who committed such a heinous act of murdering, murdering a cop, murdering anybody period, we don't want that. We're not promoting violence so again, to spend all of this time or just to have this uproar over the rhetoric, again, David and other police officers, they don't want to address the facts. Instead of people getting caught up on the rhetoric, lets get caught on the fact that every 28 hours a black body is being killed. Let's get caught up on the fact that in our city of St. Paul, the arrest rate is 9 to 1. Nine black people for every one white person. So we need to talk about facts, we need to not be distracted by rhetoric. Again, we cannot be responsible for every individual and their

choices.

BROOKE: David Katz, jump in.

DAVID: Okay, I really don't know where to start. Well, let me start here. When you have the majority of police officers getting involved in shooting whether they're black white indifferent are shooting people that are trying to kill them. And on this show, when people have acted improperly...

RASHAD: They are unarmed David, how can you be unarmed and trying to kill someone?

DAVID: Hang on a second. Did I interrupt you? Did I? Well, do you know, hang on...

RASHAD: I'm not asking again. I'm not asking that, you want to push the false narrative to our country and it's not right.

DAVID: Hang on; it's not a false narrative. If you are trying to beat the cop senseless and take his gun, that is grounds for deadly force. If you're not familiar with the law you can acquaint yourself with it.

RASHAD: I'm very familiar with the law.

DAVID: I'm trying to answer your question. Trying to answer. When I see a white police officer shoot down a black male running away on this show what did I say, that's murder. That's murder. And there's a system for that, its called a justice system and that guys going to go away. But when I see people in your movement who are just, if it's a police shooting, its wrong. It doesn't matter if the guy is armed, unarmed. We see this every single day. There's a shooting and there's a response and I will be marching with you as soon as you say, hey listen when the wrong shooting, when the bad cops are taken off the streets that's when, that's when I'll be marching with you when that's your message. But when you're screaming and you can't just say, well I don't do it, other people do it. What do we want, dead cops. That resonates. People hear that and people act on that and they have acted on that and I think you should take a stand against that.

BROOKE: Do you want to respond to that Rashad and then I have a question for you?

RASHAD: Again, again, we are not promoting violence. I don't care what you know narrative David is trying to push. No one in our movement, no one in Black Lives Matter St. Paul, no person with any sense is going to be promoting violence. Again, your avoiding the fact that you know, the facts I mean we need to stick to the facts. There's been over 700 people killed by police in this country since the beginning of the year. That's ridiculous and that's what our movement is about. We want to stop being killed every 28 hours. We are not going to apologize for any rhetoric. We're not going to focus on the rhetoric.

DAVID: It's not ridiculous if those people are having guns or if they're trying to harm people. That's not ridiculous.

BROOKE: Let me, let me jump in on the facts...

RASHAD: Yeah but there has been plenty unarmed black men, unarmed women in prison killed. End up dead someone.

DAVID: Yes, there have. You're, right. Yes, there have. I agree with you.

RASHAD: So, it's not about being armed it's not about the letter of the law. Police can lie, I mean, they have that in the law that they can lie to people. So to just take an officer's word at face value or the media to just look at a report.

DAVID: I don't understand that means they can lie.

BROOKE: No he, he has a point there have been issues with police report. (i.e., the Charleston shooting).

DAVID: And those are crimes and the officer who do that should either be fired, prosecuted, or you know face whatever consequences is appropriate. But the issue is here is...

RASHAD: They should be but we're not seeing that.

DAVID: —excuse me. But when you simply say, “700 people are shot down by the police.” Well, the vast majority of them are armed trying to do something like—like what we saw the other day. A police officer was someone tries

to shoot two police. And the police officer draws his weapon and takes the guy out. Is that an unauthorized shooting or illegal shooting? No, it's called self-defense. The fact of the matter is there is a very, very small percentage of these cases that are inappropriate and they should—those officers who act wrongly need to go to jail.

BROOKE: Here is my fear and I'm talking to both of you because I've sat in the middle of very different perspectives on this story for over a year now and my worry is that communication is being lost. I'm hearing both sides and I think about the communities where you are in Minneapolis, St. Paul, Rashad, or in Baltimore. I've been or St. Louis or even here in New York, where the communities are frustrated with the law enforcement and the law enforcement frustrated with some parts of the communities aren't totally communicating. We're not able to fully communicate here in this back and forth in this interview. So what does that say about the overarching issue and any kind of solution? Rashad and then David and then we have to go.

RASHAD: I think it's a perfect example of, you know, we live in a country where police protect the police. So if we're talking about good cop versus bad cops, I'm not sure what a good cop is because we don't see cops stepping up to the plate and reporting officers who are doing things that are illegal. What we see is them protect each other behind each other the badge. We're getting hung up on this rhetoric that's making you know white people uncomfortable or you know causing that discomfort. Everyday as a black man, I'm uncomfortable simply because of the color of my skin. So, we do need to look at the bigger picture. We need to be able to work together but until we see change, we're not going to do things any other way. We're going to continue to demonstrate, we're going to continue to use our voices, we're going to continue to come together as a people and the sooner we can do that, where everyone is on board with fighting for justice, the sooner we can create change.

BROOKE: David, final word to you.

DAVID: You want to know about good cops. Number one, Everett Hatcher an African-American man the one who hired me for DEA, he was shot down in undercover operation years ago. I miss him dearly he was a great man. Good cops, Matt Hughes patrolman, NYPD works up in Harlem. Goes every single day because he wants to serve that community. Great cop, former agent for Palermine Eddie Marsinco just retired from DEA lives in Baltimore. Why? He retired so he could run for city council because he's weeping as what's happening in his community. Those are the good cops, those the guys that you need to meet.

RASHAD: In the bigger picture before we go Brooke, the bigger picture we need to change the system. We can get hung up on individuals but we need to change the system. Once the system changes, then we can talk about the individuals. Until then, we need to be focused on changing the system. That's what David should be talking about, is how we change this system, Brooke.

BROOKE: I hear you on the system but David I hear you on great cops as well and I absolutely will take your word on it. Rashad Turner and Davis Katz, thank you.

APPENDIX E

All in With Chris Hayes

MSNBC News

September 2, 2015

HAYES: The manhunt continues for three suspects in the fatal shooting of an Illinois police officer, Charles Gliniewicz, 30-year veteran of the force, was shot and killed this morning after approaching suspects during a routine patrol. He is the 24th officer to be shot to death in the line of duty this year, according to Officer Down memorial page, a group that tracks police fatalities.

His death comes less than a week after the fatal shooting of a Texas sheriff's deputy in a Houston suburb. Authorities initially said their assumption was that the deputy was attacked because of his uniform. Harris County sheriff later condemned what he called dangerous rhetoric.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

RON HICKMAN, HARRIS COUNTY SHERIFF: So any point where the rhetoric ramps up to the point where calculated, cold-blooded assassination of police officers happen, this rhetoric has gotten out of control. We have heard black lives matter. All lives matter. Well, cops' lives matter too. So why don't we just drop the qualifier and just say, lives matter?

(END VIDEO CLIP)

HAYES: The man charged with the capital murder of the Texas deputy had a criminal record and a long history of mental illness. Both the sheriff and the district attorney have acknowledged, they actually do not know anything about his motivations.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

REPORTER: You had some strong words on Saturday about the – some of the rhetoric around the country related to law enforcement. Do you still believe that has any connection to this case?

PROSECUTOR: I have no idea whether it does or not.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

HAYES: Right now, in many U.S. cities, the murder rate is rising.

“The New York Times” reported today, an increase in violence in cities like Baltimore, Milwaukee and New Orleans, along with these two high profile police shootings in four days, have created a backlash against calls for criminal justice reform and the Black Lives Matter movement. A chant captured on video this weekend at a march in St. Paul over the weekend has added fuel to the fire.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

O'REILLY: Just hours after Deputy Darren Goforth was murdered in Houston, allegedly by a black man, there was an anti-police demonstration at the Minnesota State Fair by Black Lives Matter.

PROTESTERS: Pigs in a blanket, fry `em like bacon! Pigs in a blanket, fry `em like bacon!

(END VIDEO CLIP)

HAYES: That video picked up on FOX News and elsewhere led to criticism that the movement was advocating violence against law enforcement.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

TV ANCHOR: Kevin, why has the black lives movement, the Black Lives Matter movement not been classified yet as a hate group?

O`REILLY: I think they're a hate group. They hate police officers.

JUAN WILLIAMS, FOX NEWS POLITICAL ANALYST: Well, they have strong feelings about –

O`REILLY: No, they hate them. They want them dead. Pigs in a blanket, is dead. They're a hate group, and I`m going to tell you right now, I`m going to put them out of business.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

HAYES: Joining me now, Trahern Crews, he's an organizer for Black Lives Matter-St. Paul, a Green Party candidate for the St. Paul City Council ward 1.

Mr. Crews, I want you to respond first to that chant that was captured on tape there. What is your reaction? There are people who see that and say it's incitement, it's a call to violence, it's dehumanizing at the very least. Do those activists, do you; do Black Lives Matter activists hate police officers?

TRAHERN CREWS, BLACK LIVES MATTER, ST. PAUL ORGANIZER: No, not at all. And I want to put that chant in context. We had a great demonstration that day. It was very exciting. It was so exciting that I think the police who were along escorting the marchers wanted to be a part of the march or a part of the demonstration.

So on the way back, the officer leading the parade kept talking into his microphone and saying things to the crowd, like, stay off the medium, do that, he was laughing and joking with the marchers, so then the marchers kind of started chanting that towards him. It was more playful than anything. So –

HAYES: So that was – you`re saying, that was in a playful context, that chant?

CREWS: At that particular demonstration, yes. That was. Because – and the officer was laughing and joking along with the protesters.

HAYES: People –

CREWS: And he – the officer also said, when they started chanting, he said back into the microphone, everybody loves bacon.

HAYES: So people have been watching the Black Lives Matter movement unfold. And there are two things that I think have – Black Lives Matter movement has really raised awareness of police brutality, officer-involved shootings, et cetera.

There's also been, I think, increased awareness of police fatalities, these two in the last days. And also, there's been an eye towards crime increases, particularly murders in these big cities. What do you say to people who are going to make the argument, already making the argument, that cops are now tentative, because of activists like you and because they`re tentative, crime increasing and that blood is on your hands?

CREWS: No, not at all. I don't think it's fair at all for people to connect any police murders to Black Lives Matter. But – and we – you know, we send the condolences out to the two police officers who were killed over the weekend, but you cannot connect those murders to Black Lives Matter, but we can connect Marcus Golden's matter, who was killed here at St. Paul by the St. Paul police, we can connect that murder directly to the St. Paul police department. We could connect Tamir Rice's murder directly to the Cleveland police department. We could connect Eric Gardner's murder directly to the New York police department.

So I think there's a big difference with what they're trying to say about – say right now.

HAYES: Are you prepared for the sustained – can the politics of this movement be sustained amidst the kind of increase in violent crime, like we had seen, particularly in, say, Baltimore and St. Louis, which have also been two sites of a lot of protests, uprising, and agitation?

CREWS: Absolutely. As long as we stay on the – you know, keep focusing on the conditions that are leading to violent crime and police murder, we can't – we have to – police brutality is an extension of institutional racism. Police brutality enforces institutional racism. So, we have to start dealing with institutional racism to deal with black-on-black crime.

HAYES: Trahern Crews –

CREWS: Black-on-black crime is a result of institutional racism.

HAYES: All right. Trahern Crews, thank you so much for joining me tonight.

APPENDIX F

Melissa Harris-Perry

MSNBC News

August 30, 2015

HARRIS-PERRY: A man in Harris County, Texas has been arrested in the shooting of a sheriff's deputy, at a suburban Houston gas station Friday night. Officials say Shannon Miles ambushed Deputy Darren Goforth, shooting the deputy as he return to his car. Police have not released a motive in the killing. But hours before the arrest was announced, Sheriff Ron Hickman suggested a link to the Black Lives Matter movement.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

SHERIFF RON HICKMAN, HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS: So in any point, the rhetoric ramps up, the point where calculated cold-blooded assassination of police officers happened, this rhetoric has gotten out of control. We've heard black live matter, all lives matter, well, cops' lives matter, too. So why don't we just drop the qualifier and say lives matter.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

HARRIS-PERRY: (DeRay Mckesson) a Black Lives Matter activist told the Houston Chronicle quote "I grieve for the victims of violence. It is unfortunate that Sheriff Hickman has chosen to politicize this tragedy to tribute the officer's death to a movement that seeks to end violence." For more now, we go to Jamie Novogrod live on the ground in Houston. Jamie, what do we know at this point about the arrest?

JAMIE NOVOGROD, MSNBC CORRESPONDENT: Well, Melissa, good morning. Shannon Miles, the suspect here, is behind bars today. Police have identified him. He's 30 years old. He was charged yesterday, and he's facing capital murder charges, police say. Meantime, there's been an outpouring of grief here. Hundreds of people at the gas station last night, and as you can see behind me, already a handful of members of the public and sheriff's deputies here.

The deputies, Melissa, are posted officially here as an honor guard in keeping with department practice. There are also deputies with the fallen deputy's family, Darren Goforth with his family, and also Melissa, with his body until funeral services are held. And as you mentioned, no apparent motive yet in the attack, according to police. And yet, during this emotional press conference yesterday, the sheriff drew a link to the Black

Lives Matter movement. He blamed in part a rhetoric having to do with police. He blamed that rhetoric for creating an atmosphere that he said puts law enforcement at risk. But again, no apparent motive yet, the sheriff says. The suspect has a criminal record. He has been arrested in the past on trespassing charges and on charges of disorderly conduct with a gun. We hope to learn more about him later today and there will be a vigil held tonight at a local church, Melissa.

HARRIS-PERRY: Thank you to NBC's Jamie Novogrod in Houston, Texas.

HARRIS-PERRY: This week some of the most visible criticism of Black Lives Matter came not from white progressives but from conservative African-Americans. In a scathing editorial for USA Today, republican presidential candidate Ben Carson writes, the idea that disrupting and protesting Bernie Sanders speeches will change what is wrong in America is lunacy. The Black Lives Matter Movement is focused on the wrong targets, to the detriment of blacks who would like to see real change and to the benefit of powerful white liberal funders using the attacks on Sanders for political purposes that mean nothing for the problems that face our community.

Carson's editorial came just days after former U.S. vets, navy veteran Peggy Hubbard's, Facebook's screamed against the movement went viral with more than seven million views. But amid this argument against the movement's strategy, this week also brought a response to one of its original demands. As the Ferguson Municipal Court announce a major overhaul in accordance with the new St. Louis County law that will include the withdrawal of all warrants issued before December 31st of 2014.

Joining me now from St. Louis is Tef Poe, co-founder of Hands Up United and the hip-hop artist who just released his latest album "War Machine 3." Tef, nice to have you here. Does the announcement sound to you like a victory, this announcement about the municipal court changes?

TEF POE, CO-FOUNDER, HANDS UP UNITED: I mean, I think it's a noteworthy achievement, but I also feel as if it's irrelevant to the lives of the men and women that are struggling with the things that the system has

impounded upon us. You know, there is a lot of talk in St. Louis right now about the rates raising and really defining what poverty means and what hardship means to people of color in this city, and I think that any type of dialogue that we have for myself personally, poor people have to be in the forefront of that discussion.

HARRIS-PERRY: Can you respond a bit to these critiques that have come from kind of a black conservative world? Are you saying, look, the Black Lives Matter is either just focused on the wrong things or using the wrong strategies or just simply disreputable?

POE: You know, we live in a world where people are telling us to be respectable to targets that just aren't respectable. There's nothing respectable about white supremacy, there is nothing respectable about oppression, there is nothing respectable about sexism, and misogyny, and rape and murder and pillage. So, for me the conversation is deeply rooted in respect too, is the same people that sort of Palestinian children and not to Iraq and with the tank is a war machine that came to destroy a village and genocide their people. So, this is the dilemma that we have. We have a non-respectable enemy that's asking us to essentially respect his humanity while they don't even acknowledge ours.

HARRIS-PERRY: Tef, stick with me. I want you to – don't go away. But

Will, I want to come up to you. One of the reasons I wanted you at the table is a piece you wrote for The Root this week. So, you were kind of talking about, oh, you know, I believe in many of the same values that both President Obama and Dr. Ben Carson believe in, but you also wrote about how sort of respectability won't necessarily save you from injustices or inequality in this case.

JAWANDO: That's exactly right. You know, I write a piece talking about how we're going to need more voices in the criminal justice reform, debate.

I'm a lawyer, I'm a White House aide, I'm a father, but I've also been arrested. And the circumstances are different, it was a mistake, the charges are dropped. But people don't know that and this is a republican and a democratic problem. That we're at critical point. We're not at an infliction point; we are at a breaking point. And to say that when you have one out of two African-Americans that have been arrested by the time they're 23, 44 percent of Latino men, 70 percent of the juveniles locked up today across the country are people of color, are children of color.

To say that this is – we're supposed to just be calm and to these young people and that we're supposed to be a very calm and peaceful and respectful movement, I think is crazy. And what we're seeing the beginning, the tip of the iceberg of the success of this movement. And I want to tell my daughter in 15, 20 years that I was at the forefront running for Congress, pushing the democratic primary, too, to not just make people understanding it but understand that we have to move. Because if it's respectable, Bernie Sanders, Senator Sanders does not release a racial justice platform if he's not interrupted and I believe that. And so, we can't be respectable.

HARRIS-PERRY: So, Judith, talk to me a little about this. Because it does feel to me, you know, part of this is organizations, or the movements like Black Lives Matter can sometimes feel like it's contesting judicial civil rights organizations like NAACP or urban league or others. So, how do sort of use all those aspects of community to push an agenda?

DIANIS: Well, I mean, it's important to have a spectrum of voices, right, and the movement for black lives is clearly staking out a position that is pushing us into a discourse that we would not have otherwise had in this country. You know, for him to call it lunacy, no, let's talk about the kind of changes that are happening, the kinds of conversations that are happening and we're seeing real systemic reform that's kind of a ripple effect of young people calling out racism in this country.

HARRIS-PERRY: So, Tef, let me come back to you, because it does feel like, you know, again I can cite something actually happening in St. Louis around policy. We heard Will here cite Bernie Sanders actually coming out with a racial justice platform. So, certainly Black Lives Matter is not declaring victory or doing a victory lap, but I wonder, are you starting to see some meaningful victories?

POE: I believe so. And I think that, you know, it's also important to note that in any frontier of a battle, you have different planks, you have different areas and different people with different skill sets and different capabilities. One thing I was talking with one of my elders yesterday about Jamala Rogers, she brought up the fact that, you know, we need not shoot down different ideologies and different methods just because they don't look some of a tour a route that we may deem is capable of bringing about victory for us. I believe that you need people on the front line with the gas mask and the bandanas and their shirts off and the young ladies with their fists up, wearing the tank tops just much as you need young women, at the Pentagon wearing Hillary Clinton's suits.

So, I think that, you know, this is a vast assortment of people. And I also want to note that, you know, when white supremacists like Donald Trump look at black people, when they look at people like Harriet Tubman, to him

Harriet Tubman is the same exact person as Nicki Minaj. So, when we talk about respectability politics, we need to note that our enemy doesn't have a conscience. Donald Trump doesn't have a conscience. People like him; they really don't care about our general perception of ourselves to them.

And I think that within the Ferguson movement, that's one thing that a lot of the protesters began to notice. In the early days, people were in the streets and we thought that we could chant our way into making police officers respect us, we could chant our way into making politicians view us as valid members of society. I think now we realize that's not possible and no matter what you look like, you can have a suit and a tie on -- Martin Luther King is just as dead as Tupac Shakur.

HARRIS-PERRY: Tef Poe in St. Louis, Missouri as always bringing us lots to think about. I appreciate you joining us here in Washington. Thank you

Electronic MSc Dissertation Series

The Media@LSE Electronic MSc Dissertations Series presents high quality MSc Dissertations which received a mark of 74% and above (Distinction).

Selected dissertations are published electronically as PDF files, subject to review and approval by the Editors.

Authors retain copyright, and publication here does not preclude the subsequent development of the paper for publication elsewhere.