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**The Representation of “Black Lives Matter” Movement in American and British
Broadsheets: *The New York Times* and *The Guardian***

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To my beloved parents and my adorable brothers, I am so thankful for their everlasting love and ongoing support throughout my studies and research.

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A special dedication to my dear friend and partner Thanina with whom I have shared good memories. I appreciate every moment we spent together.

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The present study deals with Multimodal Semiotic Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis of 'Black Lives Matter' movement's representation in two popular broadsheets in the UK and The USA namely: The Guardian and The New York Times. The corpus of the study consists of ten news articles as well as ten images of BLM protesters. This research seeks to reach two objectives. First, to analyze the visual modes used to portray the BLM movement in the two western broadsheets: The Guardian and The New York Times relying on Kress and Van Leeuwen's framework of the Grammar of Visual Design (1996, 2006) to analyze images, and Critical Discourse Analysis model proposed by Fairclough (1989, 1992) to analyze news articles. Second, to determine the way 'Black Lives Matter' movement is represented in the two newspapers, positively or not. To achieve these objectives, the mixed method research which integrates both qualitative and quantitative research techniques is adopted. The analysis of the selected news articles has revealed that racism and police brutality have been continued and this is realized through the use of various linguistic resources such as: synonyms, antonyms, and informality in the vocabulary category, and the system of transitivity in the grammatical category. In addition, the visual analysis of the selected images has shown that BLM protesters are depicted as actors involved in different actions and events. Therefore, The Guardian and The New York Times support BLM movement by providing a positive portrayal of the black protesters both visually and linguistically.

Key words: *Black Lives Matter movement, Broadsheet, Critical Discourse Analysis, Grammar of Visual Design, Intertextuality, Multimodal Semiotic Analysis.*

BLM: Black Lives Matter

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

SFG: Systemic Functional Grammar

NYT: New York Times

Q: Question

H: Hypothesis

N: Number

%: Percentage

=: Equal sign

≠: Not equal sign

\$: Dollar

: Hashtag

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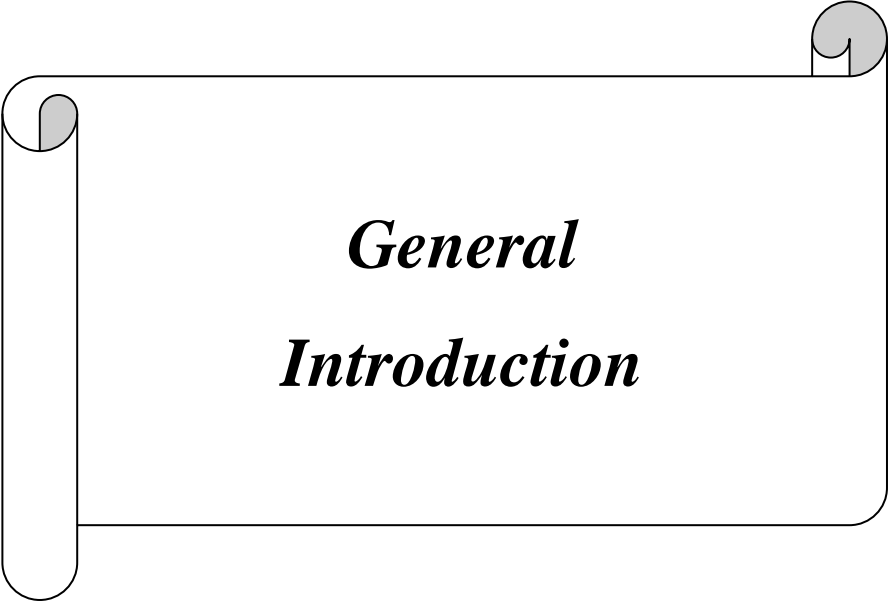
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*General
Introduction*

Introduction

Immigration to the United States has been significant wellspring of population development and social change. Depending on The Pew Research Center which is a Nonpartisan American, different historical periods have brought distinct national groups, races, and ethnicities to the U.S.A. In the twentieth century, efforts to sort the increasingly mixed population of the United States into discrete categories generated many difficulties for the U.S. government (Spickard, 1992).

“African Americans”, who were forcibly imported from their African countries to labour in the new world, are one of the dominant ethnic groups in the United States. Their freedoms were sharply reduced, and they were dismissed a legitimate part in the economic, social, and political growth of the United States of America for a long period. (Britannica)

For Black Americans, the pre-civil rights era was a time of turmoil and chaos. Slavery ended in the United States after the civil war, however black people were nonetheless deprived of public life and treated as second-class Americans across most southern states. (Britannica). In addition to the rise of "Jim crow" laws at the state level in the late 1870s, which were a set of local statutes designed to isolate black people by forbidding them from attending classes, theaters, trains, and taxis, as well as denying them the right to vote and gain employment. (Kenneth: 1999)

The American civil rights movement began in the mid-20th century to find a solution to the widespread discrimination and violence towards African Americans. Martin Luther King Jr, a Baptist pastor and a social activist, he was born in January 15, 1929, Atlanta, Georgia, U.S. He was the driving force behind the American civil rights movement from the mid-1950 until his assassination in 1968. Martin Luther King was the voice of the civil rights movement

seeking equality and human rights for black Americans through marches, such as the massive protest march on Washington (1963), boycotts, civil disobedience and sit-ins. Martin Luther King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, for his leadership of the American civil rights movement through non violent actions to achieve equal civil rights. (Britannica)

Among many civil rights activists who fight against social injustice, Rosa Parks. In December 1955 she was taken to jail because she refused to give her seat to a white passenger on Montgomery, Alabama city bus. Thus, her action led to the Montgomery bus boycott and attaining desegregation of the city buses. (ibid)

Statement of The Problem

Black Lives Matter movement began as a social media hashtag '#BlackLivesMatter' in 2013 after the acquittal of George Zimmerman, who shot and murdered Trayvon Martin, a seventeen-year-old black teenager in Florida in February 2012. The killing of Michael Brown, an eighteen-year-old black man who was shot and killed by a white police officer, Darren Wilson, in August of 2014 in the city of Ferguson, Missouri, fueled the emergence of this movement. Both of these killed adolescents were black and unarmed, which influenced the emergence of the Black Lives Matter movement. (ADL: 2020)

On the night of May 25, 2020, a 46 year-old black man George Floyd, was assassinated by a white Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin, kneeling for nearly 10 minutes, after being suspected of using a counterfeit \$20 bill at a Minneapolis store. George Floyd's death had an impact on ongoing series of protest against police brutality and racism that began in Minneapolis in the United States on May 26, 2020. Floyd's murder was one that may have been added to the long tally of Black Americans who have died at the hand of police officers. Floyd's murder ignited a wave of national and, then global protests, a wave that is leading to

changes in symbols of racism from flags to statues...In hopes of a real police reform, and overdue reparations to Black Americans. (Evan, Hill. Et al: 2020)

Many writers were interested in the matter of “Racism” and wrote about it such as: Ta-Nehisi Coates in his book: “Between The World And Me” (1935), Howard Zinn in his book: “Justice in Everyday Life: The Way It Really Works” (1974). In addition to other researches such as: “When They Call You a Terrorist”: A Black lives Matter Memoir by Patrisse Khan-Cullors and Asha Bandelein 2019, and “Memoir of Race Traitor Fighting Racism in the American South” Mab Segrest in 1994. Moreover, “#BlackLivesMatter”: This Generation’s Civil Rights Movement” by Tanika Siscoe in 2016, and “The Evolution of the Black Lives Matter Movement in the United States from its Creation to Nowadays” by Apolline Lagarde in 2020. Although they have focused on “Racism” their works are limited to black history, reasons of racism, consequences and the solutions. However, no studies have been conducted on how Black Lives Matter movement is represented in newspapers both in linguistic (news articles) and visual (images) modes.

Aims and Significance of the Study

This study aims at investigating critically the linguistic modality of different texts (news articles) that are derived from The New York Times and The Guardian newspapers about Black Lives Matter movement. The investigation will be emphasized on both qualitative and quantitative methods following Fairclough’s theoretical framework in Critical Discourse Analysis. In addition to the analysis of visual modality dealing with ten images published in the two aforementioned broadsheets, relying on Kress’ and Van Leeuwen’s theory in their work: Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design (2006). The research aims to analyze the visual modes used to portray the movement of black protesters in both the American and

the British broadsheets: The New York Times and The Guardian, and to determine the way these two newspapers have represented “Black Lives Matter” movement, positively or negatively by analyzing the implied meanings and the contexts included in texts and images in the two western broadsheets.

Research questions

This study aims at investigating the research questions below:

Q01- What are the different visual modes used to portray Black Lives Matter movement in The New York Times and The Guardian printed broadsheets?

Q 02- Do the two broadsheets represent the Black Lives Matter movement positively?

Hypotheses

To answer the questions, we use the following hypotheses:

H 01- The different visual modes that are used to portray Black Lives Matter movement in The New York Times and The Guardian newspapers are called multimodal language (Images, texts, video...etc)

H 02- No, the two broadsheets do not represent the Black Lives Matter movement positively.

Structure of the Dissertation

The present dissertation is about the representation of “Black Lives Matter” movement in American and British broadsheets: The New York Times and The Guardian. It is a corpus based study which consists of ten news articles and ten images taken from the aforementioned newspapers.

This study starts with a general introduction and finishes with a general conclusion, it contains four chapters: Review of the literature, Research Design, Presentation of the Findings, and Discussion of the Findings. All of these chapters include an introduction and a conclusion; however, the content is different from one chapter to another, in the first chapter, two theories are presented which are: Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1989-1992), and Visual Grammar (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1990-2006). The second chapter deals with Research Method that is mixed method (qualitative and quantitative data analysis). The third chapter displays the results obtained from the analysis of the corpus. The last chapter discusses the results gained from the visual and the linguistic analysis of the representation of BLM movement in the two newspapers.



Chapter One:
Review of the Literature

Introduction

This chapter introduces two theories that are going to be included in this study, mentioning various categories in the first theory which is about Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1989-1992) and showing the most significant criteria in the second one that is about Visual Grammar (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1990-2006). The two theories are used to represent Black Lives Matter movement in the two broadsheets press: The Guardian and The New York Times.

1- Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a cross-discipline established in the early 1990s by many scholars, among them Theo Van Leeuwen, Gunther Kress, Teun Van Dijk and Norman Fairclough (Wodak and Meyer, 2001 cited in Aydele, A.A: 2018). Its main terms: Critical Linguistics (CL), and Critical Discourse Studies (CDS).

Critical Discourse Analysis “focuses on social problems, and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination” (Van Dijk, 2001:96). In that sense, Wodak (2001 cited in *ibid*) regards it as “fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language”.

According to Rogers (2004:3) CDA offers an explanation of why and how discourses work. CDA is defined as “a form of critical social science geared to illuminating the problems which people are confronted with by particular forms of social life” (Fairclough, 2001 cited in *ibid*).

The two scholars Kazemian and Hashemi (2014) claim that CDA focuses on power and discourse, within an emphasis in the way authority and dominance are constructed, and how

social inequality is reproduced in the discourse of written texts and spoken words.

Fairclough (1995:7) reveals that “CDA is an approach to analyze a text”, in which a text is described by Crystal, (1992:72) as a language unit which includes a conversation, a poster identified for purposes of analysis.

2- Fairclough’s three dimensions models of CDA in analyzing Media Discourse

Fairclough framework of three dimensional of Critical Discourse Analysis consists of:

Linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and text and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes. A special feature of this approach is that the link between socio-cultural practice and text is mediated by discourse practice (Fairclough, 1995a: 97)

Among the three dimension models of CDA, “Textual Analysis” in which it is claimed that: “there are many types of analysis which can be applied to texts” (Fairclough, 2003, Van Dijk, 1997), some of the types are related to the linguistic features such as phonetic and phonological analysis, grammatical analysis and semantic analysis.

The textual analysis will be taken into account in the following chapters to discover, analyze and discuss the sentence mood (declarative, interrogative and imperative) and linguistic modality (certainty, uncertainty) dealing with ten journal articles that derived from the New York Times and The Guardian. Then, the second model is “Discursive Practices” where Norman Fairclough defines it as “the production, distribution, and consumption of texts” (1992: 71). The last model is about “Social Practice” which is “the fact that language practice is socially determined; it is a social act in itself which is in turn shaped by broader social and ideological conditions” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999).

3- Analytical Tools in CDA

According to Bin (2005 cited in Wang, W. and Liu, W.:2015). Analytical tools in CDA

are referred to “Lexical Classification” in which a lexical choice can be considered as the reflection of culture. The word “classification” means to the main significant level of language function-lexical choice. Then, “Transformation” which has an impact on examining the relationship between language and ideology. It consists of two kinds:

- **Nominization** : It means that the writer or speaker should have used a verb or verb structure to describe a certain meaning.
- **Passivization** : The subject is usually removed or placed in the middle or end of sentence (Bin, 2005 cited in Wang, W. and Liu, W.:2015).

The transformation is studied and examined its most significant features (nominization, passivization) and making all the data in a suitable diagram. In addition to the “Transitivity” where Fairclough (1992b: 177) defined it as “the systemic linguistic term for exploring the ideational functional of grammar at the level of the clause”. The system of transitivity consists of many processes as “Material Process” which is “The process of doing” (Halliday, 1994:103). That is to say, material processes are not only physical events but also abstract doing or happening, the logical subject is called : “Actor” and the direct object is called : “Goal”. As for “Verbal Process”, it is the process of “saying”, within any symbolic exchange of meaning. It can be directly or indirectly. Three aspects of verbal processes namely, the participants: Sayer and Receiver, and the Verbiage. Concerning “Relational Process” it is the process of “being”. According to Halliday, there are two modes of relational process: Attributive and Identifying. Then, “Attributive mode” is that a participant has a certain quality who is called “Carrier” and “Identifying mode” is identical properties of two entities: “the identified” and “the identifier”.

In addition to “Intertextuality” Fairclough (1992) believes that it is about texts that have snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text

may assimilate, contradict. Intertextuality is investigated by analyzing speech reporting such as: News Source, Mode, and Verb of reporting. Depending on the mentioned journal articles of the two western broadsheets, the category of the intertextuality will be observed and investigated within a focus on news source, reporting mode, reporting verbs and clarifying all the data in a table. That is to say, the category of “News Source” is the person or organization whose account is cited by the reporter, and “Reporting Mode”, it can be divided into two types: Direct Speech, and Indirect Speech, where “Reporting Verbs” are the verbs used by the news reporters when citing others’ speeches or account; hence, cultural understanding, motivation, emotion, and behavior are done by individuals’ cultural values and norms. (cited in Wang, W. and Liu, W.:2015)

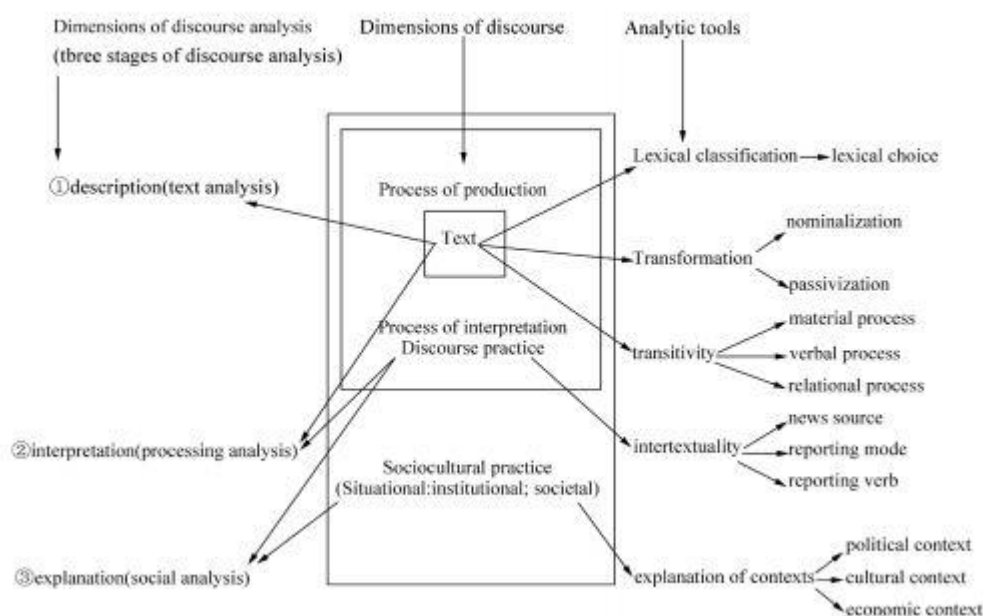


Figure 1: An Overall Model Combining Three-Dimensional Model and SFG

4- Social Semiotics Approach

Social semiotics has been influenced by the work Michael Halliday in his book: Language as a social semiotic: The social interpretation of language and meaning (1978). In that sense, social semiotics emphasize on including a functional perspective, the

metafunctions, the language as a system of options and meaning potential.

Hodge and Kress in social semiotics (1998) and Kress and Van Leeuwen in Reading images: The grammar of visual design (1996, 2006) have led to the shift on language to other semiotic systems with a focus on visual design.

- **Signs:** According to Pierce, “We think only in signs” (Pierce, 1931-58, 2.172). Anything can be a sign, “The sign is the whole that results from the association of the signifier and the signified” (Saussure, 1983:67).
- **Codes:** codes are sets of rules used by people to facilitate their ways of communication making a relationship between signifiers and signifieds.

5- Theory of Multimodality

Multimodality is a concept introduced and developed in the late 1990s to account for the different resources used in communication to express meaning. Within the field of “Multimodal Studies” (O’Halloran and Smith: 2011 cited in Garcia, O. N., and Spotti, M.: 2016), the phenomenon of multimodality is approached through different theoretical perspectives all hinging on four key assumptions (Jewitt, 2014a), namely : a- all communication is multimodal; b- analysis focused slowly or primarily on language cannot adequately account for meaning; c- each mode has specific affordances arising from its materiality and from its social histories which shape its resources to fulfill given communicative need; and d- modes concur together each with a specialized role, to meaning making; hence relations among modes are key to understand every instance of communication.

6- Kress' and Van Leeuwen's Metafunctions in Analyzing Images

In the social semiotic approach to multimodality, a metafunctional hypothesis is posited. This hypothesis states that all semiotic modes serve three metafunctions in order to function as a full system of communication (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996: 40). These metafunctions are: the ideational, the interpersonal, and the textual metafunctions.

According to the theory of visual social semiotics, a look at the ideational metafunction of a particular image will portray the people, places, objects represented in it, as well as how these elements are interacting with one another to create a narrative. It is claimed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:42) that in semiotics each mode can present real aspects as it is experienced by people. It means that objects can be presented within their relation in a world outside the representational system.

Then, Representational meaning can be subdivided into two types: narrative representation and conceptual representation, namely, 'Narrative' "Refers that when participants are connected by a vector, they are represented as doing something to or for each other" (ibid, 2006 :59 cited in Wang, 2014). Various kinds of narrative processes could be considered as: reactional processes, in which "the vector is formed by an eyeline, by the direction of the glance of one or more of presented participants". (ibid, 2006 :67 cited in Wang, 2014). And 'Conceptual' which is a non-narrative process involving "Representing participants in terms of generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence, in terms of class, or structure or meaning" (ibid, 2006:79). Different kinds of conceptual representation processes could be represented as: Symbolic processes, which focuses on what a participant means or is. The last metafunction is 'Interpersonal metafunction', according to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), this dimension deals with (imaginary) relationship between the represented participants and the interactive participants.

“Distance”, “contact”, and “point of view” play the key roles for the recognition of interactive meanings. The work is emphasized on the study of the mentioned images about the gaze at the viewers (direct or indirect) and the point of view (the horizontal angle and the vertical angle). In addition to the size of frame (close up, medium, long shot, etc...).

Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006 cited in Journal of Applied Linguistics: 2016) used some criteria in distance which are: “the “size of frame” in choosing shots of images. “close-up”, “ medium shot” and “ long shot” frames convey an intimate and personal relationship, a social relationship, and an impersonal relationship, respectively”. The term “contact” which means that “people in pictures look at views in two ways: they may look directly at the viewer, consequently, they usually “demand” something or they may look at other sides and in this way they usually “offer” something. In each of this cases the facial expressions and gestures determine what people in pictures demand or offer” (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006 cited in Journal of Applied Linguistics: 2016), and point of view where this semiotic resource indicate different types of interactive meanings. When people in a picture are shown by a frontal angle, there is the probability of involvement with viewers, while the application of vertical angles suggests some kind of detachment with viewers. Then, textual metafunction that requires examining the various compositional elements of an image. Furthermore, Kress and Val Leeuwen (2006) discussed about salience as one of the three principles of composition in a multimodal text which function as an interrelated system “The visual clues indicating salience are: size, sharpness of focus, tonal colour contrast, placement in the visual field and cultural factors” (ibid, 2006:203), and framing that was first introduced by Kress and Van Leeuwen in Reading Images (1996:214-218) as a compositional resource in visual communication, where framing can be realized in different aspects as frame-lines involving empty space, and information value which refers to the value endows to elements based on

their spatial positioning in a semantic space (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996,2006). The placement of elements on a horizontal angle includes (left-right placement), and on a vertical angle consists of (top-bottom placement). The placement of the elements on the horizontal angle involves elements placed on the left as “given” and the right as “new”. Consequently, being the “new” message on the right will receive the attention of the viewer in relation to the “given” message, message usually known to the reader. Apparently, the right has greater informational value in a semiotic space (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006).

7- Modality in Visual Design

According to Hodge and Kress (1988:124), modality “refers to the status, authority and reality of a message, or to its ontological status or its value as truth or fact”. It will be analyzed through identifying the levels of the modality, and observing the types of the mentioned images within description.

- **Naturalistic Modality:** It has to do with a truthfulness of a representation which reflects reality as we know it.
- **Abstract Modality:** It is a truth of knowledge that is common in scientific visuals such as pictures of diagrams, statistics,...etc
- **Sensory Modality:** It deals with the truth of feeling, which is based on the effect of pleasure (or un-pleasure) created by visuals.

Conclusion

This review of literature is related to the Representation of The Black Lives Matter Movement in the American and the British broadsheets press: The New York Times and The Guardian as a case study. Furthermore, it provided an overview about the theoretical underpinnings of the dissertation which are critical discourse analysis by Norman

Fairclough's model of CDA, showing all its three dimensions that are: Textual Analysis, Discursive Practices, and Social Practices; in addition to the various analytic tools as: Lexical Classification, Transformation, Transitivity, Intertextuality, and Cultural Context, within an emphasis in Kress and Van Leeuwen's social semiotic analysis highlighting the visual grammar in their work : Reading Images : The grammar of visual design (2006) mentioning their metafunctions: Ideational, Interpersonal, and Textual, showing the different cases of visual design as: Participants, Framing, and Saliency. All the aforementioned points help to make a choice of a suitable research method in the next chapter, in order to study, analyze, and discuss to answer the research questions.



Chapter Two:
Research Design

Introduction

This chapter deals with the methods, procedures, and techniques to identify the methods of research, the corpus, and the data analysis tools in order to uncover new information or create better understanding of a topic that is “The representation of Black Lives Matter Movement” in the American and the British broadsheets press: The New York Times and The Guardian. Therefore, the chapter starts by identifying the method of research, which is the mixed method research to examine the nature of black protesters’ movements in the aforementioned newspapers. Then, it moves to the data collection procedures, by explaining and giving a description of the corpus that consists of ten articles and ten images, taken from the New York Times and The Guardian equally. Finally, the collected data is analyzed using the Critical Discourse Analysis model proposed by Fairclough (1989,1992) for the selected articles, and the Grammar of Visual Design Framework introduced by G. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) to analyze the chosen images.

1- Research Method

D. Slesinger and M. Stephenson (1930) in the Encyclopedia of social sciences define research as: “The manipulation of things, concepts or symbols for the purpose of generalism to extend, correct or verily knowledge, whether that knowledge aids in construction of theory or in the practice of an art”. Research is, thus, an original contribution to the existing Stock of Knowledge making for its advancement.

As such, to fulfill the investigation about the representation of Black Lives Matter in two western broadsheets through the lenses of Visual Grammar and CDA frameworks, the present study, adopts the mixed method research which is a “research design with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry”. (Creswell and Plaw Clark, 200 7: 5).

Generally, it involves collecting, analyzing, and interpreting quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or in a series of studies investigate the same underlying phenomenon.

2- Procedures of Data Collection

This section describes the corpus of the present study which is focused on two western printed newspapers: The American broadsheet “The New York Times” and the British one “The Guardian”. The corpus consists of twenty items to be analyzed, ten news articles are included in twelve pages and ten images are involved in six pages that are published from 2013 to 2020.

Then, the present work is considered as a case study employs a descriptive qualitative approach and a quantitative one (mixed method research). A qualitative approach as stated by Baxter and Jack (2008),” allows the researchers to analyze complex phenomena within their contexts”;it means that, it focuses on the interpretation of certain phenomena in order to gain meanings, and quantitative approach that is a technique used to generate knowledge using scientific inquiry as statistics and numbers.

Therefore, the data collected is analyzed as follows : Ten articles are analyzed according to the Textual dimension provided by Fairclough in his model of CDA and ten images are examined in regard to the three metafunction : Ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions adopted by Kress and Van Leeuwen in their approach of visual analysis (2006).

2. 1- The New York Times

It is an American daily newspaper published in New York City and distributed worldwide. It is founded in 1851 by journalist and politician Henry Jarvis Raymond and former banker George Jones. It is owned by the New York Times Company and it is the largest metropolitan

newspaper in the United States. It is labeled the ‘Gray lady’ for its serious appearance and style. The New York Times leans liberal or right-libertarianism position, that is to say, its ideology emphasis on freedom, social equality and individual’s rights. The electronic website of the NYT has been launched in 1996 (www.nytimes.com).

2.2- The Guardian

It is a daily newspaper published in London and it is considered one of the United Kingdom’s leading newspapers. It was founded in Manchester in 1821 as the weekly Manchester Guardian, and became a daily in 1855, then ‘Manchester’ was dropped from the name in 1959. The paper is owned by Scott Trust which is a part of The Guardian Media group. Concerning political position and ideology, The Guardian is the Britain’s most left-wing newspaper, which is characterized by freedom and internationalism. The Guardian electronic website became www.theguardian.com in 2013.

3- Procedures of Data Analysis

3. 1- Linguistic Analysis

From the selected broadsheets, we have collected ten articles and ten images about Black Lives Matter Movement. The articles are analyzed in detail using Fairclough’s Framework in CDA following his main three dimensional models: **Textual Analysis**, **Discursive Practices**, and **Social Practices**.

The present analysis is mainly based on the textual analysis dimension which is concerned with the analysis of Linguistic features; however, language has a great number of features which makes its analysis really complex. Therefore, Fairclough (2001) has divided them into three main categories: Vocabulary, grammar, and textual structure.

- **Vocabulary:** The analysis of the lexis of texts goes through asking questions such as to what experiential, relational, or expressive values do words have?

Experiential Value is related to some significant stylistic devices such as “synonyms” and “antonyms”.

Relational Value focuses the on how word-choice (formality, politeness, etc).

Expressive Value signals the attitudes, towards a particular aspect in the text, therefore, bringing an ideological significance (Fairclough, 2001). The last value will not be mentioned on this work.

- **Grammar:** The analysis of grammatical structures based on the experiential, relational, and expression values. The experiential values have to focus on the types of process and participants that are: sentence connections which refer to the role of connectors in linking sentences, and coordination and subordination in complex sentences.

As for the relational values, they focus on modes of sentences (declarative, grammatical question, and imperative), modality, and the use of pronouns (ibid, 2001). The work focuses very much on the first and the third values, in which we demonstrate different types of pronouns (personal, possessive, and reflexive pronouns), and mentioning nouns, adjectives, and verbs. That is to say, CDA gives attention to the dynamic interplay between text production and consumption. (Coffin, 2001 :99). Therefore, Fairclough (1995:6) claims that Linguistic Analysis of discourse practice in socio-cultural background is known intertextual analysis. Here the linguistic analysis is the analysis of the text at lexical, syntactic, grammatical, and vocabulary level. As such, Fairclough’s approach in the perspective of

analysis of text is known as “Critical Language Study” since language is used as a tool for exercising power and hegemony. (Fairclough, 1989).

3.2-Visual Analysis

Visual social semiotic follows Halliday’s theory of metafunctions (1994 ;2004 ; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004), which assumes that language fulfils three metafunctions which are: ideational, interpersonal and textual. The same metafunctions have been included in visual social semiotic resources by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) and renamed as representational, interactive, and compositional. They consider that “the visual, like all semiotic modes, has to serve several communicational and representational requirements, in order to function as a full system of communication” (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006:41).

4-Type of Participants

Within the representational metafunction, Kress and Leeuwen(2006) identify two types of participants that participate in two different processes (narrative and conceptual) thus depicted elements can be shown as interacting with each other (active) or static to represent items information and objects of knowledge (conceptual participants).

- **The size of the frame and the corresponding Social Distance**

Size of the frame / shot	Description	Social distance nature
Close shot	Head and shoulders	Intimate and impersonal
Very close shot	The face, or the head only	Intimate
Medium shot	The upper part only (waist up)	Far intimate
Medium-long shot	The whole figure	Close
Long shot	The full figure with space around	Far

Table 1: The Dimensions of social distance in visuals (Adopted by Kress and Van Leenwen (2006), From Hall, (1991).

5-Point of view / angles of view

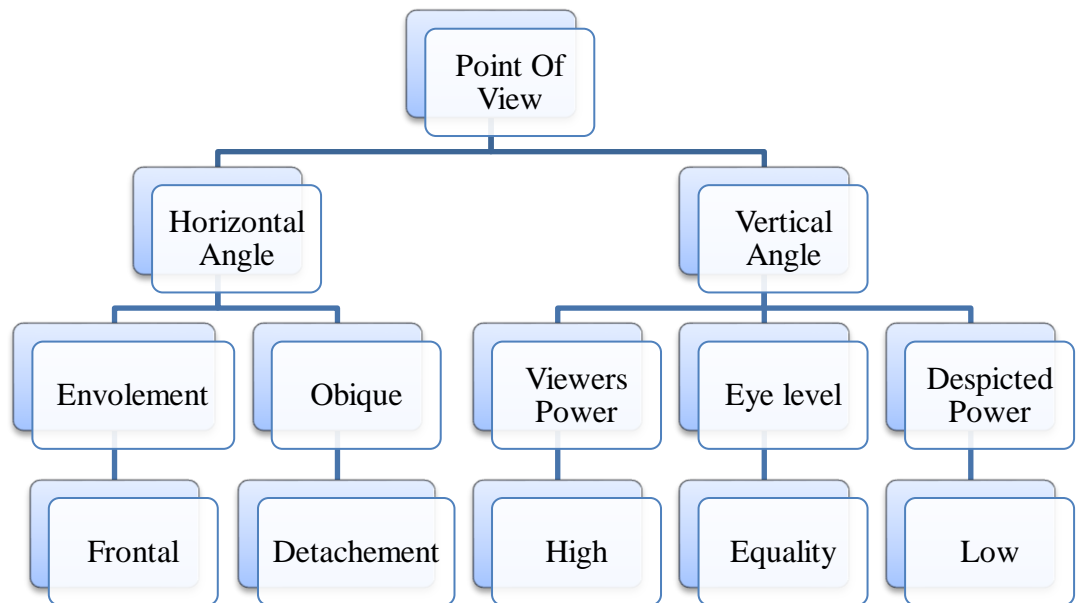


Figure 2: Angle of view and their significance (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006 :143)

Horizontal Angles are used to determine bearings and directions in control surveys , for locating detail when mapping and for setting out all types of structure.

Vertical Angles are used when determining the heights of points and to calculate slope corrections.

6. The Gaze

People in photographs can generally be divided into two categories: those who look at the camera and those who do not Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) characterize the gaze of a person as either a « demand » of or an « offer » to the viewer.

- **Demand :** A term used when a figure in the image ‘gazes’ directly out of the page at the responder This establishes a connection between subject and viewer.
- **Offer :** A term used when a figure ‘gazes’ at another object in the image.

7. Modality

Visual Modality, as in language, is related to the reliability of the message since “visuals can represent people, places and things as though they actually exist in this way or as though they do not (as imaginary)” (Kress and Van Leeuwen,2006 :156). It means that the visual modality can represent real elements or justifications.

1-Colour Saturation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A scale running from full colour saturation to the absence of colour, that is, to Black and White.
2-Colour Differentiation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A scale running from a maximally diversified range of colours to monochrome.
3-Colour Modulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A scale running from fully modulated colour, for example, the use of many different shades of red, to plain, unmodulated colour.
4-Contextualization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A scale running from the absence of background to the most fully articulated and detailed background.
5-Representation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A scale running from maximum abstraction to maximum representation of pictorial detail.
6-Depth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A scale running from the absence of depth to maximally deep perspective.
7-Illumination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A scale running from the fullest representation of the play of light and shade to its absence.
8-Brightness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A scale running from a maximum number of different degrees : black and white, or dark and grey and lighter grey ;or two brightness values of the same colour.

Table 2: Modality Markers (Adapted from Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:160-162)

Naturalistic Modality, is a term employed by Kress and Van Leeuwen, in which has to do with the truth of a representation. That is to say, realism is used as a term for a style of depiction of detail in art, and it is the degree of correspondence “between the visual

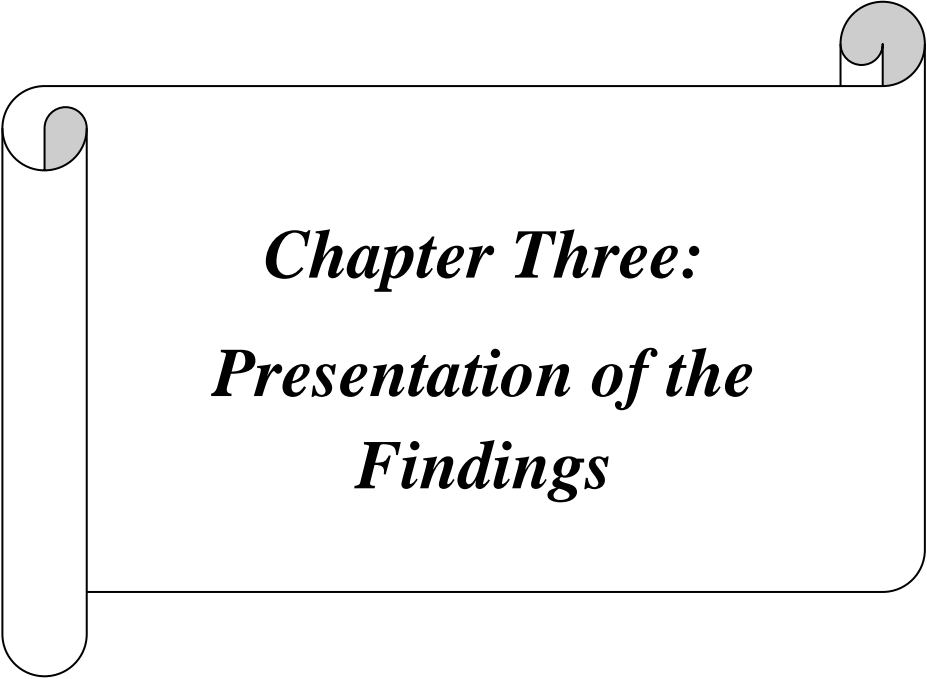
representation of an object and what we normally see of that object with the naked eye” (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:158). The following table represents the three levels of naturalistic modality.

	Naturalistic Modality	
High	Medium	Low
Many details and features of the real world are being included , such as full colour, light, brightness and so on .	Only some details are being included, and they are reduced, for instance, little representation of light.	Most of the representation’s features are left out. Low modality is characterized by absence of light, colour (black and white) and decontextualization.

Table 3: The level of naturalistic modality in images

Conclusion

In short, this chapter has a focus on the methodology in which this present work is based. It started with the research method procedures of data collection which is based on the corpus of the two western printed newspapers: The American broadsheet “The New York Times” and the British one “The Guardian” that consist of twenty items to be analyzed, and then, dealing with linguistic analysis focusing on Fairclough’s three dimensional models of critical discourse analysis (1992), and analyzing the main categories: vocabulary, grammar, and textual structure. In addition to the representation of principles of visual grammar introduced by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006). Finally, these principles are going to be applied to analyze how black protesters are portrayed in New York Times and The Guardian newspapers.



***Chapter Three:
Presentation of the
Findings***

Intoduction

This chapter displays the results obtained from the analysis of the corpus, which is composed of ten articles and ten images representing and portraying the Black Lives Matter Movement selected from two western broadsheets: The New York Times and The Guardian. The first part of this chapter presents the results of the articles analyzed by Fairclough's three – dimensional models of CDA which encompasses on the vocabulary and the grammatical levels used to present BLM protesters. The second part displays the findings gained from the analysis of the images using Kress and Van Leeuwen's theory of grammar of visual design that based on the three meanings: the representational, the interactive, and the compositional meanings.

1- Presentation of Linguistic Results of the Representation of BLM in Newspapers

1.1- Vocabulary

The present study deals with the analysis of the vocabulary by examining the journal articles both in New York Times and The Guardian newspapers, focusing on two categories: Experiential Value and Relational Value.

- **Experiential Value:** It has an emphasis on synonyms that are words which have the same meaning as another word, and the antonyms which are words that have the opposite meaning. (uts.edu.au.com).
- **Relational Value:** it consists of formality which is a language that does not use colloquialisms, contractions or first person pronouns such as 'I' or 'We'. Informality is a language that is more casual and spontaneous. (uts.edu.au).

Experiential Value	Synonyms		Antonyms		Relational Value	Formality		Informality	
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%
	7	41.17%	10	58.82%		35	44.30%	44	55.69%
Total	17		100%		Total	79		100%	
Examples	Freedom = Liberty		Black ≠ white		Examples	Grief		Set up	

Table 4: Experiential and Relational Values in The Guardian Newspaper

This table displays vocabulary results for The Guardian newspaper articles. Experiential value which is related to synonyms which represent the minority with 41.17% such as “freedom = liberty, in **Article 5**, grief = sorrow, in **Article 3**”, and antonyms which represent the majority with 58.82% such as “many ≠ few, in **Article 3**, danger ≠ safety, in **Article 4**”. As regards Relational value, it is concerned with formality which is 44.30% for example words like “Demise, in **Article 3**, crucial, in **Article 4**, and grief, in **Article 3**”, and informality tend to have the highest percentage with 55.69%, for example words and phrasal verbs like “keened on, in **Article 2**, setting up, in **Article 2** and cops, in **Article 3**”.

Experiential Value	Synonyms		Antonyms		Relational Value	Formality		Informality	
	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%
	6	60%	4	40%		120	46.70%	137	53.30%
Total	10		100%		Total	257		100%	
Examples	Start=Begin		Before ≠ After		Examples	Released		Wasn't	

Table 5: Experiential and Relational Values in The New York Times Newspaper

This table shows vocabulary results used most within The New York Times newspaper articles. In the Experiential value, synonyms tend to have the highest percentage that is 60% like “start = begin, in **Article 6**”, and antonyms takes 40% which is the least percentage, for example, “before ≠ after, in **Article 6** and **Article 10**”. In the relational value, informality

takes the biggest number 137 as it accounts for 53.30% by using constructions such as “wasn’t, in **Article 10**”.

1.2-Grammar

The work is focused on the grammatical classification in terms of: sentence moods, modality, and sentence voice.

In grammar, a mood does not express emotion or feeling statements. It is a form of a verb used to refer to the quality of the verb in the sentences. The grammatical mood expresses a fact (Indicative /Declarative mood) in which the verb expresses an action as a statement of fact, or it is used to express a sense of uncertainty by asking a question (Interrogative mood), or the verb is used to express a command or a request statement (Imperative mood) in which the tone of the sentence is direct command, not a mild suggestion. (The Writing Center).

Modality is used to discuss possible situations, such as: desire and permission. It can be used through auxiliaries such as ‘could’, ‘should’, or modal verbs such as ‘possibly’, or modal adjectives such as ‘probable’.

The voice of a verb can be ‘Active’ or ‘Passive’. Active voice means that the subject performs the action denoted by the verb. Passive voice means that one can change the normal word order of many active sentences (those with a direct object).The following tables represent all the mentioned points.

Sentence Mood			Modality			Sentence Voice		
	N	%		N	%		N	%
Declarative	241	93.05%	Certainty	219	95.63%	Active	210	87.13%
Interrogative	4	1.54%	Uncertainty	10	4.36%	Passive	31	12.86%
Imperative	14	5.40%	Total	229	100%	Total	241	100%
Total	259	100%						

Table 6: The Grammatical Classification of Structures portraying Black Lives Matter in The Guardian Newspaper

This table presents the results of the grammatical classification of structures of portraying Black Lives Matter in The Guardian newspaper. In sentence mood a considerable number which is 241 of declarative sentences that represent 93.05% and it is the highest percentage, whereas 4 interrogative sentences that is 1.54%, and only 14 imperative sentences which represent 5.40%. As for as Modality, it includes the largest number 219 that represent 95.63% of certainty, and only 10 which represent 4.36% of uncertainty. As regards sentence voice, 210, that is to say 87.13% are active sentences which represent the majority, and only 31 that represent 12.86% are passive sentences.

Sentence Mood			Modality			Sentence Voice		
	N	%		N	%		N	%
Declarative	293	98.99%	Certainty	118	77.13%	Active	178	79.83%
Interrogative	3	1.01%	Uncertainty	35	22.87%	Passive	45	20.17%
Imperative	0	0%	Total	153	100%	Total	223	100%
Total	296	100%						

Table 7: The Grammatical Classification of Structures portraying Black Lives Matter in The New York Times Newspaper

This table contains results of the grammatical classification of structures of portraying Black Lives Matter in The New York Times Newspaper. Sentence mood include a considerable number 293 which is 98.99% of declarative sentences, and only 3 which is 1.01% of interrogative sentences, there is no imperative sentences (0%). In modality, 118 that

represent highest percentage 77.13% of certainty, and only 35 that represent the least percentage 22.87% of uncertainty. As regards sentence voice, 178 or 79.83% are active which represent the majority, and only 45 or 20.17% are passive sentences.

Textology which is the study of the production of texts, and text analysis which also known as text meaning, is about parsing texts in order to extract machine-readable facts from them (Iva Mechkunova, 2019), intertextuality is, generally, defined as the relating elements of the previous texts that influence and gather to construct(a part of) the present text. In addition to lexical classification which deals with many categories as : Adjectives where an adjective modifies a noun or pronoun by providing descriptive or specific detail, and they usually precede the noun or pronoun they modify, and they do not agree in number or gender with the nouns they describe. Adjectives answer the following questions: what kind ? how many ? or which ones ?

Pronouns that can be subjective and objective, they are simply pronouns that occur in either the subject or the object of the sentence. Subjective pronouns mean who or what the sentence is about. Objective pronouns receive the action in the sentence.

Also, pronouns can be possessive and reflexive. Possessive pronouns describe what things belong to, and they can be as adjectives. However, reflexive pronoun, is a specific type of pronoun that is used for the object of a verb when it refers to the same noun as the subject of that verb. The next tables depict all these features.

Intertextuality					
News source		Reporting Mode		Reporting Verbs	
N	%	N	%	N	%
11	15.95%	45	36.23%	33	47.82%
Total		108		100%	

Lexical classification									
Adjectives		Subjective Pronouns		Objective Pronouns		Possessive Pronouns		Reflexive Pronouns	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
388	56.31%	188	27.28%	31	4.49%	78	11.32%	4	0.58%
Total		689		100%					

Table 8: Intertextuality and Lexical Classification about Black Protesters in The Guardian Newspaper

This table displays results of intertextuality and lexical classification about Black protesters in The Guardian newspaper. In intertextuality reporting verbs tend to have 47.82% which is the highest percentage, whereas reporting mode represents 36.23%, and only 11 that is 15.95% of news sources. As regards lexical classification, there are 388 or 56.31% of adjectives which represent the majority, a large number 188 that is 27.28% of subjective pronouns, least percentages as 4.49% of objective pronouns, 11.32% of possessive pronouns, and only 0.58% of reflexive pronouns.

Intertextuality					
News source		Reporting Mode		Reporting Verbs	
N	%	N	%	N	%
29	26.85%	45	41.66%	34	31.49%
Total		108		100%	

Lexical classification									
Adjectives		Subjective Pronouns		Objective Pronouns		Possessive Pronouns		Reflexive Pronouns	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
377	55.12%	253	36.99%	27	3.95%	24	3.50%	3	0.44%
Total		684		100%					

Table 9: Intertextuality and Lexical Classification about Black Protesters in The New York Times Newspaper

This table shows results of intertextuality and lexical classification about Black protesters in The New York Times newspaper. To start with news sources that takes the least percentage 26.85%, a considerable number 45 which represent 41.66% of reporting mode, and 34 or 31.49% of reporting verbs. As regards lexical classification, there are 377 that represent the largest percentage 55.12% of adjectives, a great number 253 or 36.99% of subjective pronouns, and the least percentages as 3.95% of objective pronouns, 3.50% of possessive pronouns, and only 0.44% of reflexive pronouns.

Transitivity is a grammatical form which has a property of verbs that relates to whether a verb can take objects and how many such objects a verb can take. The following tables represent all what has been said.

Type of Processes	N	%	Examples
Material Process	73	75.25%	My son was bullied by older children on his way home from primary school.
Verbal Process	18	18.55%	He called out to the police: “Shoot me, shoot me, shoot me, shoot me now.”
Relational Process	6	6.18%	The young voices in your special report are dignified, defiant and moving.
Total	97	100%	

Table 10: System of Transitivity Focused on Three Processes about Black Lives Matter Movement in The Guardian Newspaper

This table displays results of three processes of the system of transitivity about Black Lives Matter movement in The Guardian newspaper. First, material process, there are 73 which represent 75.25%, for example: “My son was bullied by older children on his way home from primary school.” In **Article 1**. Second, 18 or 18.55% of verbal process such as: “He called out to the police: “Shoot me, shoot me, shoot me, shoot me now.” In **Article 3**. Finally, only 6 or 6.18% of relational process, for example: “The young voices in your special report are dignified, defiant and moving.” In **Article 1**.

Type of Processes	N	%	Examples
Material Process	48	33.34%	Minneapolis police officers arrested George Floyd.
Verbal Process	79	54.86%	Prominent democrats denounced the slogan.
Relational Process	17	11.80%	I sat on my couch and watched men and women of Minneapolis celebrate this victory.
Total	144	100%	

Table 11: System of Transitivity Focused on Three Processes about Black Lives Matter Movement in The New York Times Newspaper

This table presents results of three processes of the system of transitivity about Black Lives Matter movement in The New York Times newspaper. There are 48 which represent

33.34% of material processes like: “Minneapolis police officers arrested George Floyd”. In **Article 6**. Concerning verbal process, it has the highest percentage with 54.86%, for example: “Prominent democrats denounced the slogan.” In **Article 6**. As for relational process, only 11.80%, such as: “I sat on my couch and watched men and women of Minneapolis celebrate this victory.” In **Article 9**.

2- Presentation of The Visual Results

2.1- Type of Participants

Images	Type of Participants	Description
Image 1	Conceptual	The image depicts a woman wearing a black face mask in which it is written “I can’t breathe” and she is connected directly to the viewer through a vector (direction of gaze).
Image 2	Active	The image presents a group of protesters with a focus on three women wearing a face mask while one of them is wearing a black veil. Two women are carrying handmade placards with “Silence is violence” and “BLACK-LIVES Matter today, tomorrow & forever”. They are interacting with other participants by the gaze directed elsewhere rather than at the viewer.
Image 3	Active	The image presents many individuals participation to BLM march who are not connected directly with the viewer by a vector formed by their gaze.

Image 4	Active	The image represents a group of protesters during a march focusing on a black man and woman wearing a face mask. The man is carrying a child on his shoulders and all of them are raising clenched fists. The three protesters are not interacting with the viewer through the gaze.
Image 5	Conceptual	The image depicts a group of protesters with a focus of three young men, one of them is wearing a face mask. They are kneeling down and raising clenched fists, and they are not interacting with the viewer through a vector formed by their gaze.

Table 12: Presentation of Type of Participants in The Guardian Images

This table displays the results obtained from The Guardian images concerning types of participants where two types of processes (narrative and conceptual) are taken into consideration, image 1 and 5 are conceptual images, whereas image 2, 3 and 4 are considered as active images.

Images	Type of Participants	Description
Image 6	Active	The picture depicts American protesters where two men and a white woman are connected directly with the viewers by an image act or gaze.
Image 7	Conceptual	The picture presents a group of people among them protesters and journalists, and a man who is holding the American flag within some changes in its form (Black Lives Matter on it). The man is looking directly at the viewers.

Image 8	Active	The picture depict black protesters who manifest in their own way without any vectors and no interaction with the viewers, and showing the picture of George Floyd.
Image 9	Active	The picture depicts a group of the Americans, protesting differently without taking into account the vector, and no interaction with the viewers at the same time.
Image 10	Conceptual	The picture represents a black man who is connected and looking directly at the viewers showing sadness without talking at all.

Table 13: Presentation of Type of Participants in The New York Times Images

This table presents the results of types of participants obtained from the analysis of The New York Times images, where most of the images (6, 8 and 9) are considered as active images. Whereas only two images (7 and 10) are conceptual.

2.2- Social Distance, Point of View and Gaze Direction

Images	Social Distance	Point of View		Gaze
		Horizontal	Vertical	
Image 1	Close shot	Frontal	Eye level angle	Demand
Image 2	Medium shot	Frontal	Eye level angle	Offer
Image 3	Close shot	Frontal	High level angle	Offer
Image 4	Medium shot	Frontal	Eye level angle	Offer
Image 5	Medium long shot	Frontal	High level angle	Offer

Table 14: Presentation of Social Distance, Angles of View and The Gaze in The Guardian Images

This table shows the results of social distance, point of view and gaze gained from the analysis of The Guardian images. In social distance image 1 and 3 depict the protesters through close shot, while image 2 and 4 depict them through medium shot, and in image 5 the protesters are depicted through medium long shot. As concerns point of view, in the horizontal angle all the images are frontal, and in the vertical angle most of the images (1, 2 and 4) depict the protesters at eye level angle, whereas only two images (3 and 5) they are depicted from a high level angle. Concerning the gaze, all The Guardian images are offer images except image 1 which is demand.

Images	Social Distance	Point of View		Gaze
		Horizontal	Vertical	
Image 6	Medium shot	Frontal	Eye level angle	Demand
Image 7	Medium long shot	Frontal	Low level angle	Offer
Image 8	Medium shot	Frontal	Low level angle	Offer
Image 9	Medium shot	Frontal	Low level angle	Offer
Image 10	Close shot	Frontal	High level angle	Demand

Table 15: Presentation of Social Distance, Angles of View and The Gaze in The New York Times Images

This table displays the results of social distance, point of view and gaze gained from the analysis of The New York images, in social distance image 6, 8 and 9 depict the protesters through medium shot, while in image 7 they are depicted through medium long shot, whereas image 10 depict them through close shot. As regards point of view, in the horizontal angle all the images are frontal, and in the vertical angle image 6 depict the protesters at eye level angle, while image 7, 8 and 9 depict them from a low level angle and image 10 depict them from a high level angle. As for the gaze, image 6 and 10 are considered as demand images,

Whereas most images (7, 8 and 9) are offer images.

2.3- Modality Markers of Colours

Images	Modality Markers of Colours
Image 1	Depth
Image 2	Colour differentiation and depth
Image 3	Colour differentiation
Image 4	Colour differentiation and depth
Image 5	Depth

Table 16: Markers of Colours in The Guardian Images

This table displays the results of markers of colours obtained from the analysis of The Guardian images, where image 1 and 5 are concerned with depth, whereas image 3 is concerned with colour differentiation, and image 2 and 4 are concerned with both colour differentiation and depth.

Images	Modality Markers of Colours
Image 6	Colour differentiation and depth
Image 7	Depth
Image 8	Depth
Image 9	Depth
Image 10	Colour differentiation and depth

Table 17: Markers of Colours in The New York Times Images

This table displays the results of markers of colours obtained from the analysis of The New York Times images, depth concerns image 7, 8 and 9, while image 6 and 10 are concerned with both colour differentiation and depth.

2.4- Modality and Salience

Images	The Level of Naturalistic Modality	Description
Image 1	Medium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less light on the picture • The background of the setting is not fully articulated • The use of less differentiated colours
Image 2	High	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The use more differentiated colours • Full light displayed on the picture • The background of the setting is not fully articulated
Image 3	Medium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The light is reduced on the picture • The use of differentiated colours • The context is present and the background is not fully articulated
Image 4	Medium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The use of less differentiated colours • Less light on the picture • The context is included and the background is not fully articulated
Image 5	Medium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full light articulated on the picture • The use of different colours • The context is present and the background is not fully articulated

Table 18: The Degrees of Modality and Salience in The Guardian Images

This table presents the results obtained from the analysis of the degrees of modality and saliency in The Guardian images, where image 1, 3, 4 and 5 have medium degree of modality, however, image 2 has high degree of modality.

Images	The level of naturalistic modality	Description
Image 6	High	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full use of colours • Full use of light on the whole picture • The context of the image is included and the background is articulated
Image 7	Medium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The use of less differentiated colours • The light is reduced • The background of the setting as well as the context are articulated
Image 8	Medium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The use of some colours • Little representation of light • The backgrounds of the setting are not fully articulated
Image 9	Medium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The use of less colours • Less light on the whole picture • The context is present and the background is fully articulated
Image 10	High	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The use of differentiated colours • The light is increased in the whole picture • The background of the setting is not fully articulated

Table 19: The Degrees of Modality and Salience in The New York Times Image

This table presents the results obtained from the analysis of the degrees of modality and salience in The New York Times images, in which image 6 and 10 are considered to have

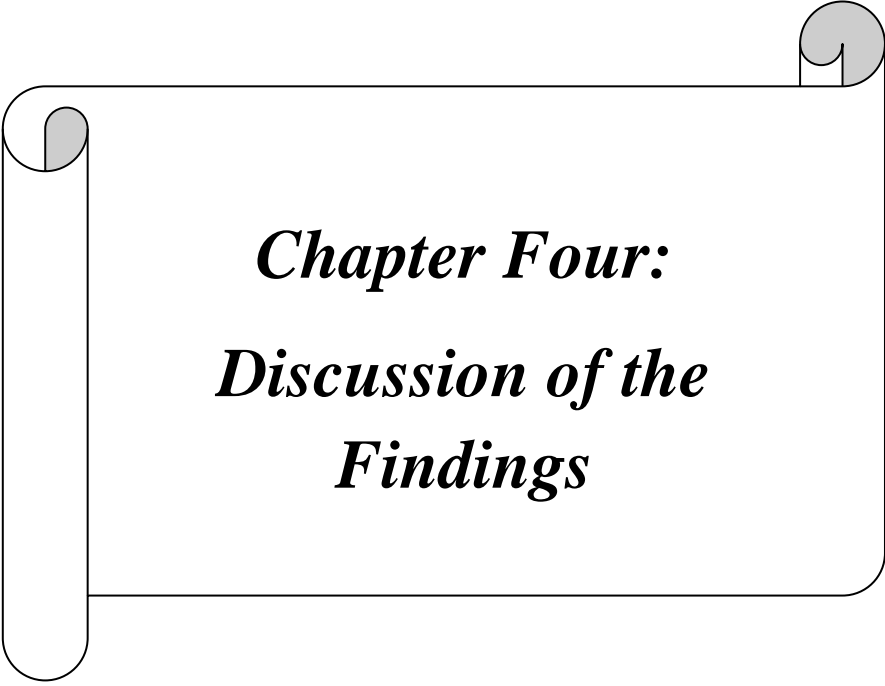
high degree of modality, whereas image 7, 8 and 9 are considered to have medium degree of modality.

3- The Main Results

The main results gained from the linguistic analysis of the selected news articles include the most type of sentences that are used in the articles are the declarative sentences, as displayed in **Table 6** and **Table 7** in which the majority of protesters have used many comments and arguments to reach their message all around the world. Moreover, in the selected news articles many adjectives are employed to describe the events, their experiences in racism, and to show their feelings, which are represented in **Table 8** and **Table 9**. Concerning visual results, most of the types of participants depicted in the selected images are considered as active participants since they were performing an action of protestation, which is shown in **Table 12** and **Table 13**. In addition to social distance where participants are depicted through different shots (close, medium and medium long), as well as the direction of gaze which is offer in most images represented in **Table 14** and **Table 15**.

Conclusion

This chapter focuses on the main significant results of both linguistic and visual analysis of the representation of Black Lives Matter movement in two western broadsheets press: The Ney York Times and The Guardian. In linguistic analysis, the vocabulary and the grammatical categories and dimensions are done following the theory of Fairclough, within the use of the rule of three as a suitable technique to clarify the results while the visual one is conducted on different semiotic resources (image act, salience, social distance and modality) employed to portray the protesters. All the aforementioned results are going to be discussed in the next chapter.



***Chapter Four:
Discussion of the
Findings***

Introduction

This chapter discusses the main results obtained from the visual semiotic and critical discourse analysis of the representation of Black Lives Matter in two western newspapers: The Guardian and The New York Times. It aims to provide explanation, and clarification of the aforementioned results in order to highlight the natures of western protesters within an emphasis on Fairclough's theory of CDA to discuss the ten journal articles, and a focus on the theory of Kress and Van Leeuwen to analyze the ten images.

1- The Linguistic Representation of BLM Movement

1-1 The Choice of Vocabulary in The Representation of BLM Movement

Vocabulary is a set of familiar words within a person's language, it serves as a useful and fundamental tool for communication and acquiring knowledge and science.

The present study consists of various finding, the vocabulary is divided into different categories that are synonyms and antonyms in experiential value and formality and informality in relational value. To start with synonyms in the New York times are put with 60% for example (start=begin) in **Article 6**, and 40% represents the antonyms as (before ≠ after) in **Article 6** and **10**, whereas in The Guardian, synonyms extend to 41.17% such as (freedom=liberty) in **Article 5**, and 58.82% which is about the antonyms as (black ≠ white) in **Article 1**.

- **Relational value:** In The New York Times the percentage of informality is high (more than 50%) in which the irregular verbs are suitable examples. The percentage of formality is just 46.70% (as an example released) in **Article 6**, in The Guardian ,the least percentage is taken into account in formality, just 44.30% as the use of word (grief) in **Article 3** where 55.69% in informality as the use of phrasal verb (set up) in

Article 2.

Thus, Wilkins (1972) said “without grammar, very little can be conveyed without; vocabulary, nothing can be conveyed”. That is to say, both vocabulary and grammar are inter-connected.

1-2 The Choice of Grammatical Dimensions in The Representation of BLM Movement

According to Debata 2013 “Grammar is the stay of words and the ways words work together ; and invisible force that fluids us as we put words together into sentences”. That is to say , “ Grammar is the sound, structure, and meaning system of language. All languages have grammar, and each language has its own grammar.” (Beverly 2007:1) To clarify this, the grammatical classification of structures portraying “Black lives Matter” movement are analyzed in both New York times and the Guardian newspapers.

In the journal articles, moods are taken into account in which a mood of a sentence or clause is a grammatical category which is related to the nature of the structure within which a representation of reality is realized. Language, there exist three major moods : declarative, imperative, and interrogative all of which position subjects differently and each position has its particular ideological significance (Fairclough, 1995).

- **Declarative Sentences:** The New York Times articles comprises 98.99% of declarative sentences which is higher than The Guardian that is 93.05%, where the declarative sentences express statements of facts, they are simply statements that relay information, opinions, comments, etc, and let the readers know something specific.

Some examples of declarative sentences in The New York Times:1- (Millions of Americans-

many of them white- poured into the streets to demand justice and assert that Black Lives Matter. It's clear now that the summer protests, which took place during a pandemic during which congregation was discouraged, were for some participants less a sincere demand for justice than they were a social outlet), in **Article 6**. 2-(In the year since George Floyd was murdered, racial justice organizations across the country have been inundated with a million of dollars in donations and thousands of eager new activists. They have earned a prominent platform that puts them on the front lines of political and social battles), in **Article 8**.

Some examples of declarative sentences in The Guardian: 1-(Floyd's death has been a lightning rod for demonstrations around the planet. While much attention has centered on the behavior of the four police officers at the scene - and particularly upon Chauvin's carelessly cavalier demeanor throughout- the harm should not be thought of as limited to these officers' behavior).(The racism so thoroughly embedded in our nation's social, economic, and political systems), in **Article 4**.

- **Interrogative Mood:** It represents 1.01% in The New York Times and 1.54% in The Guardian. In the two western broadsheets, interrogative mood is taken into account as direct questions need answers. The following statements represent the mood in The New York Times: 1- "Was I glad?". 2-"Has justice been served ?", in **Article 9**. In The Guardian as: 1- "When we do black history are we acknowledging the diversity of black lives?", in **Article 2**. 2- "Am I next?", in **Article 4**. All these questions are intended to uncover the challenges and generate better solutions to solve the problems.
- **Imperative Mood:** There is no number and no percentage in the five journal articles of The New York Times; whereas, in The Guardian, it represents 5.40% as the biggest one such as: 1- "Vote for an agenda at the local, state and federal levels that prioritizes

Black Lives and demolishes the insidious pillars of white supremacy in every form”. 2- “Stop tiptoeing around race, slavery, racial injustice, racial bias, systemic racism, white supremacy, nationalism, anti-blackness or racial equity”, in **Article 5**. All these sentences are used to issue a command or offer advice, and basically, they tell people what to do.

Moreover, grammar consists of mechanics as sentence voice. A voice refers to the form of a verb that indicates when a grammatical subject performs the action or is the receiver of the action. When a sentence is written in the active voice, the subject performs the action; in the passive voice, the subject receives the action.

- **Active Voice:** It takes 79.83% in The New York Times as : “We invited teenagers to share what they were feeling and wondering about the verdict in a trial that shook the nation”, in **Article 8**; whereas in The Guardian , it takes more than 87% as : “I often listened to these elders” , in **Article 5**.
- **Passive Voice:** It is reduced in it just 12.86% as: “An unarmed Amadou Diallo was shot and killed by the New York city police department”, in **Article 5**, in the contrast, in the another broadsheet only 20.17% as: “The verdict was read to the public”, in **Article 8**. The active voice puts an emphasis on the subject, and the passive voice construction leaves out the subject and focuses on the relationship between the verb and object.

Intertextuality is subdivided into three categories: new source, reporting verbs, and reporting modes. As new source comprises comments, personal opinions, etc. The New York Times takes the biggest percentage 26.85% and the following statements are concrete examples: 1-Ike, Connecticut. 2-Emily, Irvine Calf, in **Article 8**. The Guardian takes 15.94%

in it such as: 1-Robin Wendt. 2-John Air, in **Article 1**. Also, there is reporting verbs; it means that the verb is used to talk about or report on other people's work. This category accounts more than 47% in The Guardian and the least one 31.49% in The New York Times. Then, reporting mode that is based on direct speech represents more than 41.66% in The New York Times; for instance, 1-"As a black person, I feel that Chauvin is rightfully being held accountable...Chauvin has been convicted, but we have a long way to go, not only with case, but with the countless other black people who have been wrongfully murdered with no justice". 2- "This verdict is a turning point. But the cycle of injustice and brutality is still repeating itself. The verdict was an affirmation that George Floyd's life mattered. It's a verdict that we shouldn't have doubted, that shouldn't have been rare, that we shouldn't expected. We should've been able to certain about it, for we should've been certain that what happened to George Floyd can't be done with impunity, in **Article 8**. In contrast, in The Guardian, it presents just 36.23% , for example, 1- "The most disturbing aspect of the interviews with young black people is the reported amount of racism in schools. It is understandable, if wrong, that so many white children first learn racial prejudice from their parents. But it is unacceptable that so many teachers are allowing this to persist in their schools". 2- "The young voices in your special report are dignified, defiant and moving. The bullying experienced from a very young age shames white culture at every level", in **Article 1**. All these statements are direct since they use the actual words of the speakers to report them.

Lexical classification deals with adjectives, subjective pronouns, objective pronouns, possessive pronouns, and reflexive pronouns. Adjectives modify nouns or pronouns by describing, identifying, or quantifying them, and usually precede the nouns or the pronouns they modify. This part takes 55.12% in The New York Times such as: "racial and social", in

Article 8 and **6**, and more than 56% in The Guardian as : “ black and brown”, in **Article 1** and **3**. Then, subjective pronouns are pronouns used as the subjects of verbs, it accounts more than 36% in The New York Times, for example, the use of “I and they”, in **Article 9**, where 27.28% in The Guardian as : “ he and she”, in **Article 1** and **2**. The objective pronouns are as grammatical objects: the direct or indirect objects of verbs, the objects of prepositions. Object pronouns contrast with subject pronouns. That is to say, 3.95% in The New York Times as : “its and their”, in **Article 7**, where the highest percentage is in The Guardian 4.49% such as : “her and him”, in **Article 2**. The next category which is about the possessive pronouns, it represents more than 11% in The Guardian as : “his and their”, in **Article 1**, and only 3.50% in The New York Times such as : “his and its”, in **Article 9** and **7**, where 0.44% for reflexive pronouns in the same newspaper ; for instance, “themselves”, in **Article 8** , more than 0.50% in The Guardian as : “myself”, in **Article 5**. All these categories are significant and important in written texts.

Transitivity is the grammatical feature, which indicates if the verb takes a direct object, the it is described as transitive , and it is called intransitive if does not. According to Halliday (1994:107), there are three components of transitivity process. They are the process itself, participants in the process, and circumstances associated with the process. The system of transitivity consists of various types of process together with the structures that realized these processes, and among the six types, the following three types are going to be discussed which are: material process, verbal process, and relational process.

Material process indicates the choices between actions and events related to the experiences going on in the world around us. Actions further offer choices between intentional and involuntary. They are typically physical actions like kicking, digging, playing,

catching, cooking, swimming, hitting, flowing, walking, throwing, springing, etc (Berry, 1977). The participants associated with the material process are “Actor” and “Goal”: the former is represented as the doer of the action of the action (Actor) and the latter is the one which is affected by or which is what the process is extended to (ibid,1977). As shown in the two tables of system of transitivity in research design, material process in The Guardian accounts for 75.25% as the most frequent type of process in the journal articles ; for instance, “My son was bullied by older children on his way from primary school”, in **Article 1**. Its analysis as: “My son” (recipient), “was bullied” (material process), “by older children” (actor), “on his way home” (circumstance). In contrast, in The New York Times, the type of material process accounts merely 33.34%, in which the example is the following statement: “Minneapolis police officers arrested George Floyd”, in **Article 6**. Its analysis as: “Minneapolis police officers” (actor), “arrested” (material process), “George Floyd” (goal).

Verbal Process stands for the processes of expression: they are related to speaking. They replicate the symbolic relationships constructed in human consciousness and enacted in the form of language like saying and meaning. The process is literally verbal, it still represents a type of expression or indication. The main participant in verbal processes is “sayer” who performs, speaks, expresses or indicates. In addition to the sayer, three more participant functions are accommodated in the verbal process: receiver, verbiage, and target. Receiver is the one to whom the saying is directed; Verbiage is the content of what is said or the name of the saying. Target is the entity that is targeted by the process of saying. Therefore, verbal process takes the least frequent percentage 18.55% in The Guardian, and this statements simplifies it very well: “He called out to the police : shoot me, shoot me, shoot me, shoot me now”, in **Article 3**. Its analysis as “He” (sayer), “called out” (verbal process), “to the police” (receiver), “shoot me, shoot me, shoot me, shoot me now” (verbiage). However, in the New

York Times, 54.86% is the highest one in which the sentence clarifies it very well: “Prominent democrats denounced the slogan”, in **Article 6**. Its analysis as: “prominent democrats” (sayer), “denounced” (verbal process), “the slogan” (target).

Relational Process relates one experience to another, in which it operates with three main types-intensive, circumstantial and possessive in two distinct modes, “Attributive” and “Identifying”. It takes the highest percentage in The New York Times newspaper as 11.80%, and this statement represents it: “I sat on my couch and watched men and women of Minneapolis celebrate this victory”, in **Article 9**. Its analysis as: “I” (carrier), “celebrate” (relational process), “men and women” (attribute). In contrast, in The Guardian, 6.18% as the lowest percentage, and the following statement is an example: “The young voices in your special report are dignified, defiant, and moving”, in **Article 1**. Its analysis as: “The young voices” (carrier), “are” (relational process), “defiant and moving” (attribute). All these steps denote system of transitivity focusing on the journal articles of “Black Lives Matter” Movement.

2 - The Different Issues of Protesters Cited in the Two Newspapers

Black Lives Matter, a social movement, dedicated to fighting racism and anti-black violence, especially in the form of police brutality; that is to say, it signals condemnation of the unjust killings of black people by police since black people are far more likely to be killed by police in the United States than white people, and the demand that society must value the lives and humanity of black people as much as it values the lives and humanity of white people.

The ten journal articles refer to the racism, that is “an ideology of racial domination” (Wilson, 1999:14). To start with:

- **Racial Discrimination in Schools:** It includes any denial of equal educational opportunities based on race. It can take many forms as racist comments, and racist behaviors; in the other words, this racial discrimination is any conduct that treats a pupil differently and unfavorably because of the pupil's race, color, ancestry, national origin, personal characteristics associated with race, or association with a person of a certain race or color. The following statements are some arguments obtained from the journal articles about the continuity of racism in educational sectors as: Robin Wondt claims: "So many, white children first learn racial prejudice from their parents. But it is unacceptable that so many teachers are allowing this to persist in their schools. Education is precisely the forum in which the elimination of racism should start. This issue should be fully covered in teacher training", in **Article 1**; another example is mentioned in the same appendix that is: "My son was bullied by older children on his way home from primary school [...]. At secondary school a teacher used a racist insult and, instead of discussing it with us, my son wrote to the county education authorities, who conducted the school and the teacher was disciplined (he was later sacked for hitting a pupil)", in **Article 1**. All these statements represent the absence of security in schools within irony and scornfulness towards black people, and voicing for the necessity of preventing racism in schools where self awareness and culturally relevant teaching are the most significant criteria that must be taken into account in both teaching and learning processes.
- **Racism Outside Schools:** It has still remained as a problem of inequality, especially, in status, rights, and opportunities. The following comments refer to the systemic racism towards black people: "people down south are always shocked that black

people live in Scotland. They don't realize how big the community is here", Benitha Iradukunda says: "we're 1% in Scotland, but we're very present", in **Article 2**, that is to say, black people do not find opportunities in their countries to achieve their dreams and expectations, whereas in other parts around the world as Scotland, they feel themselves free and optimistic.

These issues lead many people to collaborate together to face the corruption, among them: Shekinah Swamba who has helped to set up the Local Equality Commission, which works to combat racial and economic inequality in rural communities. "My role is a mentorship programmer", She says. "I want to create an environment where people can be supported in various disciplines and have their voices heard on all matters of interest", in **Article 2**. Her words means that it is important to unit and find solutions to this phenomenon since oppression, discrimination, and policing race have still been continued, as well Ventour says: "When you look at blackness in the context of LGBT specifically trans people, they are victims of not just police violence, but violence in general", and he was surprised at the number of people of people who rose up and joined the black lives protests. He claims: "So many people care than I thought, he says. The protests have shown there is still community in Britain, despite everything. In places like Northampton, I think that's really important", in **Article 2**.

The suffering of black people is continued, and the number of victims is also increased, Alex M Johnson mentions some names of the victims as:"Amadou Diallo, Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Sandra Bland, Philando Castile, Atatiana Jefferson, Alton Sterling, Botham Jean, Aiyana Jones, Tamir Rice, Freddie Gray, Walter Scott, and in 2020 Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor and George Floyd", in **Article 5**.

The voices of protests have been still emerged aiming to raise corporate behavior to a grammatically higher standard by ensuring that everyone not only can tell right from wrong, but knows what to do in the face of corporate misconduct. The following statements are some examples : “we are tired. We are angry”. “we want to breathe. we want to live. We want our children to live. We want to be safe”, “we need accountability. We need this trauma to end and the wounds to heal. We demand change. It is indeed our duty to fight”, in **Article 5**. In addition to these, thoughts on police reform where many people give comments as : Claire who claims : “I believe the steps that the government needs to take is reeducating the police. These officers need to learn not to use everything with a gun and using that weapon as their last resort. This will not be an easy task, but it needs to be done”. Benny adds: “I believe the murder of George Floyd should be taught in school, alongside that of many other stories that happen way too often. It’s not a political agenda but a civil rights and equal justice issue, moving towards a more equitable and just society starts with educating young Americans properly”, in **Article 9**.

3- BLM Protesters and Their Visual Representation in the Selected Newspapers

3.1- Narrative and Conceptual Processes of Participants in Images

The narrative and conceptual processes are two types of the represented participants in the image. The narrative process present unfolding actions and show participants that are connected by the direction of their gaze called vectors. The participants “from which the vector emanates” are named as “Actor” and “the participants at which the vector is directed” is called as “Goal”. (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:66).

After the analysis of the type of participants of the selected images, the obtained results show that images 2,3 and 4 from The Guardian represent a narrative meaning. Indeed, image

2 depicts a group of BLM protesters in the street focusing on three women in the foreground holding placards, hence, they are depicted as active participants. As for image 3, it depicts a group of people participating in a protest march for the BLM movement. They are active participants since they are performing an action. Similarly, image 4 represents a group of protesters in the street where a black man is carrying his child on his shoulders raising clenched fists, other man and woman appear in the foreground of the image (the woman is looking at the child). They are active participants, or represented as “agents”, “the doers of that action”. (Van Leeuwen, 2008:142). However, image 1 and 5 from the same newspaper represent a conceptual meaning. The woman depicted in image 1 is in the street wearing a face mask in which is written “I can’t breathe”, the latter is a slogan originated from the last words of Eric Garner in 2014, who cried out “ I can’t breathe” before he was killed by a New York city police officer who applied a chokehold until he died. In 2020, the same words were used by George Floyd before he died in the same way and the same scenario as Eric Garner. So, this phrase linked racism and police brutality with pandemic fears of Coronavirus. Therefore, the woman depicted in the image was looking directly to the viewer without doing any action, she is static, the conceptual meaning is transmitted through the written phrase on her face mask and the gaze. As for image 5, it represents a group of protesters kneeling down in the street some of them are raising clenched fists which is a symbol of unity and Black power, three young men appear in the foreground, they are static and looking elsewhere but not to the viewer. This image present a conceptual meaning since the participants are not talking or walking they are in a static position. The message they want to transmit through this position is that all people must unit in order to end police brutality and racial bias against people of color and to show that they are strong and powerful to overcome racism.

As regards The New York Times newspaper, image 6, 8 and 9 represent a narrative

meaning. Image 6 depicts a group of protesters participating in a protest march, where three individuals appear in the foreground of the image, wearing a face mask and holding placards in which is written “we must unit”, “No justice, no peace” and “Is my son, brother... next”. The man looks Asian and he is looking elsewhere, one woman is black and the other woman is white (she is holding a loudspeaker in her left hand), and both of them are looking at the viewer. The participants in this image are active because they are doing a protest, and the fact that an Asian man and a black and a white woman are gathered together in the picture is to transmit a message that no matter what color, race or gender we all have the same rights and we are all equal. Concerning image 8, a black protester appears among a crowd of protesters, he is raising a clenched fist, lifting his head up with closed eyes, he seems like screaming and crying, and the upper part of George Floyd’s face in a picture slightly appear in the background of the image. The man is depicted as active participant since he is crying. Image 9 represent many individuals protesting in the street, holding placards with the picture of the victim of police brutality George Floyd, which appears most. The picture is taken from the back of the protesters and they are depicted as active participants because they are doing a protest. Yet, image 7 and 10 from the same newspaper present a conceptual meaning. In image 7 a black man is standing on a car surrounded by a crowd of protesters and journalists in the street. He is holding the American flag, however, it is only in black and white and instead of the 50 stars on the flag, it is written Black Lives Matter in uppercase. This image represent a conceptual meaning since the participant is not doing an action, and the meaning of the American flag that becomes in black and white represents the unity of black and white Americans in all the country, as for the “Black Lives Matter” written on the flag instead of the 50 stars means that the 50 states of America are all concerned with BLM movement. Concerning image 10, it depicts a black man who is looking directly at the viewer through the

vector, and the sadness appear without doing any action, he is speechless with a duct tape over his mouth, with “#Black Lives Matter” written on it, and many people are lying down on the ground pretend to be dead which is called “die-in” or “lie-in”, to symbolize the final moments of George Floyd life and all the victims of police brutality. As the participants are not performing an action, the image represents a conceptual meaning.

3.2- The Relationship Between the Viewers and the Protesters Depicted in the Newspaper Images

The interactive meaning of images is perceived through three dimensions namely social distance, point of view and gaze. To start with:

- **Social Distance:** The results of the analysis of social distance relying on Hall’s scheme (1996) adopted by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) show that images 1 and 3 from the Guardian and image 10 from The New York Times depict participants in a close and intimate social distance to the viewer, through close shots (head and shoulders). The aim behind this representation is to expose these protesters closer to the audience, to make their facial expressions more visible, so that the viewers can experience different feelings such as sadness and fear in regards to image 1 and 10. Thus, close or close-up shots create an emotional moment and establish an intimate social distance between the viewer and the depicted participant. At this social distance smell or touch are allowed since the relation between the two parts is intimate.

Far intimate social distance is reflected in images 2, 4, 6, 8 and 9. Strictly speaking, “At far personal distance we see the other person from the waist up”. (Hall cited in Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:125). Hence, the protesters are depicted through medium shots (the upper part only of the participant) in order to make it possible to the viewer to see the group of protesters

depicted in the image, as well as the placards they are holding, and the symbol of unity they are doing by raising clenched fists, so that the meaning can be plainly transmitted to the viewer.

Concerning images 5 and 7, the nature of the social distance between the depicted protesters and the viewer is close (the whole figure) through medium long shots. In other words, “ ‘close personal distance’ is the distance at which ‘one can hold or grasp the other person’ ”. (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:124). The aim of this representation is to highlight on the whole figure of the depicted protesters, since there is only little space around them in the picture. Therefore, the viewers can see all the details of the depicted participants as if they are in front of them in the real world.

- **Point of View:** It includes the horizontal angle, which can be frontal to indicate involvement or oblique to make detachment between the two sides. The results obtained from the analysis of the horizontal angle show that all of the images (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10) depict BLM protesters from a frontal angle. In view of Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:136) “The frontal angle says, as it were, ‘what you see here is part of our world, something we are involved with’. Whereas the oblique angle says ‘what you see here is not part of us, it not something we are involve with’ ”. Therefore, the depicted protesters are represented as individuals that are involved in the same world with the viewers. By such representation, the Black Lives Matter movement is viewed as something that exists in our world and it is happening now, and thus, is a matter of humanity. However, not only to represent the viewers as being involved with BLM protesters, but also to captivate their attention towards the occurring movement through all over the world.

Regarding the vertical angle, as it is pointed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:140). If the represented participant is seen from a low angle, then the relation between the interactive and represented participants is depicted as one in which the represented participant has power over the interactive participant. If, finally, the picture is at eye level, then the point of view is one of equality and there is no power difference involved. Relying on the results which came out of the analysis of the vertical angle, images 7, 8 and 9 depict the protesters from a low level angle, to make them have more power, then, the viewers are considered as inferior to the represented participants. While images 3, 5 and 10 depict the protesters from a high level angle which make the viewers more powerful, and thus, the represented protesters are regarded as inferior to the viewers. As for images 1, 2, 4 and 6 depict the protesters at eye level angle. Here, power is balanced between the viewers and the represented participants.

- **The Gaze:** Images in which the participants look directly or make an ‘eye contact’ with the viewer are assigned as ‘demand images’, whereas images in which participants’ gaze is directed elsewhere and not to the viewer are named ‘offer images’. Hence, the results reveal that most images from the Guardian and The New York Times (images 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9) are offer images, since the depicted participants are individuals who are protesting in the street and directing their gaze away from the viewer, offering a detached observation rather than involving interaction between the depicted participants and the viewer. Through this representation the viewer is, perhaps, only meant to observe those depicted individuals protesting their rights in the purpose of being informed about what is happening in the world currently. However, images 1, 6 and 10 are demand images, as they represent

protesters with their gaze directed at the viewer. In the words of Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006:117). This particular configuration has two related functions, first, it creates a visual form of address. It acknowledges the viewers explicitly, addressing them with a visual 'you'. Second, it constitutes an 'image act'. "The producer uses the image to do something to the viewer". (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006:117-118). Thus, in images 1, 6 and 10, the depicted protesters who are directing their gaze at the camera (viewer's eye), they are interacting with the viewer and, perhaps, demand for them help and solidarity with people of color who are fighting against racial bias and police brutality on black people.

3.3- Markers of Colours and the Level of Naturalistic Modality of the Chosen Newspaper Images

In the aforementioned tables (**Table 16** and **Table 17**) which are visual results of modality markers of colours in the selected images, two markers are taken into account: Depth and colour differentiation.

- **Depth:** It is a larger area in focus, as it keeps more of the image sharp and clear, that is to say, the depth of a picture is the amount of distance between the nearest and farthest objects that appear in acceptably sharp focus in a photography, that creates a sense of place, and it draws the viewer into the image. Therefore, images 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 are concerned with depth.
- **Colour Differentiation:** It depicts that there is the use of various colours as essential part of the photography, since they can be used to lead the viewer's eyes and draw attention to certain parts of the photography or, it can express and influence the viewer's mood. So, the images 2, 3, 4, 6 and 10 are concerned with diversity of colours.

- **The level of Naturalistic Modality:** In the cited images, as it is pointed by Kress and Van Leeuwen: “When colour becomes more saturated, we judge it exaggerated, ‘more than real’, excessive. When it is less saturated, we judge it ‘less than real’, ‘ethereal’, for instance or ‘ghostly’”. (2006:159). In other words, “The more colour is reduced, the lower the modality”. (ibid, 2006).

Consequently, the results gained from the analysis of the degree of naturalistic modality in the images, reveal that most images (1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9) have medium degree of modality, with less colour saturation and differentiation, and less light on the picture, as well as, the presence of the context and the background of the picture. As for images 2, 6 and 10 are considered to have high degree of modality which are characterized with full use of colour saturation, colour differentiation and full use of light on the picture, with the presence of the background of the setting.

4- The Relation Between the Visual and the Linguistic Depiction of Black Protesters in the Selected Newspapers

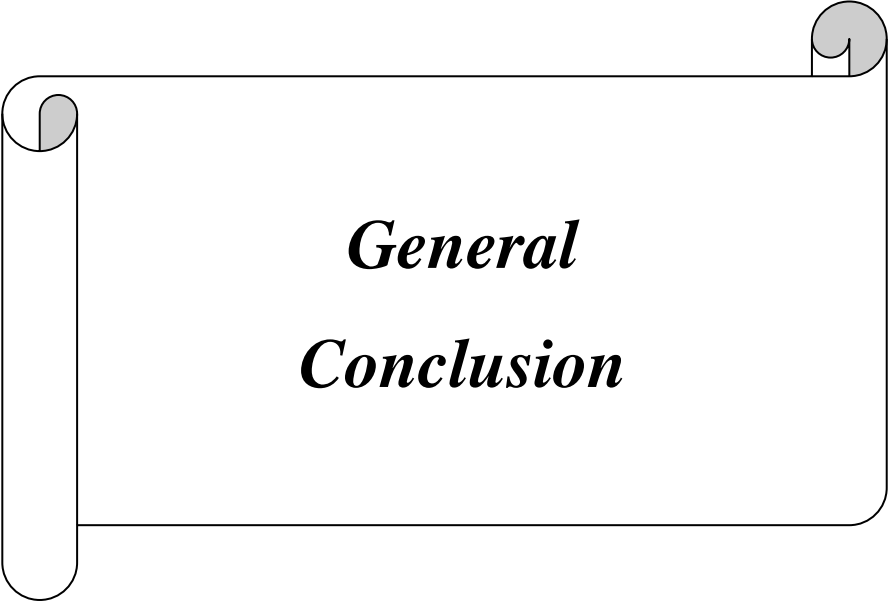
After completion of the linguistic (textual) analysis of the selected newspapers’ articles, as well as the visual examination of images selected from the same newspapers, it is noticeable that both The Guardian and The New York Times broadsheets deal with “Black Lives Matter” movement in their articles, where they share people’s opinions of their personal experiences about racism in the U.S.A and in the U.K. Also the images depict black protesters through the use of different angles (high, low and eye levels) and shots (medium, close and medium long) using modality markers of colours, which confirms the first hypothesis cited in the introduction.

The Guardian and The New York Times represent the “Black Lives Matter” movement

positively in both linguistic and visual resources, since the two newspapers support human rights and social equality, and both newspapers' ideology emphasis on freedom of expression, therefore, most of the articles are opinions of the victims of racism in all its forms, their purpose is to inform readers about black deaths and how they were killed by the police, especially George Floyd's death which sparked the world in 2020, through the use of reporting verbs, lexis and pronouns that represent and support black protesters positively. Concerning images, in the social distance the protesters have been depicted in a close and intimate social distance to establish an intimate social distance between the viewer and the depicted participants, and also far intimate social distance which help the viewer to see other protesters depicted in the images. In all the selected images the participants are represented doing an organized public demonstrations and peacefully protests, they are not doing acts of violence or rioting, thus, the second hypothesis suggested in the introduction is disproved.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the main results collected from the analysis of "Black Lives Matter" movement in two western broadsheets: The Guardian and The New York Times in the light of the visual grammar approach developed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), and the dimensions of the textual analysis proposed by Fairclough in his three dimensional model of critical discourse analysis (1989- 1992). Thus, the results confirm the first hypothesis cited in the introduction, and disprove the second hypothesis suggesting that the aforementioned broadsheets promote a positive image of black protesters both linguistically and visually.



*General
Conclusion*

General conclusion

The present work has investigated the representation of Black Lives Matter movement in the two broadsheets press: The Guardian and The New York Times, through the analysis of ten articles and ten images, which portray Black's circumstances in the western world. The analysis was framed by two theories, the first theory is the visual grammar approach developed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1990, 2006), and the second theory is the Critical Discourse Analysis model adopted by Fairclough (1989, 1992). The study focuses on representing Black protesters by analyzing different linguistics aspects: vocabulary and grammatical categories, in addition to the visual analysis in participants' type, point of view, gaze, modality and salience.

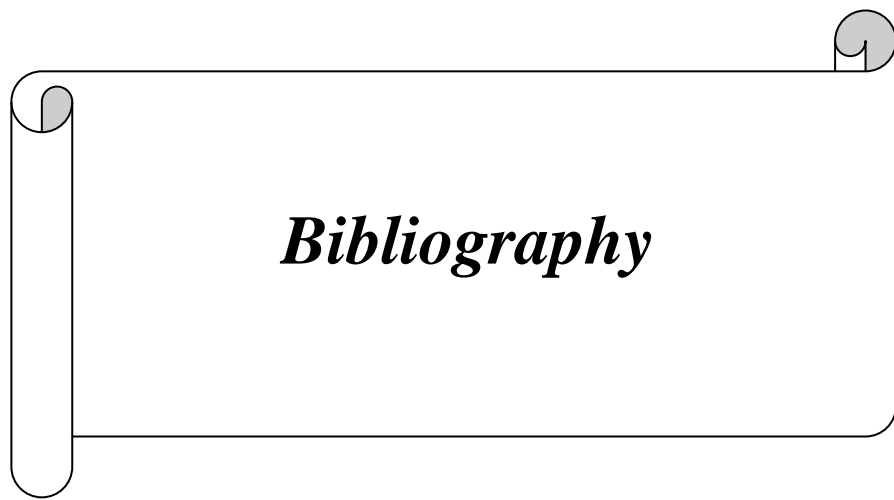
This work has sought to reach two main objectives. First, to analyze the visual modes used to portray the movement of black protesters in both The Guardian and The New York Times. Second, to determine the way the two newspapers have portrayed "Black Lives Matter" movement, positive or negative way. The mixed method research which integrates both qualitative and quantitative methods as useful techniques used to collect data, and to interpret the results. The qualitative technique is employed to conduct a thorough examination of the selected images, while the quantitative technique is used to count the frequency distributions of vocabulary and grammatical categories of the chosen news articles under investigation.

The analysis of the linguistic findings has revealed that black people have been suffering from racism, violence, irony and police brutality. This was realized through the use of different linguistic resources such as: synonyms and antonyms, formality and informality in the vocabulary category, and modality, sentence voice, intertextuality, lexical classification

and system of transitivity in the grammatical category. In other words, these terms are used to describe and explain the issue of BLM movement accurately, where the protesters use both formal and informal languages to give different opinions, arguments, voices, ...etc, as a weapon to show their feelings towards the problem of racism.

The visual findings has revealed the ways in which visual elements and visual images are combined in visual statements to communicate meaning, namely, visual language has no formal syntax or semantics, but the visuals themselves can be classified. Therefore, the visual findings have shown that black participants have been depicted as actors involved in different actions and events, within a link to the gaze direction, social distance and point of view.

This dissertation has examined the representation of Black Lives Matter movement in the two western broadsheets as one type of newspapers. However, future researchers can conduct their study using tabloids which is the other type of newspapers. Further researches can also investigate the portrayal of Black people in magazines to explore new issues such as racial stereotypes, or they can compare between the representation of blacks and whites in advertising media.



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Appendices

Appendix 1

The following images represent Black Lives Matter movement in The Guardian :

Image 1



Photograph: Chandan Khanna/AFP/ Getty Images

Image 2



Photograph: Ben Birchall/PA

Image 3



Photograph: Noah Berger/AP

Image 4



Photograph: Marcio José Sanchez/AP

Image 5



Photograph: Michael Bradley/AFP/Getty Images

The following images represent Black Lives Matter movement in The New York Times :

Image 6



Katy4Justice The NYT

Image 7



Photograph: Amr Alfiki The NYT

Image 8



Photograph: Victor J. Blue for the New York Times

Image 9



Photograph: Andy Rain/EPA, Via Shutterstock

Image 10



Photograph: Patrick Record in 2014

Appendix 2

The following journal articles deal with BLM in The Guardian:

Listen to the young voices of the Black Lives Matter movement

Readers respond to the Young, British and Black special report and interviews

Your necessary airing of the views of young black Britons ([Young, British and Black](#), 29 July) raises vital questions. What is important is what can be done to make their lives better. I have two adopted African-Caribbean children and have regularly discussed their experiences with them and I have found that authorities are supportive if problems are drawn to their attention.

My son was bullied by older children on his way home from primary school. When we took this up with the head, action was so effective that it stopped instantly. At secondary school a teacher used a racist insult and, instead of discussing it with us, my son wrote to the county education authorities, who contacted the school and the teacher was disciplined (he was later sacked for hitting a pupil).

Later, my son's only problems have been in London, where he was stopped too many times by the police. He has experienced no obvious racism at work, where he has been successful (but it's not possible to tell if there has been any underlying prejudice).

It is clear that there are some overtly racist people in the police and elsewhere in authority, but the more universal problem is unconscious bias. Workplace training is essential and, importantly, should include tests to demonstrate to individuals how their underlying attitudes affect their responses to black people.

Article 1

'So many people care!' The young Britons whose lives were changed by Black Lives Matter

If anyone thought this summer's protests would be the end of the movement, these five activists have different ideas

The killing of [George Floyd](#) by a white police officer was the catalyst for widespread anti-racist protests in the US this summer. Though Floyd's death took place thousands of miles away, the cry for racial justice was felt deeply in the UK. Britons stood up against racism, declaring support in their thousands for the [Black Lives Matter](#) movement via a succession of passionate protests.

More than 260 towns and cities held protests in June and July - from Monmouth in south Wales to Shetland in Scotland. British historians described them as the largest anti-racism rallies since the slavery era and at the heart of many of these protests was a new generation of young black Britons.

Although the protests were inspired by the movement in the US, the protesters' anger was rooted in the British experience. They carried handmade placards with the names of [Mark Duggan](#), [Sean Rigg](#), [Sheku Bayoh](#) and others killed by British police. They chanted for the [Windrush](#) generation and the victims of the [Grenfell Tower fire](#), and decried the high Covid-19 death rate among members of the BAME community.

"Since the spring, we've managed to ride the momentum to form established teams in London, Manchester, Bristol and Birmingham," says Natasha. They have been working to get their message across on social media, holding several panels throughout [Black History Month](#), and producing informative videos. "There's even talk of venturing into politics," she says.

All Black Lives has a number of demands, which include the abolition of the Metropolitan police's [gang violence matrix](#) and changing the school curriculum to include more black history.

But its struggles go beyond the UK. "We've been doing a lot of protests with [EndSARS](#) [a movement against [Nigeria's special anti-robbery squad](#)]," says Natasha.

Name and address supplied

● The most disturbing aspect of the interviews with young black people is the reported amount of racism in schools. It is understandable, if wrong, that so many white children first learn racial prejudice from their parents. But it is unacceptable that so many teachers are allowing this to persist in their schools. Education is precisely the forum in which the elimination of racism should start. This issue should be fully covered in teacher training. Headteachers should make anti-racism part of their schools' ethics. Teachers who do not comply should be removed.

Robin Wendt
Chester

● The young voices in your special report are dignified, defiant and moving. The bullying experienced from a very young age shames white culture at every level. Jimmy McGovern's TV film [Anthony](#) is a tragic exposure of what racism can lead to. We all need to see it.

John Airs
Liverpool

Over the past six months, Natasha says she has become more resilient. "I've learned so much, but I'm always keen on learning more ... If you learn how the house is built, you're going to know how to dismantle it."

Benitha Iradukunda, 25, Edinburgh

On the day the [Young, British and Black](#) series was first published, Benitha Iradukunda was shocked to find her face on the front page of the paper. "My university saw it and mentioned it on their social media and my old high school teachers messaged me sending well wishes," she says.

Iradukunda was one of the organisers behind the Black Lives Matter rallies in Edinburgh. The group is now setting up a charity, the African Caribbean Society for Scotland, to support the black community in a range of issues, from health and education to economic empowerment. The organisation has held online Black History Month events, including a series of interviews and a DJ set.

"I've also started a podcast called [Speak Your Truth](#), which features conversations with black people in the Scottish community," says Iradukunda. "A lot of people think activism should be a really big in-your-face thing, but there are little things you can do, like have conversations."

She also feels that the [Black Lives Matter movement](#) has helped shift discussions about racism in the UK, which have tended to focus on the south of the country.

"People down south are always shocked that black people live in Scotland. They don't realise how big the community is here," she says. "We're 1% in Scotland, but we're very present"

Tré Ventour, 24, Northampton

After participating in protests in Northampton, Tré Ventour was invited to London to take part in a Black Lives Matter panel event. While he is excited by the broadening interest in black British history, he feels there is more to be done.

“When we celebrate black people in Black History Month, it’s very much ‘acceptable’ black people, like [Walter Tull](#). So when we do black history are we acknowledging the diversity of black lives? I am not sure we are,” he says. Ventour also wants the focus to include black LGBT history and is keen for the movement to have a conversation about intersectionality. “When you look at blackness in the context of LGBT, specifically trans people, they are victims of not just police violence, but violence in general.”

He admits he was surprised at the number of people who rose up and joined the Black Lives Matter protests. “So many more people care than I thought,” he says. “The protests have shown there is still community in Britain, despite everything. In places like Northampton, I think that’s really important.”

Lexia Richardson, 17, Abergavenny

Since the protests, many people have congratulated 17-year-old Lexia Richardson for speaking about her experience of growing up and going to school in a predominantly white area. “I think a lot of people I work with didn’t realise how much racism I had been through,” she says.

Several black and Muslim people got in touch with Richardson to tell her they had gone through similar things.

She is currently working on a Black Lives Matter project for the school where she was previously a pupil and wants to ensure conversations on racism in the UK continue. At her sixth form college, she is happy to hear people

discussing the protests and whether the movement is needed in the UK. But she is most proud of the impact she has had at home.

“Getting my voice heard has helped my younger siblings,” she says. “They feel like it’s OK to follow in my pattern. My 11-year-old brother made a movie about BLM to show to his class. I thought: ‘Wow, I could have never done that at that age.’”

Shekinah Swamba, 19, Cheltenham

Shekinah Swamba, who works part-time in Waitrose, has had customers ask if she was the one that organised Black Lives Matter protests in the area. “A branch manager approached me and said well done. We sat down and had a chat. He wanted to know what he could do in our branch. I gave him some suggestions, such as mentoring,” she says. John Lewis and Waitrose [announced a mentorship scheme](#) soon after; through it, Swamba is paired up with a woman in Liverpool.

Swamba has since helped set up the [Local Equality Commission](#), which works to combat racial and economic inequality in rural communities. “My role is a mentorship programmer,” she says. “I want to create an environment where people can be supported in various disciplines and have their voices heard on all matters of interest.”

She has also met with her local MP and taken part in panel discussions. “Up until June, I never felt confident to say that I moved schools because I received a lot of racism; I always dodged the question,” she says. “Now I feel more confident in myself and I have got a lot more self-belief.”

Article 2

Language is part of the machinery of oppression - just look at how black deaths are described

Patricia Williams



From ‘underlying health conditions’ to ‘suicide by cop’, structural racism has a vocabulary

Chokeholds, or “lateral vascular neck restraints”, have been banned by many American police departments since the 1990s. This is sometimes hard to remember because there have been so many deaths since then, using precisely this technique. Chokeholds look like a kind of judo manoeuvre: an arm thrown around the neck followed by a slow squeezing pressure applied to the carotid artery. It can quickly disable an adversary, although more than a few seconds of applied pressure can kill. As in judo, a knee to the neck accomplishes much the same end.

The police chokehold is a sensitive issue among African Americans. The history of black death by suffocation evokes an ugly history that is not limited to lynching with nooses. Many do not remember that [Rodney King](#) was not only beaten with batons, but that one officer, Theodore Briseno, put his foot on King’s neck to hold him down. Perhaps because King did not die, that small fact is lost in today’s discussions.

But this week has been all about the dead. Eric Garner died in 2014 and his name usually begins the litany. He was arrested for selling “loosies”, or unwrapped single cigarettes. Officers threw him to the ground, [applied a chokehold](#) and held him down until he died. We know this incident well because angry crowds gathered, begging officers to let him go as Garner cried out 11 times: “I can’t breathe.” We know this because bystanders took lots of pictures.

Garner’s name is chanted like a mantra in the long, sad sequence of more recent deaths of black Americans, deaths by many means. Breonna Taylor, Philando Castile, Ahmaud Arbery, Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown. That sequence now culminates with the name of [George Floyd](#). Arrested on suspicion of passing a counterfeit \$20 bill, Floyd was thrown to the ground where he succumbed after nearly nine minutes, with the full weight of police officer Derek Chauvin’s knee held on his neck. Again crowds gathered. Warnings were shouted as Floyd’s life slipped away. Clear pictures were taken.

The world has exploded since then. Floyd’s death has been a lightning rod for demonstrations around the planet. While much attention has centred on the behaviour of the four police officers at the scene – and particularly upon Chauvin’s carelessly cavalier demeanour throughout – the harm should not be thought of as limited to these officers’ behaviour, nor ought it be confined to the question of police reform. Here, for example, is [the initial charging document for Floyd’s death](#), issued by the Minneapolis medical examiner: “The autopsy revealed no physical findings that support a diagnosis of traumatic asphyxia or strangulation. Mr Floyd had underlying health conditions including coronary artery disease and hypertensive heart disease. The combined effects of Mr Floyd being restrained by the police, his underlying health conditions and any potential intoxicants in his system likely contributed to his death.”

This is an astonishing description, a shameful circumlocution.

But of course Floyd did die by asphyxiation. That much is so obvious that the medical examiner’s report reads like systemic bureaucratic corruption, indicating more than simply the lethal indifference of a single “rogue” officer. Blaming Floyd’s death on “underlying health conditions” is a remarkably determined deflection of Chauvin’s agency.

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In the end, Floyd's family hired an independent coroner who confirmed lethal asphyxiation. And quickly thereafter, a final report was issued by Minnesota's coroner, who logged the official cause of death as strangulation.

The linguistic effacement of agency often directs gaze in powerful ways, tells us where to look and where not to. For example, [Kajieme Powell](#) was a black man with mental health problems. In 2014, he took snacks from a convenience store and tossed them on the street, allegedly brandishing a steak knife. He called out to the police: "Shoot me, shoot me, shoot me, shoot me now." They obliged him, 12 times over.

The police's actions were explained with what has since become a fairly common appellation, "suicide by cop", or police-assisted suicide. It is an interesting deployment of the passive. It eliminates official responsibility by recasting a trigger-happy officer as the extended will of the deranged, self-sacrificing Powell. He did it to himself. No one's fault but his own.

This is a feature of the trope of black bodies killing themselves. It echoes the degree to which higher rates of Covid-19 infections among African Americans are often blamed on biological difference **rather than the circumstances of their lives** - the toll too frequently referenced as solely the product of "comorbidities" such as obesity, asthma, bad choices, genetic "propensity". But poverty creates petri dishes for the virus: black, poor and older people die at higher rates in America because their social circumstances have ghettoised them into tight, poisoned geographies, like bugs placed in a jar, with the cap screwed on tightly.

As we watch, two great tragedies unfold and intertwine: the toll of coronavirus, and the toll of extrajudicial deaths at the hands of state actors. One maps on to the other in a double helix of grief and despair. Americans are yearning to resolve the incoherence of this moment. This emotional tinderbox must be read against the backdrop of other events. We respond not merely to the misuse of police power but also to the bewildering federal mismanagement of life-sustaining resources amid a global pandemic: we watch the mishandling in every possible way, of food distribution, of subsidies and financial assistance, of medical equipment.

Article 3

This perfect storm of collective smothering - a foot on all our necks - has made the image of Floyd's death even more exceptionally powerful. It is legible to such a broad political spectrum because the resonance of "I can't breathe" makes us cringe with sorrow, induces frightening political constrictions, yet doubles also as coronavirus's power to make its victims literally gasp for breath.

It is such a fragile moment. Perhaps we sit on the razor's edge of real reform. Or perhaps we will never find our way out of the linguistic maze that keeps turning the dead into deadly agents of their own demise.

● Patricia Williams is a professor of law at Columbia University and a regular columnist for the Nation

The George Floyd uprising has brought us hope. Now we must turn protest to policy

Derrick Johnson

We have begun to see progress against racial injustice. But even as we march, we must fight - and vote - for our very lives

The slow-motion execution of George Floyd has ignited an incandescent social movement. In **every state** and around the world, people of all colors, genders, and ages are coming together to march in fury and in hope, to renounce the past and redeem the future.

The animating cry of "Black Lives Matter!" was created by **three Black female organizers** in 2013, enraged and heartsick over the acquittal of the man who had murdered the 17-year-old **Trayvon Martin**. They and many other organizations and activists built a movement. The anger and optimism behind this movement echo similar seasons of protest against state-sanctioned brutality toward Black people, from **Jimmie Lee Jackson**, whose 1965 murder by Alabama state troopers inspired the Selma to Montgomery march, to the **long list** of unarmed Black women and men who have died at the hands of law enforcement and white vigilantes.

An astonishing amount has **changed** in the few weeks since Floyd's murder. The chokehold that killed him has been **banned** in 20 cities and counting. Confederate monuments have toppled, pulled down by protesters or (finally) removed by officials. Around the country, communities are pushing police **out of schools**, and considering how to slash law enforcement budgets and reinvest the funds to address the root problems that police are so ill-equipped to handle.

But too much has stayed the same. Since Floyd's murder, police have killed Black and brown men in **Georgia** and **California**. Around the country, **six**

Black and brown men in **Georgia** and **California**. Around the country, **six Black people** have been found hanging from trees, supposed suicides that chillingly resemble lynchings and have sparked demands for investigation. As of now, no charges have been filed against the Louisville police officers who broke into **Breonna Taylor's** home last March (using a no-knock warrant that has since been **banned**) and shot her dead as she slept.

Now is our chance to escalate the energy of the moment and move from protest to power to policy change. We have done it before.

The changes triggered by the protests are crucial, but more is needed to uproot the racism so thoroughly embedded in our nation's social, economic, and political systems. Public policies of the past helped create our current practices of exclusion and disinvestment. For instance, today's residential segregation is the direct result of 20th century **mortgage lending policies** and **restrictive housing covenants** that limited where Black people could live. Time has **not much altered** these discriminatory patterns; only policy change can do so.

Now is our chance to escalate the energy of the moment and move from protest to power to policy change. We have done it before.

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One of the most celebrated protests in US history, the 1963 March on Washington, forced America's attention to the fight for civil rights

and voting rights. The voting rights campaign was led by NAACP local branches, which embraced the young activists from SNCC and Core who led the sit-ins and Freedom Rides of the early 1960s and passed on to them years of experience in struggle.

I attended Tougaloo College, an HBCU in Mississippi where I had the opportunity to be trained in activism by veteran organizers from the NAACP, SNCC, and other civil rights organizations. I often listened to these elders revisit the strategy debates of that era, and I was struck by the clarity of their vision. It helped me to understand how the 1963 march changed the political climate in America. This shift led to the **Freedom Summer** in Mississippi in 1964 and created favorable conditions for the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which finally outlawed tactics such as poll taxes and literacy tests that had disenfranchised the **vast majority** of Black voters in the south.

Today's nationwide protests have created an unprecedented alignment of people who look like America, all of us standing together for justice. We must use that people power to transform not only hearts and minds, but laws and leadership. The most direct and urgent route is through the vote.

Trump has proven to be a danger to the health and safety of everyone in America, Black people in particular. Elective offices farther down the ballot also impact Black people's daily lives: the school board members who shape our children's education; the district attorneys who decide whether to file charges; the mayors and city council members who hire police chiefs and

determine police department policies.

After voting with our feet in protest, we must use the power of the ballot box to send a new and forceful message about the policy solutions we demand and the values of racial justice those policies must embody.

Like the March on Washington, today's protests are catalysts for change. They have opened the eyes of a nation so we can transform the issue of racial justice from a partisan debate to a national soul-searching, through which people of all colors can use the tools of democracy to create a better and more just future for our families and our country. Even as we march, we must fight - and vote - for our very lives.

● Derrick Johnson is the president and CEO of the NAACP. Follow him on Twitter [@DerrickNAACP](#)

Article 4

To be Black is to suffer perpetual wounds. Here's how you can make a difference

Alex M Johnson

I grew up facing attack after attack on myself and others. Today each of us has a role in the fight for Black lives

I was nine when I was first called a n----- while walking to my mom's car after school.

Ten when I watched the savage beating of Rodney King by the Los Angeles police department on television. Eleven when I saw the flames and ashes of a city burning after four police officers were found not guilty.

When I was 17, Abner Louima was sodomized with a broomstick and the police department attempted to cover up the crime. A few months later I was handcuffed for the first time. The probable cause: too many Black kids in a car.

An unarmed Amadou Diallo was shot and killed by the New York City police department a few months before my 19th birthday; he did not make it to his 23rd. Forty-one shots and all four officers were found not guilty.

It has been grace, and grace alone, that has spared me from the violent deaths perpetrated against my brothers and sisters

When I was 21, an officer from the Atlanta police department raced up the street to stop me in my car as I was driving back to my dorm. By the time I was let go, three more patrol cars were on the scene because I was "verbally aggressive".

I was three years older than Sean Bell when, at 23 and the night before his wedding, he was killed by police officers, who fired 50 shots into his vehicle. All three of the officers who were indicted were found not guilty.

In my 30s, Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Sandra Bland, Philando Castile, Atatiana Jefferson, Alton Sterling, Botham Jean, Aiyana Jones, Tamir Rice, Freddie Gray, Walter Scott.

And in 2020, **Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor** and **George Floyd**.

It has been grace, and grace alone, that has spared me from the violent deaths perpetrated against my brothers and sisters. But like Black people across this nation, I continue to ask the question, "Am I next?"

This fear is not new. Nor is it misplaced. The trauma caused by the abusive anti-Black relationship with America is generational and historical. We are bonded by ancestry and the collective pain of a people who have been brutalized and summarily ignored. From the middle passage to Minnesota. The deep wounds of racial violence permeate our bloodlines, our communities, and how we as Black people navigate through life.

In these moments where Black people are killed by police for being Black, and the response to peaceful protests of police brutality is often met by more police brutality, I have struggled to move beyond the paralyzing emotions of rage, fear, trauma and grief. Like those who have taken to the streets to demand change, pained by the perpetual wounds of systemic racism and oppression, I am overwhelmed and triggered.

But silence is complicity, and my living will not be in vain. Retreating to the safe harbor of comfort during crisis is nothing more than cowardice. Radical change will not result with the acquiescence of passive progressives and the placating politics of patience and incrementalism. In a land where "freedom" and "liberty" are excuses for exclusion, the aesthetic of justice that allows the assault on Black lives to continue unabated and that is protected by white supremacy must be dismantled and rebuilt. Justice is a false pretense if the constitution fails to be consistently, fairly, and justly applied to Black people.

our brother's keeper and as a role in Black lives

We are our brother's and sister's keeper and each of us has a role in this fight for Black lives. **Here are a few ideas for what you can do to join the fight:**

Demilitarize the police. Decrease law enforcement budgets and reinvest those resources to fund schools, libraries, quality healthcare, parks, childcare, jobs, interventionists and a youth development system. Community safety does not come from cops - strong institutions ensure communities can thrive.

- Support organizations led by, serving and in service to Black people. Support those who organize, agitate, resist, disrupt, demonstrate and advocate to ensure that Black lives are not expendable. The people have the power - fund organized action.
- Interrogate what being an ally truly means. Use your voice. Be bold and take a stand: equivocation fuels inequity. If you have privilege, use it, leverage it. There is nothing revolutionary about recognizing your power and doing nothing with it to advance social change and end systemic racism.
- You are either for Black lives or you are not. Systemic racism permeates every system - law enforcement, education, health, transportation, housing, the economy, the environment and even philanthropy, the system in which I work. Are you hiring Black people? Are they tokenized or in leadership positions? It's not complicated. Oppression is operational. Disassemble it and undo the status quo.
- Stop tiptoeing around race, slavery, racial injustice, racial bias, systemic racism, white supremacy, nationalism, anti-Blackness or racial equity. It's real. We've studied and debated it long enough. Act. End of discussion.
- Vote for an agenda at the local, state and federal levels that prioritizes Black lives and demolishes the insidious pillars of white supremacy in every form. For those whose electoral existence is predicated upon the domination of Black lives, we must dominate the ballot box. If you are registered to vote and someone you know is not, help them register. Vote. Vote. Vote.

Over the past few days my thoughts have centered around family. The families of those who have been killed by police. The mothers and fathers who are worried about their Black sons and Black daughters. And I keep thinking about my family.

In late February, my wife came to me with exciting news: she is pregnant with our second child. A few weeks later, as the pandemic raged and the frailty of our systems of care was reaffirmed by the disproportionate impact of the virus, we received more news: we will be having a baby boy. I was beyond elated. Literally jumped and shouted, tears of joy welling up in my eyes. And for a brief period, perhaps a few days - no more than a week - we, my wife and I, felt the pure joy of this good news.

But for a Black man and a Black woman in this country, persistent and unbridled joy is fleeting. Our conversations lifting up the hopes and dreams for our unborn son were quickly tempered by our collective fears. Fear of bringing a Black baby boy into a nation that unrepentantly justifies the brutalization and killing of Black people. Fear of raising a Black boy into adulthood only to have his life prematurely extinguished because of his darker hue. Fear that a traffic stop will turn into our Black son being asphyxiated and strangled by a callous, depraved police officer with a knee to his neck for nearly nine minutes.

We are tired. We are angry.

We want to breathe. We want to live. We want our children to live. We want

to be safe.

We need accountability. We need this trauma to end and the wounds to heal.

We demand change.

We will not yield until Black lives matter.

It is indeed our duty to fight.

Alex Johnson is a program director at [The California Wellness Foundation](#). He previously served on the California Racial and Identity Profiling Advisory Board. The California Wellness Foundation supports the Guardian's [Guns and Lies in America](#) series

Article 5

The following journal articles deal with BLM in The New York Times:

Opinion

The Allies' Betrayal of George Floyd

Did the summer's protests reflect a racial reckoning or seasonal solidarity?



By Charles M. Blow
Opinion Columnist

March 7, 2021, 7:01 p.m. ET

Something happened this summer in the wake of the killing of George Floyd, and maybe only history will be able to fully explain what it was.

Millions of Americans — many of them white — poured into the streets to demand justice and assert that Black Lives Matter. It's clear now that the summer protests, which took place during a pandemic during which congregation was discouraged, were for some participants less a sincere demand for justice than they were a social outlet.

As some semblance of normal life began to inch back, enthusiasm for the cause among whites quickly grew soft, like a rotting spot on a piece of fruit.

As [FiveThirtyEight has noted](#), support for Black Lives Matter “skyrocketed” after Floyd was killed, but much of that support ended sometime before Jacob Blake was killed in Kenosha, Wis., three months later. As the site put it about polling around the time of Blake's killing:

“About 49 percent of registered voters said they supported the movement, compared with around 38 percent in opposition — similar to BLM's net approval before Floyd's death. That drop in popularity has largely been driven by increased opposition among white Republicans (80 percent of whom oppose the movement, higher than before Floyd's death) and white independents (who now support BLM at similar levels as before Floyd's death).”

Furthermore, [a USA TODAY/Ipsos Poll](#) released on Friday found that just 28 percent of white Americans believe that what happened to Floyd was murder. That was down from [55 percent](#) in June.

The backlash didn't just occur on a personal level, it was also expressed through policy, as Republican legislators across the country moved quickly to guard their power. As The Pew Charitable Trusts [observed last month](#):

“Republican legislators in Florida and 21 other states are considering tough new penalties for protesters who break laws. As in Florida, some of the bills also would prevent localities from cutting police budgets and give some legal protection to people who injure protesters.”

One of the rallying cries during the summer protest was to “defund

the police.” But by some measures, spending on the police actually moved in the opposite direction. As [Bloomberg CityLab reported](#) in January, “Even as the 50 largest U.S. cities reduced their 2021 police budgets by 5.2 percent in aggregate — often as part of broader pandemic cost-cutting initiatives — law enforcement spending as a share of general expenditures rose slightly to 13.7 percent from 13.6 percent.”

Even so, prominent Democrats denounced the slogan and some even suggested that its use caused Democrats to perform more poorly in the election than expected.

I believe that this has helped to contribute to a corroding of support for Black Lives Matter, even among Black people. Although Blacks and whites start from a different baseline in their support of the group, the more recent USA Today/Ipsos poll found:

“Among Black respondents, trust in Black Lives Matter has fallen by 12 points and trust in local police has risen by 14 points. Among white respondents, trust in Black Lives Matter has fallen by 8 points and trust in local police has risen by 12 points.”

When it came time for the House of Representatives to pass the George Floyd Justice in Policing Act, only one Republican voted for it, Representative Lance Gooden of Texas, and he said that he “[accidentally](#) pressed the wrong voting button and realized it too late.” The bill faces an uphill battle in the Senate.

Understand the George Floyd Case

- On May 25, 2020, Minneapolis police officers arrested George Floyd, a 46-year-old Black man, after a convenience store clerk claimed he used a counterfeit \$20 bill to buy cigarettes.
- Mr. Floyd died after Derek Chauvin, one of the police officers, handcuffed him and pinned him to the ground with a knee, [an episode that was captured on video](#).
- Mr. Floyd's death set off a series of nationwide protests against police brutality.
- Mr. Chauvin was fired from Minneapolis police force along with three other officers. He has been charged with second-degree murder and second-degree manslaughter and now faces trial, which begins on March 8.
- [Here is what we know up to this point in the case, and how the trial is expected to unfold.](#)

Article 6

His Fence Says 'Black Lives Matter.' His City Says Paint Over It.

West St. Paul, Minn., says the nearly 75-foot message violates multiple portions of city code. The conflict is brewing as the Twin Cities region uneasily awaits a verdict in the Derek Chauvin trial.



By Giulia McDonnell Nieto del Rio

April 10, 2021

The colorful mural, adorned with hearts, a portrait of a local activist and the words “Black Lives Matter,” stands out at a busy intersection in West St. Paul, a community nestled against the Twin Cities. It is a cherished symbol for many Black residents, a site of reflection and pride.

But the city says it must go.

“I am totally saddened,” said Kimetha Johnson, the activist depicted on the 75-foot fence, who last year became [the city's first Black mayoral candidate](#). “It’s an awesome piece of art. The message is needed here.”

West St. Paul, where about 5 percent of the 20,000 residents are Black, says that the mural violates two sections of city code — about fences and prohibited signs — and that its specific content has nothing to do with the violations.

The commotion over the mural comes at a pivotal moment in the Twin Cities area, which is anxiously awaiting a verdict in [the trial of Derek Chauvin](#), a white former Minneapolis police officer who is charged with murder in the death of George Floyd, who was Black.

Thousands of residents [spilled into the streets](#) of Minneapolis, St. Paul and [West St. Paul](#) after Mr. Floyd’s death, demanding justice night after night in protests that reverberated around the country. About 200 National Guard members are stationed in the area while Mr. Chauvin’s trial unfolds; witnesses will return to the stand on Monday, the start of the third week of testimony.

Ryan Weyandt, who owns the contested fence and the house it borders, received a notice from West St. Paul officials in November informing him that he was violating the city’s sign ordinance.

He reached an agreement to keep the mural, which was created with spray paints and acrylics last summer, in place until April 15. But the city denied an extension beyond Thursday and told reporters Mr. Weyandt could face fines of up to \$2,000 for every 10 additional days the mural remains.

Mr. Weyandt, who is white, said he had asked local museums if they might want to preserve the entire fence in their collections. If none accept, he will probably end up painting over the mural, an outcome he considers highly disappointing.

“We don’t want to take it down before the trial is over,” he said. “We want that message to stay.”

Dan Nowicki, a spokesman for the city, said in an email that officials had received multiple complaints about the “noncompliant fence,” which breaches a part of city code that says fences must be one uniform color and feature no pictures or lettering. In its original notice to Mr. Weyandt, the city cited a code that bans signs “painted, attached or in any other manner affixed to fences, roofs, trees, rocks or other similar natural surfaces.”

“While the city understands the message on this particular fence is very important to the homeowner and many members of our community,” Mr. Nowicki said, “the city cannot and does not take content or message into account when dealing with infractions of city code.”

The notice Mr. Weyandt received also explained that during general election years, noncommercial signs are allowed “in any size, in any number, in any location, except the public right of way” — starting 46 days before the state primary election through 10 days after the general election in November.

Such exceptions are common in Minnesota city ordinances and allow people to display almost anything they want, said Jane Kirtley, a professor of media ethics and law at the University of Minnesota. “But once that time has passed, then the city or the town or whoever it is has a lot of discretion to establish restrictions,” she said.

Ms. Johnson, who goes by Kae Jae and [received about 35 percent of the vote](#) in last year’s mayoral election, said it was especially bad timing that the city was demanding that the mural be painted over in the middle of Mr. Chauvin’s trial.

She said she liked to bring her 7-year-old granddaughter to the fence because of its powerful signal to Black girls.

“She literally loves to read out loud, ‘Black Lives Matter,’” Ms. Johnson said, adding, “For her, it’s seeing that the city has some type of pride about her.”

On Saturday morning, Guillermo Maldonado Pérez, an assistant principal at a St. Paul school, and his 7-year-old daughter were admiring the mural. A petition in support of the painted message was circulating on Facebook, he said, but the request had seemed mostly to engage people from outside of the area.

“Hopefully, West St. Paul will change the way they allow people to express their values and their opinions,” he said, noting the demonstrations on nearby streets after Mr. Floyd was killed in May.

Mr. Weyandt, the fence’s owner, said he and his husband were simply hoping to project the “Black Lives Matter” message as best they could. They offered their fence as a canvas, hiring two artists who had worked on murals in the Twin Cities area.

“If one car stopped at the stop sign, looked at the fence and took that thought home, then our mission was accomplished,” he said.

Mr. Weyandt said that they had put messages and flags on the same fence several times before but that this was the first time the city had ever served them with a violation notice. One of the flags, which was hung up before 2020, proclaimed “Coexist.”

Joshua Rashaad McFadden contributed reporting from West St. Paul, Minn.

Article 7

Black Lives Matter Has Grown More Powerful, and More Divided

Since the murder of George Floyd, the racial justice movement has received millions of dollars in donations. But some chapters have questioned how those funds are spent.



By John Eligon

June 4, 2021, 7:30 p.m. ET

In the year since George Floyd was murdered, racial justice organizations across the country have been inundated with millions of dollars in donations and thousands of eager new activists. They have earned a prominent platform that puts them on the front lines of political and social battles.

Their influence has been immediate: A local organization [helped St. Louis elect a Black woman](#) as mayor for the first time. A longtime activist group in Louisville, Ky., oversaw what became a hub for [protests over the police killing of Breonna Taylor](#). And in Chicago, activists have lobbied the city to [fund a program that would dispatch paramedics](#), instead of police officers, to people experiencing mental health crises.

But the surge in attention has also brought greater scrutiny and exposed tensions and challenges within a movement that saw tremendous growth over the past year, much like other progressive groups such as the Women's March, which saw [three of its leaders step down amid controversy](#).

In a very public dispute, several chapters within the national organization known as the Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation broke away, claiming that the group's national leaders had failed to provide financial transparency or include the chapters in decision-making. And family members of some victims of police killings have openly criticized racial justice organizations, accusing them of raising money in their children's names but not supporting the families and their work to make change.

"I just feel like all these organizations that were made were made after someone had lost their loved one," said Michael Brown Sr., who established his own foundation after his son, Michael, was fatally shot by a police officer in Ferguson, Mo., in 2014. "And they see that these parents are coming up with organizations already. They should be able to get on board and support these families that's going through this."

Since the police killing of Mr. Brown's son led to a new wave of civil rights activism seven years ago, organizers of protests and marches have openly embraced a grass-roots philosophy. They have avoided individual leaders, seeking instead to build a movement by the people, for the people.

But the tensions playing out complicate the road ahead for the organizations that have sprouted from this movement, as their sway has only grown since Mr. Floyd was murdered by a Minneapolis police officer. In the weeks after his killing in May 2020, an estimated 15 million to 26 million people participated in about 4,700 demonstrations across America, accounting for the [largest movement in the country's history](#).

That growth has brought great visibility, but also difficult questions over how to sustain it and how to effect meaningful change, whether through donations to political campaigns, services to families or investments in Black communities — or all of the above.

Chapters that broke from the Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation, calling themselves the #BLM10, [issued an open letter in December](#) that said internal attempts at seeking transparency had gone nowhere.

Among their primary concerns, they said, was that the national organization had not detailed how much it had raised in donations or how the money had been spent. The national group also had not given much financial support to the chapters for the work they were doing in their communities, they said. If Black Lives Matter could not be transparent with its own members, the chapters argued, then it could not be a credible advocate for the communities it aimed to serve.

Leaders of the global network defended the way it was spending money, and emphasized that the breakaway chapters criticizing the group were not officially affiliated with it. The infusion of funds over the past year will allow the global network to build out its infrastructure so it can become a sustainable operation, said Melina Abdullah, a co-founder of the Los Angeles chapter which is affiliated with the global network.

"I think we have to be very, very clear again that we are a power-building organization that works in concert with families," she said, "but not a social service organization for families."

As some leaders have risen to international attention, they have faced backlash from activists who see that ascent as a betrayal of the movement's grass-roots spirit. And activists who once accused legacy civil rights leaders and organizations of being too mainstream and detached from the masses are now facing those same criticisms.

From W.E.B. Du Bois's criticism that Booker T. Washington was too accommodating to white people, to ministers objecting to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s approach to protest as too worldly, tensions have long been a part of social justice movements.

"With visibility comes vulnerability, which is why you have to be tight in what you do," said the Rev. Al Sharpton, an often polarizing figure who has parlayed a long career in activism into becoming a political and media figure and the creator of a civil rights group, National Action Network, with chapters throughout the nation. Younger activists who criticized him several years ago for not being grass-roots enough have recently turned to him for advice as they wrestle with the type of scrutiny he has faced, he said.

"I think out of the tension, it will make us all settle and find more possible ways to work together," he said. "I think that sometimes it's uncomfortable, but it'll bring us to a better place, I hope."

For years, national leaders warned that the Black Lives Matter movement could fracture if internal concerns were voiced publicly, said YahNé Ndgo, who recently stepped back as a core organizer with one of the breakaway chapters, Black Lives Matter Philly. That prevented many chapters from speaking up, she said.

But when the national leaders spun off a new organization, BLM Grassroots, last year to act as an umbrella for all chapters, those with concerns had to speak up, Ms. Ndgo said. It felt like another attempt by the national organization to evade accountability, she said.

"If a group is not acting in service to the movement," she said, "then it has to be addressed."

Amid questions from critics, the Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation, which received tax-exempt status as a nonprofit organization last year, in February released its most complete accounting in its roughly six-year history. It reported [receiving \\$90 million in donations](#) last year, the most it had ever raised in a year. A majority of the funds were saved, the report said, with \$8.4 million spent on operational expenses and \$21.7 million distributed to local aid organizations and chapters.

The report caught the attention of Mr. Brown, who has at times seen the foundation he established after his son's killing struggle to get resources, he said. In a video posted to social media, he stood alongside a local activist, who demanded that Black Lives Matter [contribute \\$20 million to local organizers](#).

After releasing the video, Mr. Brown met with Patrisse Cullors, a co-founder of Black Lives Matter, and other leaders from the organization. "We're working on developing tangible relationships to aid in the work that we do within our foundation and the community," Mr. Brown said in an interview. Last week, Ms. Cullors [resigned from her post](#), saying that she planned to focus on other projects and that her departure was unrelated to criticism she has faced.

While BLM Grassroots will center on the work by local organizers in its various chapters, the national arm will focus on fund-raising, grant making and serving as an "action-oriented think tank of the movement," according to the report on its operations.

The organization has increasingly sought to be a force in politics and last year created a political action committee to support candidates in November's elections. It also lobbied against the nomination of Amy Coney Barrett to the Supreme Court and drafted public safety legislation called the Breathe Act that it plans to champion before Congress.

But some activists say the optics are troubling. The families of some victims struggle financially, while the leaders of racial justice organizations oversee large fund-raising hauls that come, in part, from the public's sympathy for the deaths of their loved ones.

Samaria Rice, the mother of Tamir Rice, a 12-year-old Black boy who was killed by Cleveland police officers in 2014, blasted Tamika Mallory, a co-founder of an organization called Until Freedom, calling her a "clout chaser" after she appeared at the Grammys in March.

Similar criticism has been widespread, with some local activists chastising national leaders for appearing more interested in publicity and fund-raising over the gritty work of pushing for change on the ground.

"We're not trying to do celebrity activism," said the Rev. T. Sheri Dickerson, the executive director of Black Lives Matter-Oklahoma City. "We're trying to save lives, uphold lives and to empower Black lives."

Still, even with internal tensions, racial justice organizations say the past year has put them in a strong position.

The Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation has grown and gained influence among elected officials. Leaders say they now have 20 chapters, some of which engage in local battles to reduce police department budgets and institute policy changes.

There are now 17 breakaway chapters loosely collaborating to support the work they do in their respective communities, such as bailing out protesters who get arrested and providing resources and assistance to the families of those killed by the police.

Several families of people killed or injured by the police are turning toward one another for support instead of formal activist groups. Saying she was tired of what she saw as activists trying to make money off the victims of police violence, Lisa Simpson, whose son, Richard Risher, was fatally shot by the Los Angeles police in 2016, said she was starting her own movement with other victims' families.

As much as some racial justice organizations argue they are working to change the system to prevent future police killings, that work can sometimes be of little comfort to people like Ms. Simpson who have lost their children.

"Because when the money's gone, I got days where I cry, where I'm sad, where I'm angry, where I'm upset," Ms. Simpson said.

Ultimately, the public tussle over the Black Lives Matter movement may serve to strengthen it, said Daniel Gillion, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania who studies protest movements. The conflict allows a broad cross-section of people to have a say in shaping the movement, which bolsters the democratic principles upon which it was founded, he said.

"This isn't Nancy Pelosi talking with congressional members behind closed doors," he said. "It's not that. It is truly grass roots, involving multiple people chiming in. And that's what you want."

Article 8

What Students Are Saying About The Verdict in the Derek Chauvin Trial

We invited teenagers to share what they were feeling and wondering about the verdict in a trial that shook the nation. Here is what they had to say.

On Tuesday, Derek Chauvin, a former Minneapolis police officer, was [found guilty](#) of second-degree murder, third-degree murder and second-degree manslaughter in the death of George Floyd, whose killing last May drew millions into the streets for the largest racial justice protests in generations.

The next day, we asked teenagers: [What Is Your Reaction to the Verdict in the Derek Chauvin Trial?](#) While the majority said they were in agreement with the jury's decision, they differed in their reactions to it — from relief and joy to sadness and frustration — and in their ideas of what could and should come next in the fight for racial justice. We've rounded up a selection of their responses below.

Thank you to all those from around the world who joined the conversation this week, including teenagers from **Toronto; Florida; California; the Julia R. Masterman School in Philadelphia; Georgia; the United Kingdom** and many more places.

Please note: All student comments have been lightly edited for length, but otherwise appear as they were originally submitted.

Reactions to the Verdict

When the verdict was read to the public, I could hear the cheers and saw people hugging and crying. I can only imagine the bit of relief Floyd's loved ones felt after his murderer was held accountable. There has been a change in our community; people went from burning buildings to praying with strangers awaiting the jury's decision. This horrible situation has brought the Minnesota community closer. It has made me realize that people can change when they are set on being heard peacefully, and for that, I am grateful.

— [Katerina, Minneapolis, St. Paul](#)

When I found out Derek Chauvin was guilty, I felt relieved almost like a weight off my shoulders. In the media, you see so much bad news regarding police and black people, and now finally someone is held accountable. It still saddens me and I think will forever sadden everyone that a life had to be taken for justice to be served.

— [Brooke, Connecticut](#)

This verdict of the Derek Chauvin trial is one that many all over the world have celebrated. It serves as a reminder that together, we can stand up to the severe injustices we are surrounded by. Hearing that he was found guilty of all three charges was so liberating for me and many others. We have stood by this case for almost a year now, protesting and awaiting the day George Floyd is brought to justice, and it's finally come!

— [Jessica, Julia R. Masterman School, Philadelphia](#)

As someone who participated in the marches and vigils in memoriam of George Floyd throughout the summer, and someone who has closely followed the case; I am relieved. I am relieved because for once the police officer responsible for a man's unnecessary murder was held accountable.

— [Thomas, Cambridge-Isanti High School, Cambridge, Minn.](#)

I wish I could explain the wave of success, or the relief, or the sheer glee that I had felt when the judge read the verdict on Tuesday. But, no. To be completely honest, it felt as if the Yankees had just worked themselves out of a jam in the bottom of the eighth. Was I glad? Absolutely. Was I surprised? At the speed, consistency, and ruthlessness of the verdict? Sure. But I sat on my couch and watched men and women of Minneapolis celebrate this victory — and a victory it was — valiantly, yet this merely a sharp needle in a wide, dark haystack.

— [Zach, Connecticut](#)

I agree with the jury's decision entirely. Although, it puzzles me that there was such deliberation and such a long trail to decide whether a man, who killed George Floyd ON CAMERA, was guilty or not. Though a big step in the American judicial system, this was something that we should have expected to happen, not something we should have hoped to happen.

— [Zachary, New York](#)

Has Justice Been Served?

I believe that by the jury's decision to convict Derek Chauvin murder was a sign of justice being served. After almost a year of waiting for this trial, I feel as though we can finally breathe a sigh of relief, knowing that Chauvin was held accountable for his actions. I also hope that this will shed more light on policing in America and how officers are trained to act in certain situations to prevent another event such as this.

— [Robel, New York](#)

As a black person, I feel relieved that Chauvin is rightfully being held accountable...Chauvin has been convicted, but we have a long way to go, not only with this case, but with the countless other black people who have been wrongfully murdered with no justice. The fact that this is one of the only times justice has been rightfully shown really proves how the system was built on white supremacy and was made to oppress black people.

— [Ike, Connecticut](#)

I think that accountability was served in this case, but not justice. Justice would have been George Floyd living, breathing again. I am relieved that the verdict went the way it did, but George Floyd should still be alive.

— [Regan, Cary High School, Cary, N.C.](#)

While I am so glad that the results of the trial are what they are, I do not think that so-called "justice" has been served. This is the bare minimum. This is holding murderers accountable for their actions. There is so much wrong with the police, the prison industrial complex, and systemic racism in this country in general. As much as people pretend, this was not a one-time thing or a simple mistake. This fight did not begin here, nor does it end here. This is just one chapter in the book of injustice in this country. There is so much more that we can and should be doing. So sure, take a day to celebrate this news, but remember there is more left to be done.

— [Amelia, Julia R. Masterman School](#)

A Turning Point in American History

This verdict is a turning point. But the cycle of injustice and brutality is still repeating itself. The verdict was an affirmation that George Floyd's life mattered. It's a verdict that we shouldn't have doubted, that shouldn't have been rare, that we should've expected. We should've been able to be certain about it, for we should've been certain that what happened to George Floyd can't be done with impunity. The fact that we didn't know, the fact that we had to prepare ourselves for the verdict that would've said George Floyd's life didn't matter, attests to how small a step this is. An indispensable step, yes, but a small one nonetheless.

— [Emily, Irvine, Calif.](#)

This verdict COULD be a turning point in history today. Only if justice is actually served, the sentence needs to be long enough, with no exceptions. Chauvin needs to be held accountable as an American citizen, and as a police officer who is supposed to protect his community. There is still so much work to be done. Justice will be served when lives stop getting lost and people start treating people like people no matter skin color or ethnicity.

— [Lexy, Daytona Beach, Fla.](#)

Although just one case, I think this does set a huge precedent for the future moving onwards because it acts as a benchmark and idea that yes, police who are racially charged CAN be held accountable, and yes, they can be punished. With this in mind, I still think that the issue of racial justice and police brutality are far from over, and our long history of such problems in America is testament to that. It will take more than a few years to reverse the damage of centuries, meaning that protests and the topic of racial injustice should be at the forefront of our news, social media, and all across the internet in order to continue raising awareness as a way to combat it.

— [Cyrus, New York](#)

I do think that it serves a turning point because even though I don't think this is going to be the last incident it is a sign that the people are not going to turn a blind eye and pretend it never happened.

— [J.C., Middle College High School, N.Y.](#)

I am very happy with the verdict at the trial, but I definitely think that this is not the end. This piece of justice is a step in the right direction, but people shouldn't just think that everything is over after the verdict was decided. Racial injustice still exists very much, and this is only the beginning, not an end. We should expect that justice is served, even in circumstances when the public is not involved as much as in this case. I think that it is clear that if we want change, then we will have to demand it.

— [Francis, J.R. Masterman, Philadelphia](#)

I felt that these riots were something that needed to happen. It is sad that it had to come at the cost of someone's life. However, it hopefully will spark enough of a fight to bring about real change.

— [Jack, Wyoming](#)

Yes I think that the death of George Floyd made a major impact on American history. On camera we saw that the tragic footage of George Floyd pinned on the pavement while a cop's knee was on his neck. It was very painful. Police brutality is used everyday, the only reason why the George Floyd video goes so popular is because the police violence was luckily filmed. The BLM movement is now one of the largest movements in American history. So yes I agree that this is a giant step for the future.

— [James, Dayton, Ohio](#)

Thoughts on Police Reform

When I got the notification on my phone that Derek Chauvin was convicted, a breath of relief escaped me. I thought that he would be charged, but I knew deep down that there was more than a small chance that he would be acquitted. It reminded me of the cases of George Zimmerman, Timothy Loehmann, and Darren Wilson that I had read about. I knew that the outcome could have been like those cases. I knew that Chauvin could have been let off the hook like many cops before him. Those subconscious thoughts of doubt prove the broken judicial system of the United States.

The conviction of Chauvin is a step forward, but it's not big enough. We need substantial police reform or even abolishment now, so we never have to see a video like the one Darnella Frazier recorded ever again. This is of course wishful thinking because of the attachment Americans have to the police. This trial proves that we need to keep protesting for the BLM movement. Our voices worked this time, so hopefully it will work during the next imminent tragedy of the use of excessive force by a police officer. Chauvin's conviction does not mean that police brutality against Black Americans is solved.

— [Zoe, Julia R. Masterman School, Philadelphia](#)

I agree with the verdict in the Derek Chauvin trial. George Floyd's murder was a gross misconduct. Reforms need to take place in policing. Defunding the police will only make the situation worse. In order to get the necessary reforms to help eliminate these problems in policing, the police actually need to get better funding.

We also need to remember that the majority of police officers are not bad. Sadly there are bad police officers, as in any profession. We cannot get rid of policing, otherwise crime would skyrocket and many places would become extremely dangerous.

— [Cailin, North Carolina](#)

I believe the steps that the government needs to take is reeducating the police. These officers need to learn not to use everything with a gun and using that weapon as their last resort. This will not be an easy task, but it needs to be done.

— [Claire, California](#)

With his own police chief testifying against him, I really hope that the police aren't making an example out of Chauvin just in hopes that the issue of police accountability will die down. This is a good start, highlighting what the system should achieve if (and God forbid) something similar were to happen again.

However, as Nekima Levy Armstrong points out, Chauvin was brought to justice not because "the system worked" but because people were enraged by the system's failure. Only time will tell whether recent reforms are enough to cure historic systemic problems like qualified immunity, corruption, and a lack of transparency.

— [Andy, Toronto](#)

Talking About the Trial in School

I think even though these racial inequalities and scenarios of police brutality, especially the George Floyd case, aren't the lightest and easiest subjects to discuss it's really important that they do get talked about and kids are educated about the matter. Acts of police brutality occur way too much in today's world and it's not something that can just be ignored and shoved out of the way to pretend like it doesn't exist. These aren't events of the past, they're still happening all around us and they need to be paid attention to and confronted, whether or not it's easy to discuss.

— [Nadia, Julia R. Masterman](#)

I believe the murder of George Floyd should be taught in school, alongside that of many other stories that happen way too often. It's not a political agenda but a civil rights and equal justice issue, moving towards a more equitable and just society starts with educating young Americans properly. But it's also important to maintain an equilibrium, maintaining and promoting a diverse community of opinions. It's important for students' pro-policing to have their opinions respected and heard just as much as others, but where the line is drawn is racism and micro-aggressions.

Allowing students to vocalize their opinions is not only beneficial for individuals but also the community, respecting each other's opinion is extremely important. However if one's opinion is grounded in racist rhetoric, civil discussions should be the approach to providing an alternative perspective.

— [Benny, N.Y.](#)

Informing students about racial injustice in schools can have a positive effect and hopefully, aid the fight towards racial justice. Having conversations with students will help them understand what's going on, especially if they find the subject difficult to speak about at home. Such conversations should take place in formal settings such as an assembly; somewhere that gives a sense of seriousness and limits side conversations between students.

— [Reem, Julia R. Masterman, Philadelphia](#)

Racial equity lessons need to be taught in school. And if there's one big takeaway from this event, it shouldn't be that our justice system is unfair. That is already clearly evident. It should be that change is possible, if the work is put in. As Nekima Levy Armstrong said: "This moment didn't happen because the system worked. This moment happened because the people put in the work."

— [Trent, Georgia, USA](#)

Article 9

'I Need People to Hear My Voice': Teens Protest Racism

High school students have organized protests in California, Maryland and Michigan. In one Texas suburb, three teenagers led hundreds of people in a march, and they say they aren't done organizing.



By Mihir Zaveri

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In early June, as outrage over racism and police brutality erupted nationwide, three teenagers from Katy, Texas, grew frustrated by a void of activism in their affluent Houston suburb.

They banded together under the name Katy4Justice. Over four days, through text messages and video chats, they organized a [protest](#) at a neighborhood park, leading hundreds of people in a march through soccer fields and picnic areas in the summer heat.

"Katy loves to think it's progressive and stuff, but nothing ever happens," said Erika Alvarez, 17, one of the three organizers, all of whom will start their senior year in the fall.

Jeffrey Jin, 17, concurred. "It's very all talk and no do," he said. "There's a lot of white silence."

"It really takes action in order for real change to come," said Foyin Dosunmu, 16. "That's what we're trying to get across and drill into the minds of the people of Katy."

The youth-led protest in Katy is representative of the way the nationwide demonstrations after George Floyd's death have energized a diverse cohort of the youngest generation. In recent weeks, high school students have led protests in [Greenville, Mich.](#); [Laurel, Md.](#); and [Berkeley, Calif.](#)

Several teenagers, including those in Katy, said that it was the first time they had organized any sort of demonstration — and that it would not be the last.

In Katy, the students' activism was years in the making, they said, shaped by their own experiences with racism.

'I need people to hear my voice'

Born in Houston to Nigerian immigrants who are engineers, Ms. Dosunmu moved to Saudi Arabia when she was 5, and then to London three years after that. She was frequently the only black girl in her class.

"I remember thinking, Oh, I wish I was white," she said. "I felt so left out."

Her family moved to Katy when she was in the fourth grade. She joined the Girl Scouts, and she began reading voraciously — "Harry Potter," "Pride and Prejudice," eventually even scientific research papers.

Throughout her school years, she encountered racism. When her family first arrived at their new home in Katy, they did not yet have a key and were accosted by a white man while trying to get inside. He yelled at them and accused them of being looters, using racist slurs, she said.

Although she takes part in speech competitions, Ms. Dosunmu had not generally been politically active. After the killings of [Breonna Taylor](#) and [Ahmaud Arbery](#), however, she began to feel guilt, she said, for her relatively safe and stable life in Katy. She felt a bubbling need to do something in her community.

"I need people to hear my voice," she said. "I need Katy to hear what I'm thinking."

'Maybe the American dream wasn't as perfect as it seemed'

Ms. Alvarez grew up in Maturin, 300 miles east of Venezuela's capital, Caracas.

Her father, an electrical engineer, and her mother, then a dentist, tried to ride out the country's deteriorating economy. But food grew scarce, and there were increasing reports of friends being robbed at gunpoint. Scheduled power outages lasted six hours a day.

"In Venezuela, it's so blatant and obvious — you're basically born knowing that the government is corrupt," she said.

When her family moved to Katy four years ago, Ms. Alvarez said she felt her world expand, a diversity of both people and ideas. She buried herself in schoolwork and joined the golf team.

"I fully believed in the American dream spiel," she said. "I was coming to a great school, great district. I was excited to have way more opportunity than I was ever going to have back home."

With the election of [President Trump](#) in 2016, however, she began paying more attention to politics, particularly around immigration. Her dream of starting a business began morphing into political activism, she said. Her passion deepened after the [mass shooting in El Paso](#) in August.

She later joined a student group protesting gun violence in schools. As she began to pay closer attention, she started to see more and more news reports documenting police brutality. "I was starting to kind of notice maybe the American dream wasn't as perfect as it seemed," she said.

Growing beyond the 'model minority'

Mr. Jin was born in Houston, his parents immigrants from China. He said that in elementary school, when he would bring dumplings and bok choy to school for lunch, other children would sometimes poke fun at his meals, asking why the food smelled bad.

"I guess it sort of took a hit to my appreciation for my culture," he said. "I was very self-hating toward my culture, in terms of my childhood. I eventually stopped bringing home food and I ate cafeteria food every single day."

Children would sometimes pull their eyes back, mocking his appearance. In middle school, he sometimes heard students use racist slurs in the halls.

He laughed it off, he said, focusing instead on academics, encouraged by parents who he said had a traditional view of how to succeed in America: study hard, work hard, raise a family.

In middle school and high school, however, he began to question those values, which he described as playing into the "model minority" stereotype. He wanted to grow beyond them. He picked up photography and began watching and analyzing films.

"It was sort of a rebellion growing up, to not align with my parents' views," he said.

Even as he made friends who also cared about bettering the world, he continued to hear racist slurs for black people and gay people being used by students at school.

"It's so easy to be racist as a young person who doesn't know any better," he said.

'So much work to do'

After Mr. Floyd's death, the teenagers started to see a familiar pattern unfold in Katy. White residents clung to the suburb's welcoming image — several immigrants had moved there in recent years — and trumpeted its proximity to Houston, one of the most diverse cities in the country, as proof that their community was not a racist place.

"They think because we're such a diverse area or city, that just makes up for everything," Ms. Dosunmu said.

Ms. Alvarez texted Mr. Jin on May 31 asking if he would be interested in holding a protest in Katy. A few days later, he looped in Ms. Dosunmu. They created a Facebook page and promoted the June 4 protest [on social media](#). Within days, other residents volunteered to help them with water, food, medical aid and sign language interpreters for people who are hard of hearing.

That protest will not be the end of their activism, all three agreed.

After the demonstration, the teenagers started a fund-raiser, which is still continuing, for a Houston-based center that helps care for L.G.B.T.Q. youth. They plan to hold a "student series" at their schools to showcase stories of racism from students to help others better understand the harm.

"There's just so much to do, so much to work out," Ms. Alvarez said. "We have a billion documents in our Google Drive."