DESCRIBING AFRICAN AMERICAN AND CAUCASIAN CRIMINALS ON FOX NEWS: A COMPARISON OF WORD AND VERB CHOICE

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Introduction

The inspiration for this research topic stems from my personal observation that many people in my community have a racial bias against African Americans. I was born and raised in Bloomington Indiana, and according to the 2010 Census data, 83% of its population is Caucasian. But even though the majority of the population in Bloomington is Caucasian, I did not notice this bias against African Americans until I moved to Richmond Indiana for college. It was during this time that I heard negative comments about African Americans. I did not understand why people had these racially negative perceptions about Blacks, as I personally did not have negative experiences with them. I asked one of my classmates, who demonstrated a negative perception about African Americans, why she felt this way. She told me that when she sees a Black person on the news, they are almost always committing a violent crime. It was at this moment that I realized how influential the news reports can be on the viewers’ opinions. It was especially concerning for me to know that because Indiana is a predominantly White state, the information from the news may be the only information people can use to develop their ideas of other races. It is therefore hoped that including a study on racially biased language in the media will help to build awareness of this issue.

The general objective of this study is to analyze the descriptions of two racially diverse groups on a major television channel in order to illuminate any racially biased
tendencies. While previous studies have provided information about racial bias in television news through the use of images (Barnett 2003), the overrepresentation of minority criminals (Dixon and Linz, 2000), and the overrepresentation of Caucasian victims (Dixon and Linz, 2000), there is less information about the language in television news which may cause racial biases. It is hoped that by conducting this study, reliable information about racially biased language in the media will be available to those in the linguistic community.

The specific objective for this study is to identify the types of language used to describe African American and Caucasian criminals on Fox 59 News at 10. The goals of this objective are to identify differences of language use between the African American and Caucasian criminals, to determine specific language patterns among both races, and to detect what these language patterns signify.

Previous studies have shown that a racial bias is present when anchors report on crime stories. According to Barnett (2003), television crime news contains visual bias; namely, images of African American criminals dressed in orange apparel, wearing handcuffs and being restrained by a police officer are used. Entman and Rojecki (2000) add that reporters often use mug shots for African American criminals more than for Caucasian criminals. It is also argued that there is an overrepresentation of Black criminals and an overrepresentation of White victims on television news (Gilliam, 1996; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Chapman, 2008).
The literature on biased language in the media agree that the use of language (in the media) has the potential to produce biased attitudes. Ewell (2012) found that the use of adjectives and descriptive verbs specifically, can create a racial bias, as media viewers will typically replicate the specific language in their own descriptions of the event. Floyd (2000) adds to this argument and states that reporting verbs used by news anchors can also create biased thinking. Floyd explicitly looked at the reporting verbs ‘professed’ and ‘claimed’ which are argued to have negative connotations and ‘announced’ and ‘pointed out’ which are identified as more positive. If an anchor uses ‘claimed’, for example, the subject is seen more unreliable than if the reporter uses ‘pointed out’. The choice of active and passive voice when reporting on a story can also cause a bias and influence the viewers’ perceptions. Knobloch-Westerwick & Taylor (2008) state that when active voice is used to describe actions relative to an event, that agent is more seen as the cause of that event than when passive voiced is used. In relation to crime stories, it is suggested that the crime is more accepting to the viewers when it is reported in passive voice. (Henley and Beazley, 1995).

While there is literature on racial bias in the media, and there is literature on language bias in the media, there is little research on racially biased language in the media. One study found on this particular topic analyzed the use of passive voice to describe minorities in the media. Seymour, (2006) discovered that passive voice was used in the New York Times and Los Angeles Times to describe minorities in the business field more than dominant-group members in the business field. Seymour argues that these
results portray minorities as passive while the dominant-group members are portrayed as having more initiative and energy. Seymour’s findings show that minorities are described by using passive voice more frequently than with dominant-group members, but these findings were not focused on crime stories; rather, they were focused on topics of business accomplishments. Passive voice was used, however, for dominant-group members when more ‘negative’ topics arose, such as government accusations. It is believed by Seymour that the passive voice was used in more negative situations as a way to shield subjects from accusations.

Based on the findings of previous studies mentioned above, I believe racially-biased language will be used to describe male African American criminals. To be specific, I hypothesize that the crimes committed by male African American criminals on Fox News will be described by victims and witnesses by using the reporting verb say/said more frequently than crimes committed by male Caucasians. In comparison, I hypothesize that the crimes committed by male Caucasian criminals will be described by victims and witnesses by using the negative reporting verb claim/claimed more frequently than the crimes committed by male African Americans. I also hypothesize that the active voice will be used more frequently to describe the actions of male African American criminals than it will be for male Caucasian criminals, and the passive voice will be used more frequently to describe the actions of male Caucasian criminals than it will be for male African American criminals. By using the active voice, the crimes will be viewed as more serious, and the criminals will be viewed as more responsible for their
actions, and by using the passive voice, the crimes will be viewed as more acceptable and the criminals will be portrayed as less responsible for their actions.

For the purpose of this study, a criminal is defined as a person who has done physical harm to another person or persons as a result of intentionally breaking the law. Those who have attacked, raped and killed someone else would be considered a criminal for this study. Those who have driven through a stop sign, consumed illegal drugs, and had sex in exchange for money would not be considered a criminal for this study. The exception to this definition is of course if these actions were performed in order to hurt or kill another person or persons (i.e. if a man drove through a stop sign in order to intentionally hit the car in front of him).

Due to the limited amount of previous studies focusing on racially biased language in the media, those who are studying linguistics have little knowledge available to them on this topic. It is imperative for the linguistic community to expand their knowledge on this subject because of the issue of modern racism. Even though we do not see racism in the form of open bigotry as often as before (traditional racism), we witness a more subtle type of racism in our daily lives (modern racism). While modern racism is not as obvious, it still influences the viewers’ racial attitudes (Entman, 1992). It is suggested that the portrayal of modern racism is responsible for the belief that Black males are the significant criminal offenders in America. A study examining the relationship between race and crime, found that White participants were more likely to associate a Black face with crime and criminality than a White face (Charles, 2009).
As mentioned previously, modern racism can occur through the use of certain images (e.g. wearing orange apparel and handcuffs), overrepresentation of a specific race, and underrepresentation of a specific race. But another manner in which the reporters display modern racism is through their language. This study will help to identify the specific language which may negatively influence racial attitudes by the viewers. By reporting on the biased language in this study, viewers will be more aware of their own racial attitudes; moreover, they will be aware that racism is a continuing problem in our society. In addition to building awareness of this issue for the viewers, it is believed that journalists will also be more aware of the concern of modern racism in the news if a study like this is provided.

Recognizing patterns of biased language in the news is especially important for such a popular network like Fox. This particular television network is well-known and viewed among numerous people. If the results of the study indicate that Fox does use biased language, a large population of viewers is exposed to this bias, which can lead to an immense number of negative attitudes toward African Americans.
Literature Review

Previous studies that are related to the topic of media bias suggest that the majority of viewers are aware of the biases presented in the media; however, these biases still influence the viewers’ opinions and attitudes. Studies on racial bias discuss the notion of ‘modern racism’, a type of racism that is more subtle and direct in comparison to racism before. The literature on biased language argue that the use of the reporting verb ‘claim’ as well as the active voice can portray a bias.

Media Bias

Media bias is an argument that has been going on for several years, and it is believed by Sloan (2007) that the argument has only intensified, with more books and magazine articles debating about the issue. According to Sloan, both conservatives and liberals believe that the media is biased, which puts the journalists at ease, as they believe that the conflicting viewpoints indicate that the media is not taking sides at all. Not only do journalists believe there is no media bias because of the conflicting viewpoints, they also believe that they have been trained to be ‘objective’, and therefore report topics in a balanced and fair manner. Contrary to the journalists’ beliefs, some studies claim that 75% of the public believes that the news media are biased. These results are damaging, as the credibility of the news has continued to decline over the years (Sloan 2007).
The way in which journalists choose to report on information is claimed to be the main cause of the strong belief of media bias. Even though journalists are trained to be objective, it is believed that the concept of ‘objectivity’ has changed from the model used before. It is said that the modern model allows journalists to have more freedom in expressing their own thoughts, views and values on a story (Floyd, 2000).

Media Bias and the Influence of Viewers’ Attitudes

Despite the common belief among viewers that the media is biased, studies have suggested that the viewers’ attitudes are influenced by what is seen and heard in the media. Studies that support the argument that the media influences the viewers’ attitudes were conducted by Henley and Miller, Ewell and Barnett. Henley and Miller (1995) found through their study that reports about violence against women that were described using the passive voice were viewed as less harmful to the victim than when these crimes were described using the active voice. The study involved 56 participants. The participants’ task was to read mock articles about rape, battery, robbery and murder. Every story included a female victim and a male perpetrator, but the actions described alternated between the active and passive voice. The participants’ attitudes changed depending on whether the actions were described using active and passive voice, confirming that this type of media bias influenced the viewers’ attitudes toward the criminals and the victims. In a study conducted by Ewell (2012), participants were asked to read articles related to crime. These articles were altered to contain more adjectives.
and descriptive verbs than the original stories. Results of this study demonstrated that the participants had more negative attitudes toward the criminal when adjectives and descriptive verbs were used frequently. Moreover, the participants believed the story more when these variables were applied. This study shows that the language bias did not only influence the viewers’ attitudes toward the criminals, it also affected their views on the credibility of the story. Barnett (2003) found similar results in a study involving criminals. Barnett conducted a study in which subjects watched television crime news stories that either contained visual or audio bias. The visuals included images of the criminals in handcuffs, wearing orange and being retained by a policeman. The audio bias included mention of a previous criminal record. The results of this study indicated that the forty subjects did, in fact, find the accused as more threatening, dangerous and guilty when the visual or aural bias was used.

**Modern Racism**

Modern racism is described by scholars as a subtle and implicit form of racism. Although this type of racism is indirect (unlike traditional racism), attitudes and behaviors still demonstrate an emotional hostility toward other races (Entman, 1990, 1992; Schake and Rusher, 1998). Studies about modern racism include African American stereotypical behaviors and the portrayal of Blacks on television news.

Schnake and Ruscher, (1998) hypothesized that European Americans who are more prejudiced against African Americans would display linguistic abstraction of
stereotypical behaviors to a greater extent than those with less prejudice. As Schnake and Rusher predicted, European Americans that were more prejudiced against African Americans described African Americans' stereotypical behaviors in a more abstract fashion, whereas the low-prejudiced subjects described the behaviors more concretely. The results of this study convey the notion of modern racism, as the degree of negativity was subtle when the subjects described African American stereotypical behaviors.

Entman (1990, 1992) uses the portrayal of crime on television news as an example of modern racism, as these portrayals stimulate whites’ animosity toward blacks. Entman argues that a modern form of racism is utilized in normal crime and political coverage that depict African Americans as more physically threatening and demanding than Caucasians. Entman further argues that the high visibility of African American journalists increases the denial of racial discrimination.

**Reporting Verbs ‘Claim’ and ‘Say’**

Even though reporting verbs typically do not receive stress in spoken English, Floyd argues that they are still a significant part of the report, as they indirectly show the journalists’ viewpoints and they have the ability to influence the viewers’ opinions. When the reporting verb ‘say’ is used, it has a neutral connotation and needs the accompaniment of an adverb to make it more biased. When the reporting verb ‘claim’ is used, however, it has negative connotations. The reporting verb ‘claim’ portrays a position of weakness, inferiority or ignorance, and it gives the listeners a feeling of doubt.
In comparison, the reporting verb ‘say’ gives the impression that the person making the statement is better informed and more knowledgeable.

When these reporting verbs are used together in a sentence, we can identify who the journalists believe is more truthful. The following sentence is an example:

“Responding to Iraqi claims that the letter was written in a language unsuitable for head of state, Mr. Bush said that it was not rude but direct.” (p. 50) In this example, Floyd suggests that the journalist is implying that Mr. Bush is more truthful while the Iraqi is less truthful by using the reporting verbs ‘claim’ and ‘say’.

Active and Passive Voice

According to Henley, Miller and Beazley (1995), “Verb voice determines comprehension of the causal roles of different actors in a sentence.” (p. 61) When a sentence is written in the active voice, the readers or listeners view the subject as the primary causal role in the sentence. Conversely, when a sentence is written in the passive voice, the subject is no longer viewed as the primary causal role in the sentence. In news reports, the active voice is used to give more responsibility to the agent while the passive voice is used to give less responsibility to the agent. Specifically, the passive voice can be used to mitigate responsibility of the agents when their negative actions are described. An example of this function is when reporters talk about police violence. Rather than saying “Police shoot 11 dead”, the reporter will typically say “11 shot dead by police”.
According to Henley et al., previous findings suggest that the passive voice is especially used to obscure responsibility of those who are of the more dominant gender and race. The findings therefore suggest that the passive voice has been used to obscure the responsibility of males and Caucasians. In relation to this idea, the passive voice also functions as a way to view a crime as more accepting than when it is reported in the active voice. Henley et al. use the example of reports on violence against women (VAW). When there are reports about VAW, Henley et al. found that the frequency of the passive voice was greater than the frequency of the active voice. The results of this study imply that the passive voice is used frequently for VAW crimes as a way to make the viewers believe that these types of crimes are more acceptable than crimes reported in the active voice.

Scholars who have written about media bias have argued that journalists have more freedom to express their personal viewpoints than before, and some journalists are expressing their negative opinions of African Americans by depicting them as more threatening than Caucasians.

In terms of the biased language used in news reports, previous literature has argued that the use of the reporting verbs ‘claim’ and ‘say’ depict a bias, as ‘claim’ can imply an uncertain statement while ‘say’ implies more truth of the statement. It is also suggested that the use of verb voice can indicate a bias, as sentences in the passive voice diminish the responsibility of the agent and for sentences in the active voice; the subject is viewed as the primary cause of the action.
Because of the former findings of previous studies, I am hypothesizing that there will be racially biased language on Fox 59 News at 10. I hypothesize that the racially biased language will include using the reporting verb *say/said* for victim and witness statements more frequently to describe the male African American criminals’ actions than the male Caucasian criminals’ actions. In comparison, I hypothesize that the crimes committed by male Caucasian criminals will be described by victims and witnesses by using the negative reporting verb *claim/claimed* more frequently than the crimes committed by male African Americans. I also hypothesize that the active voice will be used more frequently to describe the actions of male African American criminals than it will be for male Caucasian criminals, and the passive voice will be used more frequently to describe the actions of male Caucasian criminals than it will be for male African American criminals.
Scholars have discovered that a racial bias against African Americans exists in the news through the use of images portraying African Americans as more threatening, the overrepresentation of African American criminals, and the overrepresentation of Caucasian victims (Barnett 2003; Dixon and Linz, 2000). Linguists argue that the use of the reporting verbs ‘say’ and ‘claim’ as well as the use of verb voice can also create a bias. Based on these arguments, I have suggested that the reporting verb ‘say’ will be used to refer to the statements made by victims and witnesses more frequently for crime stories about African American criminals than for Caucasian criminals. The reporting verb ‘claim’, I believe, will be used for victim and witness statements more frequently when the story is about a Caucasian criminal. Secondly, I have suggested that the active voice will be used more frequently to describe the actions of African American criminals than Caucasian criminals while the passive voice will be used more frequently to describe the actions of Caucasian criminals than African American criminals.

The method chosen for the study will directly identify whether the stated hypotheses are verified or not; the audio recordings of the crime stories help me focus completely on the language being used, the transcription of the crime stories clearly identifies the specific language patterns that possibly demonstrate a racial bias, and the
coding of the variables assists in illustrating the frequency of the suggested biased language.

In agreement with Floyd (2000) and Knobloch-Westerwick & Taylor (2008), two reporting verbs and the active/passive voice were chosen as variables to identify in the spoken text because they often illustrate a bias. The choice of the specific reporting verbs, however, was chosen through the method of pre-viewing the text. The pre-viewing of Fox 59 News at 10 occurred on October 30, 2012. The hour long episode was viewed, and notes about the use of specific reporting verbs were taken. The verbs claim and say were heard the most when reporting on the crimes; therefore, these two verbs were chosen as the dependent variables. These variables were also chosen because of their function.

The use of the active and passive voice was also looked for during the pre-viewing of Fox 59 at 10, to ensure that enough samples could be found. The active and passive voices were identified several times during the previewing and were therefore selected as variables as well.

**Duration**

Fox 59 News at 10 was recorded for a period of 10 weeks, from November 5th 2012 until January 14th 2013. The 10 week duration of recording was chosen on the basis of the length of crime stories on this news channel. Broadcasting of crime stories represent a small portion of time on Fox 59 News at 10, typically not exceeding 8-10
minutes of the hour episode. To collect an appropriate amount of crime stories, it is believed that 10 weeks of recording time is most suitable. Additionally, special days such as Election Day, Thanksgiving and Football Friday do not have typical episodes of Fox news at 10; on these days, crime stories are taken out completely. Thus, by choosing a significant length of recording time, it accounts for days that do not have crime stories at all.

Materials

Fox 59 News is chosen specifically because it has a reputation for being biased; not only a conservative bias, but also a racial bias. Johnson et al. (2010) examined how Fox News reflected racial ideology when covering news on hurricane Katrina. The findings confirmed that semantic items did reflect a racial bias against African Americans. If the allegations are true and Fox does portray a racial bias, the type of biased language that is targeted in this study is more likely to occur than other television networks. The 10pm news is chosen over the morning and afternoon news because it reports all crime activity on that day. While the morning and afternoon news on Fox include crime stories, those stories are commonly repeated at 10pm, because the stories have progressed since then. Fox News at 10 also includes new stories that are not reported earlier in the day.

The crime stories on Fox 59 News at 10 were audio recorded, by means of an ipad app called ‘Quick Voice’. This program gives me the ability to record sounds, title each
recording and organize the recordings by date. After completing the recording of each crime story, a title was given to that recording as a way to organize the text. The title included information on the criminal (race, age), information on the victim (gender, age and race) and the specific variable(s) found. For instance, when a crime story included the verb *claim*, that verb was noted in the title. Quick Voice is ideal to use for titling the data because there is no word limit for titles.

**Data Collection**

The method for collecting the dependent variables (the reporting verbs and the active and passive voice) requires 1) audio recording of the text 2) transcription of the text and 3) coding of the text.

To audio record the crime stories on Fox News at 10, the ipad was placed next to the television speakers, with the volume increased to 30 on the television. This procedure ensured that the reporters would clearly be heard on the recording and other background noises would be eliminated. The Quick Voice app contains a recording/pause button, which was clicked on when the crime story began and clicked on again when the story ended. When I noticed that a crime story was not beneficial for the particular study (e.g. the criminal was female), the delete button was pressed. Deletion of the unnecessary crime stories helped to maintain an organized list of the beneficial stories.

After all the crime stories on Fox 59 News at 10 were recorded in the ten weeks, the recordings were transcribed into text. The process of transcribing the text helped to
detect patterns more easily. Even though recording the stories helped me hear language patterns, typing them out assisted me even more when identifying the reporting verbs and the active and passive voice, since I have observed that the reporters speak rather quickly. Furthermore, transcribing the audio text into written text helped to trigger findings of other language patterns which also contributed to the significance of this study. For each transcribed report, the date that the story was heard on Fox 59 News was noted. The criminal’s race, age and crime type was then labeled as well as the victim’s race, gender and age. Below is an example of the noted date and the labels:

1) November 5th 2012
   Criminal: White, late 50s
   Crime: Sexual abuse
   Victim: male, 18, unknown race

The labeling was chosen as a way to make the coding process more convenient, since the coding procedure includes categorizing language patterns based on the noted variables. The transcribed reports also included the author of each statement. For instance, statements directly said by the reporter were noted separately from statements said by the policeman:

2) Police: Well, there were several acts that were described to us. Observing him throw the cat against the wall up to 5 times-um apparently place some type of a 20 pound dumbbell on the cat’s paw to try to break the paw.
   Reporter: Awful
   Police: taking a power cord from a computer, placing it around the cat’s neck and parading it around or dragging it around the room.

These notes were also used to prepare for the coding process, as a categorization of the authors of every statement is included in the coding procedure.
The recordings were transcribed by using the ipad to listen to the audio text and by using Microsoft Word to copy the crime stories into written text. The stories were copied word for word, including the use discourse markers, minimal responses and repeated words. Inclusion of every word verifies that none of the language patterns are missing. The emphasis of certain words was also noted by typing these words in all upper case letters. This helped me to see whether the suggested biased language is not only used frequently, but is emphasized by the news reporters. The following sentence is an example of the method used to transcribe the audio text into written text:

3) Well, it was a dangerous combination and it happened RIGHT on an Indianapolis street.

In this example, we can observe that the discourse marker ‘well’ is included in the text and the word ‘right’ is written in upper case letters to demonstrate that it was emphasized in the report.

One issue that arose during the transcription of the audio text into written text was the occurrences of unintelligible utterances; specifically, when the reporter stated the names of people, streets, companies, etc. When the utterances of names could not be comprehended, the crime stories were searched online. By using other keywords from the crime story, the unintelligible names were found and inputted in the transcription document.

The final step used to discover if crime stories about male African American criminals do, in fact, produce more biased language, is coding. The use of a coding
system was important to include for the method because it clearly arranged the data into the necessary categories. For instance, by using the coding method, reports on African American criminals were able to be a separate category from the Caucasian criminals. The coding process began by using MonoConc Pro. This program is used to count the frequency of specific words in a text and was therefore used to count the frequency of the reporting verbs *claim* and *say*. Because the program can only look at *word* frequencies, it was used to count the reporting verb frequencies, but it could not be used to find instances of the active and passive voice. The transcribed text was inputted in the software program by highlighting the transcription file from Microsoft Word and then pasting the document directly to the space provided in the software program. Once the document is seen in the program, the option to search for frequencies of certain words is given. The verbs *say/said* and *claim/claimed* were typed in the search engine and a count of the reporting verbs appeared along with the sentence that the reporting verbs occurred in.

The text from MonoConc Pro was then organized by the use of a coding document. Each story that used the reporting verbs *claim/claimed* and *say/said* was copied from MonoConc Pro and pasted onto the coding document in the ‘notes’ section, with each story having its own document (no more than one crime story on each coding document). For the instances of active and passive voice, the text was taken directly from the transcription document on Microsoft Word, but the same process applied: each story
that used the active and passive voice was copied from the transcription document and pasted onto the coding document.

After pasting each story on the coding document, the sentences that used the reporting verbs and verb voice were separated, with space provided for each sentence. The procedure of copying the sentences which contain the reporting verbs is included 1) to ensure that the words *claim* and *say* are used as reporting verbs 2) to determine whether the sentence has a negative, neutral or positive connotation. The following are examples of these cases:

3) *It follows the 2007 shootings at Virginia Tech, which claimed 32 lives.*
4) *He claims the alleged events happened at local hotels and even in the pastor’s van*
5) *The 29 year old victim says Jetter abused him when he was 12 and 13 years old.*

In the fourth example, even though ‘claimed’ is used here as a verb, when looking at the rest of sentence, it is discovered that it is not actually used as a reporting verb since nobody is using the verb ‘claim’ to report on an incident. If space is provided to write the sentence that the verb is used in, we can determine whether it is actually used as a reporting verb or not. Example 5 shows that ‘claims’ is used as a reporting verb, as the victim is reporting on an incident that happened between him and a criminal. We can also notice another word in the sentence that suggests a more negative connotation; the word *alleged* is used here to suggest that the statement from the victim is uncertain whether it is true or not. By using the provided space, we can determine that this type of sentence has a more negative connotation than example 6, which does not use the word *alleged.*
The procedure of copying the sentences which contain the verb voice is included to separate the use of active/passive voice to describe the actions of the criminals and the actions of the victims. The examples below demonstrate both instances.

6) *The man shot the victim.*
7) *The victim was shot by the man*
8) *The victim called the police after being attacked.*
9) *The police was contacted by the victim after being attacked*

When comparing examples 7 and 8, the use of the active voice in example 7 gives us the impression that the man is more responsible for the crime than the use of the passive voice in example 8. For examples 9 and ten, the victim is portrayed as a more passive individual in example ten than in example eleven. In other words, while the use of the active voice depicts the criminal as more negative, the use of the active voice for victims puts them in a more positive light. In contrast, using the passive voice to describe the actions of criminals is viewed as less negative while using the passive voice to describe the actions of victims is viewed as more negative. Because of the vast differences in the function of the active and passive voice between criminals and victims, it is necessary to document the sentences that the active and passive voice is used.

Following the recording of sentences on the coding document, the template then documents the frequency of the reporting verbs by providing space to allow the coder to put the number of times each verb is stated in the report. The second section allows the coder to note who said the reporting verbs: the victim/witness or the criminal himself. The sentences below exemplify the two author types:
10) At least two patients claimed they were required to undergo a pelvic exam
11) Jenkins initially claimed the injuries were caused by constipation and a harsh spanking.

Example eleven illustrates a statement said by two victims, because they are explaining the criminal act that they themselves endured. This sentence would therefore be noted as a statement said by the victim/witness on the coding document. Example 8 demonstrates a statement said by the criminal himself, as he is explaining the assumed crime that he committed himself. Example twelve would then be coded as a statement said by the criminal.

For the coding of active and passive voice, the first section of the template provides space to list the number of times that the active and passive voice is used in that crime story. The use of active voice does not include any times that the reporter may speak in the first person (e.g. if the reporter says, ‘now, I will tell you about a crime that happened in Muncie’ this instance of the active voice will not be counted). Including a space on the template to list the number of times the active voice is used helps to determine the frequency of the active and passive voice for all of the crime stories, crimes committed by African Americans, and crimes committed by Caucasians. The second section of the coding document for the active and passive voice asks who used the active/passive voice in the statement; police/detectives/investigators, victims/witnesses or the reporter. The examples below demonstrate the three different categories:

12) Police said Wilson took the girl as she slept and then sexually assaulted and strangled her.
13) In the words of a 7 year old girl, Mr. Haile gave her a bad touch during story time at Pinnacle school.

14) Smith attacked the woman in September 2011

Example 13 falls into the police/detectives/investigators category, because the sentence begins with ‘police said’, implying that the proceeding statement was said by a policeman. Example 14 is placed in the victims/witnesses category, as the victim (the 7 year old girl) is the person who is making the statement about Mr. Haile. In comparison, example 15 does not mention that the police, detectives, investigators, witnesses or victims are giving a statement about the incident; therefore, this example would be placed in the ‘reporter’ category, as it is said directly by the reporter.

After the language of the crime stories have been coded by documenting the sentences, the frequency, and the authors of the statements containing reporting verbs and verb voice, a second coding document codes for the criminal and victim background as well as for the language used in the news report. The criminal background documents the ethnicity, age and crime type. Gender does not need to be coded for the criminal because the data is exclusively looking at male criminals. The ethnicity of the criminal is also exclusive to Caucasian and African American, since other ethnicities represented a very small percentage and were therefore too small to include in the study. The age of the criminal is separated into four age groups; 0-12, 13-17, 18-30, 31-65 and 66 and older. The crime type is separated as well, starting with assault, attack, theft, rape, unintentional homicide, intentional homicide and other. A space is provided next to the ‘other’ crime
type in case a reported crime that is not listed on the template proved to be useful for the study. The victim background documents the gender, age, and ethnicity. The age of the victim is separated in the same manner as the criminal’s age. The ethnicity of the victim includes African American, Caucasian, Latino, Asian, Indian American and other. The ‘other’ category also includes a space to fill in another ethnicity that is not listed on the template. Finally, the coding template includes additional space to record any extra notes on both the criminal and the victim. The space is used in the event that information (that is not included on the template) proves to be crucial for the study. If, for instance, the victim is a pet dog, that can be documented in the notes section.

The choice of categories to include in the coding template for criminal and victim background is modeled after LeDuff (2007). LeDuff compared crime stories reported in Indianapolis, Indiana and New Orleans, Louisiana. She looked explicitly at the amount of reported crimes in the two cities in comparison to the police reports compiled by the FBI. Leduff’s coding system documented the race of criminals versus the race of victims, types of crimes and the race of reporters. The coding choices of Leduff’s study were followed in this study, with the exception of the reporters’ race and the victim’s age. I chose not to document the race of the reporters because it is uncertain whether the stories are written and prepared by the reporters or whether they are prepared by other journalists. Because this is unknown, we cannot say whether the race of the reporter is a factor of how they describe the actions of the criminals. The age of the victim is added to the coding system, as the choice of specific language could be altered depending on the
age. Observations from the pre-viewing of Fox News demonstrated, for example, that the use of the active voice is used more for victims between the ages of 0-12. If the frequency of the active voice is greater among younger victims, it is important to document this information in order to determine whether crimes involving African American criminals and young victims are described using the active voice more than Caucasian criminals and young victims.

Following Leduff’s method, the race of the criminals, the race of the victims and the type of crimes will be documented, as each element will be crucial for this study. The race of the criminals will be documented because it is the independent variable. The purpose of the study is to see whether the criminals’ race causes a change in the language used to describe their actions. The race of the victims is documented to discover if one type of reporting verb or voice is used more when the victim is of a certain race. Will the possible patterns of biased language be used more if the victim is White rather than Black? Will the use of specific language patterns be avoided if the victim is a minority? Answering these questions could quite possibly reveal an interesting correlation between the race of the criminal and the race of the victim, which will contribute to the significance of the study. Finally, the type of crimes will also be documented for this study because the use of the two reporting verbs and the active/passive voice could show differences depending on the type of crime committed.

In the tables below, the formats of the coding templates are shown. Table 1 displays the coding template for the criminal and victim background. In Table 2, the
coding template displays the coding system for documenting the reporting verbs. In Table 3, the coding template for the active and passive voice is shown:
### Table 1: Criminal and Victim Background-Coding Template

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Information on Criminal</th>
<th>Information on Victim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Ethnicity:**
  - □ African American
  - □ Caucasian

- **Age:**
  - □ 0-12
  - □ 13-17
  - □ 18-30
  - □ 31-65
  - □ 66 and older

- **Crime type:**
  - □ Assault
  - □ Attack
  - □ Theft
  - □ Rape
  - □ Unintentional homicide
  - □ Intentional homicide
  - □ Other_____________________

- **Gender:**
  - □ male
  - □ female

- **Ethnicity:**
  - □ African American
  - □ Caucasian
  - □ Latino
  - □ Asian
  - □ Indian American
  - □ Other__________

- **Age:**
  - □ 0-12
  - □ 13-17
  - □ 18-30
  - □ 31-65
  - □ 66 and older

**Notes:**
Table 2: Reporting Verbs in Crime Report- Coding Template

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reporting Verb: Claim</th>
<th>Reporting Verb: Say</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Frequency of ‘claim’ in the crime story:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Frequency of ‘say’ in the crime story:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporting Verb Sentences:</td>
<td>Reporting Verb Sentences:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stated by: ☐Victims/Witnesses ☐ criminals</td>
<td>Stated by: ☐Victims/Witnesses ☐ criminals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. __________________________</td>
<td>1. __________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stated by: ☐ Victims/Witnesses ☐ criminals</td>
<td>Stated by: ☐ Victims/Witnesses ☐ criminals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. __________________________</td>
<td>2. __________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stated by: ☐ ☐ Victims/Witnesses ☐ criminals</td>
<td>Stated by: ☐ ☐ Victims/Witnesses ☐ criminals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. __________________________</td>
<td>3. __________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stated by: ☐ ☐ Victims/Witnesses ☐ criminals</td>
<td>Stated by: ☐ ☐ Victims/Witnesses ☐ criminals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. __________________________</td>
<td>4. __________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stated by: ☐ ☐ Victims/Witnesses ☐ criminals</td>
<td>Stated by: ☐ ☐ Victims/Witnesses ☐ criminals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. __________________________</td>
<td>5. __________________________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
Table 3: Active and Passive Voice in Crime Report- Coding Template

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active Voice</th>
<th>Passive Voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of the active voice in the crime story: _________</td>
<td>Frequency of the passive voice in the crime story: _________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Voice Sentences:</td>
<td>Passive Voice Sentences:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stated by: □ police/detectives/investigators</td>
<td>Stated by: □ police/detectives/investigators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Victims/Witnesses □ reporters</td>
<td>□ Victims/Witnesses □ reporters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____________________________</td>
<td>____________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stated by: □ police/detectives/investigators</td>
<td>Stated by: □ police/detectives/investigators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Victims/Witnesses □ reporters</td>
<td>□ Victims/Witnesses □ reporters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____________________________</td>
<td>____________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stated by: □ police/detectives/investigators</td>
<td>Stated by: □ police/detectives/investigators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Victims/Witnesses □ reporters</td>
<td>□ Victims/Witnesses □ reporters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____________________________</td>
<td>____________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stated by: □ police/detectives/investigators</td>
<td>Stated by: □ police/detectives/investigators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>□ Victims/Witnesses □ reporters</td>
<td>□ Victims/Witnesses □ reporters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>____________________________</td>
<td>____________________________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
The method that is selected for this study is the most appropriate way to prove or disprove my theses because 1) the choice of using Fox 59 News is more likely to have more occurrences of negative adjectives and the active voice (since this specific network has a reputation of being biased) 2) transcribing the audio text into written text will assist me with identifying the desired language used and 3) the coding system functions as a tool to arrange all text into the necessary categories; the criminal’s race, the type of crime, the use of the reporting verbs and the use of the active and passive voice.
Results and Discussion

To support the arguments found by scholars about racial bias and language bias in the media, I hypothesized that racially biased language will be identified on Fox 59 News at 10. I specifically hypothesized that: 1) the crimes committed by male African American criminals on Fox News will be described by victims and witnesses by using the reporting verb *say/said* more frequently than crimes committed by male Caucasians 2) the crimes committed by male Caucasian criminals will be described by victims and witnesses by using the negative reporting verb *claim/claimed* more frequently than the crimes committed by male African Americans 3) the active voice will be used more frequently to describe the actions of male African American criminals than it will be for male Caucasian criminals, and 4) the passive voice will be used more frequently to describe the actions of male Caucasian criminals than it will be for male African American criminals.

A method with specific procedures was chosen to determine whether the hypotheses are confirmed. By audio recording crime stories, transcribing the audio text into written text, and coding the written transcription to detect the uses of the reporting verbs ‘claim’ and ‘say’ and the active/passive voice, we are able to conclude whether the findings prove or disprove the hypotheses.
The results of the study indicate that the use of the reporting verbs *claim* and *say* as well as the use of the active and passive voice suggest that in some aspects of Fox 59 News, there is a language bias against African American criminals. This suggestion is argued because of the frequency of the reporting verbs and verb voice as well as the content in which the language patterns occur in.

Table 4 notes the frequency of the reporting verb *claim* used by victims and witnesses as well as the criminals to describe the Caucasian and African American criminals. Table 5 illustrates the frequency of the reporting verb, *say* used by victims, witnesses and criminals to describe the African American and Caucasian criminals. Table 6 includes both of the reporting verbs *claim* and *say* as a way to clearly compare the frequencies of both verbs used to report on African American and Caucasian criminals. Figure 1 then graphs the frequencies of the reporting verbs used by victims, witnesses and criminals to report on the Caucasian and African American criminals. In figure 1, the blue columns represent the usage of the reporting verb *claim* while the green columns represent the verb *say*. The section of the figure that is labeled ‘race’ signifies the race of the criminal, and the section labeled ‘author’ signifies the person who used the reporting verb.

The results of the reporting verbs show that the frequency of the reporting verb *claim* used by witnesses and victims was slightly more to describe the actions of male Caucasian criminals (5%) than for African American criminals (8%). To compare, the reporting verb *say* was used by victims and witnesses to describe the actions of Caucasian
criminals more frequently than African American criminals (58% and 32% respectively).

In regards to the use of the two reporting verbs by the criminals themselves, one instance (.2%) of *claim* was used by a Caucasian criminal, and eleven instances of *say* (26%) was used by Caucasian criminals. No instances of *claim* or *say* were used by African American criminals.

According to the results of this study, the use of the reporting verbs *claim* and *say* as well as the use of the active and passive voice suggest that in some aspects of Fox 59 News, there is a language bias against African American criminals. If we look at table 6, we can see that even though the use of the reporting verb *claim* is not a significant difference between the reports on African American and Caucasian criminals, it is important to notice that the reporting verb *say* is used by the Caucasian criminals themselves 26% of the time. In comparison, the use of the verb *say* is never used by the African American criminals. This is because, among all of the reports on African American criminals recorded in the 10 weeks, the criminal’s statement was never heard. The victim and witness statements about the African American criminals, however, were used 32% of the time. The absence of statements from the African American criminals on Fox 59 News could create a racial bias because the audience does not hear the African American criminals’ sides of the stories; rather, they are only hearing the statements of witnesses and criminals. When comparing this to the Caucasian criminals, we do hear their statements, which make them sound less guilty of the crime. The following is an example of a statement from a Caucasian criminal:
15) **Now, Haile told detectives the incident was an accident, he says**

This statement was said by a Caucasian criminal, whose crime was molesting a young girl. Because this criminal’s statement was heard on the news, viewers may believe that the crime was an accident, and may find him innocent. The statements of African American criminals are excluded from the reports, which may result in a more negative perception from the viewers.

Additionally, if we look at the reporting verb *claim* qualitatively in the crime stories, we can observe that depending on the other words within the story, the witnesses and victims can be portrayed as more negative or less negative:

16) **Dr. Segun Rasaki was found guilty of both sexual battery and battery in September. At least two patients **claimed** they were required to undergo a pelvic exam or pap smear every 30 days without medical necessity. Another patient **said** she went in to receive treatment for her ankle injury and without examination was prescribed Vicodin and required to undergo a breast exam. Another patient **said** on one occasion Rasaki asked her, "You don’t have anybody to call when you need sex?" On another occasion, **she** said, Rasaki moved his hands down the front of her pants and placed them on her genitals.**

17) **A man **accused** of child molestation bonds out of jail. Steve Harding is a Hancock County youth minister. He’s actually a youth minister and a former high school wrestling coach. He is now charged with molestation and sexual misconduct. A 16 year old girl **claims** Harding sexually assaulted her both at his home and at the new Palestine United Methodist church. Harding is on administrative leave. He denies the **allegations**; he will be back in court though in February.**

Example 17 is a molestation crime committed by an African American doctor. We can see that the reporting verb *claim* is used here to report on the victims’ statements, however, the reporting verb *say* is used much more frequently in this story, which gives
the viewers the impression that the victims’ statements are certain about the criminal. Example 18 is also a molestation crime committed by a Caucasian youth minister and former coach. In this story we can observe that the negative reporting verb *claim* is used and is supplemented by other negative words; *accused* and *allegations*. The use of these words gives the listeners the impression that the victim’s statements are uncertain about the criminal’s actions. Hence, even though both of these stories use instances of the negative reporting verb *claim*, by looking at the rest of the context, we can see that the victim’s statements about the Caucasian criminal seem less certain than the victims’ statements about the African American criminal, giving the African American criminal a more negative impression on the viewers.

Table 7 represents the use of the active voice among police/detectives/investigators, victims/witnesses and reporters to describe the actions of African American and Caucasian criminals. Figure 2 follows this table, denoting the frequency of the active voice used by police, detectives and investigators (blue columns) victims and witnesses (green columns) and the reporters (beige columns) to describe both the Caucasian and African American criminals.

The results of the active voice used by victims and witnesses did not support the hypothesis, as the male Caucasian criminals were described more frequently in the active voice by the victims and witnesses than the male African American criminals were (21% and 16% respectively). The uses of the active voice by police, detectives, investigators and the reporters themselves, however, did support the
hypothesis. It was found that the active voice was used more frequently by police, detectives and investigators to describe the actions of male African American criminals than of male Caucasian criminals (21% and 28% respectively), and the active voice was used more frequently for male African American criminals than for male Caucasian criminals when the reporters themselves described their actions (32% and 9% respectively). It is especially significant to compare the active voice used by the reporters themselves to describe Caucasian and African American criminals, as the frequency of the active voice is the highest when used by the reporters. These finding suggest that the biased language is stated more directly by the journalists/reporters in comparison to statements said by other parties.

Overall, the total of the active voice used to describe the crimes committed by African American was 19 instances (76%) and for the crimes committed by Caucasians, 22 instances were found (51%). As it was found in previous studies, crimes are less accepted when the active voice is used, therefore, if the active voice is used more frequently to describe the actions of African American criminals than for Caucasian criminals, viewers may find those crimes committed by the African American criminals to be less acceptable. If the viewers believe that the crimes committed by African Americans are less acceptable than the crimes committed by Caucasians, they may build a negative perception of African Americans.

In addition to the high frequency of the active voice to describe crimes committed by African Americans, it is suggested that the reports which use the active voice to
describe the actions of African American criminals are perceived as more negative in comparison to the reports describing Caucasian criminals’ actions:

18) Eric Bowman shot her over a simple household chore.
19) Anthony Shockley shot and killed Clayton Battice in June of last year.
20) Belcher shot and killed his 22 year old girlfriend Cassandra

Although each of these examples contains the active voice, examples 20 and 21 can be perceived as more negative than the example 19. Example 19 is a report on a Caucasian criminal who shot his mother. Examples 20 and 21 are reports on African American criminals, who also shot people. The difference is that even though the Caucasian criminal killed his mother by shooting her, the verb kill is excluded in the active voice sentence. Because this verb is left out while both the verbs shot and killed are included to describe the actions of African American criminals, negative perceptions of the African American criminals are more likely to occur by the viewers.

Table 8 shows the usage of the passive voice by police/detectives/investigators, victims/witnesses and reporters; used to describe the male African American and Caucasian criminals. Figure 3 further depicts the passive frequencies used by the three author types, to describe the African American and Caucasian criminals. The frequency of the passive voice was counted for both the Caucasian and African American criminals, and the findings indicated that the police, detectives, investigators, victims, witnesses and reporters used the passive voice more frequently to describe the actions of male African American criminals than male Caucasian criminals. A total of 14 instances (56%) of the passive voice were found when describing the
actions of the African American criminals, while 5 instances (1%) of the passive voice were found when describing the actions of the Caucasian criminals.

As we can see from the results, the use of the passive voice does not follow the hypothesis that Caucasian criminals are described using the passive voice more than African American criminals. Although these findings do not support my original argument, when looking further into the results, the use of the passive voice can still suggest a racial bias against African Americans. Instead of focusing on the race of the criminal, if we identify the race of the victim, we can notice a pattern in terms of the use of the passive voice to describe the crimes against Caucasian and African American victims.

Table 9 illustrates the frequency of the passive voice used by police/detectives/investigators, victims/witnesses and the reporters to describe the crimes involving African American and Caucasian victims. The column labeled ‘unknown’ signifies that the race of the victim was not specified in the news report. Figure 4 follows Table 9 to further illustrate the frequency of the passive voice used to describe crimes involving Caucasian and African American victims. From table 9 and figure 4, we can observe that the passive voice is used more frequently to describe the crimes against African American victims, with a total frequency of 40%. In comparison, the crimes against Caucasian victims were only described in the passive voice with a total frequency of 6%. As Henley and Beazley (1995) suggest, a crime is more accepting if it is reported in the passive voice. The results therefore propose that the passive voice is used more
frequently to describe crimes against African American victims to imply that it is more acceptable than when the crime is against a Caucasian victim.
Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to investigate whether racially-biased language is being used in description of African American criminals. Four hypotheses were proposed 1) the crimes committed by male African American criminals on Fox News will be described using the reporting verb say by victims and witnesses more frequently than the crimes committed by male Caucasian criminals 2) the crimes committed by male Caucasian criminals on Fox News will be described using the negative reporting verb claim by victims and witnesses more frequently than the crimes committed by male African American criminals 3) the active voice will be used more frequently to describe the actions of male African American criminals than it will be for male Caucasian criminals 4) the passive voice will be used more frequently to describe the actions of male Caucasian criminals than it will be for male African American criminals. The hypotheses were tested by recording Fox 59 News at 10 for a period of 10 weeks. The recordings were then transcribed and coded. A total of 76 crime stories were reported in the 10 weeks; 43 stories with Caucasian criminals, 25 stories with African American criminals, and 8 stories with Creek, Latino and Italian criminals. Because of the minimal number of Greek, Latino and Italian criminals, the study only focused on the crime stories with Caucasian and African American criminals.
Results of the study suggest that in some aspects, racially biased language is being used to describe African American criminals on Fox 59 news. While the frequency of the reporting verb *claim* did not demonstrate a bias, when looking at the content of the reports that used this reporting verb, it is believed that other word choices such as *allegations* and *accused* suggest a bias against African American criminals. It was found that the reporting verb *said* was used more frequently by the victims and witnesses when reporting about Caucasian criminals than when reporting about African American criminals, which does not support the original hypothesis. We can propose a language bias with the reporting verb *say*, however, when observing the frequency of this verb used by the criminals themselves. While there were 11 instances of the reporting verb *say* when Caucasian criminals made statements their own actions, there were no instances of the reporting verb *say* used to report on the statements of the African American criminals. The total use of the active voice illustrated a significantly higher frequency when describing the actions of African American criminals in comparison to describing the Caucasian criminals’ actions. The inclusion of more than one negative verb in the active voice also seemed to be a pattern to describe the African American criminal’s actions. Finally, the total frequency of the passive voiced was significantly higher to describe the actions of African American criminals than for Caucasian criminals. These findings do not confirm the proposed hypothesis; however, when focusing on the victims’ race, it was found that the crimes against African American victims used the passive voice more
frequently than the crimes against Caucasian victims. These findings do support the notion of a language bias against African Americans.
Table 4: Frequencies of Reporting Verb ‘Claim’ on Fox 59

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Claim</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Victims and witnesses</td>
<td>Criminals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>2 (5%)</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>2 (8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Frequencies of the Reporting Verb ‘Say’ on Fox 59 News

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Say</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Victims or witnesses about criminal</td>
<td>Criminals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>25 (58%)</td>
<td>11 (26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>8 (32%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Frequencies of the Reporting Verbs ‘Claim’ and ‘Say’ on Fox 59 News

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Claim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>Author Victims or witnesses about criminal</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Author Criminals</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>Author Victims or witnesses about criminal</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Author Criminals</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Author Victims or witnesses about criminal</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Author Criminals</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1: Frequencies of the Reporting Verbs ‘Claim’ and ‘Say’ on Fox 59

Table 7: Frequencies of the Active Voice on Fox 59 News

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Police detectives &amp; Investigators</th>
<th>Victims and witnesses</th>
<th>Reporters</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>9 (21%)</td>
<td>9 (21%)</td>
<td>4 (9%)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>7 (28%)</td>
<td>4 (16%)</td>
<td>8 (32%)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 2: Frequencies of the Active Voice Usage on Fox 59 News

Table 8: Frequencies of the Passive Voice on Fox 59 News

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Passive voice</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Police detectives &amp; Investigators</td>
<td>Victims and witnesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1(2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>4(16%)</td>
<td>4(16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 3: Frequencies of the Passive Voice on Fox 59

![Graph showing frequencies of the Passive Voice by Race and Profession]

Table 9: Frequencies of the Passive Voice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Police detectives &amp; Investigators</th>
<th>Victims and witnesses</th>
<th>Reporters</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victim Race</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>3(12%)</td>
<td>1(4%)</td>
<td>6(24%)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 4: Frequencies of the Passive voice


