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Both Sides of the Coin

A Discourse-Analytical Study of Ideologies in Fox News and CNN Coverage of Terrorism and Conflicts.

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Abstract

Title: Both Sides of the Coin: A Discourse-Analytical Study of Ideologies in Fox News and CNN Coverage of Terrorism and Conflicts.

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This study is based on a corpus of Fox News and CNN articles on terrorism and conflict, comparing ideological traits – that is, biases and dominant attitudes – and their conveyance in the text. The study finds that although some ideologies, primarily the ones of positive portrayal of the US and negative portrayal of other countries, tend to be conveyed in a subtler manner in CNN, both news providers show certain ideological biases, of which some appear to be "naturalized" (Van Dijk 1991:33), i.e. appear to be "accepted truths" for news providers, and some considerably more evident in one or the other. Multiple conclusions are reached: both outlets minimize negative agency and emphasize the positives for the US and give American officials more space than any others in the articles. Both outlets also have a very negative, portrayal of North Korea as a defiant, unreliable nation. Finally, Fox News has a considerably more negative portrayal of Islam and Muslims than CNN, in that positive agency is minimized and negative agency emphasized, and negatively perceived groups are specifically identified as Islamic.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, CDA, discourse analysis, comparative, news, media, ideology, ideologies, bias, collocations, Fox News, CNN.

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1. Introduction

Both the language of politics and the language of the news are linguistically interesting. In fact, entire disciplines have been founded to analyze news discourse, among these perhaps the most prominent being Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with its traditional focus on the language of media and politics. CDA scholars claim that no news source can be truly neutral (see section 3), and that any report will by necessity reflect some bias. This is not necessarily a sign of poor journalism, as every news outlet requires an audience, and must entertain – perhaps not literally, but at least figuratively – the individuals who read them. As such, it seems likely that most, if not all, news websites would show at the very least some tendencies towards certain ideologies which are here defined as "representations of aspects of the real world that are open to normative critique yet also necessary for sustaining existing social relations and relations of power" (Fairclough 2015:32). Indeed, Fairclough, for example, argues that all discourse "embodies certain ideologies - particular knowledge and beliefs, particular 'positions' for the types of social subject that participate in that practice" (1995:94). News agencies in particular, according to Fairclough (2015:27), reproduce ideologies, either consciously or subconsciously. The approach taken in this paper is inspired by CDA, yet departs from it in a number of ways (see section 5).

Various studies utilizing CDA have found various trends in political news reports; for example, groups in general tend to be constructed as either in-groups or out-groups, depending on what suits the narrative (see for example Van Dijk 1998: 31-45 and Nickels et al. 2001:348). The *us*-group is portrayed positively, whereas the *them*-group is generalized, homogenized and portrayed negatively. Some ideologies, for example the portrayal of Africa as a violent, irrational continent, have been so "naturalized", i.e. become commonly accepted as truths (Van Dijk 1991:33), that no significant differences between the representations in left-wing and right-wing media can be found (Brookes 1995:488). While CDA typically assumes a left-wing, liberal stance (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000:454) it stands to reason that, given the assumption that all discourse reflects power structures, right-wing media is not alone in doing so. As evident from research such as Brookes', there are, of course, power structures and ideologies reflected in left-wing media as well, and regardless of one's own political viewpoints, these details are of equal interest for a linguistic study. In this respect the study departs from CDA, as it seeks to offer a balanced and comparative study of both right-wing and left-wing media discourse.

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Studies on ideological bias in the mass media are necessary, as the news remain one of the primary "windows" into the outside world. According to CDA theory, this window is never an objective one (see for example Fowler 1991:2, Richardson 2007:1-2). One of the key concepts of CDA is the idea that media performs a function of control, reproducing the dominant opinions, attitudes and ideologies of the establishment, which are then adopted by the reader (e.g. Fairclough 2015:113-114). Yet, mass media is changing: while traditional has been extensively studied, a typical characteristic of online discourse is that it is ephemeral and always changing. An article in print never changes and can be studied for years to come, yet an article online can (and most likely *will)* be edited or removed at any given point. Ideally, studies on the modern language of the news should not only be regular, but actively dynamic, examining how or if the discourse changes with time. Of course, such a longitudinal study would be time-consuming and requiring considerable effort, and as such, independent smaller studies are a more realistic option for projects such as the present one.

With this in mind, this study focuses on the representation of *conflicts* and *terrorism* and in United States online news, more specifically in Fox News and CNN from a discourse-analytical perspective. The results are compared between right-wing (Fox News) and center-left (CNN) media in order to discern whether or not there are differences in *what* ideologies are most strongly reflected, and whether or not there are differences in *how* they are reflected. Regarding the media, news websites were chosen simply because the internet appears to be the dominant disseminator of news. Print newspapers are on the decline (see Aitchison and Lewis 2003, among others) but the news industry itself is not; they have simply moved online.

2. Aim, Research Questions and Hypothesis

The aim of the study is to test for biases in online news articles about *conflicts* and *terrorism*, with discourse-analytical means. The study further contrasts the findings in news sources traditionally seen as conservative with findings from sources traditionally seen as liberal in the interest of neutrality. In short, the research questions are as follows:

1) What ideologies and agendas are present in news reports of conflicts and terrorism?
2) Are there differences between ideologies or the ways these ideologies are shown in conservative and liberal news sources?
3) Which ideologies are potentially "naturalized", i.e. appearing both in liberal and conservative news, and which, if any, are specific to either ideological camp?

The study further attempts to expose some of the perceived shortcomings of CDA, and as such, a fourth aim is to present an alternative way of doing such studies. These questions are answered through the comparison of reports on the same political topics from traditionally conservative and traditionally liberal news sources.

Given previous research on news discourse (see section 4), the present study's working hypothesis is that the liberal news provider reproduces many of the same ideologies as the conservative one. Additionally, it seems conceivable that there will be few differences in quantity between these. However, there will likely be differences in certain areas such as religion, since conservatives appear more concerned with religious questions (Sylwester and Purwer 2015).

3. Literature Review

A fair number of scholars have researched the kind of ideologies that are reflected in news discourse. In Australian news, Teo (2001:7) observes multiple tendencies towards racism, in the form of generalization stereotyping of ethnicities as well as over-lexicalization (i.e. a surfeit of descriptors that serve ideological purposes, such as "*moderate* Muslims", as seen in the next paragraph). The crimes of a specific gang of drug dealers, the study states, are generalized to specific ethnicities, which is observed to affect public perception of these ethnicities as a whole. Additionally, age and violence are over-lexicalized and as such these ethnicities are indirectly portrayed as inherently violent even at a young age (Teo 2001:21).

A similar type of xenophobic discourse was diagnosed by Nickels et al. in a study of British newspapers. The similarity lies in the tendencies to homogenize and generalize ethnicities and religious groups into singular monolithic blocs that are indirectly held responsible for the actions of a few, or expected to, as one entity, condemn such actions (2001:348). However, Nickels et al. also find positive uses of homogenization; one newspaper, *Asian Times,* is found to use generalizations such as "the Muslim community" and similar to "shield the law-abiding majority from the extremist minority" and to attempt to disassociate Islam from terrorism. This, however, happens at a cost; if non-terrorist Muslims are over-lexicalized as "moderate Muslims", this implies that other Muslims are extremists (Nickels et al. 2001:349).

Kress (1994) finds that "third world" countries are often homogenized into hellish places of poverty, warfare and dictatorship, or "backwards" and primitive places, often in contrast to Britain. The over-lexicalization of the themes of poverty in third world nations

appears to make British poverty less severe or to make individuals living in poverty in Britain seem "indulgent" and thus less worthy of assistance. He notes that verbs such as *afford* can be read in multiple ways, from transactive (the poverty was cause by someone) to non-transactive (the poverty is the individual's own fault), and that the news media he examined thus caters to multiple different types of reader who ascribe to different stances on poverty.

Ideologies seem more strongly reflected in opinion pieces and editorials. In an article from the *Washington Post,* van Dijk (1998) finds that the "us against them" rhetoric is especially evident. Former ruler Gadhafi and Libya are clearly painted as *them* to oppose *us*, and associated with negative values such as dictatorships, violence and irrational behavior. The *us*-group, in this case the US, is in turn associated with positive values of democracy, non-violence and rationality. Further, the "opposing" group's agency is clear; they are consistently portrayed as conscious agents of negative actions. In contrast, those of the *us*-group who remain friendly towards the other group are stripped of their agency and portrayed as unaware of the other group's evil. Similarly, although both sides utilize intelligence agencies, the other group's agency is labeled as "secret police", an inherently negative term. Generally, van Dijk notes, the other group tends to be portrayed as totally evil, whereas the reader's group is portrayed as totally good.

Brookes (1995) examines constructions of Africa in the British press, comparing *The Daily Telegraph*, which is considered to be a conservative paper, and *The Guardian*, which is considered liberal. She observes that, while news relating to Africa are relatively scarce, whether or not an African event is deemed newsworthy seems to be a combination of two factors: how well an event would appeal to readers' fears and prejudices, and whether or not Britain has colonial connections to the country (Brookes 1995:464). The most common propositions, in the headlines, are found to be "Africans fight/kill each other", "Africans cannot negotiate/make peace" and "Africans are uncontrollably and excessively violent". Such propositions are also found to be more common in *The Guardian* (Brookes 1995:467). Further, Brookes finds that violence, repression, and helplessness all seem to be over-lexicalized attributes and that African participants tend to be constructed as both agent and affect in processes, thus making them appear to be victims of their own violence. This is in contrast to western participants, who are portrayed as active rescuers, mediators and providers (1995: 472-477). Further, Brookes also notes that western actions and participants are the most common thematized topics, with African military groups a second (1995:479). Finally, when statements are given, those from African participants are often discredited through

additions such as "say", "deny" and "claim", whereas statements from western participants are invariably endorsed (Brookes 1995:481). Some statements are also contained inside "scare quotes", to signal possible falsehood. Perhaps most interestingly, all these aspects are roughly equally common in both the conservative and the liberal publication, and Brookes suggests that this means such discourse has been highly naturalized (1995:488).

Such naturalized (negative) ideologies are not restricted to countries. Racism, either subtle or overt, also tends to appear in news stories. Although it is sometimes overt, according to van Dijk (2008), especially in right-wing press and tabloids in particular, certain racist attitudes are naturalized enough that they appear in left-wing press also, although typically in subtler form. In the Dutch press both liberal and conservative, ethnic minorities tend to be focused upon almost entirely negatively, only holding agency in negative news such as violence and crime, while passive in improving their own situation (Van Dijk 1991:140). Similarly, British newspapers are observed to have discriminatory attitudes towards Muslims as well as ethnic minorities (Van Dijk 1991:90).

Polarization between countries is also obvious when it comes to actual confrontations between countries in the form of war, especially in the headlines. When Britain invaded Iraq in 2003, the headlines distinctly overplayed Britain's agency as compared to that of the US, despite the latter being the more involved one in the war (Richardson 2007:200). Additionally, the actions attributed to Britain and its allies ("us") tended to be described positively, except in cases where innocents or civilian targets were hit, in which case the weapon was described as the agent, rather than the country of the military (Richardson 2007:201-202). Regarding the liberal/conservative divide, Richardson notes that the propaganda – that of invading Iraq to save the Iraqis – convinced many liberal sources (he names journalists from *The Guardian* and *The Independent,* which are both deemed liberal) to support the war. The typical strategies of describing "our" actions with positive words and "theirs" with negative ones were also seen in both liberal and conservative newspapers (Richardson 2007:205-207).

Although these studies all focus on different aspects of news discourse, it seems clear that certain aspects tend to be present; of these, the two most distinct ones seem to be the polarization of groups into either *us* or *them* (where *us* is described positively and *them* negatively), and the generalization of groups of individuals into monolithic blocs identified only by one factor, such as ethnicity or religious belief. The studies that compare conservative and liberal news providers do not find any striking differences in frequency, suggesting that at

least certain types of negative ideologies are pervasive and naturalized enough that they are reflected in discourse regardless of political bias. In Richardson 2007, war and its surrounding propaganda were also found to convince liberal journalists – who should ideologically protest a war – to support it instead. Such findings emphasize the necessity of a balanced approach when employing CDA methodology, in order to show which findings are truly naturalized in society as a whole, and which are specific to political blocs.

There are also some studies regarding Democrat (liberal) and Republican (conservative) discourse in general. Although not utilizing CDA methodology, a study of Twitter by Sylwester and Purwer found that "Democrat followers tend to use 1st person singular pronouns more often than Republican followers", which is interpreted as a "great desire for emphasizing uniqueness, whereas Republicans express group identity more (2015: Online). Further, the study notes that Democrats appear to express more positive sentiments, and that Conservatives express more religious ideas. Although other differences were found, these are the ones more relevant for the study at hand; it is possible that news outlets would have similar tendencies. Of course, it is unlikely that any news report would emphasize a journalist's individual identity rather than the groups addressed and reported on (except in editorials and opinion pieces), but it seems that there is at least some basis for there being differences between liberal and conservative discourse.

What can be concluded from this review of studies and literature on newspapers and their conveyed ideologies is that almost all newspapers are guilty of perpetuating naturalized dominant attitudes and opinions, suggesting that the main principle of CDA – that all discourse reproduces the dominant ideologies – is accurate.

4. Theoretical Background

This section presents the theories that the present study is based on, namely CDA and collocative meaning. Further, as the study attempts to distance itself from the discipline of CDA as a whole, criticism of CDA is discussed in section 4.1.6.

4.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

As CDA is a rather wide field of studies, this section is separated into shorter paragraphs that delve into different aspects and perspectives of it. Collocative meaning is discussed in this section as well, given that it is primarily viewed through a discourse-analytical perspective.

4.1.1. A Brief Overview

CDA has roots in many different disciplines and framework, dating back to the Frankfurt School of critical theory and Marxist theory (Hammersley 1997:240-242) and Halliday's Systemic-Functional Grammar (Fairclough 1995:6). The term "critical" seems to stand witness to these roots, Hammersley argues, as it was used as a euphemism for Marxism in the time when it was taboo in the United States. CDA as a network of scholars was founded by Teun van Dijk, Normal Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak around 1990, followed by a symposium on the subject in 1991. Key publications, most published around the same time as the symposium, include Norman Fairclough's 1989 book *Language and Power,* Wodak's *Language, Power and Ideology*, and the journal *Discourse and Society*, founded in 1990. While it was preceded by Critical Linguistics (CL), CDA has incorporated more social and rhetorical theory. Still, CL and CDA are often considered synonymous (Wodak 2001:1) and do in fact have many ideas in common, namely the interest in how power relations and social inequalities are reflected in discourse, and the notion that all discourse conveys some ideology. The similarity has led to, according to Wodak, that CDA in present day is used as a new term that includes the theory of CL (Wodak 2001:5).

CDA is not based on a single methodology, and while it mainly relies on principles of discourse analysis, other tools are utilized as well, including corpus linguistics (McEnery and Wilson 2001:114) and critical social theory, connecting back to works by Foucalt, Gramski and Marx (Van Leeuwen 2009:278). Due to its versatility, CDA can and has been applied to many different types of discourse, from political speeches to media language. The most important aspect is that what CDA tends to be applied on is real, authentic discourse rather than constructed examples or samples (Wodak et al 1999:8), but other than this, there are few limitations; as social practice both constitutes discourse and is constituted by it, almost all types of language use, both written and spoken, can be analyzed. Regardless, there are certain preferred topics, including political discourse, advertisements and media language (Blommart and Bulcaen 2000:450-451).

Fairclough argues that CDA does not only involve critique and explanation of discourse, but should form a basis for *action* on how to change discourse and. through changing discourse, change society (2015:6). That said, he does acknowledge that "we might simply have to accept that there are various versions of CDA" (2015:5), but what all these versions seem to have in common are the aspects of critique and explanation. This, of course, could be perceived as one of CDA's problems: by attempting to combine a political agenda

and science, the results tend to be biased. While the results of a discourse-analytical approach could be used for political activism, linguistic research should not be directly involved in it: such aspects are better left to the domain of politics.

4.1.1. The Principles

In "Critical Discourse Analysis" in *Discourse as Social Interaction,* Fairclough and Wodak outline the key principles and assumptions of CDA:

1) CDA addresses social problems
2) Power relations are discursive
3) Discourse constitutes society and culture
4) Discourse does ideological work
5) Discourse is historical
6) The link between text and society is mediated
7) Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
8) Discourse is a form of social action

<div align="right">(Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 271-280)</div>

These tenets imply a few different things: For one, CDA tends instead to take a position in relation to the power imbalances and injustices that it seeks to uncover in discourse. Further, all discourse tends to reflect the dominant values and ideologies of the society it was written in, whether this is done consciously or not. Finally, discourse tends to perpetuate these ideologies back into society, meaning that discourse affects society as much as society affects discourse. Wodak and Meyer (2001: 3) likewise identify key concepts of CDA as power, history, and ideology. Janks has a similar point of view, arguing that CDA should explain "the relationship between language, ideology and power by analyzing discourse in its material form" (Janks 1997: 195).

CDA emphasizes that language is a social practice, and that there is a relationship between language and society, or that alternatively, as Fairclough (2015: 56) argues, that there is no external relationship, but rather an internal, dialectical one, and that "language is a part of society; linguistic phenomena *are* social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena are (in part) linguistic phenomena". Linguistic phenomena are social in that the ways people speak are socially determined and have social effects, that is, one's social influences define one's language use, and the language use can either affirm or work against social relationships. Social phenomena are linguistic in that language is a part of society. Fairclough gives the example of constant disputes over the meanings of political words such

as *socialism* and *imperialism,* suggesting that such disputes *are*, in fact, politics: the meanings of such words is a political goal in itself (2015:56). What can be argued from this point of view is that using political language is in fact performing politics, and this ties back into the main notion of CDA: language "reflects" ideologies, because language is part of what constitutes ideologies. This seems like a contentious point: anything could be claimed to be political, but this does not mean that it is intended as such. It seems inaccurate to say that language itself is the same as politics, but meanwhile it is clear that language and society are intertwined and affect each other.

4.1.2. Fairclough's Framework

Fairclough (2015:58) states that discourse involves two social conditions: the social condition of production and the social condition of interpretation. These relate to three levels of social organization: the immediate situation in which the discourse occurs, the wider social institution, and finally, society as a whole. All of these dimensions, according to Fairclough, have a part in shaping discourse. Since society's standards are based on the standards of the dominant ideology, this leads to the conclusion that power is what shapes discourse, if indirectly so.

According to Van Dijk (1991:33) There are institutional practices that people draw on either consciously or unconsciously and that spread throughout society originating from the dominant bloc in a process called *naturalization*. In other words, the ideology originating from the dominant class is perceived as natural throughout society, and reproduced in discourse. (1991:32) What this leads to is, logically, that biased news may be taken as accurate by readers, even if the opinions expressed are extreme, if the attitudes have been naturalized. The reproduction of dominant attitudes in discourse thus becomes something that the population reproduces themselves, and even the dominated groups may adopt these attitudes, thus lessening their resistance to domination.

Due to these factors, Fairclough proposes that to analyzed discourse, one must analyze not only the texts, the processes, and the institutional and social structures but also the relationships between these. (1991:25). These processes are called *description* (of the text), *interpretation* (of the relationship between text and interaction), and *explanation* (of the relationship between interaction and social context) (Fairclough 2015:128). These are aspects that have been long employed by social discourse scholars, and now used in CDA.

The first step is the matter of analyzing the text itself. In this step, the text is examined for which ideologies may be expressed in grammar, lexis, thematization, modality, transitivity, metaphors and suchlike. This step also includes how various identities, actors and events are constructed and represented in the text. Below is a paraphrasing of the various aspects involved, some in more detail than the other, as these is the most relevant one to the present study. It is, however, worth noting that Fairclough, in the 3rd edition of *Language and Power* (2015) makes it clear that these steps are not a "holy writ" that must be followed precisely, and that depending on the reader and the discourse being analyzed, some steps may be overly detailed or undetailed. As such, he encourages adaptation of the framework, which is summarized below.

The first aspect that should be looked at, according to Fairclough, is that of vocabulary. In more detail, ideologically-charged words, euphemistic expressions and off-register words should be examined, as well as metaphors, and the relationships between words, such as synonymy and antonymy. The second aspect is grammar, which includes examination of processes and participants, agency, nominalizations, as well as whether or not sentences used active or passive voice. Further, Fairclough suggests looking at how sentences are connected (i.e. what logical connectors are used and whether or not sentences are coordinated or subordinate) and how the text refers to other texts. Finally, the last aspect is that of textual structures, namely, whether or not one participant controls the turns of others (Fairclough 2015:129-130). This last aspect is not too relevant for the press, as due to the medium, the press will always control the "turns" of interviewed participants. The larger structure of news reports is mostly discussed in section 3.2. of the present study.

In both the analysis of vocabulary and the analysis of grammar, Fairclough suggests that experiential, relational and expressive values are paid attention to. Experiential values are hints on the text producer's experience of the natural and social world, for example through intentional rewording or ideologically contested words. Relational values show traces of how the text communicates to participants; Fairclough gives the example of racist representations having both experiential (representing groups of people) and relational value (possibly assuming that the reader shares these values) (2015:134). It seems, however, that it is dangerous to assume that these relational values are entirely obvious, as it is difficult to tell what is the writer's own view of the world and what is used to create social relationships. Finally, expressive values relate to subjects and social identities. Effectively, these are words that have specific values for the presumed reader and the genre; for example, the use of

contractions would be out of place in an academic text, and therefore have expressive value in one, but not in, for example, online chat. Another example would be political affiliation: "left" would likely have a negative value for the conservatives, and "right" would have a negative value for the liberals.

The second step is the interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, that is, the connection between the text and its participants, either producers or the audience. Effectively, this includes the composition and intended audience of the text, as well as comparisons to the other texts and an analysis of intertextuality. The interpretation is, according to Fairclough (2015:155) generated through "a combination of what is in the text and what is "in" the interpreter. The interpreter picks up on "cues" in the text that activate what Fairclough calls his "member's resources"; or more simply background knowledge. What this means is that, for example, through the interpreter's background knowledge of social orders and interactional history, situational and intertextual contexts are interpreted. An example of this would be the interpreter recognizing different genres of discourse in a text where they normally do not appear, such as very official or colloquial language in newspapers, and then interpreting what this may imply and why the text was produced that way. In more detail, this entails asking a few questions:

1) *What's going on?* What is the activity and topic? For a news report, these are fairly clear: the activity is the telling of a news story, and the topic is whatever the story is on. The activity types are also connected to "institutionally recognized purposes. This, for a news report, is at least ostensibly to report facts, although there is often a motive of convincing readers as well.
2) *Who's involved?* There are many individuals involved in a news report, but who these people are and how they have affected the text is difficult to tell at best. The question, for this particular medium, would also include what participants are interviewed and quoted in the text.
3) *In what relations?* For the news report itself, this is fairly clear; the outlet is the disseminator of news, and the reader is the consumer. Analyzing what the power relations between the in-text participants should fall under this question – for example, are certain individuals or groups portrayed as dominant or weak compared to the others?
4) *What's the role of language?* How is language used in the text? Is the purpose to convince, inform, or something else?

(Fairclough 2015:160)

Effectively, this can be summarized as analyzing the context and participants, finding out what discourse types are being drawn upon, and if the discourse types are different between

participants. Fairclough (2015:154) does note that the interpretation aspect can be difficult, as one cannot extrapolate what effects a text has upon society from its formal features.

Finally, the third step is the explanation, or the analysis of how societal rules, practices, ideologies and standards affect the production and reception of the text. Fairclough (201:172) states that the purpose of this stage is to "portray a discourse as part of a social progress, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social practices, and what reproductive effects discourse can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them". What this roughly means is that the explanation stage is concerned with how societal structures affect "member's resources", or background knowledge, and how these shape discourse in turn. This is a recursive process: discourse, in turn, shapes background knowledge, which then has the power to shape societal structures in return, and further discourse. This ultimately ties into the notion of naturalization (see sections 3.2.5 and 3.2.6.). Fairclough presents three questions useful for the explanation stage:

1) *Social determinants.* What power relations (situational, institutional or societal) have likely affected how the discourse is shaped?
2) *Ideologies.* Which aspects of the text are ideologically charged?
3) *Effects.* How is the text positioned in terms of power relations: does it seek to change existing norms or does it sustain them? Is it normative or creative, i.e. does the text reproduce the member's resources or does it contribute to their transformation?

(Fairclough 2015:175):

What shapes news discourse is discussed primarily in section 3.2. The other aspects are integrated into the analysis, although it is likely impossible to know what news reports (if any) seek to transform societal norms and which do not, without a significantly larger study.

4.1.3. Language and Society

Other scholars such as van Dijk (2006) argue for the importance of analyzing the social context of discourse (roughly equivalent to Fairclough's third step). While the features of the text itself must be examined, the social and cognitive contexts of a text are also highly relevant from the perspective of CDA, according to van Dijk (2006:161). He does, however, place special importance on the fact that contexts are not objective, and do not affect discourse in any given specific way, something he terms 'naïve contextualism". Rather, van Dijk suggests that contexts be thought of as "subjective participant interpretations, constructions or definitions of such aspects of the social environment" (2006:163). What this means is that it is not the variables of gender, class, power and such that *directly* affect

discourse, but rather how participants see, interpret and utilize such constraints, though he does not give any examples. The speaker's identity, the listener's identity, and the immediate context of discourse are thus all interpreted by the speaker and shape the discourse through this interpretation. Van Dijk also points out that contexts cannot be directly observed, although their consequences, or effects on discourse, can, and through this lens we can also study contexts (2006:164). Thus a context becomes apparent through various rhetoric moves.

An analysis that takes into account context should, then, potentially capture a given unit of discourse more accurately, according to Van Dijk, while analyzing discourse free of its context would likely constitute under-analysis and possibly result in errors of interpretation. As such, the context of discourse must be made explicit.

4.1.4. Collocative Meaning

This study focuses on collocations for its quantitative part, and in order to unearth tendencies that require a close, contextual examination in the qualitative section. Although corpus linguistics methods such as collocational analysis have traditionally not been part of CDA, there are good reasons to combine the two. Fairclough argues that the analysis of collocations, the study of patterns of independent words, can be an important part of CDA, arguing that when two texts have different words that tend to co-occur, it may reveal bias against or support for different viewpoints (2003:131). For analyzing collocations, methods of corpus linguistics are required, as it is difficult at best to manually find these recurring patterns in a text. Software, on the other hand, can effortlessly find which words tend to occur together, at which point the researcher can examine these occurrences closer and analyze the context in which they appear.

Corpus linguists, such as Leech, state that words tend to acquire associations "on account of the meanings of words which tend to occur in its environment" (1974:17). Associative meaning, as he terms the phenomenon, means that otherwise synonymous adjectives may take on different sense depending of collocative associations, and gives the example of *pretty* and *handsome:* although both words roughly mean "pleasant-looking", they have different senses, as *pretty,* in traditional British English, tends to collocate with words such as *girl, woman, flower* and *garden*, whereas *handsome* tends to collocate with words such as *boy, man, car* and *vessel* (Leech 1974:17). This is generally referred to as *semantic prosody.* The term was coined by Louw (1993:157) who defines it as a "consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates". Sinclair (1991:70-75) posits that

seemingly neutral words can be perceived as positive or negative, through frequent occurrences with particular collocations. In a later study, Sinclair observes that semantic prosodies are not only not random, but also express writer/speaker attitudes (1996:87). Therefore, if one newspaper only provides negative collocations for certain participants, it is reasonable to assume that its ideology is different to one with only positive collocations.

4.1.5. Criticism of CDA

CDA has been criticized by multiple scholars for a variety of reasons. The two focused upon in the following section are bias and unclear terminology.

4.1.5.1. Bias

Criticisms of CDA typically includes the fact that the method is subjective. Van Dijk, for example, states that "Unlike much other scholarship, CDA does not deny but explicitly defines and defends its own socio-political position. That is, CDA is biased – and proud of it" (2003: 96). Wodak et al. argue similarly that "Critical Discourse Analysis does not pretend to be able to assume an objective, socially neutral analytical stance. (Wodak et al 1999:8). This position is the subject of much criticism from scholars such as Widdowson, as well as Blommaert and Bulcaen. Widdowson states that one "cannot explain how people express their ideology by assuming in advance that ideology is already fixed in the language" (1995: 168). Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000:455-456) also reflect on this, stating that "there is a tendency to assume the a priori relevance of aspects in context of CDA work: Analysts project their own political biases and prejudices onto the data and analyze them accordingly". Hammersley argue to this effect; a researcher can have a political commitment and still produce scientific research (1997:239). He does, however, go on to point out that that CDA "relies on a naive sociological model and involves an overambition that undermines sound research. and that CDA scholars seem blind to these problems" (1997: 245).

That said, there are valid aspects to the methodology: that ideas and attitudes are expressed through text is evident, and ideologies, as generalized ideas, may be part of this process. However, such valid criticisms are why the present study does not follow the CDA tradition and instead only utilizes part of the methodology put forth by CDA scholars. In CDA, producing scientifically sound research seems difficult at best unless the political stance

is separated from the research. The present study utilizes discourse-analytical principles, while distancing itself from the political aspects of CDA.

4.1.5.2. Confused Terminology and Interpretation

Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000:455) observe that some scholars have criticized CDA for fuzzy terminology, such as the distinction between *discourse* and *text*. Such criticisms are also brought forth by Widdowson (1995). He notes that CDA tends to use the terms "discourse" and "text" interchangeably and if scholars are using them "in free variation", or, "if they denote different things, what are they, and by what principles can *they* be related?" (1995:160-161). Another point of criticism is Fairclough's second step, which places importance in the interpretation of a text. Widdowson criticizes the perceived tendency that "that the single interpretation offered is uniquely validated by the textual facts" (1995:169). He suggests that the discourse of one's interpretation may not match the discourse of the author's intention (1995:171). In a later publication, Widdowson refers to this as the "functional fallacy", i.e. the analyst misrepresenting the text by assuming "that semantic signification is directly projected as pragmatic significance in language use" (2004:95-96). What this means is that a text has several potential meanings, and the researcher fails to account for these alternative interpretations. He does note that Fairclough makes a distinction between potential meaning and pragmatic meaning, but argues that he does not follow this distinction through in his analysis.

4.2. The Language of News Media

Although news media is ideally thought of as objective, as a direct reflection of occurrences, the fact is that it, as any other for-profit industry, seldom is. All discourse is socially constructed, and the news articles that are published undergo processes of both selection and editing for publication (Fowler 1991:2). All discourse reflects upon a set of dominant values in the society in which it is published (although not necessarily the *same* set) and as such news tend to reflect proposition that are not necessarily outright stated, but nonetheless dominate the structure of the reports. Fowler summarizes: "Thus news is a *practice*, a discourse which, far from neutrally reflecting social reality and empirical facts, intervenes in […] the social construction of reality" (1991:2), Fairclough's sentiment is similar: "the ideological work of media language includes particular ways of representing the world (and)

particular constructions of social identities (1995:12). All news is reported from some angle, either consciously or not. This angle is not necessarily obvious, as it reflects on views that may either be naturalized or at least internalized by the reader, and this in turn leads us to the notion that a reader may find his or her "own" newspaper fair and balanced, and all the other ones biased. The same may of course be true for the reader of any other newspaper. The notion of *any* news being a neutral picture of reality is, pushed to the extreme, outright false; all discourse reflects on different values (Fowler 1991:12). However, as Fowler points out, news articles are typically presented as fact, especially when alongside opinion pieces, editorials and other content that *openly* speaks an opinion.

There are several factors that define what a news provider reports and what values it may reflect. As a news provider is a commercial enterprise like any other, opinions and beliefs that are conductive to the commercial success of the provider are more likely to be published (Fowler 1991:121-122). This includes non-commercial providers such as the BBC, as they are regardless in competition with commercial providers (see, for example, Fairclough 1995:42-43). There is another economic factor at play: since newspapers aim to sell the maximum amount of advertising space, the stories published – at least, immediately next to the advertisements – must be at least broadly congruent with the products being advertised (Fowler 1991:121). This is because advertisements effectively offer a set of beliefs or present ideal worlds, and it restricts what the papers can say, as, for example, it seems unlikely that a car manufacturer would agree to having their ad next to a story where cars are negatively involved, or environmentalist issues are portrayed positively. As Fowler observes, these economic and political factors are part of what causes bias in news: the outlet has a vested interest in publishing news from one perspective or another (1991:122).

Closely connected to this is the notion of the ideal reader. Newspapers are not only shaped by economic and political interest, but also by the reader. The news are generally written conveying values that the assumed reader is likely to share, as a reader who agrees with the published opinions is more likely to trust them. Thus, the reader affects the way news are formed while the news affects the reader, in a type of mutual relationship. This leads us the notion of newsworthiness.

4.2.1. Newsworthiness

What, then, makes a happening newsworthy? McLuhan (1964:205) states that the news story is "confessional in nature […] a press page yields the inside story of the community in action

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and interaction", and for this reason bad news about or for somebody are the "real news". This is because newspapers are what he terms "hot news", news that are intense and invite reader participation, and for this reason, bad news are the most newsworthy (1964.:210). Further, McLuhan notes that newspapers more or less decide on what news are; what goes into the press *is* news, and non-news do not go into press (1964:212). Thus by selection and wording, the press imposes its assumptions on the populace. This power of manipulation, McLuhan concludes, is in the *medium* and not in the *message*, and this viewpoint is reflected in many CDA scholars' works: the medium influences how the message is received, and if a certain medium is perceived to be trustworthy, any message it reproduces will be perceived as such, also. This ties into the idea that a news story has to agree with the reader's pre-established worldview: if it does, the reader is more likely to believe other stories from the same source.

Recent scholars of news have similar ideas. Fowler (1991:13-14) argues that news is created as a commodity for sale, and as such, a happening has to sell copies or otherwise be beneficial for the provider. The likeliness of a happening being reported is, at least in theory, based on a set of "news values" that Fowler suggests are probably unconscious in editorial practice. These values, originally outlined by Galtung and Ruge, suggest, for example, that events in closer cultural proximity tend to be reported more, as are events that refer to "elite nations" (that is, superpowers), "elite people" (such as presidents or celebrities), and simply negative events. The most important aspect here is that these criteria tend to be social or cultural, rather than in any way natural, and as such, depending on what outlet produces the news, the definitions of newsworthiness can be different. For example, a conservative newspaper would likely value negative news about the Democrats more than negative news about the Republicans, and positive news about the Republicans more than negative news about them (if the latter would be published at all). As such, "news values" are fairly malleable.

Another aspect that connects to that of newsworthiness is that the more coherent a text is with the reader's perceived reality, the more effective the ideologies conveyed in it are. Fairclough (2015) observes that "ideology is most effective when its workings at least visible", that is, if they are hidden, they become a kind of common sense for the reader, but if the ideologies are obvious – and the reader realizes that the inequalities it sustains come at a cost to him/herself – it is no longer common sense and loses some of its power (p.108). This

further reinforces the notion of the ideal reader; the news that are reported, and the angle they are reported in, have to, at a basic level, confirm what the reader already believes.

The important point is that there are a multitude of factors that affect how news are shaped, angled and presented, and that the newspaper, the readership and the establishment all reinforce each other's ideologies, values and opinions. Thus discourse shapes society while also being shaped by it.

4.2.2. The Media Order of Discourse

An "order of discourse" is the normal language use of a given community or institution, or "socially constituted… sets of conventions associated with social institutions" (Fairclough 2015). The notion is roughly analogous to that of a genre, but wider in scope, involving not only written text but also discourse in general. The term is somewhat fuzzy, given that it is used for enormous, loosely connected groups such as "the public" as well as smaller genres, such as advertising. One has to assume that it refers to tendencies rather than specific sets of conventions, which is the assumption made in the current study.

Fairclough (1995) notes that media positions itself between the public and private orders of discourse, and that it has been shaped by the tension between public sources and private targets, and through redefinition of these relationships, the media order of discourse is constantly reshaped (1995:63). This is not a one-way relationship, however, and media reshapes other orders of discourse in turn. It is also not a singular order of discourse, as news discourse is different from, for example, advertising discourse, and there are even differences between the discourse practices between "hard" and "soft" news (Fairclough 1995:64). Further, depending on what the event being reported is, the news can draw upon various other orders of discourse, such as, in the case of official quotations, official discourse and this is, in turn, blended in with colloquial discourse. Fairclough notes that this might be done to strengthen the legitimacy of the report, while giving it a populist force (1995:70-71).

Although a thorough analysis of a news outlet's orders of discourse is beyond the scope of the present study, it is worth observing if and how the material analyzed draws from other orders, mainly official statements, and to what effect.

4.2.3. The Structure of a News Story

Although this study uses the terms "article" and "story" interchangeably, the fact is that newspapers publish stories, written by journalists. The difference between a story and an article, Bell observes, is that a story has structure, direction, point and viewpoint (Bell 1991:147-148) which an article does not necessarily have (although one could make a convincing argument that any text at least needs structure). Bell specifically notes that while there are differences, news stories are very similar to face-to-face storytelling (1991:147) and share many of the same elements. Labov and Waletzky (1967:12-44) have offered structure that stories tend to have, consisting of abstract (pre-summary), orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution and coda. News stories, in comparison, share the same elements: the most important information of *who, what, where* and *when* is typically condensed in the first paragraph, along with the evaluation which, effectively, takes a stance on how important what happened in the story (1967:151-152). This frontloading of important information is sometimes referred to as the "inverted pyramid" model, and it is the typical structure of information in a news story. It seems likely that, as the story's focus lies in the evaluation, this would also be where ideologies are the most obviously conveyed. Bell notes that although the other elements are shared, a news story is not resolved or concluded, partially due to editing for publications, in which stories tend to be cut from the bottom up for space reasons (1967.:154). Although having limited space does not apply to online news, the structure seems to be part of the genre, and although stories can be continued in different articles, linked to from the original, they are rarely if ever rounded up and conclusively finished.

4.2.4. Online News

With the decline of traditional newspapers, news reporting has become more common online. A 2005 study showed that around 39% of consumers between the ages of 18 and 34 "expected to use the internet more to learn about the news" (Allan 2006:3), and doubtlessly the number is higher today as the internet has become more pervasive and easily accessible. The question, then, is whether or not online news are markedly different from print news.

According to Aitchison and Lewis (2003) there are certain characteristics of computer-mediated communication that are relevant for the news media: multimodality and different patterns of interaction. The information tends to be presented piecemeal, in small pieces, of which there is a massive quantity, often interlinked. The language may also, Aitchison and

Lewis note, be less formal. Other differences include that breaking news can be immediately published online without the extra costs that stopping the presses to re-plate them would incur (Allan 2006:19). The availability of space online compared to the scarcity of space in print also means, in theory, that more stories can be published, instead of only the most newsworthy material (Allan 2006:25).

It seems there are few studies that are concerned with whether or not the language of the news changes significantly in the online medium. It stands to reason, however, that the principal goal of the news does not change; the news still reports newsworthy events that reflect on societal structures. The online format is also no less commercialized than print, and its goal is still to generate profit. As such, it seems suitable to utilize the same methodologies that are used to analyze the printed press.

Online news follows a slightly different format than print news due to the possibility of hyperlinks, although this still seems to follow the "inverted triangle" model where the headline is a very basic, attention-catching abstract of the article, and the most important information comes first. There are, however, typically *two* headlines; one on the "category" or front page, which is sometimes followed by a brief summary, and one on the actual "article" page. Below is an illustration of this from Fox News:

Figure 1 – Linking headline with abstract and links to article and videos, from Fox News.

US Navy rips Iran after new footage shows captured sailor crying

Figure 2 – The headline in the main article, from Fox News.

The initial headline (see Figure 1) is different from the headline that is shown should one click on the hyperlinked title (see Figure 2). The summary also seems unique, and does not recur with the exact same wording in the main article. This seems to equate, roughly, to the abstract in a newspaper, where a story is summarized before the story itself (Bell 1991:149), although here, they appear on different pages and with separate headlines. Worth noting is that while CNN uses a similar system of linking headlines, the abstracts are shorter (only one sentence) on the linking page, and there do seem to be video links outside of the main article. CNN does, however, use "related" links in the articles themselves.
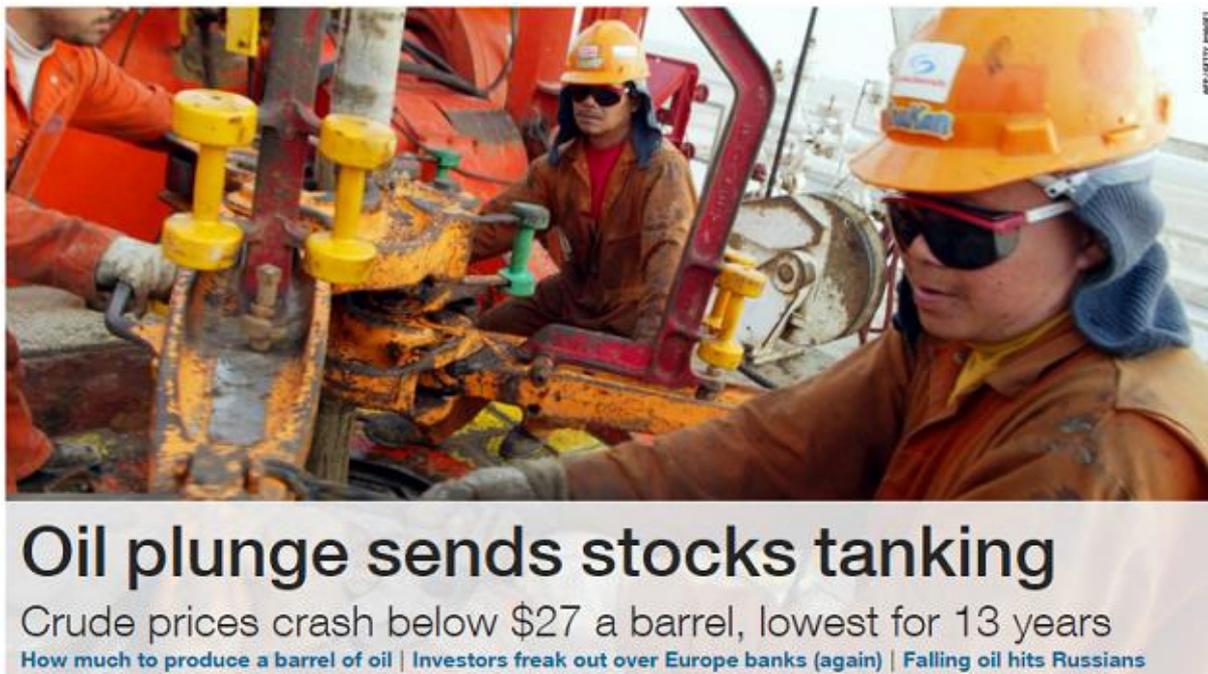
Figure 3 – Linking headline with shorter abstract and links to articles, from CNN.

The size and format of these linking titles varies depending, likely, on how newsworthy the article is deemed to be. Some links have only a few words of description, whereas others have none. While the format is slightly different, it should not provide any issues for the analysis of data, as in all examples the main "meat" of the article lies in the linked page, but these linking headlines do seem to be important to analyze.

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4.2.5. Discourse Analysis and Media Language

Why, then, should one apply principles of discourse analysis to media language? The answer relates back to the notion that discourse can discriminate, support imbalances in power and perpetuate the dominant values of the society and institution that produced it. Given that, as Fowler notes, "for the majority of people, reading the daily newspaper makes up their most substantial and significant consumption of printed discourse" and that for a majority of people, newspapers are second only to television as their primary source of news, the discourse of the news has major ideological significance (Fowler 1991:121). It is worth noting that while Fowler refers to newspapers specifically, whereas the present study focuses on online news, the online format is not significantly different (see section 3.2.4) and the same assumptions can likely be made regarding news, regardless of the medium. While all discourse reflects ideologies, the ways they appear in text may differ depending on the genre. In press, the most basic level tends to be the use of positively or negatively charged words. Thus, the same action might be described as an "unprovoked attack" or "pre-emptive strike" depending on who did it, or, if the action is too negative for a rewording to be sufficient, the agent could be left out entirely with a passive construction. Such linguistic features may seem transparent, but even if a singular occurrence could be perceived as false by a reader, the purpose they serve is likely one of naturalization.

4.2.6. Power as Control

The power of any given social groups depends on how well they can control their followers; a political party, for example, is unlikely to succeed if it cannot spread its opinions to the people. This ties into the notion of naturalization; as a group becomes more powerful, its ideology becomes ingrained into discourse and society in general, and this exerts what Van Dijk calls mind control of less powerful groups (2011:354). People tend to accept opinions from sources that they deem reliable (for example, a conservative might accept a Fox News opinion – see section 3.3), and the press is a major factor in this. This discourse then affects further discourse, if unconsciously; if major news sources, for example, associate immigration with violence, this exerts a certain degree of mind control. In other words, by influencing the press, the dominant groups in society can, at least indirectly, control the population. It is important to note that even though members of a dominant group convey certain opinions, the individual is not necessarily empowered by them (Van Dijk 2011:355).

4.2.7. Ideological Features

Van Dijk (1998) considers a variety of ways in which bias and ideology may appear. These as follows:

- Lexical items. The words chosen may express different value judgements, either by being negatively or positively charged, or through the context.
- Propositions. The immediate context of the lexical items combines the predicate and other semantic roles into a proposition. Who holds agency and who is passive in processes is part of this.
- Implications. Given a proposition, another proposition can be inferred from it. If part of a group, for example, is over-lexicalized as "law-abiding", the remainder of the group could be implied to break laws.
- Presuppositions. Propositions can also be presupposed to be true, and as such introduce other propositions (that may not be true) into a text.
- Descriptions. Van Dijk notes that "our" good actions tend to be described in more detail than "our" bad actions, whereas the opposite is true for "them". Sometimes the less-described actions may be omitted entirely.
- Local coherence. How causal and conditional relationships are presented. This might include, for example, generally attributing negative occurrences to specific groups.
- Global coherence. Macro-propositions, shared topics and opinions across larger stretches of text.
- Semantic moves. Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, such as "I'm not racist, but…" followed by what may be seen as a racist statement.

(Van Dijk 1998: 31-45)

The most problematic ideologies manifest in the press appear to be those of racism, gender imbalance (women's movements not covered or attacked, feminism problematized and stigmatized, female contributions ignored), class issues (the working class covered negatively, considered less credible, generally ignored), and what Van Dijk terms "north versus south", meaning the negative coverage of "third world" countries and the downplaying of negative involvement of western countries (1995:24-26). Subjects that can be polarized into "us and them" generally seem to fit into what Van Dijk terms the "ideological square", a mental model for the expression of group-based attitudes:

1) Emphasize our good properties/actions
2) Emphasize their bad properties/actions
3) Mitigate our bad properties/actions
4) Mitigate their good properties/actions

(Van Dijk 1998:33).

This is as one might expect when it comes to reports on different groups, regardless of what the groups are, and it does seem to be one of the more common techniques found in the press; see section 4 on previous research.

4.2.8. Social Actor Theory

Van Leeuwen (2009) goes into more detail regarding how actors can be represented in discourse. While the framework provided here is similar to Fairclough's general model, it does go into more detail, being focused on the presentation of actors rather than discourse in general. Below are two elements that expand on the other categorizations.

- *Exclusion.* Van Leeuwen notes that actors can be excluded entirely. This is typically done through passive constructions, which Fairclough mentions, and can be problematic if the exclusion prevents a full understanding of the topic. Systemic exclusion is, however, difficult to notice if one is not intimately familiar with the events at hand.
- *Personalization and impersonalization.* This involves the construction of inanimate "actors" or instruments as agents, often including presenting countries as animate beings with specific qualities. The other side of this is presenting humans through qualities they possess rather than as individuals.

The framework has other aspects, such as *assimilation* (presenting actors as groups), *generic or specific reference* (presenting actors as a type or class of people) and *indetermination* (the presentation of actors and groups as merely "them". All of these processes play into the construction of an *us* and a *them,* but the methods through which this is accomplished are too many for a study of this relatively modest size to analyze individually.

4.3. Overview of News Providers

While conservative critics often claim that media in the United States has a "liberal bias" (see, for example Allan 2006:88, Lee 2005 and Dennis 1997) this is far from a factual statement and remains unconfirmed. Such statements seem to be fueled by the Republican elite encouraging their followers to distrust media in general (Lee 2005:56) rather than any objective research.

Fox News is typically agreed to be a right-wing news provider (Mitchell et al. 2014, Morris 2007), in that 47% of Americans who identify as "consistently conservative", and 31%

of those who identify as "mostly conservative" rely on it. Individuals who identify as "consistently liberal" or "mostly liberal" tend towards CNN with 15% and 20% respectively, but the self-identifying liberals are far more spread out among different news providers. On the other hand, according to the Pew Research Center study, those identifying as consistently liberal trust NPR the most, at 72%, whereas 66% of those mostly liberal trust CNN. The levels of trust are higher with the consistently conservative and mostly conservative, who trust Fox News at 88% and 72%, respectively. Similarly, another study by the Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism (2007), found that Fox News tends to report more positively on the Republicans and more negatively on the Democrats, and the CNN tends towards favoring the Democrats. Morris (2005) states, regarding this data, that "while the Fox News audience is slightly more Republican than the CNN audience is Democrat, it is evident that both audiences are moving away from the middle (p. 73)."

From these results, it can be generally extrapolated that CNN and NPR are generally considered liberal, whereas Fox News is almost universally considered conservative. It is important to note that this study does not claim that these news sources are objectively liberal or conservative, but rather that they are generally perceived as such by their respective audiences.

It should be pointed out that many stories are bought from major news agencies, in Fox News' case from Associated Press (AP) and in CNN's case from Reuters. As such, although it is likely that the companies edit their stories in order to give them a specific angle (as both companies sell their articles to both conservative and liberal outlets), there is a fair bit of repetition between providers who buy stories from the same source. While it would be interesting to see how much Fox News and CNN edit these "bought" stories, it is beyond the scope of this study.

5. Methodology

The study uses two approaches to analyze the data. The first one is quantitative: the most common collocations of participants and attributes in the articles are studied, and their contexts analyzed. For handling a larger amount of data such as this, the tool AntConc is used. The second approach is qualitative and consists of a thorough comparison of three pairs of articles on terrorism and conflicts each, in order to see how language use and conveyance of ideologies differs between Fox News and CNN, chosen for representing right-wing and center-left media respectively (for a longer justification, see section 6).

Given that this paper analyzes the language use in media to find out what ideologies and agendas are either consciously or subconsciously communicated, discourse-analytical tools are utilized. More specifically, this study uses the salient parts of Fairclough's model (2015), specifically the first step, as well as van Dijk's variables on how ideologies my manifest in text. The second step of interpretation of the discursive practices is discussed mostly in section 3 regarding the process of production, as well as integrated into the textual analysis. and although reader reactions would be a valuable addition, they are not analyzed in this study, as they would require interviews or written questionnaires, as specific reactions cannot be assumed to be true, and as such are not within the scope of this paper. Finally, the study considers the third step – social context and explanation – as interpreted by van Dijk (2006), mainly in section 3.1.4, through both considerations of context and comparisons with other texts on the same topics, from other news providers. It is important to note that while the study is inspired by CDA methodology, it does not follow any given framework, nor does it follow CDA's own ideology. This is most evident in the fact that a center-left publication is also analyzed, in the interest of avoiding bias.

As pointed out before, the quantitative and qualitative aspects of this study build on each other. What this means is that if specific patterns are recognized in the qualitative analysis, they are analyzed quantitatively also. Vice versa, if the quantitative analysis identifies specific tendencies, these are analyzed qualitatively. Further, the goal is not to argue which outlet is "wrong", but rather reveal ideological bias regardless of form.

In the quantitative section, this study analyzes the collocates of the most frequent tokens in the corpora, in order to examine what verbal contexts they appear in. If some words exclusively, or strongly, appear as collocates for certain participants, or only on in the articles from one news provider or the other, these are likely ideological. The most common collocates do not include common stop words (i.e. common function words, such as articles, connectives, prepositions, etc.) or the names of countries, as the latter are invariable, unlike words that require a stylistic choice, such as the choice between "militant" or "soldier". The collocates, presented by lemma form, include all inflections of the same word.

Specifically, the participants whose collocates are studied are, for the articles on terrorism, *ISIS, U.S./America, Syria* and *Iraq.* The word *Islamic* has, additionally, been identified as possibly problematic in that it is used in almost exclusively negative context in Fox News articles, and is therefore also analyzed. For the articles on conflicts, the most common participants are *U.S., North Korea, Russia, Iran* and again, *Syria.* All search terms

are also used in their lemma form, so for example, the collocates for *Syria*, *Syrian* and *Syria's* are all included under the lemma. For the more frequently appearing participants, up to 20 collocations are presented. All words are presented in both absolute frequency, as well as a normalized frequency of tokens per 10.000 words. The search horizon for all collocates is +/- five words.

6. Material

In this section, the corpora are discussed, the selection process, and the difficulties of getting older articles from news websites.

6.1. The Corpora

The two corpora used were assembled with articles from CNN and Fox News, collected over three months, from the 16th of December 2015 to the 16th of March 2016. The material was chosen out of the most recent news stories regarding *conflicts* and *terrorism.* Additional filtering was done in that only news stories regarding the same events were chosen, in order to balance the corpora and allow for a direct comparison. Therefore, events only covered by only one of the two outlets were excluded. The material is distributed as seen below:

Table 1. Total number of words in the corpora.

	CNN	Fox News
Conflict	62206	54642
Terrorism	73454	54840

As can be assumed from the above numbers, CNN's articles tend to be longer than those of Fox News. Due to this, collocations are presented with normalized frequency alongside the absolute numbers, as occurrences per 10.000 words.

6.1. Sources

The websites for CNN and Fox News were chosen due to their prominence in the US combined with their position as the most popular news sources for the liberal and conservative populations respectively. This is the most significant departure from traditional CDA ideas, as this manner of comparisons between right-wing and center-left media are not usually done. While the choice of Fox News was easy due to their fairly clear political standpoint, finding a liberal source was more difficult. As noted by Mitchell et al (2014) and

Morris (2005, 2007), the liberal population is more fragmented over multiple different news providers, and their levels of trust for mass media tends to be lower. Regardless, CNN, being both one of the largest and one of the most trusted providers seems to be the clearest choice outside of partisan publications, which cannot be considered for the study, as these will have overt reproduction of ideologies without the veneer of neutrality that ordinary news tends to have. It is important to note, here, that given the study's focus, it is the (hidden) reproduction of ideologies that is the central part of the paper, and therefore a newspaper's level of trust and claims of neutrality are important. Additionally, news aggregators or hybrid news aggregators such as Google News or Yahoo News were not considered, as although political bias can appear in such, it is not necessarily an "original" reproduction of ideology and may be "leftovers" from the original report.

6.2. Difficulties

In assembling the total of four corpora used in the present issue, some issues were discovered. The first of these is that the news websites analyzed here, Fox News and CNN, are unfriendly at best when it comes to reading older news. Fox News does allow one to go seemingly as far back in time as one pleases, but the process for doing this is less than optimal: one must load ten articles at a time, by pressing a button, and since one day often has ten articles or more, this means that one must load new articles repeatedly to reach an earlier point in time. It is cumbersome, and the page has a tendency to auto-refresh, which resets the articles viewed to present time, necessitating another period of clicking the button to show more. This makes it practically impossible to in sequential order view news older than roughly three months. Regardless of its shortcomings, the system is still better than CNN, which seemingly has no way to view older articles, other than having a direct link. This means that one must either use a search engine to find articles, which, of course, is impossible without another website to read stories on and therefore know what to search for. For a comparative study such as the present one, this is only a problem, but should one wish to study only CNN, it seems to be a major hindrance.

      If any conclusions can be drawn from this, one would be that news outlets no interest in letting viewers easily read older news. By only showing the present selection, it is much harder to form an overview of language use and ideologies. Furthermore, as news may have errors, this effectively hides them from the public eye after a day or two have passed. The

important thing to note is that there is little other reason for such limitations, given the near infinite space available and the fact that the articles still exist on the website.

7. Analysis and Discussion

The qualitative section is presented first, in order to illustrate examples of bias and contrast the right-wing coverage of Fox News to the center-left coverage of CNN. After this, the study moves into the quantitative section with the aim to identify, through the analysis of collocations, potentially more general ideological biases that go beyond specific examples.

7.1. The Qualitative Analysis

In this section of the paper, six pairs of articles are analyzed, three of which are about terrorism and the other three on conflicts. The focus lies on the examination of aspects that CDA typically considers to reveal ideological bias, such as word choice, coherence, prioritization of information, and "quote space", that is, what participants are given space in the articles to present their viewpoints. Common participants that are deemed to be presented with bias are further analyzed in the quantitative section in order to examine whether or not such biases are recurring or constrained to singular articles.

7.1.1. News about Conflicts

This section analyzes and discusses the news articles about conflicts, with three pairs of articles. In each article, the original headlines are presented first, in table format.

7.1.1.1. Captured US Soldier Crying in Photos

This pair of articles is about US sailors who were captured by Iran, and subsequently were photographed crying.

Table 1. Headlines of the first pair of articles about conflicts.

Fox News	"US Navy rips Iran after new footage shows captured sailor crying"
CNN	"New Iran video appears to show U.S. sailor in tears"

The Fox article on this story had a different headline and abstract on the front page than in the article itself at the time of writing, and as such this is analyzed first (see Figures 1 and 2 in section 4.2.4). That headline – "Infuriating images: Navy rips Iran over video of captive US sailor crying" is almost propaganda-like in nature, using alliteration and a loaded word, "infuriating", playing to the reader's emotions. Agency is given primarily to the US navy, who "rips" Iran, delegating responsibility for the capture and subsequent photos to the country as a whole, rather than the actual group responsible. The subsequent mocking (a recreation of the sailors' capture) is also only reported in Fox. Given that Fox News tends to be aligned with Republican views (see section 3.3), and that the Republicans have largely been against the "nuclear deal" with Iran, the story seems to be intended to reinforce the Republican view by conveying a negative image.

The prioritization of information is a key factor in comparing the articles. Fox News condemns the video in both headline and abstract, condemns it again in the main article, moves on to the "mocking" recreation, and only after this does the article go into detail on the "what, when and how" of the situation. This is possibly intentional and ideological; regardless of what the situation involved, the story seeks to convince the readers of its own ideology first. In addition to this, the reason the sailor is in tears is never mentioned, leaving the reader to draw their own conclusions, which seems to invite speculation on mistreatment beyond mere capture and release. This is further reinforced by connecting words; the article states that

> "The sailors did not appear to be physically harmed when they were released. *However*, Hossein Salami, a Revolutionary Guard commander, told state TV last month that the sailors had "started crying" after they were arrested." (Fox News 1/2/2015: Online)

"However" here seems to imply that the sailors were indeed *mentally* harmed to the point of tears. There is likely a contextual fear that is being played on here; the association of filming captured Americans, apparently mistreated, by an Islamic organization would seem to connect to filmed executions from terrorist organizations.

CNN's story is very differently organized, to begin with, the video's authenticity is questioned first: "Iran's state television released new footage Wednesday of 10 U.S. Navy sailors detained by Tehran that *appears* to show one of the men in tears". The word *appears* is important here, as it signals that the situation may not be as it is presented, although "officials" are cited as stating that the video is likely authentic. Subsequently, the article states that, according to officials, the sailors, "struck by the enormity of the situation", were overwhelmed by not knowing what would happen to them. This seems to downplay the issue,

which is the opposite of what Fox News' strategy. Both outlets cite various officials who criticize the usage of the sailors being used for propaganda purposes, although the CNN phrases part of it as a condemnation from *Republicans* specifically, adding that said Republicans "have been fiercely critical of the Obama administration's engagement with Iran". In contrast, Democrat Secretary of State John Kerry *negotiated* their release and used his diplomatic ties to *defuse the potentially explosive situation*. Although subtle, this does portray the Democrats as the responsible, negotiating party that wishes to avoid conflict, and the Republicans as quick to condemn but incapable of taking action. Fox avoids directly crediting Kerry for the release, and instead chooses to state that Kerry thanked "his counterpart", Iran's foreign minister, for helping him secure the prisoners, minimizing his agency in the actual process. The Fox article further cites Kerry saying that the footage made him "disgusted" and "infuriated", whereas the CNN cites him as being merely "angry", but states that his comments later on, after the release, were "noticeably stronger than the tepid response of U.S. officials after the sailor's detention initially became known". *Tepid* is hardly a positive word, and while CNN does downplay the incident, the article does appear negative nonetheless, primarily evident in quotes such as Kerry's, that the reader is assumedly intended to agree with.

The negative emotions are highly emphasized in the Fox article overall, especially in comparison to the CNN on. The importance of diplomacy seems downplayed as well, and the article is clearly angled to maximally condemn Iran's actions. CNN does appear to condemn the incident as well, but places far more emphasis on the diplomacy, credited to the Democrats.

7.1.1.2. Iran Fires Missiles

This pair of articles is about Iran test-firing ballistic missiles, which may or may not violate UN resolution.

Table 2. Headlines of the second pair of articles about conflicts.

Fox News	"Iran reportedly test-fires 2 long-range missiles while Biden visits Israel"
CNN	"Iran fires ballistic missiles a day after test; U.S. officials hint at violation"

This pair of articles is interesting for several reasons, the first of which is their portrayal of individuals, namely Biden. Fox News headlines often seem to follow the formula of [something happens] while [Democrat does an unrelated thing], as is the case here: "Iran reportedly test-fires 2 long-range missiles while Biden visits Israel". The second part of the headline is only tangentially relevant, but are reported as something related; there is a clear coherence link here. If we are to assume that Fox suggests Iran firing missiles is inherently negative, then it seems that the suggested reading of the article is "Why didn't Biden prevent this?" as if it was possible. The other possible, contextual, reading is that Biden is responsible for this by assisting in working out the Iran "nuclear deal", a deal which allows Iran to utilize nuclear power in exchange for not developing or using nuclear weapons.

Both articles report on a supposed message written on the rockets, which is stated to have read "Israel must be wiped off the earth", although CNN notably questions this fact, observing that it comes from a "semi-official news agency", namely Fars News, and that it has not been confirmed. Fox makes no mention of this possibly unreliability of the sources, although the article still says that the message was "reportedly" there, but this is phrased in a way that mixes verifiable fact with possibly inaccurate claims: "Iran reportedly test-fired two ballistic missiles Wednesday with the phrase "'Israel must be wiped out'". It is unclear what "reportedly" refers to here; the missile launch is confirmable fact and has been discussed by US officials, whereas the message is not.

Both outlets do stress that the launch, while not a violation of the nuclear deal, likely violates UN resolutions. The picture painted is one of a belligerent Iran, and individuals are quoted from the Iran Revolutionary Guard who reinforce this, either outright stating or suggesting that the missiles are for confronting the 'Zionist regime", i.e. Israel. The quotes are, however, phrased differently: Fox quotes the major as saying that the missiles are *for* a confrontation, while another quote contradicts this, in saying that Iran stresses that it will not start any wars. CNN phrases the quote as "Since Israel is within range of the missiles, it is quite natural it would be concerned".

CNN does give more moderate Iranians space in the article, unlike Fox, and as such at least presents the opposing viewpoint, that the launches are "In line with [Iran's] defense doctrine" and that they are for responding to threats. However, more space is given to Israel and UN officials, who both condemn the launch. Fox, further, brings up previous supposed misdeeds by Iran, namely the capture (and subsequent release) of US sailors who Iran claims misnavigated into Iranian waters (see section 7.1.1.1).

Both articles show a certain bias against Iran, although CNN more subtly so. Regardless, CNN still has chosen to report unverified facts as part of the story, seemingly to make the situation look more negative than it may actually be. Dramatization is also evident in CNN's choice to call Israel Iran's "archenemy", clearly drawing from the discourse of fiction and drama.

7.1.1.3. Russian War Crimes

This pair of articles discusses Russian actions in the Syrian conflict, which are portrayed as war crimes by Amnesty, and seemingly have led to hundreds of civilian deaths.

Table 3. Headlines for the third pair of articles about conflicts.

Fox News	"Russia guilty of 'egregious' war crimes in Syria, human rights group says"
CNN	"Hundreds of civilians killed in Russian airstrikes in Syria – Amnesty"

This pair of articles report on possible war crimes committed by Russia in airstrikes in Syria. It is mostly interesting due to the fact that negative consequences of airstrikes are emphasized, unlike in reports regarding US airstrikes, which, as far as either outlet is concerned, have not killed notable numbers of civilians. The emphasis lies on civilians in CNN's headline, which reads *Hundreds of civilians killed in Russian airstrikes*. Although highly negative, the headline in itself does not say whether or not the Russian attacks on civilians were intentional or not. This is not the case with Fox's headline, which states that Russia is *guilty* of "egregious war crimes" according to a "human rights organization", i.e. Amnesty International. The phrasing more or less immediately implies that such crimes were done on purpose. However, in bullet points under the headline, CNN's article repeats the same claim; "Russian airstrikes appear to have directly attacked civilians". The phrasing is strange, as an airstrike cannot attack by itself, but whether or not this is intentional or simply a mistake is not clear.

The negatives are highly emphasized in both articles. Fox quotes Amnesty, who call the attacks some of the worst war crimes *in decades*, while CNN refers to "massive destruction in residential areas". Although Amnesty is the source of both reports, CNN does distance the voice of the reporter slightly more from the voice of Amnesty, in that it uses *claims* rather than *tell*, and the story also gives more space to Russian officials, who deny the

claims. Often, it is the exclusion or inclusion of voices like this that can reveal ideological bias, and Fox News only states that "The Kremlin denies it has been hitting civilian areas". In contrast, there are three paragraphs regarding Russia's denial in CNN's article. However, CNN's article is also over three times the length of Fox's, and far more space is dedicated to Amnesty in confirming that the attacks did happen and were intentional. Both outlets clearly emphasize the negatives of "their" attacks.

Looking at this pair of articles in an intertextual context, CNN does in fact have an article regarding US airstrikes killing civilians. Fox does not appear to have an equivalent report. Regardless, as it provides contrast to how other countries' negatives are presented, it is analyzed below.

The headline for this article states that the US *admits* that airstrikes "killed civilians", but the exact number is not mentioned. In a bullet point below the headline, the situation is phrased as "US admits airstrikes killed *or wounded* 17 civilians", which is interesting. Numbers of ten deaths, as well as four wounded, is later confirmed, but the remaining three are either wounded or simply dead, the latter of would, of course, be more negative. The article does, however, move towards minimizing and justifying these casualties, as unlike the articles that report casualties in Russian bombings, officials are given plenty of space – well over half of the article – to justify the deaths. Quoted officials call the deaths "tragic", calling the need to balance civilian casualties versus the target's military worth the "burden of command". The article goes on to describe that the attacks had also destroyed "millions of dollars' worth of ISIS cash", and that the casualties were in fact far lower than what would be "acceptable", that is, fifty deaths. Finally, the article refers to the previously mentioned Russian airstrikes, which had "hundreds of civilian casualties" in comparison. Thus, while CNN does report on "our" negatives, the article is far more neutrally phrased, minimizing and justifying them, effectively stating that *others are worse*.

7.1.2. News about Terrorism

This section analyzes and discusses the news articles about terrorism, with three pairs of articles. In each article, the original headlines are presented first, in table format.

7.1.2.1. Yemen Retirement Home Attacks

This pair of articles is about a Yemen retirement home which was attacked by an armed group, resulting in multiple deaths.

Table 4. Headlines of the first pair of articles about terrorism.

Fox News	"Gunmen execute 16 people, including 4 nuns, in Yemen retirement home"
CNN	"4 nuns, 12 others killed in 'diabolical' attack on home for elderly in Yemen"

Here, the headlines thematize different aspects. CNN presents the death toll first, emphasizing that four of the victims were nuns. This is likely intentional considering that the attack is called "*diabolical*" in the headlines, which, of course, has religious connotations along with strongly negative ones. No agency is delegated yet; the victims were simply "killed in an attack". This stands in contrast to Fox's headline, which immediately creates a process of *execution*, the agents of which are *gunmen*. Certainly this is a far more negative headline than CNN's, "Execution" emphasizes that the victims were defenseless and thus killed in cold blood. The word "gunman" returns again as what seems to be the default word for mass shootings in Fox's reporting.

In the first-paragraph summary, Fox's article refers to the situation as a massacre, "unleashed" by a "team of gunmen". Although no terrorist group has claimed credit for the deed yet, Fox News heavily implies that it is a definite terrorist deed. In the article, both ISIS and Al-Qaeda are mentioned immediately before stating that "No terror group immediately claimed credit for Friday's slaughter". The local coherence here is of high importance: the two terror groups are mentioned immediately before and after descriptions of the attack, even though there is no obvious connection. The article also mentions a Catholic church being "torched and sabotaged by Islamic extremists" the previous summer, despite this story being an entirely different event. The implicit message here is that Islamic terrorists are responsible for this attack also, and that these terrorists are from Al-Qaeda or ISIS. While this could be called a reasonable assumption, it is not a fact, which is why Fox does not overtly claim it, but it is heavily implied given the structure and processes in the article. Some blame also appears to be assigned to Saudi-Arabia, given that after a summary of the attack, the following sentence appears, describing how the organization running the home, the Christian "Missionaries of Charity, established by Mother Theresa" runs the home in "the *chaotic* port city of Aden, *which descended into lawlessness after a Saudi-led coalition recaptured the city*

from Shiite Houthi rebels last summer." This seems to construct the recapturing as a direct cause of chaos.

CNN also calls the perpetrators "gunmen", and cites the Vatican, among them the pope, who call the deed *murder*, *slaughter,* and *senseless and diabolical violence.* A similar coherence link found here, in that Al-Qaeda is mentioned as "having found a home in" in the *poor, impoverished Arab nation* after a summary of the deed. The chaotic situation is, however, not clearly blamed on either the rebels or the Saudi coalition. Instead, CNN states that the unrest began "amid angry protests [by the rebels]" who have not had much influence in the country's government. Unlike Fox, CNN does not quote any Yemeni, but only the Vatican and the UN.

7.1.2.2. Muslims Prevent Shooting

This pair of articles is about Muslim passengers on a Kenyan bus protecting the others from the terror group Al-Shabaab.

Table 5. Headlines of the second pair of articles about terrorism.

Fox News	"Muslims help non-Muslims escape extremist attack in Kenya, witnesses say"
CNN	"Muslims shield Christians when Al-Shabaab attacks bus in Kenya"

This pair of articles is perhaps the most interesting due to how the participants and processes are described, as well as being one of the few examples of evident *exclusion* of information. While CNN's headline states that "Muslims shield Christians" in an attack by Al-Shabaab on a bus in Kenya, Fox's headline reads "Muslims help non-Muslims […] witnesses say". Firstly, CNN reports the event as fact, rather than as something merely *said*. Secondly, Fox leaves out the fact that the protected group were, in fact, Christian. This is true throughout the article. Finally, CNN's headline is more positive, given that *shield* has connotations of putting oneself in harm's way to protect something, as a shield would.

The description of the event is very different in Fox as compared to CNN and other news articles that were examined in order to deduce which description was more accurate, in multiple ways. CNN states that the Muslims were prepared to die in order to protect the Christians, telling them to "kill them together, or leave them alone". This positive agency is reported on in detail; the Muslim passengers gave the Christian ones their hijabs and helped

them hide, and the article also quotes a Kenyan official who states "We are all Kenyans, we are not separated by religion".

The Fox News article has a very different timeline of events. The Christians, who are, as mentioned, only referred to as "non-Muslims", were helped by *some* of the Muslims, and there is no mention of "dying together". Instead, In Fox's version, the Muslim passengers managed to fool the attackers by lying about a police truck following the bus, which resulted in an additional death when the attackers ambushed the next bus and shot a hitchhiking police officer. Again, as mentioned earlier, it is likely that CNN's article is more accurate, given that all other sources report that version, not including aggregators who republish Fox's article.

Why, then, would Fox News exclude this information? It cannot be assumed reader familiarity, as it is unlikely that their readers would be familiar with events in Kenya. Instead, such an exclusion is ideological; as evidenced by the quantitative study, Fox tends towards portraying Muslims as violent extremists (the attackers are specifically called *Islamic militants*, whereas CNN calls them *Al-Shabaab militants),* and as shown in the previous pair of articles, Christian victims of terrorist groups are emphasized. It stands to reason, then, that Fox seeks to construct a world where Islam and Christianity are in conflict, and as such, an act of solidarity like the one in the story goes against this agenda. Thus the article minimizes positive acts by Muslims while emphasizing the negatives; the attackers are said to have been "identifying victims for *slaughter"*, previous acts of killing are mentioned, and even the act of helping the "non-Muslims" results in an innocent dying.

In contrast, CNN's article emphasizes the solidarity, along with giving quote space to officials who praise the deed. One final detail is that CNN states that Al-Shabaab's goal is to "sow division in [the region]", and as such, this act and the reporting of it work against this goal.

7.1.2.3. Christian Monastery Razed

This pair of articles is about what was supposedly the world's oldest existing Christian monastery being razed.

Table 6. Headlines of the third pair of articles about terrorism.

Fox News	"Pentagon: ISIS destruction of Christian monastery is savagery vs. decency"

CNN	"Satellite pictures suggest oldest Christian monastery in Iraq razed to ground"

This pair of articles is interesting, as despite both outlets reporting what appears to be the full story, they are angled very differently. Starting with the headlines, CNN states that the oldest Christian monastery was "razed to the ground". Fox's headline, on the other hand, clearly sets the ideological tone of the article, citing the Pentagon, who say that "ISIS destruction of Christian monastery is savagery vs. decency". As the quote comes from US officials, it seems likely that it is used here to lend authority to the article, rather than as something Fox tries to distance itself from. The words *savagery* and *decency* are the most interesting aspects here, in that they are effectively what the war against ISIS is reduced to; they are savages, "we" are the side of decency. It is worth noting that both articles are quoting the same source, but have selected different quotes to publish.

The CNN article, despite clearly implying that ISIS is responsible for the razing, states that the group has not claimed responsibility. Both articles are operating from (reasonable) assumption, but the manner in which this is done is different; Fox does so overtly by directly claiming that ISIS is responsible, whereas CNN merely implies it, stating that this is "not the first time" and "It wouldn't be the first time the terror group has targeted historic sites".

Further, the context of the razing is different. CNN presents it as ISIS considering *all* religious shrines idolatrous, regardless of if they are Islamic, Christian, or others, and that this is the reason for the destruction. The article focuses on the loss of the monastery as a *cultural* loss, quoting individuals who refer to "history being wiped out". Fox News seems to imply that the attacks are specifically on Christian buildings, given that the article gives space to quotes on how "[Our] Christian history in Mosul is being barbarically leveled…" and how "these persecutions have happened to our church more than once…" While other quotes mention the "systematic destruction of precious sites", what is not mentioned is that this includes *all* religious sites, not only Christian ones. While this could be an oversight in another outlet, given that Fox News appears to report only negatively on Islam, and actively downplays cases of solidarity between Muslims and Christians (see section 7.1.2.4) it seems reasonable to assume that this is intentional. The article focuses more on the loss as a *religious* loss, with quotes calling it a "sacred place" with something "greater going on inside".

7.2. The Quantitative Results

In this section, the data is presented in table form, followed by a brief discussion comparing the findings in CNN and Fox News, with examples from the articles analyzed. The purpose is to illustrate what may be more general tendencies and biases in description and in some cases, to show that observations made in the qualitative section may, in fact, be present in the corpora as a whole. The data is presented both in absolute frequency and in normalized frequency. The data was normalized by dividing number of occurrences with number of total words in the sub-corpus, and then multiplied by 10.000 in order to get occurrences per myriad.

7.2.1. News about Terrorism

Table 7. Collocates 1-10 (as lemma) of *ISIS* in articles about terrorism.

Fox News			CNN		
Word	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**	**Word**	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**
KILL	25	4.55‱	CLAIM	57	7.75‱
PUBLISH	21	3.82‱	ATTACK	47	6.39‱
ATTACK	15	2.73‱	GROUP	40	5.44‱
MILITANT	15	2.73‱	TERROR	31	4.22‱
CLAIM	14	2.55‱	TERRITORY	31	4.22‱
FORCE	11	2.00‱	RESPONSIBILITY	31	4.22‱
RESPONSIBILITY	10	1.82‱	OIL	30	4.08‱
PEOPLE	10	1.82‱	CONTROL	27	3.67‱
GROUP	10	1.82‱	FIGHTER	26	3.53‱
FIGHTER	10	1.82‱	LEADER	24	3.26‱

As evident in table 7, above, the most common collocates for *ISIS* in Fox News tend towards violence, as in *kill, attack, militant, force,* and *fighter.* The word *kill* appears, most of the cases, either as something done by ISIS, as in "ISIS gunman *killed* 38 people" or as something done to the group, as in examples 1 and 2, below.

(1) …ISIS militants that killed at least 12…
(2) …where an ISIS gunman killed 38 people.

Worth noting in the table are also the words used for combatants. Although ISIS could be argued to have an army or military, the combatants are instead referred to as *militants* or *ISIS fighters,* as in examples 3 and 4, below.

(3) …hundreds of ISIS fighters moving to Sirte.

(4) Kurdish Peshmerga forces are fighting ISIS militants…

Militant is a denigrative term with negative connotations, and *fighter* at best neutral, but regardless both play down the organization as something less than a nation with an army. While *fighter* could of course be used positively, such as in *freedom fighter*, this is not the case here. It is likely that the use of these terms is due to *military* or *army* implying that the forces belong to a nation, and acknowledging ISIS combatants as such would legitimize their claim of being a sovereign nation.

Forces refers to militaries that oppose ISIS, except in most cases US forces, rather than the group's own combatants. US forces are instead referred to by very formal terms such as *soldiers*, *military*, or simply *troops*, and this is discussed further in the section for collocations for *U.S./America. Claim* and *responsibility* occur together most of the time, and in all but one case ("self-proclaimed") refer to ISIS claiming various attacks. Finally, *people* refers exclusively to victims in these articles, which is a fairly colloquial term in that it does not distinguish between civilians and military targets, as in example 5 below.

(5) …where an ISIS gunman killed 38 people.

As for the collocations for *ISIS* in CNN's articles, the most notable difference as compared to the Fox News articles is the lack of the word *kill,* although it does appear in the next set of collocations. The words still tend towards violence with *attack, terror* and *fighter*, but CNN appears show a wider perspective on ISIS beyond their immediate deeds considering words such as *oil¸* which is found in the context of explaining how the group gets funding, as well as *control,* which is fairly common in the CNN corpus and refers to ISIS-controlled territories. As with Fox News, *fighter* refers to ISIS forces, as illustrated in example 6 below. The more negative *militant* does not appear.

(6) He said ISIS fighters were planting explosives…

Another interesting aspect is the presence of the word *terror¸* which does not appear as a common collocate in Fox articles for *ISIS,* but does appear for *Islamic.* Certainly, one should expect it when describing a de facto terror group. Finally, *attack* and *attacks* are

mainly used as nouns; while ISIS is described as actively having attacked occasionally, most of the time there is no direct agency given. This may indicate a more neutral policy for reporting, given that Fox articles usually delegate negative agency to ISIS in attacks or kills, but less often to the US.

Table 8. Collocates 11-20 (as lemma) of *ISIS* in articles about terrorism.

	Fox News			CNN	
Word	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**	**Word**	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**
LEADER	10	1.82‰	CITY	23	3.13‰
HOLD	9	1.64‰	KILL	23	3.13‰
REPORT	9	1.64‰	FORCE	20	2.72‰
YEAR	7	1.27‰	MILITARY	20	2.72‰
CITY	7	1.27‰	DOCUMENT	19	2.58‰
TERRITORY	6	1.09‰	PEOPLE	18	2.45‰
ISLAMIC	6	1.09‰	HOLD	17	2.31‰
CASH	6	1.09‰	CHEMICAL	17	2.31‰
AIRSTRIKE	6	1.09‰	YEAR	15	2.04‰
TROOP	5	0.91‰	MONEY	15	2.04‰

For Fox News, in the less common collocates, the word *Islamic* appears. This is discussed further under the collocations for *Islamic* in table 9, below. The word *troops* also appears, but refers only to the soldiers of other participants in the conflict, rather than ISIS combatants. For CNN, the word *kill* appears, showing that although CNN does not use the word as often as Fox News does, it is nonetheless used. Finally, *military* here refers, as with *troops*, to other combatants, as in the example 7 below:

(7) …US Military believes ISIS fighters had not noticed…

As with Fox News, US combatants are referred to as a military, whereas ISIS troops are *fighters.* Finally, *money*, as opposed to Fox News' *cash* indicates a more formal style of reporting in CNN.

Table 9. Collocates 1-10 (as lemma) of *U.S./AMERICA* in articles about terrorism.

Fox News			CNN		
Word	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**	**Word**	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**
OFFICIAL	28	5.10‰	OFFICIAL	51	6.94‰
LEAD	21	3.82‰	FORCE	26	3.53‰
FORCE	21	3.82‰	LEAD	21	2.85‰
COALITION	17	3.09‰	MILITARY	19	2.58‰
MILITARY	16	2.91‰	COALITION	18	2.45
AIRSTRIKE	12	2.18‰	DEPARTMENT	15	2.04‰
TROOP	11	2.00‰	DEFENSE	15	2.04‰
KILL	8	1.48‰	SECRETARY	13	1.76‰
TELL	8	1.48‰	STATE	12	1.63‰
ARMY	7	1.27‰	SPECIAL	12	1.63‰

As shown table 9, above, the words collocating with *U.S.* in Fox News tend towards authority, as in *official, lead, coalition, military* and *army*, and arguably *tell*. The word *tell* here is used the reporting sense, and distances the voice of the newspaper less from the quoted voice than a word such as *say* or *claim* might. As mentioned in the discussion of table 7, the terms for combatants are clearly different. For the US, they are referred to as the military, the army, or simply troops, and lack the negative connotations of words such as *militants*, despite describing effectively the same type of occupation, i.e. someone fighting others. This is

possibly intentional: although ISIS claims to be a state, it is not acknowledged as such by most groups, and calling its forces a *military* or an *army* seems that it would suggest their claims are true.

The word *kill* is interesting due to the agency employed. It is roughly evenly split between direct agency and constructions such as "[number] killed by *U.S.* airstrike". Examples 8 and 9 below illustrate the usage of the word.

(8) …ISIS leaders killed by the U.S.-led coalition in…
(9) Islamic State leader who was killed in a U.S. raid last year…

This shows a main difference: US negative agency is minimized, considering that there are only a few examples that outright state someone was killed by US troops, compared to how the word is used in association with ISIS. Although there have been US casualties in the conflict, American soldiers are only mentioned as having been killed once, which seems to convey that the US is not a victim, but rather the active party.

As for CNN, the words associated with the US tend towards authority. As in Fox articles, quoted sources tend to be *officials,* as illustrated in the examples below.

(10) "…according to a U.S. State Department official…"
(11) "…One U.S. official said the goal is to…"

Another three words, *department, defense* and *secretary* typically occur together as another source of information. This could be seen as drawing on authority for the stories, as the articles mix two orders of discourse, those of military and government, with the discourse of the press. Again evident from these collocates is that the US' combatants are simply called the *military* or *forces*. The word *lead* also suggests authority, in that strikes, campaigns and the *coalition* are all led by the US army. Again absent when compared to Fox's articles is *kill*; although the US certainly has killed scores of combatants in anti-terrorism attacks, both *kill* and *attack* are absent. This seems to indicate that CNN minimizes any negative agency of "our side" more than Fox does, although given that *kill* is also missing as a collocation for ISIS, the difference may be due to a different style of reporting; whereas Fox headlines usually read "[number] killed in attack", CNN's tend towards "[number] dead in attack"; the articles appear less sensationalist.

Table 10. Collocates 11-20 (as lemma) of *U.S./AMERICA* in articles about terrorism.

Fox News			CNN		
Word	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**	**Word**	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**
BASE	7	1.26‰	KILL	12	1.63‰
ATTACK	7	1.26‰	OPERATION	12	1.63‰
SPOKESMAN	6	1.09‰	ATTACK	12	1.63‰
INTELLIGENCE	6	1.09‰	TREASURY	11	1.49‰
STATE	5	0.91‰	TROOP	10	1.36‰
BACK	5	0.91‰	EMBASSY	10	1.36‰
RAID	5	0.91‰	INTELLIGENCE	9	1.22‰
TERROR	4	0.72‰	STRIKE	7	0.95‰
OPERATION	4	0.72‰	SERVICE	7	0.95‰
GROUP	4	0.72‰	TRAINING	6	0.81‰

Collocations 11-20 reinforce the "official" image constructed with *embassy, intelligence, spokesman* and *service.* Training refers to the US military training other armies. *Kill* is used in the same manner as in Fox News. The word *operation* is perhaps the most interesting here, as it is used seemingly interchangeably with the less positive *attack* in both sources. Finally, in Fox's collocations, *terror* does, as expected, not refer to any actions performed by the US, but to groups that the US military is in conflict with.

Table 11. Collocates (as lemma) of *SYRIA* in articles about terrorism.

Fox News			CNN		
Word	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**	**Word**	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**
GROUP	14	2.55‰	GROUP	26	3.53‰
KILL	8	1.45‰	TRAVEL	19	2.58‰
FORCE	8	1.45‰	STATE	11	1.49‰
CONTROL	8	1.45‰	TERRITORY	8	1.08‰
BORDER	7	1.27‰	FORCE	8	1.08‰
FIGHT	6	1.09‰	FIGHT	7	0.95‰
NEIGHBOR	5	0.91‰	PART	6	0.81‰
RAID	5	0.91‰	NEWS	6	0.81‰
MONTH	5	0.91‰	STRIKE	6	0.81‰
TERRITORY	4	0.72‰	SUPPORT	5	0.68‰

As seen in table 11, above, the words that collocate with *Syria* in Fox News tend towards a setting, such as *control, border, neighbor,* and *territory*. Syria has little agency of its own in most examples: *kill* refers to individuals killed in Syria, as in the examples below:

(12) …an airstrike killed him in Syria in November.

(13) Lebanese militant killed in Syria

Force refers mostly to non-Syrian forces, such as those of Turkey or Iraq, and *fight* refers to fights in Syria, rather than any actual fighting done by Syrian combatants. *Group* exclusively refers to ISIS. *Raid* and *control* are both used to refer to other groups raiding and controlling Syria respectively, as in the examples below:

(14) The radical group controls territory in Syria…

(15) A Delta Force raid in eastern Syria resulted in…

It is rather evident here that Syria is constructed as a powerless victim, or simply a setting for the conflicts reported on, and this appears to be the case with CNN's reports also. Syria is not as much a participant as it is an environment where the participants act.

As for CNN's collocations, *group* refers primarily to ISIS, but also other groups, such as support groups or anti-terrorism group. As with Fox's articles, words such as *fight*, *forces*, *parts*, *strike, territory* and *support* all primarily refer to actions by other governments; Syria

itself has no agency and is constructed as a chaotic place that needs support, as illustrated by the examples below.

(16) Indonesians have traveled to Syria to fight with the militant group…

(17) The International Syria Support Group, including Russia, has agreed…

Although Syria has an army, it is rarely mentioned, and as such has little to no agency; almost all agency is with foreign powers involved in the conflict. Finally, *travel* refers to individuals travelling to Syria in order to join ISIS.

Table 12. Collocates (as lemma) of *IRAQ* in news about terrorism.

Fox News			**CNN**		
Word	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**	**Word**	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**
LARGE	12	2.18‰	TERRITORY	11	1.49‰
FORCE	11	1.49‰	GROUP	9	1.22‰
PUBLISH	8	1.45‰	OFFICIAL	7	0.95‰
ISLAMIC	8	1.45‰	ATTACK	7	0.95‰
MILITARY	6	1.09‰	KILL	7	0.95‰
CITY	6	1.09‰	REPORT	7	0.95‰
CONTROL	5	0.91‰	INCLUDE	6	0.81‰
TERRITORY	4	0.72‰	HOLD	6	0.81‰
SERVE	4	0.72‰	LEADER	5	0.68‰
RAID	4	0.72‰	TERROR	5	0.68‰

Again evident in Table 12, above, is that *military* is being deliberately avoided regarding ISIS combatants. Both U.S. and Iraqi forces are referred to as *militaries* rather than fights, militants or the like, as in the examples below:

(18) …Iraqi Kurdish military unit in northern Iraq…

(19) …outside of Syria and Iraq, the U.S. military has been…

 Serve refers exclusively to US veterans who served in the Iraq war. Otherwise, the results are roughly similar to those of Syria: Iraq is characterized as a place where conflict takes place, rather than a participant. *Islamic* here refers mainly to ISIS, or Islamic State, as in example 20, below.

(20) Iraq officials say Islamic State…

In CNN's articles, the words collocating with *Iraq* are similar to those of *Syria*, except for *official,* which does refer to Iraqi official quoted in the stories, as in example 21, below.

(21) Iraqi official: Iraq's security forces are…

For the most part, the country is constructed as another battlefield. The word *kill* appears here but not in the collocates for *Syria,* and it is possible that this is because all occurrences of the word here are deeds done by ISIS (see examples 22 and 23 below), whereas most conflicts in Syria have other powers attacking and killing people, such as airstrikes by the US or Russia.

(22) …suicide attack that kills 35 in Iraq.
(23) …in Mosul, Iraq. He said they were killed after refusing…

A negative word such as *kill* would, then, be used more regarding the deeds done by a negatively viewed group, maximizing their negative agency. That said, there is also one occurrence of ISIS leaders who were killed in US airstrikes.

Table 13. Collocates (as lemma) of *ISLAMIC* in articles on terrorism.

Fox News			CNN		
Word	Abs. Freq.	Norm.	Word	Abs. Freq.	Norm.
STATE	178	32.4‰	STATE	41	5.58‰
GROUP	87	15.8‰	GROUP	8	1.08‰
EXTREMIST	26	4.74‰	TERROR	7	0.95‰
ATTACK	23	4.19‰	LAW	6	0.81‰
CLAIM	19	3.46‰	MILITANT	6	0.81‰
TERROR	18	3.28‰	SHARIA	4	0.54‰
MILITANT	17	3.09‰	FUNDAMENTALIST	4	0.54‰
KILL	13	2.37‰	CALIPHATE	4	0.54‰
FIGHTER	12	2.18‰	WORLD	3	0.40‰
RESPONSIBILITY	11	1.49‰	INSTITUTE	3	0.40‰

The collocations for *Islamic* in Fox News, as seen in table 13, above, appear to trigger the most negative associations of any of the words analyzed here. *State* and *terror*, with one exception, refer to ISIS, but this is not the only terrorist group reported on. *Extremist, militant* and *fighter* all carry negative connotations – the last perhaps least so, but regardless it appears mainly in negative contexts across all articles. Perhaps the most interesting aspect here is that

only extremist groups are specifically called Islamic; this seems to be a form of overlexicalization, as a majority of Iraq's forces are also Muslims, but not referred to as such. Examples of these words can be found in examples 24-28 below:

(24) …the Islamic extremist rebels Al-Shabaab…

(25) …the Islamic State terror group…

(26) …foiled a plot last month by Islamic militants to attack…

(27) …fighters of the Islamic State and…

This calls for multiple questions; why are Islamic extremist groups specifically referred to as such? Again, this is not only the case for *Islamic State,* but also for other groups such as Boko Haram and Al Qaeda. While these groups do self-identify as Muslims, other extremist groups are discussed, and these are referred to only as terror groups, rather than being identified by religion. The same is true for *militant* more than any other word; militant groups that identify as Muslims are nearly always referred to specifically as *Islamic.* This is further discussed in section 7.3.5, a pair of articles where a probable anti-Islam bias of Fox News is analyzed in more depth. It is also worth noting that *group* is almost 15 times more common as a collocation in Fox News: this is because ISIS is referred to as the "Islamic State group". CNN, in contrast, does not spell the entire name out. While one should be careful to make assumptions here, it is possible that this is intentional in order to emphasize the "Islamic" part of the name.

Other contrasts with CNN is also interesting. As evidenced here, the word appears less overall in CNN articles than Fox articles, especially considering that the CNN corpus is significantly larger than the Fox one, and the majority of examples here are regarding ISIS, for which it is part of the name. Although *terror* still appears as a collocate, it appears only four times for all the articles, an almost insignificant amount. Although words such as *fundamentalist* and *militant* are negative, they are uncommon as collocates. Regardless, in the interest of neutrality, examples of CNN's negative collocations can be found in examples 28-30 below:

(28) Boko Haram, a militant Islamic terror group.

(29) …wants to turn Somalia into a fundamentalist Islamic state.

(30) …claiming that the Islamic militant group was no longer capable…

These examples all relate to one group, Boko Haram, and appear in only two articles, and thus may be singular author's work. Regardless, it is clear that even though an editor had to accept

the articles, these ideological characteristics appear far less in CNN than Fox News. What this appears to indicate is that CNN has a more neutral view of Islam, that terror groups are less often overlexicalized as specifically *Islamic*, and instead the word is used naturally, as in *Islamic law,* or as in *Islamic caliphate.* The remaining words are effectively neutral, such as *law*, *world* and *institute.* Other negative collocations do appear later on, such as *propaganda,* but very infrequently; it only appears twice in CNN's articles. The only remaining collocations that appear more than twice are *support, group, council, control* and *call,* none of which are negative. This warrants a closer, qualitative inspection of how the word is used, as well as how Muslims in general are constructed in news stories. Due to the differences in collocations here, a list of the 30 most common ones can be found in appendix A.

7.2.2. News about Conflict

Table 14. Collocates 1-10 (as lemma) of *U.S./AMERICA* in articles on conflicts.

Fox News			CNN		
Word	Abs. Freq.	Norm.	Word	Abs. Freq.	Norm.
MISSILE	24	4.39‰	OFFICIAL	47	7.55‰
OFFICIAL	24	4.39‰	MILITARY	36	5.78‰
NAVY	22	4.02‰	FORCE	34	5.46‰
MILITARY	18	3.29‰	NUCLEAR	26	4.17‰
STATE	17	3.11‰	STATE	21	3.37‰
FORCE	15	2.74‰	SPOKESMAN	14	2.25‰
MAINLAND	12	2.19‰	DEPARTMENT	14	2.25‰
SECRETARY	11	2.01‰	SAILOR	12	1.92‰
GOVERNMENT	11	2.01‰	EXERCISE	11	1.76‰
NUCLEAR	9	1.64‰	KILL	10	1.60‰

As with the terrorism articles, the US collocates mostly with words that tend towards authority and military. *Nuclear* here refers to North Korean tests and threats, as well as the "nuclear deal" with Iran. *Missile* also refers to North Korean and Iranian missiles, as well as U.S. missile *defense systems.* The case with CNN is similar; the collocations tend towards authority and military power, as in *official, military* and *force,* where *official* refers mostly to individuals quoted in the stories. *Nuclear* refers to North Korean nuclear threats and tests, as

well as North Korean propaganda about "nuclear war caused by U.S.-led imperialists". A few examples from both outlets are included below:

(31) The U.S. military had been observing… (CNN)

(32) U.S. officials are still debating… (CNN)

(33) [North Korean] threats to fire nuclear missiles at the U.S. (Fox)

(34) …deploying a sophisticated U.S. missile system…"

Noteworthy about example 34, the U.S. missile system, is that it is portrayed purely as a defensive system. Although North Korea and Iran claim that their missiles are also for defensive purposes, they are never called something equally positive to the American ones.

Table 15. Collocates 11-20 (as lemma) of *U.S./AMERICA* in articles on conflict.

Fox News			CNN		
Word	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**	**Word**	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**
SAILORS	8	1.46‰	JOINT	10	1.60‰
NEWS	8	1.46‰	LEAD	10	1.60‰
DEFENSE	8	1.46‰	COALITION	9	1.44‰
AIRCRAFT	8	1.46‰	TEST	9	1.44‰
TEST	8	1.46‰	AIR	9	1.44‰
AIR	7	1.28‰	OPERATION	9	1.44‰
TROOP	6	1.09‰	SPECIAL	8	1.28‰
SPOKESMAN	6	1.09‰	SENIOR	8	1.28‰
SPECIAL	6	1.09‰	SECRETARY	8	1.28‰
COMMAND	6	1.09‰	AIRCRAFT	8	1.28‰

Largely collocates 11-20 tend towards the same notions as the first set, military and "officialness", with words such as *spokesman* and *secretary,* as well as military prowess with *defense, aircraft, operation* and so on.

Table 16. Collocates 1-10 (as lemma) of *NORTH KOREA* in articles on conflict.

Fox News			CNN		
Word	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**	**Word**	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**
NUCLEAR	43	7.86‰	NUCLEAR	47	7.55‰
TEST	23	4.20‰	TEST	30	4.82‰
SANCTION	15	2.74‰	SANCTION	24	3.85‰
MISSILE	13	2.37‰	CLAIM	21	3.37‰
PUBLISH	12	2.19‰	BOMB	14	2.25‰
FIRE	11	2.01‰	THREAT	14	2.25‰
UNITED	10	1.83‰	WEAPON	11	1.76‰
ROCKET	8	1.46‰	MISSILE	11	1.76‰
LAUNCH	8	1.46‰	LAUNCH	11	1.76‰
STATE	8	1.46‰	RESOLUTION	8	1.28‰

The collocates for *North Korea* in Fox News tend towards threatening; *nuclear* threats and tests are by far the most reported stories. *Sanctions* are imposed by other countries, which of course implies violations, as illustrated in the below examples:

(35) [The UN] approved the toughest sanctions on North Korea…
(36) [A UN] draft resolution punishing North Korea…

Missile and *rocket* are yet more threats and launches, and *fire* and *launch* are directly related to these two. North Korea is almost exclusively constructed as a defiant country that *launches missiles* despite *sanctions,* and is punished for it. Worth noting is the lack of *officials*; North Korean officials are rarely, if ever, quoted in Fox's articles.

The situation is very similar in CNN's articles North Korea tends to collocate with words that imply violence, threat and danger, such as *nuclear, bomb, weapon* and *fire*. Further, some words tend towards defiance, namely *resolution* and *sanction.* This seems to be the standard for both Fox News and CNN; the country is constructed as a possible threat that defies the sanctions and resolutions that it violates, and little else. The absolute majority of articles about the country are reports of conflict, either within the country in the form of human rights violations, or international, as nuclear threats. Further worth noting is the high collocation of *claim*; the context of this, is in almost all of the examples, is to cast doubt on

official statements from North Korea, and often the unreliability is otherwise emphasized also. Two examples of *claim,* similar in both corpora, are included below:

(37) Experts have cast doubt on North Korea's claim that… (CNN)

(38) Outrage, skepticism greet North Korea's claim of… (Fox News)

Few countries receive this kind of uniform negative portrayal from both CNN and Fox News, and regardless of its validity, it seems that this portrayal of North Korea is highly naturalized.

Table 17. Collocates 11-20 (as lemma) of *NORTH KOREA* in articles on conflict.

Fox News			CNN		
Word	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**	**Word**	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**
TOUGH	8	1.46‰	UNITE	7	1.12‰
RECENT	7	1.28‰	PEOPLE	7	1.12‰
INTERNATIONAL	7	1.28‰	HYDROGEN	7	1.12‰
SEA	7	1.28‰	RANGE	7	1.12‰
STATEMENT	6	1.09‰	SUCCESSFUL	7	1.12‰
RANGE	6	1.09‰	OFFICIAL	7	1.12‰
PROJECTILE	6	1.09‰	SATELLITE	7	1.12‰
PARK	6	1.09‰	STATE	6	0.96‰
DECADE	6	1.09‰	SHORT	6	0.96‰
BALLISTIC	6	1.09‰	ROCKET	5	0.80‰

Collocates 11-20 most related to the military capabilities of North Korea. Noteworthy is *official,* which appears in CNN's articles, but as expected, it never refers to North Korean officials. *Tough*, in Fox News' collocates, is another example of a more colloquial style.

Table 18. Collocates (as lemma) of *RUSSIA* in news on conflicts.

Fox News			CNN		
Word	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**	**Word**	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**
DEFENSE	11	2.01‰	WITHDRAW	17	2.73‰
AIRSTRIKE	9	1.64‰	MILITARY	10	1.60‰
MILITARY	8	1.46‰	DEFENSE	8	1.28‰
FOREIGN	7	1.28‰	WAR	7	1.12‰
PUBLISH	6	1.09‰	FORCE	7	1.12‰
FORCE	6	1.09‰	AIR	7	1.12‰
MINISTRY	6	1.09‰	MINISTRY	7	1.12‰
TALK	5	0.91‰	BASE	7	1.12‰
MINISTER	5	0.91‰	PRESIDENT	5	0.80‰
WAR	3	0.54‰	PRESENCE	5	0.80‰

For Fox News, there are no especially strong collocations for Russia despite it being one of the most common participants. *Defense, ministry, minster* and *publish* all refer to sources in Russia and their claims. It is, perhaps, worth noting that the word *airstrikes* here is used in a negative or neutral context, in articles regarding casualties (see section 7.1.1.5), rather than a necessary effective form of attack, as they are when done by the US (see section 7.1.2.3). Some examples are included below:

    (39) Russia claimed its airstrikes targeted Islamic terrorists…
    (40) Russia halts airstrikes in wake of Syria ceasefire.

For CNN, the strongest collocation for Russia is *withdraw*, in the context of Russia withdrawing some military from the Syrian war. It is interesting that despite Fox News reporting on the same events, there is no strong collocation for *withdrawal.* This may be due to more colloquial vocabulary, as Fox seems to refer to this as *pull-out* or simply *leaving.* The words tend towards military, but are otherwise unremarkable.

Table 19. Collocates (as lemma) of *IRAN* in articles on conflicts.

Fox News			CNN		
Word	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**	**Word**	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**
SAILOR	12	2.19‰	MISSILE	18	2.89‰
NUCLEAR	12	2.19‰	NUCLEAR	17	2.73‰
TIE	11	2.01‰	BALLISTIC	14	2.25‰
PUBLISH	9	1.64‰	PROGRAM	9	1.44‰
SUPREME	8	1.46‰	DEAL	7	1.12‰
LEADER	8	1.46‰	SAILOR	7	1.12‰
DIPLOMATIC	8	1.46‰	SANCTION	6	0.96‰
REVOLUTIONARY	7	1.28‰	FREE	6	0.96‰
NAVY	7	1.28‰	INTERNATIONAL	5	0.80‰
DEAL	7	1.28‰	STATE	5	0.80‰

As with Russia, Iran does not have any especially strong collocations in Fox News articles despite being one of the more commonly reported-upon participants in the articles. *Nuclear* refers both to possible nuclear weapons as well as Iran's "nuclear deal" with the US. *Ties* refers to Saudi Arabia severing their relations with Iran, and both *supreme* and *leader* are the official title of Iran's leader. Finally, d*iplomatic* refers, again, to the ties with Saudi Arabia.

Although similar to the collocations for North Korea, in that Iran is portrayed as a possible threat with possibly nuclear weapons, as well as missiles, the collocations are less common here. Further, *sanction* (and *international*, as the sanctions were) refers to the sanctions being lifted, rather than imposed. *Deal* refers to the nuclear deal, as in the examples below:

(41) …some international economic sanctions against Iran were lifted…

(42) As part of the deal, Iran agreed to release [prisoners].

It would appear that reporting on Iran tends towards optimism, despite some negative coverage (see section 7.1.1.4). A good contrast is provided by North Korea, especially regarding *sanctions*: CNN, especially, seems to convey the image of an improving Iran, from which previous sanctions are lifted. This does not entirely agree with the qualitative analysis in 7.1.1.4., in which both articles seem to have a less agreeable view on the country, but it is

possible that the pair of articles is simply more negative than overall coverage due to a perceived violation of the deal.

Table 20. Collocates (as lemma) of *SYRIA* in news on conflicts.

Fox News			CNN		
Word	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**	**Word**	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**
WAR	15	2.74‰	GROUP	22	3.53‰
FORCE	13	2.37‰	WAR	16	2.57‰
MILITARY	12	2.19‰	AIRSTRIKE	16	2.57‰
PUBLISH	10	1.83‰	FORCE	15	2.41‰
BASE	10	1.83‰	MILITARY	13	2.08‰
GROUP	9	1.64‰	AIR	13	2.08‰
GOVERNMENT	8	1.46‰	BASE	13	2.08‰
PEOPLE	6	1.09‰	SUPPORT	12	1.92‰
PEACE	6	1.09‰	OPPOSITION	9	1.44‰
BORDER	6	1.09‰	POLITICAL	8	1.28‰

Most of the collocates for *Syria* in Fox News refer to participants other than Syria itself and the Syrian people. *Military, force,* and *group* all refer to US, Russian and Turkish combatants. *People*, who mostly appear as victims, as well as *government* are the two Syrian participants here. *War* refers to, simply, the current Syrian war or other, previous wars. The most significant detail here is, as in the articles on terrorism, that Syria is depicted more or less as a battlefield with little agency of its own, where foreign powers appear to be the actual combatants.

The same is true for CNN. *Syria* tends to collocate with war. The country is portrayed as a passive victim, as in previous tables on collocations. *Group, military, force, airstrike, base* and even *support* all refer to foreign parties, whether it be their bases, combatants or actions. *Opposition* is the only Syrian group mentioned, being the opposition forces in the country.

8. Conclusion

The explicit goals of this study were as follows: What ideologies and agendas are present in news reports of conflicts and terrorism? Are there differences between ideologies or the ways these ideologies are shown in conservative and liberal news sources? Which ideologies are potentially "naturalized", i.e. appearing both in liberal and conservative news, and which, if any, are specific to either ideological camp? Finally, a fourth goal was to expose the shortcomings of traditional CDA and offer an alternative approach.

There are some tendencies that can be observed in the collocations, as well as in the qualitative analysis: positive portrayals of the US, negative portrayal of North Korea, Syria depicted as a powerless victim or lawless warzone in both corpora, as well as an apparent bias against Islam found only in the Fox News corpus.

The portrayal of the US is almost entirely positive in both the Fox News and CNN corpora. The collocations tend towards authority and trustworthiness in both news sources. The positive effects of US actions are emphasized, and the negatives justified and minimized, if reported at all. The articles that touch on civilians killed by airstrikes in Syria are relevant here. Russia is more or less directly accused of war crimes, and is implied to be deliberately targeting civilian locations, and Amnesty International is given plenty of space to explain and prove such accusations. The US, however, has also killed civilians in airstrikes, but the Fox News corpus dos not include this information, while CNN's article on it is apologetic in tone, quoting officials who talk about the burden of having to balance the target's military worth with possible civilian casualties, whereas the Russia is only quoted as having denied claims of hitting civilians. There is a clear imbalance in power here; even if the articles are entirely factual, and Russia has indeed killed hundreds of innocent people, their government is not given the same amount of space to explain such actions, which leads to the next point: US officials are given by far the most space in articles, and what this means is that there is simply more space for the country's actions to be explained. The fact is that all US actions seem to be justified at length. Considering these factors, the US is the best example of the "us" group in the articles, representing one side of the ideological square.

The second is that the portrayal of North Korea seems more or less uniform in the two publications this study is concerned with: the country is uniformly portrayed as a defiant aggressor and as a threat; almost all news regarding North Korea are news of conflicts, whether national or international, and the collocations are almost purely negative. The fact that both right-wing and center-left media have a consistent portrayal of the country suggests

that it has become naturalized: it is perceived as acceptable and natural. This portrayal includes sanctions (as imposed by other nations, in order to curb the threat) as well as nuclear, missiles, and threats, which is how the country is portrayed. Furthermore, as claims has a fairly strong collocation, it indicates that the country is untrustworthy; all statements from North Korean officials are "claims" rather than facts. They are, along with terrorist groups, the clearest example of an "other" group, whose negatives are highly emphasized and positives either not reported on at all, or minimized, in both corpora. This makes them the best representation of the other side of the ideological square. Again, it does not matter if the articles are factual or not, as the reporting is different; there is no attempt to look at things from North Korea's perspective, nor space given for the country's officials to explain their own actions, and what explanations are included are clearly marked as claims ("North Korea's disputed *claim* of a hydrogen bomb test") which instills more doubt than the words used to report actions by other countries, such as *say* ("Most experts *say* it's highly unlikely that [North Korea] currently has a reliable missile system"). .

The third is the portrayal of Syria, as found in both corpora. The country and its people are given little if any agency in reports, and the collocations support this: almost all examples of actions are those of foreign powers and their combatants, rather than those of Syrians, who are instead reported on as powerless victims. The country, as it is constructed in the news analyzed, is more or less only a warzone in which other powers attack or support groups, rather than an active participant. This seems to be an example of constructed helplessness: although Syria has an army, this is rarely mentioned, nor are its actions.

The fourth aspect that can be gleaned from the data is that Fox News appears to have a negative bias towards Islam more so than CNN. The word *Islamic* has almost purely negative collocations, even disregarding it being part of the name of a terror group, namely Islamic State. Almost exclusively, only groups considered hostile, that is, groups of extremists or terrorist, are referred to as Islamic. Other groups are not named by religion unless it is relevant. What this means is that de facto Islamic armies, such as those of Saudi Arabia and Iraq, are not lexicalized as such, nor are any Christian groups specifically called Christian. Further, the outlet appears to construct an invariable conflict between Islam and Christianity: this is evident in articles such as 7.1.2.4. where an act of solidarity between the religions is minimized and partially excluded. In 7.1.2.6, what is in fact a conflict between ISIS and all religions seems to be portrayed as a conflict specifically between ISIS and Christianity. A contrast is found in CNN, who report considerably more neutrally on Islam, and appear to

emphasize the fact that there is no *necessary* conflict. CNN's collocations on *Islamic,* while sometimes negative, appear far less negatively biased, as the word is used in the context of law, institutes and the like, rather than almost exclusively in the context of terror groups.

Thus, although there are some differences between the Fox News and CNN corpora when it comes to ideologies, both show ideological bias when it comes to the reporting of conflicts and terrorism. Both of these news sources ultimately adhere to the "ideological square", and have some form of in-group – the US – and several out-groups, such as North Korea or the various terror groups. Even if groups are not portrayed as an *other*, they are regardless subjected to more scrutiny than the in-group is. What this illustrates, more than anything, is that certain ideologies are indeed naturalized and found in both right-wing and more liberal media. It is worth mentioning, again, that CNN is not a left-wing publication by international standards, but it is the most used news source for center-left Americans, and is perceived to be more liberal by US standards. A logical conclusion, then, is that both sides must be equally analyzed: while analyzing right-wing media discourse is, of course, important, it must be equally important to analyze more left-leaning publications.

Some ideologies could be argued for being naturalized, such as the portrayal of North Korea, while at least one significant detail is only seen in significant numbers in Fox News articles; negative portrayal of Muslims, as evidenced by conclusions and articles such as 7.1.2.4. However, while many ideological traits are shared between the outlets, many of these are more evident in Fox News than CNN. The out-groups are reported on with a slightly more negative angle, and the in-group is glorified somewhat more. This is evident in, for an example on the former, articles on Iran and terror groups; while both news agencies do report fairly negatively on the former, CNN does so less. An example of this can be found in section 7.1.1.4, where both articles report on a supposed message on missiles test-fired by Iran, but only CNN acknowledges that this detail has not in fact been verified. Terror groups are also reported on with more negativity and sensationalism in Fox News: quotations are used that call the groups *barbaric*, their attacks are called *massacres*, the attackers *gunmen*, whereas CNN seems to prefer simply calling them *militants* and *attacks*. This could be credited to either being less sensationalist (evidenced by, for example, using the word *kill* less) or simply an attempt to be more neutral and factual in tone. It must be stressed that CNN is *not* neutral, but in examples such as this, they appear closer to neutrality than Fox News. Similarly, the latter also minimizes the negative aspects of US actions more, or as in the case of American airstrikes killing civilians in Syria, simply do not report on it.

How, then, are these ideologies conveyed? Agency, for one, plays a large role in it, in both corpora. Actions by out-groups that can possibly be perceived as negative are more likely to have the agent explicitly stated, whereas such actions by the in-group almost always use passive constructions: individuals are not killed by the in-group, they *die* or are *killed in airstrikes*. Another aspect is coherence, from collocations to coherence with other paragraphs. Examples other than collocation include 7.1.1.4, in which coherence in the headline is used to somehow indicate a wrongdoing on Joe Biden's part in Iran's missile launch, and examples of coherence used to imply agency and blame can be found in 7.1.2.5. In Fox's version of this article, a specific terrorist group is indicated to be responsible by mentioning their acts in close proximity to descriptions of the event in the article. 7.1.2.6 also uses coherency in this manner. The most numerous example of this is, of course, collocations; certain words tend to occur together and therefore draw meaning from each other.

In conclusion, then, there are several ideological tendencies in articles from both outlets, as previously discussed. The differences are mainly ones of degree, as Fox News seems to show its leanings more directly, whereas CNN tends towards subtleness. Some ideologies appear naturalized, whereas others appear more in one source than the other. Ultimately, both sides need to be subjected to detailed analysis.

There are three primary avenues for further research that seem interesting and relevant. The first of these is Fox News' portrayal of Islam. Given that the present study has found indications that Islam and Muslims are portrayed rather negatively in Fox News, a more in-depth study regarding this seems important. A good starting point for this would be examining what groups are labeled as Islamic: is this descriptor only used in a negative context? Further, whether or not other religions extremists are specifically referred to by their religion (e.g. *Christian* terror group) should be worth analyzing, as if only Islam is explicitly named in these situations, it indicates a heavy ideological bias. Finally, reported agency should be considered, that is, is positive agency on the part of Muslims diminished and minimized, and negative agency emphasized and exaggerated?

The second avenue for further research is an international perspective on the matter. While the present study has solely studied news providers based in the United States, a comparison with news from other countries should prove interesting. For example, are British right-wing news closer to Fox News or to CNN? Are the same naturalizations present in other countries? Although it would be a massive undertaking, it would also be interesting to see if any ideologies are truly *globally naturalized*, i.e. present in all countries. A good subject for

this would be the portrayal of North Korea, due to its isolated nature: do any news providers, for example, report North Korean statements with less doubts as to their accuracy than Fox News and CNN?

The third and final suggestion for further research is to analyze publications further to the left, Although CNN is nominally liberal, as well as being the most relied-upon news sources for American liberals, it is only center-left: certainly, it is further towards the left than Fox News is, and likely further to the left than many other American news providers, but by international standards it might still be considered right-wing. It would be interesting to analyze what ideologies are reproduced in publications with a clearer, admitted left-wing bias, and whether or not these ideologies are similar to those found in this study. Such a study should also include a comparison to CNN, in order to figure out whether or not CNN is closer to right-wing or left-wing media by international standards. While right-wing publications have been studied much more, as this study indicates, the left-wing media is by no means free of ideologies: they are not always the same ones, but they are there regardless, and as such analyzing them is important.

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Appendix A

Table 16. Collocations 11-40 for *ISLAMIC* in articles on terrorism.

	Fox News			**CNN**		
#	**Word**	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**	**Word**	**Abs. Freq.**	**Norm.**
11	PUBLISH	10	1.82‰	SUPPORT	3	0.40‰
12	LEAD	10	1.82‰	COUNCIL	3	0.40‰
13	AFFILIATE	9	1.64‰	CONTROL	3	0.40‰
14	YEAR	9	1.64‰	CALL	3	0.40‰
15	CITY	8	1.48‰	FIGHT	3	0.40‰
16	PEOPLE	7	1.27‰	EXTREMISM	3	0.40‰
17	CALIPHATE	7	1.27‰	CLAIM	3	0.40‰
18	FIGHT	7	1.27‰	TERRORIST	2	0.27‰
19	PROPAGANDA	6	1.09‰	PAY	2	0.27‰
20	OFFICIAL	6	1.09‰	MONEY	2	0.27‰
21	MILITARY	6	1.09‰	FEDERAL	2	0.27‰
22	LEADER	6	1.09‰	FACE	2	0.27‰
23	TERRORISM	6	1.09‰	EXCEPTIONAL	2	0.27‰
24	LINK	5	0.91‰	ESTABLISH	2	0.27‰
25	AIRSTRIKE	5	0.91‰	DISEASE	2	0.27‰
26	GOVERNMENT	5	0.91‰	DIFFICULT	2	0.27‰
27	UPRISING	4	0.72‰	DEFEND	2	0.27‰
28	SUICIDE	4	0.72‰	CREDIT	2	0.27‰
29	LOCAL	4	0.72‰	CONSIDER	2	0.27‰
30	JOIN	4	0.72‰	COALITION	2	0.27‰
31	BOMBING	4	0.72‰	CIRCUMSTANCE	2	0.27‰
32	ALLIANCE	4	0.72‰	CARRY	2	0.27‰
33	TARGET	4	0.72‰	BEGIN	2	0.27‰
34	RADICAL	4	0.72‰	ATTEMPT	2	0.27‰
35	WAR	3	0.54‰	AIM	2	0.27‰
36	TERRITORY	3	0.54‰	WORK	1	0.13‰
37	SUFFER	3	0.54‰	WOMAN	1	0.13‰
38	STRIKE	3	0.54‰	WARTIME	1	0.13‰
39	REBEL	3	0.54‰	WARN	1	0.13‰
10	PRESENCE	3	0.54‰	WAR	1	0.13‰