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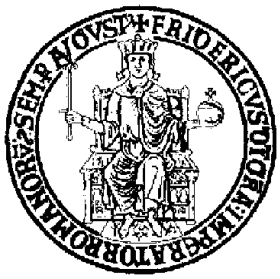

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Framing Agency in the 2011 UK Riots.

A Corpus-Based Discourse Analysis of British Newspapers

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1. Introduction

1.1 Aims of the research

The present research aims at examining the ways in which the British press reported the 2011 UK riots with a specific emphasis on the linguistic construal of the main participants involved in the protests and of their agency.

Previous investigations in the field of newspaper discourse have tackled the question of how similar violent and disruptive events were reported by the media, in the attempt to uncover the underlying power relations operating within society. Indeed, monitoring the representations conveyed by the media in general, and the press in particular, focusing on how agency is linguistically framed, can be very revealing in terms of their political, social and cultural stances. Since the linguistic labels employed by the newspapers to identify (and connote) the protagonists of the disturbances are indicative of their ideological positions, a critical attention to the specialised language of the press can be extremely noteworthy.

Such issues also appear pivotal in the light of the several on-going debates on modern democracies, whose political agenda aspires to achieve social reforms and a more cohesive social fabric, setting themselves as models of liberal prosperity, welcoming openness and social security. The disorders and urban unrest that periodically occur not only in the UK but also within the wider European context (suffice it to mention the French *banlieues* riots in 2005 or the Swedish riots in 2013) expose an ugly side that is often concealed, but that has long festered under the surface of an alleged perfectly functional welfare system. As a matter of fact, the explosion of deep resentment that usually finds expression in the riots can be regarded as a symptom of the governments' failure to deal with persisting social and economic problems. The violence that broke out on the streets of London, Birmingham, Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester (as much as Paris, Stockholm and elsewhere) raises questions about how the societies in which we live respond to the many latent tensions that are occasionally inflamed and exacerbated, and it calls for revised governance practices. While contesting all ideas of egalitarianism, and social and cultural integration, the rioters seem to reclaim a space of visibility to articulate their (dissenting) voices. Therefore, the riots pose a big and interesting challenge for investigation.

1.2 Historical and social background of the events

August 2011 can be considered as a benchmark in the UK's most recent history: a protest started on the outskirts of London soon turned into a countrywide wave of riots. Mark Duggan, a 29-year-old man, was shot dead by the police in Tottenham, on 4th August. However, the circumstances of his killing were uncertain and controversial. Officers of the Metropolitan Police Service had stopped a minicab carrying Duggan as a passenger, who was suspected of being involved in drug trafficking and of being in possession of a handgun. According to an unnamed firearms officer, he got out of the cab and pulled a handgun from his waistband. The taxi driver said he left the car and ran. An eyewitness claimed that Duggan was shot while being held down on the floor by police, whereas according to another witness, a police officer shouted 'Put it down' twice before Duggan was shot, later claiming that he honestly believed that he was in imminent danger of being shot. What was certain was that the police fired twice, hitting him in the thigh and chest, thus killing him.

On 6th August, Duggan's relatives and friends peacefully marched from Broadwater Farm to Tottenham Police Station, asking the police for information about Duggan's death. A chief inspector spoke with them, but they required to see a higher-rank officer. When the police tried to disperse the people who had gathered, they began to protest, and members of the crowd attacked two nearby police cars setting them on fire. Violence immediately sparked from Aug. 7th to 10th, with rioting, arson and looting spread to other parts of London and then elsewhere in England. Violent clashes along with the destruction of police vehicles, double-decker buses, civilian homes and businesses occurred in Hackney, Brixton, Peckham, Battersea, Croydon, Ealing and East Ham, and in other cities including Birmingham, Bristol, Liverpool, and Manchester. There were 3,443 crimes across London linked to the disorder and, by August 15th, 3,100 people had been arrested and more than 1,000 had been charged. An estimated £200 million worth of property damage was incurred and the local economic activities were significantly compromised.

The media soon began to cover the events, although the incident that sparked the worst social unrest in a generation – the fatal shooting by police of Mark Duggan – was initially reported quite inaccurately, according to some commentators. The riots became the subject of media speculation and academic studies, and there were a number of debates on whether British reporting was balanced in terms of the images used, analysis and breadth of interviews. A conference held in London in November 2011, called *Media and the Riots*, tackled the questions of objectivity in the news reports on the disturbances, of whether the mainstream media allowed their own reporters' moral attitudes to the emotive and shocking

events seep into the reporting, of how the young people involved in the riots were stereotyped (possibly demonising Duggan, the Black male victim, and stigmatising youths in general), disseminating misinformation or being manipulated by politicians and police. The report that was written after the conference, *Media and the Riots: A Call for Action* (Bassel 2012), describes most of the accounts of the disturbances as simply disgraceful. Despite the fact that a balanced media coverage of the events was extremely hard to achieve since people were exposed to images of burning buildings, masked youths, and shattered shop windows (which consequently mainly shaped the way the riots were understood), some thoughts should have been also given to what the mainstream media did wrong – given their undeniable ability to affect public opinions – condemning some participants, adopting a moralising attitude, relying only on official sources (usually the police). The lack of political representation was considered to be a major problem for young people, especially Black people and the African Caribbean community. According to the report, the media failed to account for the issues that were at the heart of the riots, namely poverty, government spending cuts, deaths in custody, and police stop-and-search techniques disproportionally affecting young black men. Therefore, questions of representation and marginalization appeared of paramount importance in the mainstream media reporting of the disorders.

1.3 Outline of the research

The research moves from such acknowledgements relating to an apparently overall unbalanced news coverage, to examine the most recurrent images emerging from the reporting of the British press.

In the past, similar events of social unrest were invariably described as ‘race’ riots by the media, and most of the resulting debates revolved around the several injustices and inequalities experienced by minorities and ethnic groups, a condition which appeared very rooted in the British society with varying forms of institutional and daily racism. Back to the second half of the 20th century, Great Britain had already been confronting for some time with the arrival of the so-called ‘sons from its overseas empire’.[1] However, the several new-comers

[1] After the losses caused by the World War II, the British government had encouraged a mass migration from the countries of the British colonies and the Commonwealth, in the attempt to fill the shortages in the labour market in a post-war Britain with plenty of work. So in 1948 the British Nationality Act gave British citizenship to all people living in Commonwealth countries, together with the right to entry and settle in the UK. The consequent influx of large numbers of people was perceived as an invasion by the local population, who then began to feel worryingly threatened. Despite the Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962) later restricted the entry of immigrants from the

had to endure prejudice, intolerance and racism from the indigenous society. Since the late 1950s, clashes between white and black people began to hit many cities, including London, Birmingham and Nottingham, among the others. So, while the political and cultural debates had often concentrated on the impact of the mother-country on its colonies, of the coloniser on the colonised, in those years more and more attention was paid to what colonialism had meant to the UK on the domestic front. London, in particular, provided a window into this reciprocity, because post-war immigration from the colonies changed the very urban space that British people were not so used to share, and forced white identities into an increasingly diverse multicultural space.

By the late 1970s, the nation's first generation of British-born black people (especially of West Indian descent) had started claiming a larger stake in society, which deeply impacted on Britain's public and political sphere. In addition to the social tensions deriving from increasing cultural and ethnic conflicts and this sort of post-imperial *malaise*, the 1970s and 1980s were decades of deep recession and widespread unemployment, which obviously affected the less prosperous African-Caribbean community in the first place. Therefore, the combination of poverty, powerlessness, oppressive policing tactics, discrimination and racism led to the riots that sparked in the 1980s, which had remarkably unsettling effects on the whole population, struggling with the fears and uncertainties arising from the proximity with diversity and post-colonial otherness. Accordingly, the Scarman report (that was commissioned by the then Home Secretary William Whitelaw with the aim to address the causes of the 1980s disturbances) identified racial discrimination and racial disadvantage as the root of the riots, concluding that urgent action was needed to prevent such issues from becoming an "endemic, ineradicable disease threatening the very survival of [the British] society" (Scarman 1981: 27). However, still in the 1990s, racist attacks continued to increase; ethnic minorities – especially African-Caribbeans – were persistently and invariably associated to crime, despite the fact that the London Metropolitan Police Service was found to be institutionally racist by the Macpherson Report (1999), a subsequent government inquiry into police conduct.

The overview of past events and of a background knowledge on the previous riots in the UK was a necessary step because it provided important insights to understand the most recent disorders. Moving from these assumptions, the research project aims at exploring the extent to which issues of social, cultural, ethnic discrimination could still be said to play a role

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former colonies, an entire generation of Britons with African-Caribbean heritage was by then part of the British society.

within the British society, after the violent disturbances that took place in August 2011. By drawing on a variety of sources and studies, this project's purpose is analysing the ways in which the British press reported the riots, paying special attention to the portrayals of the subjects involved in the events, their linguistic construals, and the different emerging readings of the social unrest foregrounding or downplaying specific aspects, especially those relating to the motivations for the riots.

The project starts from a theoretical overview (Chapter Two), presenting the existing literature on media and newspaper discourse. Indeed this field of investigation can prove very revealing as far as political, social and cultural meanings are concerned; it seemed worth exploring since, while shaping public opinions and beliefs, it sets the agenda giving relevance to certain topics and events within the country. News reports, in particular, seen as a practice intervening in the construction of reality, assess the significance of events, providing readers with the frames to make them comprehensible. Among the many 'critical' approaches to the study of media and newspaper discourse, ranging from Critical Linguistics (Fowler *et al.* 1979; Fowler 1991) to Cultural Studies (Hall *et al.* 1978; Hall *et al.* 1980), which explored and exposed the ideological significance of media texts (see Chapter Two) – not to mention structural discourse analysis (Bell 1984, 1991) and multimodality (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 2001) – Critical Discourse Analysis has certainly given a crucial contribution to the investigation of the role of discourse in the reproduction and challenging of the dominant socio-political order. Within this framework, the scientific research of two scholars in particular, Teun van Dijk and Norman Fairclough, appeared pivotal for the goals of this study. Although from different angles, the former from a socio-cognitive perspective (van Dijk 1988a, 1988b), the latter from a discourse-practice perspective (Fairclough 1995a, 1995b), both have underlined that the media tend to build ideologically-based versions of reality, aiming at persuading their audience that certain events are good or bad, thus determining specific attitudes and affecting the formation of public opinions.

The project then moves to further non-linguistic analyses of the riots, taking into account the events from a sociological perspective (Chapter Three). The findings of studies carried out by the Runnymede Trust (an independent race equality think tank), highlighting that the events were too quickly dismissed by the media as sheer and opportunistic looting, together with the findings emerging from the London School of Economics investigation (in collaboration with *The Guardian*), uncovering a number of political reasons behind the rioters' (mis)deeds, do offer an interesting lens to frame the events. They reflect on a range of questions that appear socially and culturally relevant, but which were given a differing weight

in the reporting of the newspapers. As a matter of fact, the riots seemed to represent a critical moment in the UK's contemporary history, posing a big challenge in the light of the many and recurrent debates on multiculturalism, diversity, and the so-called convivial culture, namely "the processes of cohabitation and interaction that have made multiculture an ordinary feature of social life in Britain's urban areas and in postcolonial cities elsewhere" (Gilroy 2004a: xv). Concerns over the British failure to explain its post-colonial conflicts and accommodate otherness in relation to a fundamental commonality are still widely present in ongoing discussions on how to envision new conceptions of identity and belonging. This is the reason why the debates on the riots have generally viewed the disturbances from the standpoint of culture and ethnicity. The other major perspective from which (especially) the most recent events were framed was that of consumerism, with rioters reacting to their lack of something that was considered as socially prescribed, but which they could not access. In this context, deprivation would have caused a deep humiliation from which a symbolic and material violence arose. In both cases, these studies provide remarkable insights into a deeper understanding of the riots.

The project then proceeds to clarify the methodology chosen and the parameters adopted for the design and collection of the corpus (Chapter Four). While recognizing that most of the research in the field of media discourse was significantly carried out using a qualitative approach, the arbitrary selection of the texts and the very small size of the corpora to be analysed caused some criticism based on the fact that findings seemed less representative and less generalisable. As a consequence, another approach has gained popularity in recent times to investigate media discourse: corpus-based discourse analysis (Baker 2006; Baker *et al.* 2008; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Baker *et al.* 2013). Generally speaking, corpus-based approaches when doing CDA offer a number of advantages pertaining to the fact that larger amounts of data (based on large corpora) make the findings more credible and reliable. Moreover, the retrieval of keywords, collocates and concordances allows the uncovering of hidden discourses embedded in media texts. In fact, as Fairclough (1989: 54) stresses, "[a] single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth". In other words, there is an ideological burden that goes unnoticed and works through unconscious and subtle repetitions, which is where corpus linguistics can be of help, highlighting patterns that could not be detected by manual inspection.

For this research project, a corpus of about 1,700 articles (1,112,471 tokens) – including reports, features, editorials and op-eds – was collected from the six British newspapers with the highest circulation rates in August 2011: *Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, The Sun, The Telegraph, The Times, The Guardian* and their Sunday editions (Chapter Four gives full details on corpus design and collection). This specialised corpus gathers the articles published over a time span ranging from the beginning of August (the riots occurred between August 6th-10th) to the end of December 2011, thus covering the first five months soon after the events, which was regarded as the most salient period. After being refined and annotated, the corpus was ready for analysis, whose data and findings are extensively presented in Chapters Five and Six.

More specifically, Chapter Five covers the different stages of investigation: the first, qualitative stage leading to the identification of the main participants and the most recurrent strategies through which they were defined, using van Leeuwen's framework of social actors (van Leeuwen 1996, 2008); the second, quantitative stage resulting in a series of data concerning frequency information, which allowed the semantic categorisation of the several terms employed in connection to one subject in particular, the rioters. Further analysis of the concordances retrieved for each social actor in each newspaper then gives corpus evidence of the most recurring linguistic representations of Mark Duggan, the rioters and the police.

Moving from such findings, Chapter Six focuses exclusively on the evaluative language that was used by the British press when reporting on the three participants under investigation. In fact, the protagonists to the riots can be deemed as important 'sites' of evaluation, where the newspapers' stances and viewpoints appear encoded in the language they employ. Therefore, despite the fact that evaluation may be difficult to spot through corpus techniques – because it is subjective, value-laden and extended over the co-text in which the node words appear (Hunston 1994; Thompson and Hunston 2000) – evaluative statements are noteworthy since they express ideologies that are shared by writers (the newspapers) and readers. Hence, special attention is necessarily paid to the analysis of the nominal, adjectival and verbal collocates co-occurring with the lexical items referring to the participants, and then examined in the light of the basic evaluative parameters of good and bad, looking for their (more or less) positive or negative construals as conveyed by the British press.

In the end, Chapter Seven draws the conclusions of the research, summarizing the main findings as emerged from the analysis, elucidating the specific contribution given by this

project to the field of newspaper discourse in general, while also presenting the main potential developments for future research starting from this study and its corpus.

2. Media Language and Newspaper Discourse: a General Overview

In the globalised reality in which we live, the media seem to incessantly amplify and reverberate any news reporting whatever event occurred in any part of the world at any time. They can be regarded as the dominating presenters of language in society, in that they generate most of the language that is actually heard in society (Bell 1991). Indeed, it is through the media that people gain access to information, as such they are people's first contact with the external world (van Dijk 1991). In this view, media discourse appears central for what it reveals about a society, because it contributes to the character and shaping of that society, and for what it uncovers about language itself. Among the reasons why the media – as social institutions – and media discourse seem to be extremely interesting for investigation, it is worth mentioning that:

- media usage influences and represents people's use of and attitudes towards language in a speech community;
- media can reveal a great deal about the social meanings and stereotypes that are projected through language, since they reflect and influence the formation and expression of culture, politics and social life;
- they are a rich source of readily accessible data for research (Bell and Garrett 1998).

In the attempt to locate this study within the existing research and literature addressing questions of representation in the Western media, the following paragraphs provide an overview of the main approaches and studies on media discourse, with a particular focus on newspaper language.

2.1 News discourse and the British Press

News discourse can be regarded as a specific type of mass media discourse, featuring structural characteristics that distinguish it from other kinds of discourses. Before moving to an overview of the most relevant studies on the language of the press, the concept of 'news' should be explained, in the first place: it generally stands for 'new information' – and, as such, it is used in everyday sentences – but it can also refer to a newspaper article or TV

programme where news is presented, thus involving the media and mass communication. In other words, the notion of news seems to imply three main referents: 1) new information about events, things or people, 2) a programme in which news items are presented, 3) a news item or news report (whether it be a talk on TV and radio, or a text in a newspaper) in which new information is provided about recent events (van Dijk 1988a: 3-4) and it is expressed in the form of news reports. According to van Dijk (1988b: 2), who has given a major contribution to media and news discourse, "media discourses in general, and news reports in particular, should be accounted in their own right, as particular types of language use or text and as specific kinds of sociocultural practice."

However, a restriction to this general overview must be made since, despite the possible resemblances with other discourse types that can be found in the media, on TV, and radio, this dissertation is only concerned with news in the press, namely with news discourse and news articles as published by daily newspapers. Furthermore, it should be underlined that the specific focus is on news articles in the narrow sense, that is news discourse about political, social, or cultural events.

Within the media, news is considered as the primary language genre, since it fills pages of the daily newspapers. As such, it offers key insights for investigation: news reports carry the stories and images of our age, which is the reason why they have been defined as the common narratives of our time (Bell 1991: 2). As a matter of fact, journalists – like professional story-tellers – are often said to write stories rather than articles, featuring a specific structure, direction, point and viewpoint (elements that articles may lack) (Bell 1991: 147).

The way such stories are constructed is closely intertwined with the way the world surrounding readers is constructed and represented. Indeed,

> [t]he power of media lies not only (and not even primarily) in its power to declare things to be true, but in the power to provide the form in which the declaration appears. News in a newspaper or on television has a relationship to the 'real world', not only in content but in form; that is, in the way the world is incorporated into unquestionable and unnoticed conventions of narration, and then transfigured, no longer for discussion, but as a premise of any convention at all. (Schudson 1982: 98)

Since both news stories and the 'real world' are incorporated into narration, the relation existing between them appears pivotal in language investigation. Far from simply being a picture of reality – correct or biased as it can be – news is regarded as a frame through which the social world is routinely constructed (van Dijk 1988a: 7-8). As a representation of the

world in language, “news is not a value-free reflection of facts” (Fowler 1991: 4), it is a practice that needs to be understood in social and semiotic terms, as a practice which intervenes in the social construction of reality (Fowler 1991: 2). Therefore, the events reported by newspapers appear to be discursive: they are simultaneously a product of and a contributing factor in the continuation of hierarchical social relations.

Linguistic research usually refers to ‘news as discourse’ (van Dijk 1988b: 1) to mark a specific theoretical framework for the analysis of news, while stressing the need to consider news reports as a complex communicative event including their social context along with many other factors that also need to be accounted for – text properties, such as the thematic structure of news reports, the actors, the opinions addressed, as well as the production and reception processes, and the potential effects on the participants to the communicative event (something on which the paragraph will soon concentrate).

If, in simple terms, news texts are written to report relevant information on new or current events, the process of news creation appears complex since it involves organizational, economic, and socio-political factors. Ownership certainly affects the news: although forms of direct control by the owner are not so frequent nowadays (in contrast to the past when owners would use their newspaper to convey their personal political views), an indirect form of influence on the editorial contents and agenda is quite common (by appointing the newspaper’s editor, the owner can still have the certainty that news content is in line with his/her viewpoints). Economic factors are also among the owner’s main concerns, something which then affects news-making. Newspapers can be regarded as any other business, driven by the aim to generate profit. As a matter of fact, while the revenues made from the customers’ payments are relatively small, sales and circulation are key elements for any newspaper because they determine the paper’s appeal (and service charge) to advertisers – the real source of profit. Indeed, high sales and circulation mean attracting advertisers, so news contents are modified to accommodate the advertisers’ requirements and pressures.

The last factor to be considered as affecting the process of news making is the number of people involved in it: reporters, editors, sub-editors, managers, and so forth. Reporters are assigned a story to cover by the news editor, they gather accurate information and write the article which is then sent to the editor for approval (editors determine the direction the paper takes on all issues and decide which story should be assigned prominence on the page) and to the sub-editors for revision[1] (while ensuring that the style and layout of the final article match

[1] In addition to the afore-mentioned factors, time and space constraints also play an important role in the process of news-making. In fact, if the story is not finished in time, it cannot be inserted into the

the paper's style and suit the target market, sub-editors may also rearrange the story, changing its structure, making stylistic adjustments, or even reducing its length).

Generally speaking, it is useful to divide the genre of press news into four main categories: hard news, feature articles, special topic news (including sports, racing, business, arts, computers, etc.), headlines, bylines and photo captions (Bell 1993: 14-15).

Hard news comprises reports of accidents, conflicts, crimes, particular discoveries, announcements and unscheduled events like disasters (also called 'spot news'). Features – that are regarded as soft news[2] – are longer articles covering immediate events; they provide background information and are usually bylined with the author's name because they carry his/her personal opinions. Features "offer a contrast in tone and length to the news coverage at the front of the newspapers, allowing the reader space to reflect […], and to engage in opinion as they are confronted by a wide range of voices" (Niblock 2008: 48).

Special topic news normally appears in specific sections and is produced by a separate group of journalists dealing with business, sports, and so on. The fourth category cuts across the first three since it consists of adjuncts to the main text of a story (the so-called 'body copy'): headlines, subheadings, bylines, captions, photos.

Two additional types of newspaper articles also need to be mentioned: editorials and op-eds (opposite-editorial). The editorial and op-ed pages express the newspaper's position (or counter-position) on political and/or social issues, editorial pages being "the heart, soul, and conscience of the newspaper" (Santo 1994: 94). They are central to the newspaper's identity, since they are the only place where journalists are authorised to express their opinion (Wahl-Jorgensen 2008: 70).

As any text type, a newspaper report has some main components. The headline and the news story proper present and describe the topic. The lead – or first paragraph – summarizes the central action, establishing the main point, and it contains the most important elements in the news story; in fact it provides the answers to the five typical questions: who (the actors), what (the central topic), where (the location where the event occurred), when (the time when it occurred), and why (the reason why it occurred). So the lead is a sort of micro-story, compressing the most relevant data into one sentence or paragraph. Such information can then be expanded further in the next paragraphs. Evaluation is another important factor hinting at the significance of a story and giving the reason why the narrator is claiming the audience's

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paper. As for space, since it is limited on the page, journalists are required to condense the information by writing a concise story and prioritising the most relevant information at the beginning of the story.

[2] Even for news-workers, the boundaries between hard and soft news are not so clear-cut. However, hard news is usually considered to be the core news product, while soft news and features generally allow more liberty in terms of style and ideas expressed.

attention for that story in particular. In this respect, the lead can often act as 'a nucleus of evaluation', being the lens through which the story can be viewed, thus offering a very specific reading (Bell 1991: 148-154). Moving to the story proper, the sequence of events constituting the heart of the story is seldom told in chronological order: according to a common rule of news writing, it is not the action or the process which takes priority but rather the outcome.

The structure of news stories cannot be discussed unless their function is also taken into consideration, following the principle that news form and news content cannot be separated. The core element of 'news' is the reporting of events that are both new (recent) and interesting (relevant). Despite the heterogeneity of interests people have (depending on personal beliefs and experiences, political viewpoints, social and economic conditions and so forth), a commonality of interests can still be found in connection to their shared background and group membership. The fact that an event is considered interesting enough to an audience to be included in the newspaper can be defined as the 'newsworthiness' of an article. News stories can hence be analysed with reference to the values by which one fact is judged more newsworthy than others. Some primary factors determine what is newsworthy: timeliness (time determines the audience's interest in a news story), location (events occurring within a community, or in the nearby, are more likely to be of interest than those occurring in distant places),[3] topic (some topics can be regarded as news more than others due to their exceptionality, their consequences, etc.), familiarity (the extent to which the person talked about in the news is known to the readership), pictures (news stories are increasingly selected on the basis of their visual – as much as their lexical-verbal – appeal), dramatic potential (some stories feature elements that deeply touch – and thus connect with – the audience on a personal level; for instance tragic or very happy events like deaths or marriages, brutal events like rapes or murders, they all have an emotional impact).

The study of news values was first developed in a systematic way by Galtung and Ruge (1965), who applied it to foreign news in the Scandinavian press, although their categories proved to be valid for news texts in many different countries. They outlined a dozen factors influencing the media's selection of events, sources and texts, factors which are to be regarded as 'values' in that they are not neutral or natural, but rather cultural, since they reflect the dominant ideologies and priorities of the society (Bell 1991: 156). Most of these

[3] However, when considering location, it is important to bear in mind that proximity does not have to be geographical only, it can be ideological or political too.

values cover the nature of the events and actors in the news, enhancing the newsworthiness of a story. Among them, it is worth mentioning:

- frequency or recency, that indicates that an event is more likely to be reported if it has just happened or if its duration is close to the publication frequency of the medium – time being a pivotal dimension of news stories;
- negativity, involving a series of concepts such as damage, injury or death, and making conflicts, disasters and accidents newsworthy (confirming the rule according to which the negative makes news);
- proximity, that means that geographical closeness can actually enhance news value, something relating to what Galtung and Ruge call meaningfulness (both as cultural proximity and relevance);
- unexpectedness, indicating that the unpredictable or the rare is more newsworthy than routine events (which is linked to another value, novelty);
- threshold, referring to the size needed for an event to become newsworthy, for instance the amount of people involved in a car crash;
- reference to *élite* nations or *élite* people;
- reference to people who become symbols, for example, a brick-throwing rioter can be imaged over and over (Galtung and Ruge 1965, Bell 1991: 156-164).

Obviously, due to changing times and consumption habits, newspapers have constantly changed their understanding of what is to be judged as newsworthy, while accommodating a variety of contents and styles.

British newspapers can be usually classified along a range of distinctions regarding their coverage (nationals vs. regionals), their frequency of publication (dailies vs. Sunday editions), their format and style (broadsheets vs. tabloids), their political stance (conservative vs. liberal). A further distinction contrasting quality and popularity has basically stemmed from the broadsheet-tabloid one: the quality press is typically said to cover the most important national and international news employing a sober tone and a formal language (typical of in-depth journalism), whereas the popular press usually gives more coverage to entertainment, gossip, sensational stories and less in-depth news, employing a causal, informal language with slang and an irreverent and provoking tone.

Since readerships are not homogeneous, the socio-economic status of the readers constitutes an additional factor be taken into account to classify daily newspapers. According to such classification, newspapers can be divided into ‘upmarket’, ‘middle market’, and ‘downmarket’ (Harry 1978; see also Jucker 1992). Broadsheets or quality papers are

considered as upmarket papers, popular papers (or black tops) are positioned as middle market papers, while tabloids (or red tops) can be identified as downmarket papers. Upmarket papers include *The Times*, *Financial Times*, *The Independent*, *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph*; middle market include *Daily Mail*, *Daily Express*, *Today*, and downmarket include *The Sun*, *The Star*, *Daily Mirror*. In more recent times, Atton (2002) has also added a fourth class of papers to the previous ones: those which position themselves as alternative to the mainstream.

The awareness that newspapers are grouped according to their readership profiles underlines the fact that the audience is a pivotal factor determining the newspaper's content and visual style (in terms of design, typography, use of photographs) as well as the language used. In fact, all choices (from topic selection and linguistic structures to images) are designed to deliver an appropriate content to the market segment the newspapers address, complying with the audience's demands. What can be said to work for a popular paper would not necessarily work for a quality paper targeting a completely different readership.

2.2 Analyzing the language of news reports

When analysing a text, both micro- and macro- (local and global) levels of discourse can be taken into account. The micro-level of description concerns sounds, words, phrases, clauses, sentence patterns and their meanings, but also the graphical organization and nonverbal properties of news (like photographs). The macro-level describes the whole parts of discourse and news structures, namely the thematic and schematic forms and structures that carry the overall meanings of a discourse. More specifically, by 'thematic structure' of discourse, van Dijk (1985b: 69) means the general organization of global topics a news item is about (semantic macrostructures), constituting the global *content* of a text or talk. On the other hand, schematic structures or schemata are used to describe the *form* of a discourse (also termed superstructures), and they have a fixed, conventional (thus culturally variable) nature depending on the kind of text. According to van Dijk, themes and schemes – macrostructures and superstructures – are closely related, in that schematic superstructures organize thematic macrostructures (just like the syntax of a sentence organizes the meaning of a sentence). So, for instance, the category of 'headline' in news discourse and press news reports has a fixed form and position together with a very specific thematic function – that is to express the most important topic of the news item.

The thematic organization of news discourse seems to play a crucial role, possibly more than in other discourse types. The first point to be clarified in relation to macrostructures

concerns the notions of 'theme' or 'topic', which refer to what the discourse is about, namely the most important, central concepts in the text or talk. Topics are a property of the meaning of a text, not of the meaning of individual words or sentences; therefore they belong to the global, macro-level of discourse description (van Dijk 1988a: 31).[4] Since discourses can contain several topics, there is usually a hierarchical organization defining the relationships among them through some macro-rules: van Dijk describes the macro-rules as "semantic mapping rules or transformations, which link lower level propositions with higher level macro-propositions" (1988a: 32), from which topics or themes can be derived. Macro-rules help reduce information in three ways – deletion, generalization, construction: by deleting all information that is not relevant (for example, local details), by generalizing a sequence of propositions into one, by replacing a series of propositions denoting an act or event with one macro-proposition denoting the act or event as a whole.

Each event is represented in terms of a subjective model; in other words, it is organized schematically – models functioning as a reference point for interpretation and understanding processes – and features some fixed categories such as setting, circumstances, participants, action. Such categories are central for anyone to be able to participate in a communicative event. Since the core element of this dissertation is centred on the British newspapers' construal of participants and their agency in the 2011 UK riots, a significant element to investigate is the network of social actors that are involved in the news production and communication context.

Social actors constantly express and communicate their socio-cognitive models, interacting with each other and comparing their cognitions with those of the members of other socio-cultural contexts. Similar categories and criteria can be employed to organize information about events and groups (whether they be deviant groups, minority or ethnic groups, and so on), defining people's shared representations.[5] When reading a newspaper, readers' comprehension and opinions about the events reported are filtered by the various social representations offered by the newspaper, and this is something that should be accounted for in any analysis of news as discourse. In van Dijk's words (1988b: 27-28):

> News production and comprehension crucially involve […] social representations. Journalists and readers in one society, class, or culture share part of these

[4] Macrostructures consist of organized sets of propositions that are expressed by larger stretches of talk or text rather than clauses or sentences. Longer texts contain several topics, so their macrostructure consists of several macro-propositions.

[5] Van Dijk's research into the representations of ethnic minority groups has shown that white people in Western Europe and North America tend to represent blacks, immigrants and minorities in general not only as problematic but, most importantly, as a threat to the country itself (1984, 1987).

> representations, which are, therefore, usually presupposed in news reports. News events and actions are made intelligible against the background of such culturally shared knowledge […]. On the other hand, journalists as a group also belong to a professional middle class. Most of them may be white, male, and live in Western countries. […] [S]uch group positions are also reflected in their cognitive representations. […] It follows that the social schemata of journalists are strategically applied in their construction of models of news events. Together, these models and schemata determine how journalists interpret new social events, represent them in (new) models, and update old models. These models play a role in each stage of news production […].

Whether we consider news production, comprehension or consumption, the media, in general, are an area where discourses are produced and reproduced, and newspapers, in particular, can be said to impact upon both language and society: "[l]anguage is a thoroughly social activity and newspapers extend that activity beyond the confines of face-to-face discourse to an extended, imagined community" (Conboy 2010: 3) whose identity materializes onto the page through newspaper language. With its wide range of functions – informational, political, entertainment, normative, agenda-setting – newspaper language appears as a highly contested space where struggles over the hierarchies of communicative power and control incessantly occur. Even within the informational function, the transmission of information to particular audiences has always had ideological implications – with news production seen as a way to maintain well-established forms of power or to create new forms of access to representation.[6]

The question of representation in relation to news discourse and the press is crucial. According to Fairclough, newspapers create public identities for both social groups and individuals through a series of textual strategies (Fairclough 2003: 213-221), which makes their stylistic characteristics particularly relevant. By addressing specific social groups due to their particular styles of presentation, newspapers seem to create readers rather than news, becoming, at the same time, 'language forming institutions' (Bell 1991: 7). This view of the language of newspapers appears to directly stem from Carey's ritual view of language and communication (1989): the media are more concerned with the re-creation and reconfirmation of social groups than they are with the transmission of information *per se*.

In this regard, Fowler (1991: 134-145) gives an important contribution, concentrating on the representations offered by the British press of the groups involved in the riots that occurred in Liverpool, Birmingham, and London in the late 1970s and 1980s. While the Liberal Party saw vandalism and violence as expressions of social *malaise*, which could be

[6] Foucault has highlighted the central role played by language in maintaining social control and delimiting social and political change through discourse (1972).

mainly attributed to unemployment, poor health care and education, not to mention police provocation and brutality, the Conservative government in office at the time defined the proliferation of violent incidents in public places as one of the most disturbing social events. They portrayed the public disturbances as straightforward criminality, with the support of the media that also spoke of 'thugs' (bringing terror to ordinary folk), 'mobs', 'violence', 'public disorder', against which more power was to be given to police and courts to recreate the public order.

What emerged from an initial analysis of a limited number of samples of the headlines under investigation was a simple 'us vs. them' dichotomy opposing ordinary people to rioters – who were generally defined not only as 'thugs', but also as 'bully boys'. However, despite a first impression associating rioters with the semantic role of agent, by further focusing on the dominant transitivity pattern of the headlines, Fowler (1991: 143-44) uncovered quite a different view:

> I would want to say that the dominant pattern […] encodes a view of the world which assumes a polarization of groups, conflict of interest and the desirability of the repression or destruction of 'them' (demonstrators, hooligans, etc.) by the legitimated agents (the Home Secretary, the police). […] [However,] the police and the government are overwhelmingly in the *agent* role in transitivity, while the marginalized and attacked groups are always *affected* or *patient* […].

In other words, a detailed linguistic analysis revealed that the violent groups involved in the events seemed to be coded as patients, not agents, despite a well-rooted hostile reporting of the riots in general (Fowler 1991: 145).

Fowler's work had been preceded by another pivotal study on the social representations of some groups proposed by the British Press during the 1985 riots (Birmingham and London) that was authored by van Dijk (1989). By examining editorials and their persuasive function, van Dijk explicitly focused on the reproduction of racism in discourse. He showed that the news reports about earlier riots occurred in 1981 had already established the dominant framework for the understanding of the social disturbances and the role of the main actors. Such actors were identified with the police and other State institutions, on the one hand, and with ethnic minorities, especially young male Black West-Indians, on the other hand. Due to widespread internal cognitive representations of such actors, the usual dimension 'us vs. them' emerges, with 'us' being British, whites, ordinary people, and 'them' being Blacks, criminals, aliens, and so on, respectively featuring positive and negative evaluations corresponding to very precise social perceptions. Most importantly,

the very notion of ‘order’ also becomes fundamental – riots being one of the most serious forms of disorder – to be established, maintained and defended by those who share a certain ideology. So moving from the assumption according to which editorials are the site where newspapers ideologies are formulated, van Dijk suggests that editorials (even more than news reports) offer the frameworks readers need to make sense of the social situation they are confronted with. In some kind of vicious circle producing and reproducing racism,

> when large parts of the […] public adopt these definitions, evaluations and recommendations of the ethnic situation, they are provided with a solid cognitive basis for the legitimation of prejudice and discrimination, which in turn is a major condition of the riots, which again provide the right-wing press with a welcome opportunity to criminalize the Black community (van Dijk 1989: 252).

Overall, the production and understanding of news reports presuppose a vast amount of shared social representations (comprising prejudices and ideologies) that can be explicit or implicit. Such interpretative framework, that is common to most readers, is affected by the dominant social representations that are conveyed and widespread by the media and newspapers. So the recurring language used to report events also becomes representative of the participants involved, a process which appears central in news discourse. Developing this point further, Fowler notes that the formation of news events is “a reciprocal, dialectical process in which stereotypes are the currency of exchange”; in his words, a stereotype is “a socially-constructed mental pidgeon-hole into which events and individuals can be sorted, thereby making such events and individuals comprehensible: ‘mother’, ‘patriot’, ‘business man’, ‘neighbour’ on the one hand, versus ‘hooligan’, ‘terrorist’, ‘foreigner’, on the other” (1991: 17). Significantly, the media in general (and newspapers are no exception) are routinely referred to as people’s source of knowledge and opinions about everyday events and issues, and this is the reason why they can be said to have a great potential in shaping power relations within any society.

To this extent, language appears as a highly constructive mediator of the social reality, and news is certainly part of this process: “News is a representation of the world in language; because language is a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on whatever is represented. So, inevitably, news, like every discourse, constructively patterns that of which it speaks” (Fowler 1991: 4). Since news is a socially and politically situated practice, all news is reported from a specific angle with the aim to represent not merely facts about the world, but rather ideas, values and beliefs. Far from being random or

accidental, the alternative and different ways of reporting the same event do carry ideological distinctions as well as differing representations, as this project will try to show.

2.3 Some critical approaches

Media discourse has been approached from a variety of angles and perspectives, among them Critical Discourse Analysis – both from a socio-cognitive (van Dijk 1988a, 1988b) and a discourse-practice (Fairclough 1995a, 1995b) perspective – structural Discourse Analysis (Bell 1984, 1991), Multimodality (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 2001), Cultural Studies (Allan 1999). Following the work inaugurated within Critical Linguistics by Fowler *et al.* (1979), the question of ideology was identified as a feature of language, something which could be investigated through a variety of ways, just to mention a few: analysis of a specific lexicon containing negative evaluations of what they referred to (whether it be ethnicity, gender, and so forth), analysis of grammar and syntactical structures – such as agency deletion, passivization – that rendered the operations of power in language and society invisible (Fowler 1991). While the study of media language was reaching significant achievements, highlighting the socio-political connection between language and power, media products and texts were increasingly deemed worth of being subjected to critical readings and investigation due to their ideological effectivity.[7]

Back in the 1970s and 1980s, the Glasgow University Media Group and the University of Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) carried out a media analysis inspired by Gramsci and the French structuralist thinkers, explicitly embodying a Marxist perspective on ideologies in news production. They concentrated on the issue of hegemony as pertaining to the mass media, with a specific interest in the mechanisms by which they operate to render their 'truth-claims' authoritative and credible.[8] By recognizing

[7] Until the early second half of the 20th century, most of the research on media discourse was formulated within the tradition of social political science, following a Marxist orientation within the French structuralism, with the work of scholars like Barthes, Foucault, Derrida, Althusser, who paid more attention to the ideological analysis of both the media and news from a historical and socio-cultural rather than linguistic perspective. In the British context, an increasing number of researchers became interested in the media and news analysis from a discoursal and linguistic viewpoint from the beginning of the 1970s. The Leicester-based group of researchers (Halloran, Elliott, Murdock), for instance, examined the media coverage of a demonstration held in London against the presence of the US in Vietnam, and they noticed that the media redefined a peaceful demonstration into a violent event, by exclusively focusing on one minor incident (van Dijk 1988a: 10).

[8] The concept of hegemony actually occupied a central place, especially after Gramsci's attempt to define it in relation to the consent given by the great masses of the population to the dominant group. Following the Gramscian approach to hegemony, the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies urged a rethinking of how mass media and news discourse contribute to the formation and daily renewal of

that media messages are not transparent, their joint work resulted in a view according to which language would be a refracting medium moulding a particular representation of the world through linguistic and ideological structures. Media were, therefore, defined as mediators of social events and, as such, reproducers of pre-formulated ideologies. Stuart Hall, director of the CCCS and one of the most prominent scholars researching on the subject, accounted for the process of news selection and creation, defining all news as an artefact: not simply that which happens, but that which can be regarded and presented as newsworthy (Hall *et al.* 1980).

Among the first to tackle questions concerning media, ideology, and the resulting interplay between powerful and powerless groups within the British society, the study by Hartmann and Husband (1974) stressed the association of minority groups with crime. As a matter of fact, ethnic groups and (mostly black) immigrants were represented by the British media, and especially the popular press, as an invasion, their presence as a problem. Similarly, the study by Hall *et al.* (1978) on mugging in the British press showed that the media were not simply reporting a new wave of mugging: they were reproducing in the news the definition of mugging provided by the authorities, in particular the police. In that context, mugging was preferably attributed to members of ethnic minorities, especially young black West Indian males.

The Glasgow University Media Group, on the other hand, tried to go into more details of news discourse structure and production from a linguistic perspective. They focused on the strategies used by TV newsmakers to report bad news, especially as far as strikes or industrial disputes were concerned (1976, 1980, 1982). Their analysis of news programmes suggested that dominant interpretations of strikes were more or less subtly favoured with the aim to represent them as socioeconomic problems for the public (causing delays and inconveniences), through a series of strategies and interview techniques.

In their various researches and publications, both groups have elaborated a picture of news practices according to which news is socially constructed: the events to be reported do not have an intrinsic importance, they are not intrinsically newsworthy, they merely become news when selected for inclusion after undergoing a complex and artificial process of selection and transformation (through which they are encoded for publication, following dominant ideas and beliefs). According to Hall *et al.* (1978: 53), "The media do not simply and transparently report events which are 'naturally' newsworthy *in themselves*. 'News' is the

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racism, sexism, homophobia, nationalism, and so forth, across society. The role of mass media in the creation of moral panic concerning crime as well as the call for a public consensus seems particularly interesting and useful for the scope of this dissertation.

end-product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories." So news is not simply that which happens, but that which can be regarded and then presented as newsworthy. The more newsworthiness criteria an event satisfies, the more likely it is to be reported.[9]

Overall, the studies mentioned invariably pay attention to the ideological nature of media discourse and its reconstruction and conveyance of social reality as a form of reproduction of the dominant and more powerful forces and ideologies in society (van Dijk 1988a: 13). News – as a practice intervening in the social construction of reality – is therefore defined as necessarily biased, in that all news is reported from a specific angle. In assessing the significance of events, both the media and their audience refer to a series of frames or paradigms, which help them sort the events out and make them comprehensible.[10]

In the wake of such studies and following the growing attention for both language and news, Fowler *et al.* (1979) adopted a linguistic approach in the analysis of the representation of the incidents that occurred during the West Indian carnival in London. By emphasizing the ways in which dominant ideologies were formulated, they noted that the syntax of sentences in the news could actually express – foregrounding or understating – the main agent of positive or negative actions. Moving within what was to be known as Critical Linguistics, Fowler claimed that language could not be regarded as neutral or transparent, but rather as a social practice. Linguistic analysis could then expose the potential ideological significance of texts. He, therefore, focused on the questions linked to language and ideology (especially in the press), applying the method of language analysis to investigate the invisible ideology permeating language: "By studying the details of linguistic structure in the light of the social and historical situation of the text, critical linguistics seeks to display the patterns of belief and value which are encoded in the language" (Fowler 1991: 66-67).

According to Fowler, the best model for examining the links between linguistic structures and social values is the functional model theorized by Halliday (1994). Starting from the assumption that the clause is the essential unit for the representation of reality and of the world, Halliday stresses that speakers and writers have many options available to create meaning (language being a social semiotic resource). Drawing on this concept, Fowler notes that "[w]e are always suppressing some possibilities, so the choice we make – better, the

[9] Galtung and Ruge (1973: 62-72) started covering the nature of the events and actors in the news, mainly focusing on the values that can enhance the newsworthiness of texts. The main (cultural, rather than natural) factors that they study in detail, will be reviewed later on in this chapter.

[10] Hall further highlighted the significance of the process through which an event is transformed into a finished news item, namely, how an event is coded by the media into a particular linguistic form (1980).

choice made by discourse – indicates our point of view, it is ideologically significant" (Fowler 1991: 71). Language provides names for categories, and the category labels that are adopted by a newspaper are indicative of the structure of the ideological world represented by that newspaper.

Fowler also recognizes that for a more detailed analysis of participants, predicates and circumstances, some simple terminology is needed, borrowing Halliday's most important terms. So types of predicates (like *shot*) include actions being under the control of *agents* (the doer of the action) and having an effect on some other (*affected*) *participant* (person/people having things done to them). Such predicates, relating to changes in the world, implying action, destruction, construction, movement, are called *material processes*; others (like *sinking*) that are neither deliberate nor controlled, and relate to no change at all, can be called *states*. Processes and states can be material, mental, verbal, and so on.[11] Fowler's analysis (1991: 98-99) is very revealing as far as the categorization of participants is concerned. In his point of view, three questions are particularly interesting:

1) What kinds of participants occur in subject and object position?
2) With what types of verb are the various categories of participant associated?
3) What kinds of expressions (names, occupational labels, etc.) are used to refer to the participants?

People with power (power implying a variety of things, including money, knowledge, status) and authority are usually treated as syntactic subjects – agents on the semantic level – while people with less power occur as objects. Accordingly, the categorization of participants is reinforced by the verbs that they attend; so, for instance, discriminated people are associated with pejorative or low-status verbs. Indeed, the grammatical analysis of language use in the press can reveal the perspective of the journalist or of the newspaper, syntax expressing the semantic roles of the participants in an event as conveyed by word order, relational functions (subject, objet), use of active or passive forms. This approach suggested a major interest in how individuals are positioned in relation to power, which explicitly paved the way to further 'critical' developments.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has certainly produced the majority of research into media discourse, especially in the 1980s and 1990s. Its explicit socio-political agenda made it suitable for an investigation of the role of discourse in reproducing or challenging the dominant socio-political order. Since ideas, opinions, concepts, ways of thinking and

[11] For a comprehensive account of the Systemic Functional Grammar, see Halliday 1978, 1994, 2004. Further information on Halliday's theories on language and participants is provided in this chapter and in Chapter Four.

behaving are manifested in language, discursive structures can help detect them (and their linguistic traces) within a particular context. So the word 'critical' is meant to signal a departure from more descriptive analytical approaches to move the focus on why and how linguistic features and structures are produced, unravelling or denaturalizing the ideologies expressed in discourse. CDA has thus been a resource for the investigation of changing discursive practices, to understand how social formations determine people's lives from a specifically discoursal and linguistic perspective.

Fairclough, who has long been a leading theorist in CDA, clarifies: "Critical is used in the special sense of aiming to show connections which may be hidden from people – such as the connections between language, power and ideology […] [and] their generally hidden determinants in the system of social relationships" (1989: 5). With his emphasis on the role of language and discourse in connection to power and social change in society, he develops a framework comprising three integrated dimensions for analysis: the first is the analysis of texts (both at a micro-level, concentrating on vocabulary, syntax, cohesion, and so forth, and a macro-level, concentrating on text structure and interpersonal elements); the second is the analysis of discourse practices of text production, distribution and consumption (how a text is constructed, interpreted and distributed), and the third is the analysis of the social and cultural practices framing discourse practices and texts (that is to say the interpretation of texts within a wider social context, tackling the relation of discourse to power and ideology, how discourses (re)produce, challenge and possibly transform power relations) (Fairclough 1998: 144). So any discursive event would be, simultaneously, a three-dimensional phenomenon. Such a view makes it easier to link linguistic analysis with social analysis and its main concerns: questions of ideology, power relations and identity. Language use is then always and simultaneously constitutive of social identities, social relations, systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough 1995b: 55).

A key feature of Fairclough's version of CDA is that the link between texts and society/culture is mediated by the discourse practices through which texts are produced and received. In order to explain the discursive and social practices operating within a text, especially within media texts, Fairclough (1995a) has explored media language adopting Foucault's social theory (1972)[12] together with Halliday's functional perspective (1985,

[12] The concept of 'discourse' was widely used in social theory, in the work of Michel Foucault among the others, to refer to different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice. Discourses would be manifested in particular ways of using language and other symbolic forms to represent social entities and relations and, at the same time, to constitute them. So different discourses 'construct' key entities, such as 'mental illness', positioning people in different ways as social subjects (whether they be doctors or patients). Foucault moves away from the analysis of the actors who use power as an

1994). Indeed, Foucault sees discourse as actively constituting society on various dimensions, in that it constructs the objects of knowledge, the social subjects and their 'self', their social relationships and the conceptual frameworks. Rather than seeing power as a repressive phenomenon, Foucault sees it as a productive phenomenon, as a complex and evolving web of social and discursive relations between people, which are constantly negotiated and never fixed or stable. Although his concern is not specifically on language and texts, in fact he focuses on the discursive formations of the human sciences, his insights were deemed worth to be applied to all kinds of discourse (Fairclough 1992: 39). On the other hand, Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) proves to be useful since it relates structure to communicative function; namely, each form of linguistic expression in a text can be explained in functionalist terms. The very nature of language appears closely related to the demands that are made on it, and to the functions that it has to serve. These functions are specific to the culture and society in which the language is produced.[13] Following SFL, Faircough has underlined the importance of identifying the main categories of agents figuring in media discourse as a way to enter media language and texts. Such agents participate in the struggle for hegemony in both media and society, by commanding the discourses and genres of media. Since media language is defined as a representational and constructive practice, it will reflect the meanings and values articulated by social groups. Linguistic analysis can then be seen as a prerequisite to a more sophisticated approach to questions of ideology in media texts, constituting the primary step to unpack the ideologies underlying such texts.

The concept of ideology appears pivotal not only in Fairclough's but also in van Dijk's paradigm, where the central, mediating dimension between discourse and society is attributed to 'socio-cognition', namely to cognitive structures and mental models. In his view, ideologies can be accounted for in terms of social functions, cognitive structures, and discursive expression and reproduction. Social functions coordinate the social practices of group members to protect and promote the interests of a specific group. Cognitive structures

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instrument of coercion and from the idea that they exclusively operate in high structures: in his view power is everywhere, it is diffused and embodied in discourse. Power relations produce speaking subjects, and discourses become the bearers of various subject-positions. By taking over a Foucauldian perspective according to which practices are discursively shaped and enacted, Fairclough (1992) suggests that greater attention to language and discourse analysis would result in a research method in social sciences.

[13] Broadly speaking, Halliday's functions of language can be identified as: ideational (language is used to represent the world, making sense of reality and construing human experience), interpersonal (language is used to create relationships between speakers, all focus is on the interactivity), textual (concerning the organisation and nature of a text, how it is constructed). Fairclough's three-site model is directly related to Halliday's ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language (1978), which also work simultaneously in any text.

or social representations refer to socially shared values, norms, attitudes, opinions, and they should be tailored to the social functions to be carried out. Discursive expression and reproduction hint at the ways ideologies organize group attitudes shaping personal opinions that can be expressed and reproduced in text and talk, namely in discourse (van Dijk 1998: 23-27). General group ideologies and attitudes may be expressed in discourse through group as well as personal knowledge and opinions deriving from the so-called mental models. Such models are the interface between the social and the personal, they account for what individuals know and think about specific events and how they interpret them. In van Dijk's words: "Ideologies organize specific group attitudes; these attitudes may be used in the formation of personal opinions as represented in models; and these personal opinions may finally be expressed in text and talk" (van Dijk 1998: 27).[14]

While applying the framework of Discourse Analysis to the study of news stories in particular (1988b), van Dijk stresses the fact that textual structures should always be related to those of the cognitive and socio-cultural contexts of news production and reception. Indeed, following his theory according to which the so-called 'societal structures' are closely intertwined to discourse structures through the social actors and their minds (mental models mediating between ideology and discourse), news discourse cannot be accounted for without a contextual perspective, that is to say without specifying the socio-cultural and ideological conditions in which mass-mediated communication occurs. He thus proposes a new and interdisciplinary direction of research that combines linguistic, discoursal, psychological, and sociological analysis of news discourse and news processes.

2.4 Corpus-based analysis of media discourse and newspaper language

Another important approach to media discourse and language that is worth mentioning is the one proposing a Corpus-based Discourse Analysis. The use of techniques associated with Corpus Linguistics (CL) and CDA is not a new practice (Stubbs 1994, Biber *et al.* 1999): in fact, corpus-based research has been said to depend on both quantitative and qualitative techniques, the former providing a statistical overview of large numbers of tokens and the patterns, features and variants emerging from the corpus, the latter concerning the close reading, detailed analysis and interpretation of particular stretches of discourse. However, in more recent times, this approach has been further developed – mainly, but not exclusively –

[14] Van Dijk defines 'discourse' as a "complex unit of linguistic form, meaning, and action that might best be captured under the notion of a communicative event or communicative act", implying that it is not limited to verbal utterances (1988b: 8-9).

by the Lancaster group of scholars who have called for some kind of bridge-building between the two areas, both contributing to a methodological synergy (Baker 2006, Baker *et al.* 2008, Gabrielatos and Baker 2008).[15]

In the works on media language that were carried out using this approach, the media being a very fruitful and useful area where discourses are produced and reproduced, the researchers mostly focused on the UK press – which makes their work particularly suitable for the scope of this dissertation – with large corpora of newspaper articles (media texts, and newspaper texts in particular, being easily collected). More specifically, moving within newspaper discourse, Baker, Gabrielatos, McEnery and the other scholars of the Lancaster group have variously and widely examined the discursive presentation of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants (collectively RASIM) in the UK press over a ten-year period (1996-2005). This subject was chosen because, in terms of discourse, they are one of the most powerless groups in society; moreover, despite having very little control over their representations, minorities are often the topic of political and media discourse (Baker 2006: 74; see also van Dijk 1996: 91-94). Especially in the media, they are seldom able to construct their own identities and the discourses concerning them – both usually constructed for them by more powerful groups – which seem to render this issue particularly useful since it perfectly fits into CDA conceptual and theoretical stance (van Dijk 2001: 95).[16]

In their most recently published work, Baker *et al.* (2013) concentrated on the role that the British national press has played in the representation of Muslims and Islam, with special attention to the years following the 9/11 attacks in New York, a topic that proved to have a considerable news value for the national UK press. After collecting a corpus of British newspaper articles about Muslims from 1998 to 2009, they started looking for common patterns of representation. More specifically, through an analysis of the most frequent content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives) in the corpus, they were able to identify the semantic groups that are frequently addressed in the data. So they could consider the ways in which the portrayal of Muslims has changed over time, with an additional increased focus on Muslim people as a homogeneous group in opposition to another group, 'the West'.

[15] A detailed discussion of the corpus-based discourse analysis approach is presented in Chapter Four.

[16] As a matter of fact, most linguistic research on such issues in the press has adopted a CDA stance – carrying out a close analysis of a small sample of texts, mainly concentrating on positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Reisigl and Wodak 2001). However, CDA has also been criticized for arbitrary selection of texts which would make them less representative. On the other hand, corpus-based studies of newspaper articles (Charteris-Black 2004, Baker and McEnery 2005) have shown how corpus analysis can uncover hidden ideologies in these texts. CL can pinpoint emerging patterns with keywords (revealing statistically significantly more frequent terms), collocations, to be further examined through concordances. It is therefore said to allow a higher degree of objectivity because texts are approached with no preconceived notions regarding their content.

A slightly different approach still combining quantitative and qualitative analysis was theorized by Partington (2006, 2008) under the label 'Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies' (CADS). The CADS methodology aims at uncovering 'non-obvious meaning', that is to say meaning which might not be readily available to naked-eye perusal, by exploiting "the interaction of intuition and data, giving balanced attention to analysis, description, interpretation, explanation" (Partington 2008: 2). Whereas CL proper has often been characterized by an argument according to which the analyst should not familiarise him/herself with specific texts in the corpus (so to keep a 'mental *tabula rasa'* when analysing it), CADS encourages the analyst to acquaint him/herself as much as possible with the discourse under investigation (Partington 2008: 5). Far from stressing the perfect methodological synergy between CL and CDA (that appeared, instead, as a distinctive feature of the previous approach), Partington seems more interested in investigating the relationship between discourse features and the communicative strategies enacted by the text producer (Partington 2004).

In terms of media language, a considerable work has been done in Italy – especially, but not exclusively – within inter-university projects such as *Newspool* (Partington, Morley, Haarman 2004) and *CorDis* (Morley and Bailey 2009; Cirillo, Marchi, Venuti 2009), trying to unearth particular ideological metaphors in the language of political figures and institutions.

Further studies adopting a CADS approach have concentrated, for instance, on the responses of the British press to the events of 9/11, specifically investigating *The Telegraph, The Guardian, The Independent,* and *The Times* (Garzone and Santulli 2004). Corpus analysis uncovered a number of ideological motifs – the urge for a single unified response to the attacks by the 'civilised world' as a whole, the need to consider the attacks as an act of war and to declare war on terrorism, together with the description of the enemy as shadowy, unseen, ghostlike, thus enhancing its menace. What this investigation shows is the comparative nature of all study of discourse: "it is only possible to both uncover and evaluate the particular features of a discourse type by comparing it with others" (Partington 2008: 9-10).

Partington (2008: 10) then outlines the basic CADS methodology, comprising a number of typical steps that can be summarized as follows:

- design and unearth the research question;
- choose, compile or edit an appropriate corpus;
- choose, compile or edit an appropriate reference corpus;
- run a Keywords comparison of the corpora;

- determine the existence of sets of key items;
- Concordance interesting key items;
- refine the research question.

In this search for non-obvious meaning, CADS allows the analyst to alternate between an inductive and a deductive method, conducting a 'free-thinking' research, that is to say finding out (otherwise unrecoverable) things for him/herself. To such extent, Partington describes the CADS researcher as a 'wanderer', a 'linguistic vagabond' living off his/her wits.

Overall, there are some common points that can be retrieved both in CADS and corpus-based discourse analysis: what they suggest "is not simply a quantitative procedure but one which involves a great deal of human choice at every stage: forming research questions, designing and building corpora, deciding which techniques to use interpreting the results and framing explanations for them", something which can be applied to discourse analysis as much as other forms of analysis using corpora (Baker 2006: 175). Moreover, in both cases, great emphasis is given to the cumulative, lifelong exposure to language patterns and choices through which attitudes and discourses are embedded in language. Despite the fact that most of the participants to media communicative events are unconscious of the linguistic patterns that they encounter in their everyday life, corpora seem useful to identify them, unearthing the effects of such exposure.

In presenting information about the world events to individuals, offering representations of events through the use of language, the media in general, and newspapers in particular, make specific choices that are meant to prioritise certain events, perspectives and opinions over others, respecting space and time limitations at once. To this extent, national newspapers can be said to function as more than mere mirrors of reality: they have the role of building ideologically motivated versions of reality, aiming at persuading readers that certain events or phenomena are good while others are bad (Baker *et al.* 2013: 3; Richardson 2004: 227). In exerting this social, cultural and political influence, they also need to reflect the views of their potential readership. Hence, a full account of media discourse, and more specifically of news discourse, requires a description of the textual structures of news as well as a consideration of the production and reception processes of news reports in relation to the communicative and sociocultural contexts in which discourse unfolds.

3. Reading the riots from a sociological perspective

The riots that occurred in the UK in 2011 were defined by the media as the worst disturbances in decades, with violent protests and thousands of people causing four days of mayhem, rampaging London and other major cities across the country, as a reaction to the police shooting of Mark Duggan, a 29-year-old man. Since the circumstances of his killing – in Tottenham, London, on 4th August 2011 – were quite uncertain and controversial, his relatives and friends peacefully marched from Broadwater Farm to Tottenham Police Station, expecting some information about his death. When their request to see a high-rank officer was dismissed, tension levels gradually rose until some members of the crowd attacked two nearby police cars, setting them on fire. Violence immediately sparked from Aug. 7th to 10th, with rioting, arson and looting in London, in areas like Hackney, Brixton, Peckham, Battersea, Croydon, Ealing and East Ham, as well as in other cities including Birmingham, Bristol, Liverpool, and Manchester.

3.1 Past riots in the UK

Despite the 'striking surprise' with which the British media reported the social unrest – as an exceptional and unprecedented event – as a matter of fact, the riots seem to be a relatively frequent phenomenon in the British history. Indeed, over the last four decades, the UK has experienced a relevant number of extremely violent protests.

In 1981, the general recession affecting the country had devastating effects on areas that had been already hit by serious social and economic problems. In the south of London, the African-Caribbean community – which was suffering from particularly high rates of unemployment, poor housing, and a higher than average crime rate – burst in a harsh confrontation with the MET. Up to 5,000 people were involved in the events (that were then known as Brixton riots), there were hundreds of injuries both to police and members of the public, over a hundred vehicles were burned and almost 150 buildings were damaged (some of them burned). As for the episode that sparked the riots, a black man, Michael Bailey, was stopped by a police officer and found badly bleeding; as the police did not seem to be providing or even seeking the necessary medical help, a crowd gathered and tried to

intervene. Bailey was eventually taken to hospital, but rumours spread that a stabbed man had been left to die on the street by the police, which provoked the angry reaction of over 200 youths (reportedly black and white), believing he died as a result of police brutality. As violence escalated, it was more and more evident that racial tensions played a major part in the disturbances.

After the 1981 riots, the Home Secretary William Whitelaw commissioned a public inquiry into the events, which was headed by Lord Scarman – and was followed by the publication of the so-called Scarman report, late in 1981. The report found unquestionable evidence of a disproportionate and indiscriminate use of stop and search powers by the police especially against black people (something that led to a new code of behaviour and the creation of an independent Police Complaints Commission in the attempt to restore public confidence in the police). However, the recommendations of the Scarman report to tackle the problems deriving from racial disadvantage in inner-city areas were not implemented and rioting broke out again in 1985.

Therefore, within only four years, there was the second major riot in the same area, which was sparked by the police shooting of Dorothy 'Cherry' Groce, a Jamaican woman who had migrated to the UK in her youth: officers were looking for her son in relation to a suspected firearms offence, believing he was hiding in his mother's home. Apparently, without giving the required warning (that is meant to alert residents that a raid is about to proceed), they raided into the house and incidentally shot at Mrs Groce, who then remained paralysed below the waist. The 'incident' was immediately perceived by many local residents as further evidence of what was widely regarded as a form of institutional racism in the MET. Hostility between a largely black crowd and a largely white police force quickly escalated into two days of fierce street battles, with several shops looted, and buildings and cars destroyed.

After ten years, in 1995, Brixton was again the scene of violent – but shorter – protests following the death in police custody of Wayne Douglas, a black 26-year-old man who was said to have robbed a couple in bed at knifepoint. Since, at the time, the disproportionate number of black or ethnic minority deaths in police custody was a very debated issue, a peaceful protest march outside Brixton Police Station then turned into a (5-hour) riot resulting in damage to property and vehicles in the area, some police officers hurt and about 20 people arrested and charged with public order offences, theft, and criminal damage. Also in this case, hundreds of black and white youths were said to have participated to the unrest, attacking

police, ransacking shops, burning cars, and facing what, according to some witnesses, was an incredibly heavy-handed police reaction.

The recent British history then seems to be characterized by relatively recurrent episodes of rioting and looting, as far as the last decades are concerned. Some of these riots have been the focus of a number of linguistic studies (mostly based on Critical Discourse Analysis) aiming at understanding how the British press reported the events – especially in terms of agency and representation. Their findings and data constitute an important starting point for this investigation since they give relevant insights into the ways in which the British press (or a specific part of it) reported the news concerning the riots and the rioters in the recent past.

The British reporting has typically depicted riots and rioters drawing on a limited range of images from contexts relating to conflict, deviance, threat and anti-social behaviour. According to the existing literature on the news reports of the 1981 and 1985 riots in the UK (van Dijk 1989, 1993), the British quality press adopted some recurring elements in the description of the events:

- crime and crime-related topics were very common in the riot portrayal as an orgy of murder, arson, looting, petrol bombs, barricades, and fights with police;
- the criminal nature of the disturbances was enhanced by emphasizing evidence of ‘vicious’ or ‘malicious’ premeditation;
- the events were often termed as a ‘collapse of civil order’, a ‘direct challenge to the rule of law’.

Therefore, the riots were primarily depicted within the framework of law and order, crime, anarchy and terror spreading in the British society. More interestingly, the events were also strongly connoted in terms of their racial aspects, thus being explicitly and habitually defined as ‘race’ riots.

Indeed, following the afore-mentioned studies, the media in general, and the press in particular, can be said to have often associated minorities with specific forms of ‘ethnic’ crimes such as aggression, mugging, prostitution, drugs and rioting. Minorities, especially young, male, Black or Afro-Caribbean people, were perceived as problematic, deviant, criminal and fully blamed for the riots; in fact, they were usually characterized as troublemakers and perpetrators of crimes by terms such as ‘hooligans’, ‘thugs’ and ‘mobs’. This depiction also contributed to the production of very marked group representations opposing ‘ingroup’ and ‘outgroup’, namely ‘us’ – British, white, law-abiding people – and

'them' – immigrants, black, alien and criminals, with an evaluative charge opposing good to bad.

3.2 The 2011 riots and the 'race' issue

Moving to the most recent events, issues of race and cultural alienation and the degree to which tensions between different ethnic communities affected the events appear as an uncomfortable question that the UK had to face again after the 2011 riots. Several observers have warned that the answer was a complex and multifaceted one. For instance, according to the Runnymede Trust – the UK's leading independent race equality think-tank researching for a multi-ethnic Britain – the 2011 disturbances resembled the violent unrest that led to the 'race' riots in the 1980s in the African-Caribbean community (with common features being the anger towards police and their discriminatory conduct, high levels of unemployment, poverty, and social exclusion). However, in this case, the events unfolded into something less recognizable than in the past, in terms of the scale of events, the number of participants involved, and the multiple locations of the disturbances). In their view, the media were too quick in dismissing and/or marginalising racial injustice as a factor of the events: "[t]he claim was that since the rioters were from a range of ethnic backgrounds, the riots were not racialised. […] [I]t was further suggested that there were no clear reasons for the riots beyond 'criminality, pure and simple'" (Nwabuzo 2012: 2). In other words, they claim that, as the riots spread, the media coverage shifted away from issues concerning race and discrimination and concentrated on the looting and its violent and criminal aspects. This process is said to have made politicians and the media complicit in fuelling some kind of moral panic: the events were strongly and purposely connoted as threatening the social order, thus consigning the country to a general hysteria.

The framework of moral panic, that was first theorised by Cohen (1972) and was later further developed in a linguistic model by McEnery (2006), explores the extent to which public discourse can be controlled and directed by the media. A moral panic occurs when a "condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests" (Cohen 2002: 1). More specifically, moral panics are controversies that involve social tensions and topics that are configured as taboos, while the people who foreground them are called 'folk devils'. By simply reporting facts, the media have operated as agents of moral indignation, generating concern, anxiety, or eventually panic (Cohen 2002: 16). A number of sociologists have contributed to the formulation of this

concept, concentrating on a range of aspects. Whether the emphasis is on moral panic as a crisis of capitalism (Thompson 2006) or on the public reaction to the phenomenon of mugging and its relating ideological function of social control (Hall *et al.* 1978), some subjects are usually demonised.[1] By creating a high degree of concern (that the behaviour of a group negatively affects the society) and hostility towards the so-called 'folk devils', a clear binary distinction can be drawn between 'us' and 'them'. Such a paradigm can also be said to have worked in the case of the 2011 UK riots. According to the Runnymede Trust, newspapers presented the events as unconnected to wider problems in society, consequently allowing the establishment to call for law-enforcement solutions rather than reckoning about the necessity for a political change. Similarly, the urban space is seen as the space of coercion rather than a highly contested terrain, a place of contestation open to the multiple demands for rights and participation.

Depending on the different political orientations, a series of explanations for the outburst of the riots were found: for the Left, poverty and inequality were the underlying social problems, for the Right the social unrest was evidence of a moral decline (Cameron talked of a 'slow-motion moral collapse', *The Telegraph* 14/08/11, *Daily Mail* 15/08/11, among the others). According to other views, both analyses could be said to fall under the rubric of consumer capitalism (Palmer 2013: 1). This is also the position taken by Zygmunt Bauman (one of the world's most eminent social theorists), according to whom these riots were an explosion that was bound to happen sooner or later, and that was sparked by a combination of consumerism with rising inequality: "[t]his was not a rebellion or an uprising of famished and impoverished people or an oppressed ethnic or religious minority – but a mutiny of defective and disqualified consumers, people offended and humiliated by the display of riches to which they had been denied access" (2011a). Assuming – as he does – that "postmodern society engages its members primarily in their capacity as consumers" (Bauman 2000:76), the 2011 UK riots could then be seen as the uprising of frustrated consumers: in other words, the rioters appear as "flawed consumers" (Palmer 2013: 2), inadequate consumers who felt 'deficient', lacking something that was 'socially prescribed' and which they could not access, which generated their destructiveness and violence.

When analysing the potential reasons playing some part in the disturbances, the hypothesis of social inequality should also – and inevitably – be considered. However, even

[1] Adopting Cohen's paradigm of moral panic, Hall *et al.* (1978) theorised that the phenomenon of mugging – that they assumed had been imported from the American culture in the UK – was 'exploited' to perform an ideological function relating to social control. In other words, rising crime rates and crime statistics appeared to be manipulated for political and economic purposes, in the attempt to create public support for the need to 'police the crisis'.

accepting looting as the main reason to riot, very little space was given to further thoughts on it: Bauman, on the contrary, contextualised the looting explaining that it was the result of a 'hyper-consumerism', a product of the growth of social inequality where groups of young people feel left out of 'consumer culture' (Bauman 2011a). Such deprivation of (consumerist) resources would have caused a deep humiliation, from which a symbolic and material violence stemmed.[2] By bringing chaos into order, rioters – as flawed consumers – turned the British cities into the epicentre of danger and violence. Far from attempting to change the present order with another, they reacted to such order with "an un-planned, un-integrated, spontaneous explosion of accumulated frustration that can be only explained in terms of 'because of', not in terms of 'in order to'" (Bauman 2011a). This seems, indeed, a pivotal point, not only considering the most recent social disturbances, but also in the wake of the previous riots that hit the UK in the 1980s and 1990s. In fact, the problem seems to be that the sources of the widespread humiliation that many people felt were left untouched, while the Government merely looked for instant solutions. This sort of 'dark heart' that has nestled within the country for a long time, was then brought into focus with the 2011 events, when the British society as a whole was obliged to confront with it.

Apart from the underlying (racial or consumerist) reasons for the riots, there was a common view slowly emerging from debates and discussions: these were not "issueless riots" (Nwabuzo 2012: 25). The political motivations were harder to identify, but the global, national and local scenario was to be accounted for. In fact, research has shown that in times of austerity, there is an undeniable link between civil unrest and austerity programmes, with undermined communities and failing political institutions (Taylor-Gooby 2012). Therefore, politics clearly seems to deserve great attention when tackling the topics connected to the riots. Stuart Hall, who has been a seminal figure in Cultural Studies for his articulation of the British multicultural society under Thatcherism (among the many areas to which he gave his contribution), has declared to be mostly stricken by the status of the Left – rather than by the failure of multiculturalism that was advocated by the Right. In an interview to *The Guardian*, he claimed that the problem with the Left is that it has no ideas, no independent analysis of its own, and therefore no vision; "it has no sense of politics being educative, of politics changing the way people see things" (*The Guardian*, 10/02/12). This view is certainly more politically

[2] The media are often said to play a vital role in sustaining the political, economic and moral basis for marketing goods and imposing a profit-driven social order, something which some scholars regard as a process involving a form of invisible and symbolic violence exercised upon the society of consumers (Žižek 2008). This view appears confirmed by some of the interviews included in the *Reading the Riots* project: in fact, some of the rioters mentioned the pressure and 'hunger' for the right brand names, the right goods, like IPhones, BlackBerrys, laptops and designer clothes.

pessimistic than the one he held 30 years ago, when the 1980s riots occurred. The Labour Party should have inspired people, making a strong moral case out of the social unrest that shook Britain in the past decades. Instead, austerity programmes, the failures of multicultural policies and the absence of politics and of an inspiring Left, all met and merged in the 2011 riots. Further on this point, there are two central questions that, according to Hall (*The Guardian*, 10/02/12), need to be stressed:

> First, nothing really has changed. Some kids at the bottom of the ladder are deeply alienated, they've taken the message of Thatcherism and Blairism and the coalition: what you have to do is hustle. Because nobody's going to help you. And they've got no organised political voice, no organised black voice and no sympathetic voice on the left. That kind of anger, coupled with no political expression, leads to riots. It always has. The second point is: where does this find expression in going into a store and stealing trainers? This is the point at which consumerism, which is the cutting edge of neoliberalism, has got to them too. Consumerism puts everyone into a single channel. You're not doing well, but you're still free to consume. We're all equal in the eyes of the market.

From this perspective, neoliberalism has affected and infected the way young people seem to respond to poverty, with its liberal views advocating support for economic liberalizations, free trade and open markets, privatization and deregulation to enhance the role of the private sector in contemporary society.

In the absence of an official government inquiry into the 2011 riots, the killing of Mark Duggan and the subsequent miscommunication between the MET and his family seems to have acted as a catalyst for the riots: it appeared to trigger memories of past injustices that ethnic minority groups have had to suffer because of a discriminatory justice system. Such perception was, indeed, supported by feelings of harassment, anger and frustration in relation to the MET's stop-and-search tactics, which are deemed to increasingly target minority communities: also according to government data, black people are far more likely to be stopped and searched than white people.[3] Hence, although it has been widely claimed that the 2011 riots were not 'race' riots – because they were not dominated by one ethnic group in particular – the Runnymede Trust stresses the need to be careful about dismissing race relations and inequalities and to further investigate the role played by them in the events (Nwabuzo 2012: 20). In fact, they consider the explanations given by the media, the MET and politicians themselves at best incomplete. This is the reasons why, in their report, they give voice to those who were directly involved in the riots, noting the ways in which racial

[3] Similarly, Asian people complain to have been subjected to a sort of persecution after the Terrorism Act legislation was adopted in the wake of the London bombings. See http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-24902389

injustice has acted as a driver for the riots. To this extent, they even quote the Scarman report, that highlighted the presence of problems of racial disadvantage at the heart of the disturbances; indeed, Lord Scarman stated that white people as well as black people contributed to the violence that erupted at the time, and recommended to tackle racial discrimination to prevent further outbursts in the future (Scarman 1981). In this view, they claim that unless the British society starts taking concerted action against racial inequalities, periods of financial austerity will always be at risk of sparking further disturbances in the near future.

In the aftermath of the civil unrest, according to the Runnymede Trust, the condemnation of the rioters' misdeeds was followed by some reluctance in understanding why it had happened. The Trust therefore launched a project, the *Runnymede Riot Roundtables Project*, bringing together young people and members of the local communities, activists, experts, researchers, local councillors and police officers, in the attempt to provide "an alternative narrative for why the civil disturbances occurred" (Nwabuzo 2012: 3).[4]

The first element on which the report concentrates is the emphasis given by politicians to gangs as the prime suspects in the disturbances. In a speech given to the House of Commons on August 11th, David Cameron emphasized that at the heart of all the violence sat the issue of the street gangs (Cameron 2011b); similarly, the Home Secretary Theresa May stated that gangs were obviously involved (Home Affairs Committee 2011). After the initial claims according to which as many as 28% of those arrested in London were gang members, the Home Office revised public figures on gang involvement to 19%, and dropped them to 13% countrywide (Home Office 2011: 5). Further investigation then suggested that, while gang members were certainly present in the disturbances, they did not orchestrate or control the riots. They actually suspended ordinary hostilities to fight with a common enemy, police. What researchers uncovered through their roundtables and interviews was that such a focus on gangs involvement in politicians' speeches and declarations was subliminally inflected with elements of a racialised discourse, since "not every black person is in a gang but every gang has a black person" (Nwabuzo 2012: 14). In other words, despite the fact that the term 'gang' can refer to both black and white people, it is not a racially neutral term; indeed, young black criminality is often associated with stereotypical images of gang membership (Sveinsson 2012).

[4] The project was carried out by adopting a variety of methods including roundtables (held in Birmingham, Bradford, Coventry, Croydon and Lewisham) and interviews with young researchers (trained in three research methods: focus groups, semi-structured interviews, and documentary photography), with the aim of offering a safe space for interviewees to be honest in their replies. The meetings and interviews were recorded and then transcribed by the Runnymede Trust.

The extensive coverage of the social unrest given by the mainstream media – together with the flow of information exchanged through social networks – has privileged some controversial representations of the rioters. In some cases, a narrative demonizing black culture (and Jamaican culture in particular) was voiced, foregrounding racial connotations. Many commentators have traced a direct line from Margaret Thatcher's infamous remarks about (white British) people fearing being 'swamped by an alien culture' (in the run-up to the 1979 elections) to the royalist and conservative historian David Starkey's claims about the 2011 riots being partially the result of white youths becoming black. In an interview appeared on *Newsnight* (12/08/11), he stated that "a particular sort of violent, destructive, nihilistic gangster culture has become the fashion, and black and white boys and girls operate in this language together." He then went on clarifying what he meant by 'this language': "This language which is wholly false, which is this Jamaican patois that has been intruded in England and that is why so many of us have this sense of a foreign country."[5] While linking the riots to the way some *young* people may choose to speak – tackling the whole question again in terms of 'us' and 'them' – he further stresses the fact that it is not about skin colour, it is about culture: white people having adopted a black culture, then overtly relating black culture to criminality and gangs. Despite the large number of critics reckoning his generalizations were offensive and based on no evidence, others have also identified black culture and its main forms of expression as a cause for the riots. From the pages of the *Daily Mirror*, for instance, journalist and political correspondent Paul Routledge blamed "the pernicious culture of hatred around rap music, which glorifies violence and loathing of authority (especially the police but including parents), exalts trashy materialism and raves about drugs" (*Daily Mirror* 10/08/11). Rap music was thus blamed for encouraging violence in general and, in particular, the unrest that erupted in August 2011.[6]

Such essentialist positions around (black) culture seem to explicitly entail racist ideologies that are conveyed through dominant discourses on race and crime, adopting a paradigm that continues to code cultural difference along 'biological race' lines (Gilroy 2004b). Biological determinism and an unchanging idea of the nation state have always fuelled anxiety and fears over the difficulties and controversies involved in maintaining a cultural and biological purity in response to the unsettling effects of everyday encounters with difference. In Gilroy's words (1995: 4):

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[5] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-14513517

[6] In other words, even the mere focus on rap music and gang culture seemed to have been subliminally inflected with elements of racialised discourses.

> [t]hough it is seldom openly acknowledged, […] in Europe these telling arguments over culture and difference and the relationship of nationality to power and history re-animate the lingering after-images of the colonial and imperial past. The residual significance of these fading outlines on the retina of the national imaginary is signalled by too many sullen responses to the supposedly disruptive presence of post-colonial peoples at the conflictual core of metropolitan social life. For critics and other brave souls prepared to navigate the roughest waters of contemporary cultural politics, that half-forgotten imperial history is still present and potent, though it remains latent, mostly unseen, like rocks beneath the surface of the sea.

Today's conflicts and diseases within society seem to be deeply connected to dormant calls and invocations for purity that are intertwined with a patriotic rhetoric promoting sameness.

Despite – or maybe because of – the complexity of such hot and tricky questions, according to the Runnymede Trust report, as the riots spread "the media coverage shifted away from issues around race and the police and focused on the looting and criminal aspects of the disturbances", thus maximising the divide between the law-abiding people and the criminal looters (Nwabuzo 2012: 15). Several commentators have suggested that the riots were a symptom of the fact that there was something really wrong in the British society, if rioters smashed their own communities and neighbourhoods. After the 1980s Brixton riots, the country had hoped for a regeneration of the most deprived areas (not only in London but also in other cities across England) and a reappraisal of police especially in black communities. Unfortunately, two decades later, in 2001, many of the same issues were mentioned again in the official report on the riots that occurred in Bradford, Oldham and Burnley.[7] Indeed, the Cantle report (that was commissioned by the Home Secretary, at the time David Blunkett, after the riots, and written by the former chief executive of Nottingham City Council, Ted Cantle) found that some regeneration schemes had actually made the situation worse – forcing communities to compete against each other, which generated further anger and resentment based on a polarisation of segregated communities. The report shed light on the fact that, in many cases, people never mixed with communities of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, thus living parallel lives. In this view, Cantle explicitly urged politicians, community leaders and the media to promote a meaningful concept of citizenship (Cantle 2001) to break all forms of segregation and encourage community cohesion. However, such hints were not taken since, still in 2011, the British society proved to suffer from some kind of *malaise* deriving from unsolved problems.

[7] The Bradford riots occurred in July 2001 as a result of the tensions between the large and growing British Asian community and the white majority, which escalated in harsh clashes between the Anti-Nazi League and far right groups like the British National Party and the National Front.

While acknowledging the different viewpoints emerging on such an intricate and sensitive topic, also accepting the assumption according to which the extent of the criminal damage and the violence that erupted made it difficult to spot the causes behind the disturbances, it is worth noting that the general public saw the incidents through the lens provided by the media. Chapter Five of this dissertation provides detailed corpus findings on the main construals of the participants to the 2011 riots as emerging from the newspapers under investigation. Whether or not the 'race' issue was too quickly dismissed, there are indisputable factors relating to ethnicity and social disadvantage among the reasons why the riots sparked, which partly concern the fact that a black man was killed by police and partly concern the fact that the riots took place in areas where there was a majority of ethnic groups and a strong sense of harassment by the police (with black people being thirty times more likely to be stopped and searched by the MET).[8]

In the wake of such factors, another important point emerging from the report should also be noted: the links between the riots and the wider social inequalities were not thoroughly explored, at least by the great majority of the politicians and the media, with the exception of those holding more liberal views, who expectedly encouraged a more in-depth analysis of the events and the reasons that led to them. To such extent, it is worth mentioning the left-leaning newspaper *The Guardian* (whose sociological enquiry *Reading the Riots* will be introduced in the next paragraph) and, within the national debate, the Labour Opposition leader Ed Miliband who argued that "both culture and deprivation matter. To explain is not to excuse. But to refuse to explain is to condemn to repeat" (Miliband 2011).

3.3 *The Guardian*/LSE's sociological study: *Reading the Riots*

Since, unlike the 1980s riots, there was no Scarman-style inquiry into the causes of the 2011 events, a series of gaps actually remained in the public understanding of the disturbances, which led *The Guardian* and the Social Policy Department of the London School of Economics (LSE) to carry out a sociological investigation into the rioters' motivations. As a unique collaboration between a newspaper and a university, the aim of the *Reading the Riots* study – that was defined as a landmark study – was to conduct high-quality social research, affecting the public and the political debate on the motivations of those who rioted, contributing with "solid evidence" to amend the existing information gap (Newburn *et al.* 2011: 8). More specifically, it is the only study into the riots to include almost 600 in-depth

[8] Data from the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) reported by *The Guardian* - http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/jun/12/police-stop-and-search-black-people

interviews with people who had personal experiences in the disturbances and their aftermath. Above all, the project tries to leave nobody unheard, drawing on perspectives from all sides, ranging from people who ransacked department stores and shops, to victims who lost their homes, and police officers who risked their lives in the clashes. In its attempt to explain why the civil disorder spread across England, it was inspired by a study on the Detroit riots that occurred in 1967 in the United States, involving the *Detroit Free Press* newspaper and the Michigan's Institute for Social Research.

Among the first elements to be uncovered was the view according to which the immediate and strict moralism that characterised most of the media and political positions on the 2011 UK riots – and that described rioters and looters as 'scum' – almost left no space for a meaningful political debate on the causes of the events. However, as Mary Evans (centennial professor in gender studies at the LSE) has highlighted:

> Thinking about causes is an idea that seems to be vanishing out of the collective consciousness of many in the media and politics. There is not much dispute that people should not have to jump for their lives from burning buildings or that people should not steal. That is the easy bit. It is doing the difficult thing – and being prepared to think about why these things happened – that seems to have vanished. […] Refusing the possibility of explanation, let alone understanding, empties politics of everything except a crude form of moralism. This moralism can only see the world and its inhabitants as good or evil, the 'scum' who need to be swept from the street […]. Suddenly a whole new kind of sub-human person is created: a person whose greed or anger or avarice takes on a uniquely dangerous social form. Conflating our general fears with political rhetoric that denies legitimacy to effective dissent causes us to neglect identifying the causes of things and ignore connections and continuities within the social world (LSE Public Policy Group 2012: 6).

In this view, an in-depth investigation into the motivations of the rioters' (mis)deeds seemed not only desirable but also necessary to avoid easy judgements and widespread hysteria.

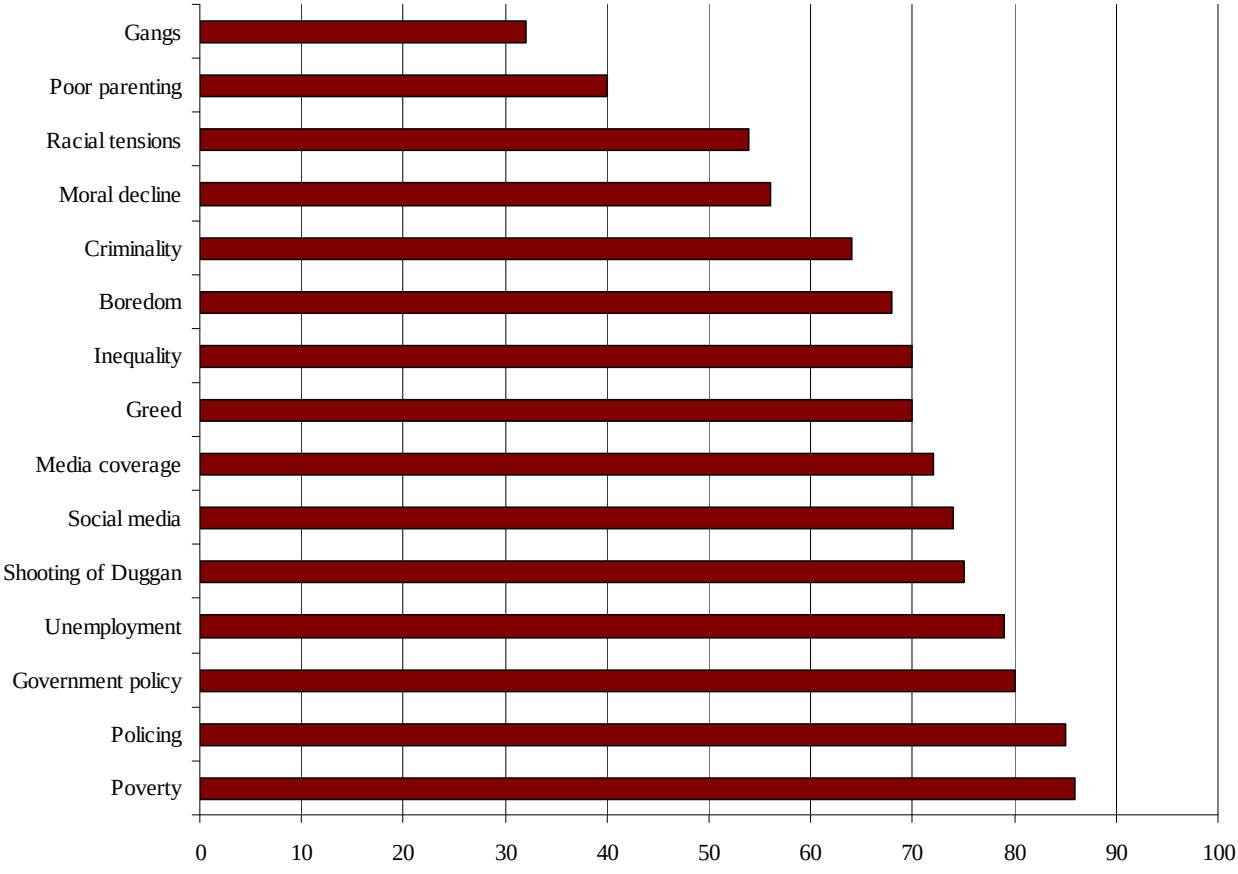
The *Reading the Riots* study began with confidential interviews with 270 people who were directly involved in the riots and were therefore responsible for the disorders in London, Birmingham, Nottingham, Manchester, Salford, Liverpool. In more details, 79% of the interviewees were male and 21% female, almost 30% were juveniles aged between 10 and 17, while 49% were aged 18-25. In terms of self-identified ethnicity, 47% were black, 26% were white, 17% mixed race or other, and 5% Asian. Given this sample of rioters, qualitative interviews were carried out especially in the communities – in a variety of locations, from homes and youth clubs to cafes and fast food restaurants – and a small number of cases in prison (when the interviewed people were convicted of riot-related offences).

In the first phase, that was completed in three months and published in December 2011, a qualitative framework was adopted, involving in-depth, free-flowing interviews with people who had been involved in the riots. Researchers were recruited on the basis of their skills in interviewing and good links with the communities that were affected by the riots; the selected team of 30 researchers were then trained in September and spent October in the interviewing process. Since in the initial phase the focus was on people who had engaged in violence, looting, arson, and attacks on the police, interviewers had to face the difficult task to "persuade potential interviewees that is was valuable and safe to talk about their experiences", and the task was even more challenging considering that the police were still making arrests and raids, so concern about anonymity was very high. The second phase (published in July 2012) involved more than 300 interviews with a variety of people affected by the riots, including 130 police officers, court officials, magistrates, 30 defence lawyers, 25 Crown Prosecution Service lawyers, and judges. Interviews were facilitated by police forces who either selected candidates for the study or offered their staff a chance to participate in the project. They were all granted the option of anonymity and encouraged to speak freely (although a MET press officer was required to be present during interviews). Additionally, 40 victims who had lost their businesses or homes were also interviewed as part of the research.

Interviewers had to follow a specific methodological approach: they were given a topic guide covering the main themes that had to be tackled with interviewees, finding out "how people first heard about the riots, how they became involved, how they communicated, what they did, why they thought the riots stopped and how they felt about their actions" (Newburn *et al.* 2011: 11). The questions, that were deliberately neutral, tended to last about 45 minutes, and provided first-person accounts of the respondents' experiences and viewpoints. Interviewees were also asked survey-style questions dealing, for instance, with their thoughts on the civil disorder and their attitudes towards police. All interviews were recorded, transcribed and stored in a database, resulting in more than 1.3m words collected. In November, a team of five researchers recruited at the LSE began the analysis of the qualitative data. The analytical team held a view according to which the key themes should be allowed to emerge directly from the data. So each transcript was read (by more than one analyst) and coded after its main themes and sub-themes could be identified and evidenced. The relationships between the many themes were constantly updated and displayed on a thematic map document providing the analytical team with a larger, overall picture.

What emerged most strongly from the interviews held during the first phase is that the civil unrest mainly spread as a result of the long-burning frustration and anger with police.

The findings revealed that 85% of the 270 interviewees said policing was an important or very important factor in why the rioting happened, considering the shooting of Duggan as a symbol of the most extreme point of a range of unjust and brutal treatments to which people perceived to be generally subjected by police: lack of respect, a sense of harassment and of being unfairly targeted by stop-and-search tactics, usually in aggressive and discourteous manners, were common experiences that the interviewees reported and complained about. Such a view was reflected by a widely-shared opinion among the respondents, claiming that "the police is the biggest gang out there" (Newburn *et al.* 2011: 18). They felt police officers often used their powers to intimidate members of the public, which led to deep-seated antipathy and hate towards them. Especially black interviewees mentioned a sense of longstanding mistrust deriving from the several incidents of black people dying in custody or during police raids. Apart from the 'racial' aspects, what the rioters primarily talked about was a sense of injustice: for some it was economic injustice (the lack of jobs, money and material things in general), for others it was a social injustice (the way they felt they were treated compared to others).



Graph 3.1 – Causes of the riots as emerging from the *Reading the Riots* interviews

Indeed, despite the fact that many rioters admitted their involvement in the looting was motivated by sheer opportunism – and the suspension of 'normal rules' was felt as a chance to acquire goods they could not otherwise afford – the inquiry has also suggested that the rioters were generally very poor, 59% of them coming from the most deprived areas in the UK (Newburn *et al.* 2011: 14).[9] In this view, the shooting of Duggan was described as the mere trigger of the social unrest, which was actually hiding other motivations concerning inequalities and social disadvantages. Among the other reasons to riot, interviewees also mentioned the increase in tuition fees, the closure of youth services and the cancelation of the education maintenance allowance (EMA), which were all perceived as social and economic injustices. As a group, the rioters felt dislocated from the opportunities that they saw as available to others (Newburn *et al.* 2011: 25) – something which seems to recall Bauman's analysis of the rioters as flawed consumers. In areas where more than half of the youth centres were closed, with rising rates of youth unemployment and repeated negative experiences with police, many young people expressed a profound sense of alienation, the majority of them stating that they barely felt part of the British society which, indeed, had nothing to offer them.

Amid so much hopelessness and dislocation, it is not surprising that 81% of those interviewed thought that riots would happen again – 63% of them said in their opinion more riots would occur within three years. The gravity of the events and the findings emerging from the reports and investigations that are currently available have encouraged a series of debates and discussions, both at local and national level, on the several themes and topics associated to the riots and deserving some careful thoughts. According to some commentators, for example:

> MPs and government ministers need to take some deeper-lying lessons of the riots to heart. Governance is difficult and needs to be taken seriously. All of modern society relies on the effective operations of the state, with the consent of the governed. Once the state is enfeebled or consent is withdrawn, by any significant group, the costs and risks of governing rise at an exponential rate (LSE Public Policy Group 2012: 3).

The collapse of public order across England has shown how critical governance can be when neglect and inattention prevail. If government relies on the active consent of the governed, then many 'public servants' should probably demonstrate a higher degree of committedness in their occupations and need to recognise that they operate on fine margins. As Patrick

[9] The data emerging from the *Reading the Riots* study concerning this issue are slightly lower than those provided by the figures of the Ministry of Justice, according to which 64% of the rioters came from the poorest fifth of areas, while only 3% came from the richest fifth.

Dunleavy (professor of Political Science and Public Policy at the LSE) has noted, “they need to start listening harder to messages they are disinclined to hear” (LSE Public Policy Group 2012: 4).

4. Corpus Description and Methodology

Studies of language are usually divided into two main areas of interest: structure and use. Studies of structure aim at identifying the structural units of a language (morphemes, words, phrases), that can then form larger grammatical units. Studies of use tend to examine how speakers and writers employ and exploit the resources of their language. So rather than looking at what is theoretically possible in a language, in this case all focus is on the actual language used in naturally occurring texts (Biber *et al.* 1999: 1). Such perspective is specifically adopted in the present dissertation, which follows the methodological patterns suggested by corpus linguistics and corpus-based analysis. In particular, this chapter describes the criteria and parameters employed to collect the data on which the work is based – offering an overview of what a corpus is and of the basic principles and features of corpus linguistics – while presenting the methodology used throughout the research.

4.1 What is a corpus?

Starting from one of the best-known definitions, a corpus can be described as "a large collection of authentic texts that have been gathered in electronic form according to a specific set of criteria" (Bowker and Pearson 2002: 9) to do linguistic research, usually making extensive use of computer technology. The processing and analysis of a corpus are central steps in various branches of linguistics, foremost among them is corpus linguistics. Generally speaking, corpus linguistics is "the study of language based on examples of 'real life' language use" (McEnery and Wilson 1996: 1). Such examples provide interesting insights into the ways in which language constructs discourses as well as reality, by pinpointing topical areas for subsequent analysis, to investigate how people use language (Baker 2006). Therefore, "[i]n the same way that a scientist may test a new drug on a smaller, representative sample of a population, corpus linguists test out or discover linguistic theories by collecting a smaller, representative sample of language" (Baker *et al.* 2013: 25). That 'sample of language' is a corpus (Latin for *body*).

There are four basic characteristics that a corpus should feature and that relate to the previously mentioned definition. Firstly, texts have to be authentic, namely examples of real,

genuine and naturally-occurring communication. Secondly they need to be in electronic form to be then processed by a computer (which gives the additional advantage of being consulted more quickly than printed texts). This leads to the third typical aspect of corpora, *i.e.* their size: indeed, technology makes it easier to compile large corpora comprising a greater number of texts than it would be possible in printed form. Finally, far from being a random collection of texts, a corpus follows specific and explicit criteria (depending on the purposes of the study) in order to be regarded as a representative sample of a particular language or discourse.

However, different definitions of what a corpus is can be said to emphasize the different aspects to be taken into account. McEnery and Wilson (1996: 87), for instance, mostly focus on representativeness, and describe a corpus as "a body of texts which is carefully sampled to be maximally representative of a language or language variety" (aware of the fact that representativeness can be difficult to evaluate and always depends on what the corpus is used for). Indeed, the appropriate design of a corpus strictly depends on what it is meant to represent, and its representativeness determines not only the research questions that can be addressed, but also the generalisability of the final results.

Another important issue in corpus design is the size, which relates to the number of words and texts. The size of the corpus to investigate deserves some attention in order to provide a reliable overview of the linguistic features that characterize language in general or specific language variations. Analysts usually attempt to create a balanced corpus, since the larger and better-balanced the corpus is, the more confident they can be when generalizing their findings.

To this extent, the kind of texts to be included in the corpus should also be clarified. Corpora can be heterogeneric (general reference corpora) – if they contain many different kinds of texts and are meant to be representative of the language in question as a whole – or they can be monogeneric – if they exclusively comprise one particular text-type and are intended to study a specific type of discourse (special purpose corpus), such as press discourse, political discourse, legal discourse, and so forth. The former need to be very large (millions or even billions of words in size), they provide extensive information about the grammar and lexis of languages, and their compilation, that is very complex, extremely expensive, and it is usually carried out by institutions or universities. The latter, on the other hand, are created by individual researchers because they are relatively easy to compile according to the researchers' specific interests. When studying discourse with monogeneric corpora, a comparison with another corpus is usually advisable; in fact, only by comparing the

choices made in a certain kind of discourse with those that are detected in the other – reference – corpus, the meaningfulness of such choices can be detected.

Moreover, corpora can be distinguished on the basis of two further features: whether they are monolingual or multilingual (the former containing texts in a single language, the latter containing texts in two or more languages) and whether they are synchronic or diachronic (a synchronic corpus presents language use during a limited time frame, while a diachronic corpus is used to study how language has evolved over a long period of time) (Bowker and Pearson 2002: 11-12).

After compiling a corpus, the investigation can take place by employing corpus analysis tools, which usually have two main characteristics: generating word lists and generating concordances. In recent years, the analysis of corpus data has been increasingly carried out by using concordancing packages, which have proved very useful in the investigation of word frequencies, word associations, lexical patterns, and so forth. Some of the best-known programs are *Wordsmith Tools* (Scott 2008), *AntConc* (Anthony 2010), and *MonoConc Pro* (Barlow 2000), which – with different user interfaces and specific functions – offer the possibility to search the instances of a given word (keyword) through data and see the surrounding context (keyword in context concordance).

Apart from looking for single lexical or grammatical items, corpora allow the investigation of linguistic characteristics that extend across clause boundaries and whose functions are to be understood in larger discourse contexts. However, in the past, discourse studies have generally not been corpus-based for a series of reasons: firstly and mostly, discourse features can be hardly identified automatically since they require detailed consideration of a larger textual context (and sometimes even some background knowledge).

In addition to the layers of analysis concerning lexical, grammatical, and discourse features, register variation also constitutes another central area of interest for researchers, where the term ‘register’ is used “as a cover term for varieties defined by their situational characteristics” (Biber *et al.* 1999: 135). Registers can be defined according to their situations of use (on the basis of their purpose, topic, setting, mode, etc.), the choices that speakers make from the total meaning potential that a language puts at their disposal for realizing meanings. Each register tends to feature typical wordings, namely very specific linguistic characteristics which appear difficult to identify without a corpus-based analysis. So corpus-based techniques do make it easy to understand how language varies in connection to different purposes in different situations, which is central in all register and linguistic analyses.

Working with corpora then seems to take advantage of a series of factors that imply some characterizing features:

- analysis is empirical, in the sense that it is based on computational tools;
- analysis is based on the use of large collections of natural texts (corpora) which give extensive information about language use;
- the use of computers allows the storage of large databases and programs for automatic analysis;
- quantitative and qualitative techniques contribute to a comprehensive investigation; as a matter of fact, corpus-based analyses do not merely count linguistic features, since it is essential to include a qualitative dimension to provide explanation, exemplification and interpretation.[1]

Design and collection of corpus data are two fundamental steps in the research process. Once the corpus has been collected, the way in which it is analyzed can vary significantly. Therefore, before going into details of the analysis itself, the next paragraphs of this chapter will focus on the process of data collection for the corpus under investigation (with a qualitative description of the corpus), giving an overview of articles distribution while also dealing with corpus annotation and all the procedures carried out to make the data more comparable and suitable for computational analysis tools.

4.2 Corpus design and data collection

Media offer huge materials to build a corpus, so when working with media discourse, the problem might be to narrow down the field of research. After defining the kind of media language of interest for this project (the language of the press) and the specific event (the 2011 UK riots), the outlet to be investigated was also identified: daily national newspapers exclusively published in the UK, since the disturbances were regarded as extremely relevant for the country. Print newspapers, in particular, were chosen on the assumption that they can be said to still play a pivotal role in shaping public opinions and beliefs as well as setting agendas concerning the importance and relevance of certain topics within the country (despite the undeniable and constantly growing presence and influence of online journalism).

[1] Paragraph 4.4 gives a more detailed overview of the methodological approach of Corpus Linguistics. Biber *et al.* (1999) have explicitly emphasized the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of corpus-based approaches. In more recent times, Baker and the Lancaster-based group of scholars have further developed this approach into what is called ‘corpus-based discourse analysis’, on which sub-paragraph 4.4.1 is focused.

Due to the high number of papers present in Great Britain and invariably corresponding to these criteria, six newspapers were then selected, three representative of the so-called quality press – namely *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph* and *The Times* together with their Sunday editions, respectively *The Observer*, *The Sunday Telegraph*, *The Sunday Times* – in addition to three papers representative of the so-called popular press – namely the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror*, and *The Sun*, with their Sunday editions, respectively the *Mail on Sunday*, the *Sunday Mirror* and *News of the World*. This selection can be actually explained by looking at the data concerning the national daily circulation of British newspapers in August 2011.[2] As evident from Table 4.1, out of the first five daily newspapers – that can be deemed to belong to the popular press (apart from their being middle market, as in the case of the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express*, or down market, as in the case of *The Sun*, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Star*) – the first three featuring the highest figures were chosen for inclusion in the corpus. Similarly, with the quality press (to which the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Times*, *The Guardian*, and *The Independent* can be said to belong), the three newspapers with the highest circulation figures were selected.[3]

Daily newspapers		**Sunday newspapers**	
The Sun	2,795,601	*News of the World*[4]	
Daily Mail	2,063,738	*Mail on Sunday*	2,098,244
Daily Mirror	1,174,924	*Sunday Mirror*	1,900,460
Daily Star	703,218	*Daily Star Sunday*	744,981
Daily Express	629,764	*Sunday Express*	1,011,385
The Daily Telegraph	632,070	*The Sunday Telegraph*	499,612
The Times	449,938	*The Sunday Times*	1,011,385
The Guardian	241,287	*The Observer*	274,304
The Independent	180,470	*Independent on Sunday*	164,518

Table 4.1 – National newspapers circulation in August 2011

In terms of political affiliation, British newspapers are well known to be explicitly partial, since they have always declared allegiance to specific political parties and urged their readers to comply with their views. However, in recent times, the political scenario has become more and more problematic, something which has led some papers to avoid being blindly loyal to

[2] Data were provided by ABC and derived from http://www.theguardian.com/media/page/2011/feb/11/1

[3] The list of quality newspapers also included the *Financial Times* (with 331,883 copies), which was not taken into account due to its specific focus on finance, business and economic news.

[4] Circulation figures for *News of the World* are not provided because it was closed on 7th July 2011.

one single party, despite their political positions. Consequently, the terms 'left' and 'right' appear increasingly complex and multifaceted: while still indicating the broad stance, they also need to acknowledge the fact that within a newspaper some columnists may express antagonist views or may hold differing views on different subject matters. Therefore, the terms 'right-leaning' and 'left-leaning' – rather than 'right-wing' and 'left-wing' – seem more appropriate to suggest that newspapers do not necessarily occupy extreme political positions (Baker *et al.* 2013: 8). Such terms will be also adopted to describe the affiliation of the papers investigated by this study. As a matter of fact, both the quality and popular newspapers included in the corpus have different political orientations: *The Telegraph*, *The Times*, the *Daily Mail* and *The Sun* have traditionally featured a conservative editorial stance, while *The Guardian* and the *Daily Mirror* have usually supported the Labour Party and more liberal views.

After having identified the genre of press news, for the collection of the articles to be included in the corpus the categorization proposed by Bell (1991) was followed:

1) hard news, referring to reports of accidents, conflicts, crimes and disasters;
2) features (or soft news), providing some background and deeper explanations on the events reported in hard news;
3) special topic news, dealing with sports, arts, business, etc.;
4) headlines and photo captions.

The articles included in the corpus are reports, features, editorials (expressing the newspaper's stance and position), and op-eds (opposite the editorial page) (Franklin 2008), while letters were left out since they express the readers' opinions and views on the riots rather than the newspapers' portrayal of the events, which is not the scope of this investigation. The corpus collected for this study consists of 1,690 articles with a total number of 1,112,471 running words. The newspaper articles were gathered over a time-span ranging from August 1st (although the first articles were published on the 7th) to December 31st, 2011: since the riots occurred between 6th and 10th August, the corpus is meant to cover the first five months soon after the events, which can be regarded as the most salient period for press coverage.

The web-archive LexisNexis[5] was used to retrieve the data by searching for the keyword 'riots' in the aforementioned newspapers (when it appeared within the document

[5] LexisNexis provides access to billions of documents and records drawing on more than 45,000 legal, news and business sources. Users can download all the articles stored by selecting a specific criterion for the search (date, source, keyword, etc.) - www.lexisnexis.com - and they can choose the format in which to have the files delivered (.doc, .txt, etc.).

headline or lead paragraph) over that specific time period.[6] However, since articles dealing with other kinds of riots taking place all over the world were also brought up among the results, a further 'refinement' of data was carried out, manually inspecting the articles, in order to make sure that only the articles dealing with the 2011 UK riots were included in the corpus, and to eliminate double articles so to have reliable figures on which to base a faithful analysis.

The corpus thus obtained can be considered as a specialized corpus, built with the aim of investigating the ways in which the British press has reported the events connected to the 2011 UK riots (so its size is not the most relevant parameter to take into account). As Baker points out, "[o]ne consideration when building a specialized corpus in order to investigate the discursive construction of a particular subject is perhaps not so much the size of the corpus, but how often we would expect to find that subject mentioned within it" (2006: 28). As a consequence, when we are interested in investigating a particular subject "the quality or content of data takes equal or more precedence over issues of quantity" (Baker 2006: 29). This view was also supported by Sinclair (2001: xi) who, despite his work in developing the largest corpus currently available – the Bank of English, stresses the fact that a small corpus can still be regarded as a body of relevant and reliable evidence for the study of a particular register.

Once downloaded, the articles were saved in .txt format to be processed by a software tool. The software tool employed for corpus investigation was *Wordsmith Tools 5* (Scott 2008).[7]

Tables 4.2 and 4.3 provide detailed information on the corpus as well as on articles distribution in relation to time-span in each newspaper. More specifically, Table 4.2 shows the number of articles and tokens per newspaper (newspapers are listed by number of tokens, also comprising their Sunday editions), with the additional indication of the average number of tokens in articles.

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[6] LexisNexis also gave the possibility to add some index terms to further locate my documents within specific topics (narrowing results) or within an entire subject (broadening results). In this case, the index terms I added were: crime, government, economy, labour, population, safety, society, law, humanities.

[7] *Wordsmith Tools* is a programme package for linguistic analysis that is widely used in corpus linguistics. It was developed by Mike Scott and first released in 1996. It includes three modules: *WordList* (listing all the words that are included in a corpus with the corresponding statistical data), *Concord* (creating concordances, finding instances of a word or a phrase), *KeyWord* (creating a list of all the salient words that occur more frequently and more significantly in one corpus in comparison to another that is taken as a reference corpus). http://www.lexically.net/wordsmith/

Newspaper	No. Articles	No. Tokens	Av. article length in tokens
Guardian	441	398,189	903
Telegraph	396	232,944	588
Times	215	203,821	948
Daily Mail	121	103,865	858
Sun	352	103,270	293
Daily Mirror	165	70,382	427

Table 4.2 – Corpus description by number of articles and tokens

As evident, *The Guardian* features the highest number of articles and tokens, which signals, in itself, a special attention given by this particular paper to the events. Within the quality press, both *The Times* and *The Guardian* differentiate themselves in comparison to *The Telegraph* since their articles are definitely longer than those of the latter, despite the fact that the number of articles is significantly lower in the case of *The Times* and not so dissimilar in the case of *The Guardian*. As for the popular press, although *The Sun* features the highest number of articles if compared to the other newspapers, its articles are considerably shorter than the others (especially the articles published by the *Daily Mail*).

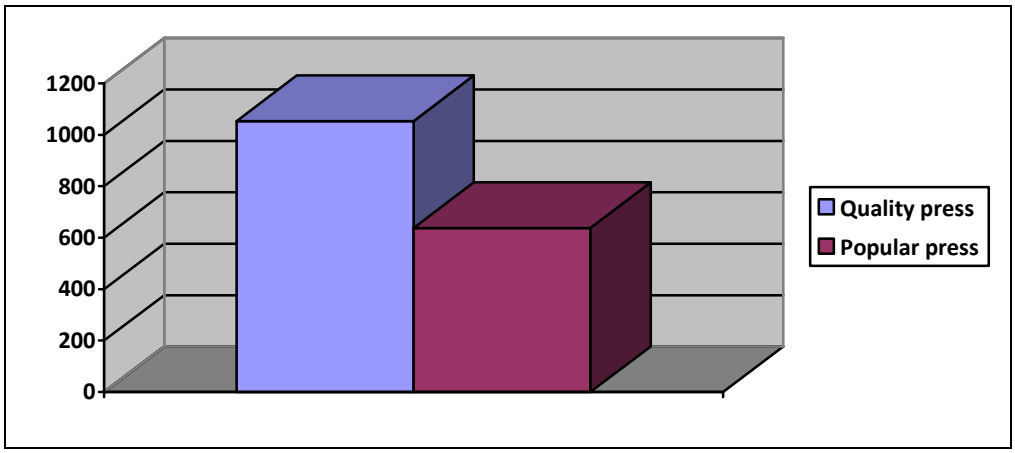
Table 4.3 offers an in-depth overview of the exact distribution of articles over the different months (so data are chronologically ordered).

	Daily Mail	***Daily Mirror***	***Guardian***	***Sun***	***Telegraph***	***Times***	**TOTAL**
Aug. 2011	79	108	296	190	248	128	1049
Sept. 2011	29	33	50	57	51	37	257
Oct. 2011	7	10	17	41	32	19	126
Nov. 2011	3	3	17	30	26	16	95
Dec. 2011	3	11	61	34	39	15	163
TOTAL	121	165	441	352	396	215	1690

Table 4.3 – Articles distribution in each newspaper in different months

As expected, there is a substantial concentration of articles in August 2011, when the riots occurred. After August, numbers tend to invariably decrease in all newspapers, with an interesting peak in December, especially as far as *The Guardian* is concerned (although figures are slightly higher in December also for the other newspapers). Such discrepancy can be actually explained by the fact that, on December 5th, *The Guardian* started publishing a special section called *Reading the Riots. Investigating England's Summer of Disorder*, the

first empirical and sociological study realized by a newspaper in collaboration with the London School of Economics into what was defined as the most serious civil unrest in a generation.[8] By bringing together a team of academic and experts, combining quantitative and qualitative research methods, *The Guardian Reading the Riots* explicitly addresses those involved in the disturbances and those affected by them, urging policy responses based on evidence rather than conjecture.[9] The publication of such findings generated a considerable debate among all the newspapers, which consequently discussed the research either giving credit to its analysis and conclusions or rejecting them by asserting differing views and positions, thus invariably increasing the amount of articles published on the issue.



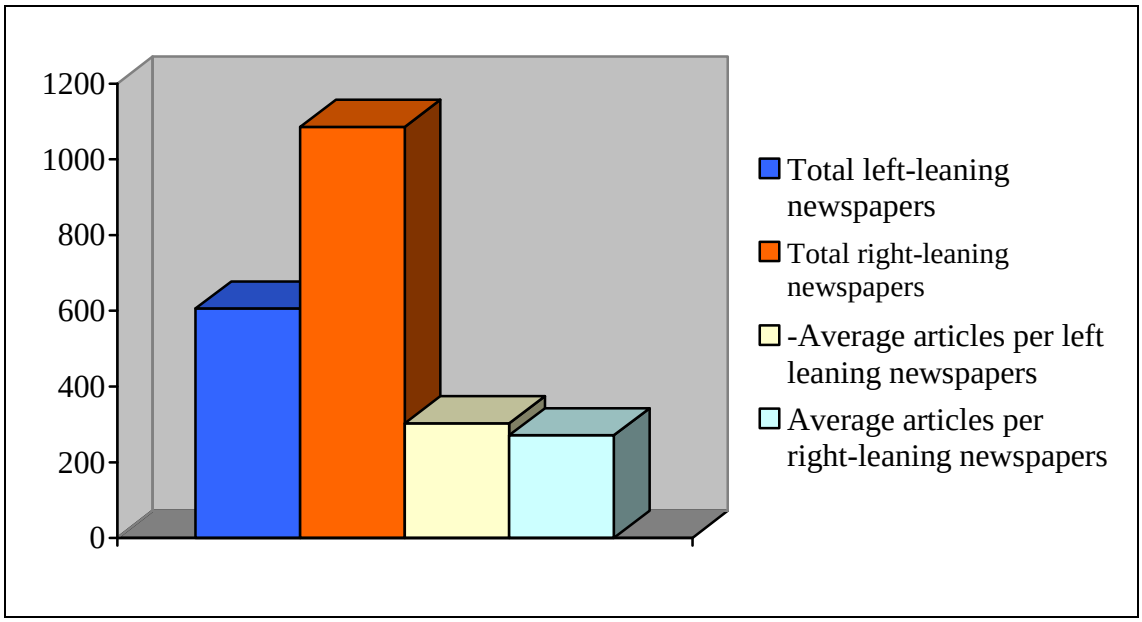
Graph 4.1 – Articles in quality vs. popular press

Overall, as Graph 4.1 highlights, the number of articles published by the quality newspapers is considerably higher (1,052 articles) if compared to the number of articles published by popular papers (638), almost its double. This is in line with one of the main features of the quality press, which distinguishes itself for its in-depth and accurate reporting of home news, together with comprehensive coverage of social and political issues, something that the popular press is not expected to do.

[8] The study was supported by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and the Open Society Foundation, and it aimed at better understanding why the riots occurred and spread from Tottenham – north London – to other parts of the capital and cities across England. The project was modelled on a previous survey conducted in the aftermath of the Detroit riots 1967. The findings of the Detroit study (resulting from a collaboration between the Detroit Free Press newspaper and the Michigan's Institute for Social Research) challenged prevailing assumptions about the causes of the unrest. Further information is available at http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/sep/05/reading-riots-study-guardian-lse and http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/dec/05/reading-the-riots-methodology-explained

[9] Unlike previous riots, that were followed by government-commissioned inquiries and reviews, the government has resisted calls for a public inquiry into the August 2011 riots. The project *Reading the Riots* and its findings are further discussed in Chapter Three.

Graph 4.2 shows that the total number of articles published by right-leaning newspapers (1,084) is considerably higher if compared to those published by left-leaning papers (606). However, taking into account the fact that more right-leaning newspapers are actually included in the corpus, the average of articles published by each newspaper along the right/left-leaning cline can be of help to make data more comparable. What emerges from this process of abstraction, then, is a substantial balance (the average for right-leaning papers is 271, while for left-leaning papers is 303), showing that, despite total numbers, *The Guardian* and the *Daily Mirror* seem to have tackled the issue under investigation more extensively than the other (more numerous, right-leaning) newspapers.



Graph 4.2 – Articles in left-leaning vs. right-leaning newspapers

Moreover, despite the fact that a right-leaning orientation results as dominant, the corpus can still be said to be balanced because, to a large extent, it reflects the prevailing trends in the British press, which does not feature an equal distribution of newspapers according to their political orientations. Indeed, Baker *et al.* (2013: 9) underline that, broadly speaking, there is a majority of right-leaning newspapers in the United Kingdom (especially as far as popular papers are concerned).[10] So a balanced picture of the British press is offered by this study too.

The corpus thus assembled contains only words, rather than a combination of words and pictures which have, indeed, played an essential part in the portrayal of the events and the rioters themselves, helping readers to make sense of the news story. As a matter of fact, a

[10] For a categorisation of British newspapers see also http://www.world-newspapers.com/uk.html.

visual analysis is beyond the scope of this dissertation, although it could be part of future steps.

4.3 Annotating the corpus

In order to be computer-readable and to be investigated through software tools, a corpus needs annotation. According to Baker (2006: 38), employing some form of annotation scheme can be very useful to aid analysis and keep track of the structure of the corpus while adding extra, non-textual information to texts. Indeed, corpus annotation can be described as the practice of adding interpretative linguistic information to a corpus (Leech 2005), which appears as extremely valuable for the final findings.[11] There are two main forms of annotation called 'part-of-speech' (POS) tagging and 'mark-up', both of which were adopted for the annotation of the corpus under investigation.

With POS tagging, every lexical item or segment is assigned a tag, that is a label clarifying its grammatical status in the context in which it is used (namely determiner, noun, qualifier, and so on). The choice to include grammatical information for each word – so to have a grammatically tagged corpus – is relevant in many linguistic investigations when the analyst does not only search for words but looks for patterns and structures. Supposing the use of passive voice is to be investigated, with an uncoded corpus the analyst might start by searching any form of 'be' plus a word ending in '-en' or '-ed' (as in the instances 'was eaten', 'is given', 'was started'), but structures that are not passives would also fit the structure ('was green', 'is red'); even expanding the search, irregular passives would still miss (for example 'shown', 'kept', 'sold', 'torn') (Biber *et al.* 1999: 257). When a word is ambiguous, since it can be, for example, a noun and a verb (as in the case of 'deal'), taggers generally make use of probabilistic information; such information is based on previous accurately tagged corpora (in which all the tags were checked), with the probabilistic information telling the tagger how likely it is that a given word belongs to one class or another. Overall, all taggers focus on grammatical class information, although they tend to include different amounts of information, and some of them can also give syntactic information (identifying subjects, verbs, objects, etc.) as well as semantic information (annotating semantic features, like prosodic features in spoken corpora).

[11] In this regard, the debate over annotation should also be mentioned: if, according to Leech, annotation can be an added value, Sinclair (2004: 191) has defined it as a perilous activity affecting the integrity of texts (claiming that in corpus-driven linguistics you do not use pre-tagged texts, you process raw texts directly); not to mention Scott and Tribble (2006) who warned against the POS prison.

For the POS tagging of the corpus under investigation, the corpus query system *Sketch Engine* (Kilgarriff *et al.* 2004) was used. Working at the intersection between corpus and computational linguistics, *Sketch Engine* aims at offering an empiricist approach to the study of language by investigating large corpora (over 1 million words) in 52 languages through a number of features.[12] Apart from employing the corpora provided online on the platform, users can also create and use their own corpora from documents in a variety of formats, so the corpus collected for this study was actually uploaded for further analysis. It was then processed for annotation with part-of-speech and lemma information, which proved to be very useful since, by determining the word class of words and identifying their syntactic categories, the system gives the chance to focus, for instance, on the processes associated to some participants – subjects – by exclusively looking at verbs. Besides wordlists, collocation lists, and concordances, *Sketch Engine* offers corpus-derived summaries of a word's grammatical and collocational behaviour through word sketches (Kilgarriff *et al.* 2010). It retrieves the collocates of a node word and groups them according to the grammatical relations in which they occur (for example as subject/object of some collocates, as modifier or as modifying some other collocates, and so on). In other words, the system looks at the grammatical relations in which the words searched for participate, and it then provides a list of collocates for each grammatical relation – for instance, in the case of a verb: the subjects, objects, conjoined verbs, prepositions, adverbs. By clicking on the collocate, the context in which the node word and its collocate co-occur is also available.

With corpus markup, metadata and text classifications are added to give a structural representation of texts, therefore, the structural units of texts are indicated, for instance dates, place names, introductions, closing sequences, and many others according to the type of text. One of the tools for corpus markup is the eXtensible Markup Language (XML, chosen for the annotation of the corpus under investigation), a restricted version of the Standard Generalised Markup Language (SGML) that has been designed mainly for web documents.

The XML offers a set of rules for encoding documents in a format that is both human- and machine-readable, and it adds information to texts following a variety of parameters, among them: speaker identity, origins, sex, role, as well as (written or spoken) mode, text type, and so forth. There is a series of characters marking up an XML document, following simple syntactic rules. A markup string generally begins with the character '<' and ends with '>'. The characters between the start- and end-tags are content elements. For the purposes of this study, the tags added to the corpus concerned heading (<head>; </head>), by-line

[12] For a complete overview of *Sketch Engine*, see http://www.sketchengine.co.uk/.

(<byline>; </byline>), section (<div type>), publication date (<date value>), paragraphs (;). The corpus was tagged by employing Text Pad, a software for text-editing that facilitates complex text transformation and data processing, while supporting multiple searches and replacements.[13] Some further adjustments were also needed. On the one hand, information concerning the articles length, load date, language, captions and photographs was deleted since it was not relevant for the purposes of this corpus analysis. On the other hand, information regarding the section to which all the articles had been assigned by the newspapers was partially reformulated. Indeed, several labels were used to signal the section to which articles belonged, for example news, comment, opinion, leader, feature, business, sport, and so on. However, in order to uniform and align them into a reduced and more usable number of sections that could be valid for all the newspapers in the corpus, only the following labels were retained: news (hard news, business and sport), editorial (comprising leader/leading articles), feature, comment (comprising opinion, and articles bylined by a variety of editors, like political editors).

One last form of coding can be also seen in the ways in which the files comprised in the corpus were distributed and saved. Indeed, each newspaper constituted a sub-corpus, and within each sub-corpus three differing versions were created, grouping the articles individually (in chronological order, with file names featuring the month and day of publication), per month (with file names only displaying the month of publication) and in one single file comprising all the articles retrieved from the newspaper. This organization allowed multiple kinds of analysis according to the perspective to be adopted. For a diachronic analysis, for instance, the monthly subdivision could be useful in order to examine the potential differences in the use of a specific term over the time; for a contrastive analysis between newspapers, the single files containing all the articles seemed more functional.

Once these preliminary phases were over, the corpus was ready for analysis and investigation.

4.4 Methodology

Especially in the past, most linguistic research on media language as well as newspaper discourse adopted a CDA approach, carrying out a close analysis of a small number of texts which were deemed to offer significant insights into questions of ideology and power. However, the arbitrary selection of the texts to be analysed was, indeed, one of the main

[13] The software can be easily (and freely) downloaded from the website http://www.textpad.com/.

reasons for criticism, since it resulted in findings that seemed less representative and less generalizable. In more recent years, another approach has gained increasing popularity: corpus analysis.

Generally speaking, the advantages of a corpus approach when carrying out CDA concern, in the first place, the fact that larger amounts of data make the findings more credible than those based on a limited number of examples; by pinpointing emerging patterns with keywords, collocates and concordances, it still allows the uncovering of hidden ideologies in media texts. Therefore, a much more detailed picture of the emerging linguistic phenomena can be obtained, especially when media (newspaper) language is involved. Indeed, as Fairclough (1989: 54) notes, "[a] single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth". Despite the fact that most British newspapers make no attempt to be unbiased, more or less explicitly revealing their stances (via the amount of coverage given to particular events, their editorials, the selective publication of readers' letters, or their language choices as far as collocations and colligations are concerned), there is also a great deal of ideological burden that goes unnoticed and that works through the unconscious and subtle repetition of the dominant mental schema that Fairclough talks about. A corpus analysis of large numbers of texts can identify such repetitions and their strategies to position readers. As a matter of fact, newspapers constantly make decisions concerning the ways of writing about a specific topic, they opt for one particular wording (triggering some shared evaluative or connotative meanings) out of a potentially infinite set of choices, thus affecting their readership by producing specific discourses or helping to reshape existing ones. For the average reader, uncovering the extent to which an article is biased is certainly not an easy task. While processing and understanding the discourse, and in order for the discourse to signify, the reader " has to take on board the paradigms and stereotypes that are implied" (Fowler 1991: 232).[14] Therefore, "a corpus analysis will allow us to see which choices are privileged, giving evidence for mainstream, popular or entrenched ways of thinking" (Baker *et al.* 2013: 25).

Although corpora serve many different purposes depending on the fields in which they are used, generally speaking, two methods to analyse them can be recognized, and they are usually referred to as *corpus-based* and *corpus-driven*. When adopting a corpus-driven approach, the researcher approaches his analysis with no pre-existing intuitions, whereas, with

[14] So newspapers can be said to construct readers but, at the same time, readers have no passive role since meaning is created from the interaction between texts and readers (McIlvenny 1996); in this view, decades ago, Hall (1980) proposed the significant notion of 'resistant readers'.

a corpus-based approach, the researcher moves from his presuppositions and uses corpus analysis to confirm or eventually disconfirm his hypotheses. Tognini-Bonelli (2001) discusses the nature of the two methodologies preferring the former as it is not based on the researcher's intuition but just on evidence from the corpus. She points out that "in a corpus-driven approach, the linguist uses a corpus beyond the selection of examples to support linguistic argument or to validate a theoretical statement" (2001: 84) while corpus-based is a methodology that "avails itself of the corpus mainly to expound, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study" (Tognini-Bonelli 2011: 65). On the other hand, Deignan argues that corpus-based and corpus-driven work "could be seen as opposite ends of a cline", with many studies falling between these extremes (2008: 156), trying to avoid the pitfalls of the corpus-based approach (for instance the selective choice of examples that confirm the analyst's hypothesis), and using corpus data (for instance collocational information) to allow for the unexpected to emerge from the corpus.

The following paragraphs will provide detailed information concerning methodological issues, with a tripartite shifting focus firstly on the combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques that is promoted by corpus-based discourse analysis, secondly on the framework of social actors, and thirdly on corpus approaches to evaluation.

4.4.1 Corpus-Based Discourse Analysis

While acknowledging the qualities of corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches, the present research project adopts what is widely known as corpus-based discourse analysis to examine the language used by the British newspapers under investigation in their reporting of the 2011 UK riots.[15]

Although the association of quantitative and qualitative techniques is not a new practice (Stubbs 1994, Biber *et al.* 1999), the group of scholars based in Lancaster have provided a more 'systematised' form, with an overview of the methodology which has been further implemented in a number of studies investigating the representation of gay men (Baker 2005), swearing (McEnery 2006), refugees and asylum seekers (Baker and McEnery 2005; Baker *et al.* 2008; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008), and Islam and Muslims (Baker *et al.* 2013). In all these studies, research was conducted by combining two approaches: corpus linguistics, on the one hand, which takes into account large amounts of texts that could not be analysed with manual inspection and uses computational tools to uncover significant

[15] It should be noted, however, that the main procedure of investigation adopted for this study is corpus-based rather than corpus-driven.

linguistic patterns, and critical discourse analysis, on the other hand, which carries out close analysis of texts considering the wider social context.

While acknowledging that all methods of research feature a number of problems and can therefore be criticised, Baker (2006: 6-7) advocates the use of corpora in discourse analysis as a worthwhile technique to make sense of the ways that language is used in the construction of discourses and as a means to construe reality. In his view, a corpus-based approach to discourse analysis offers a series of advantages (mostly deriving from the use of corpora and statistical methods of investigation). Firstly, it tackles the tricky question of the researcher bias: there has always been a concern over the removal of the research bias in favour of objectivity, but more recent developments have argued that true objectivity is impossible, as we all encounter the world from some perspective, which is reflected in whatever stance we take. In this respect, Baker (2006: 10-17) claims that his approach assumes a higher degree of reliability (rather than objectivity) and of self-awareness and agency for the researcher in that his/her positions are clearly acknowledged together with his/her involvement in all the choices and decisions taken in the research project. Secondly, it is useful for the incremental effect of discourse, namely, by becoming more aware of how language constructs discourses and, consequently the world, it enables the analyst to uncover how language is employed to reveal or trigger underlying discourses. Thirdly, drawing on corpus data can give evidence of particular hegemonic discourses as well as counter-discourses that would less likely emerge from small-scale studies.

As for the theoretical and methodological framework adopted by the Lancaster group, since CL is more a methodological rather than a theoretical approach (with a significant overlap between its main theoretical concepts and its methodological tools), the corpus-based aspect of their projects was mostly informed by the notions of keyness and collocation – and its related notions of semantic preference and semantic/discourse prosody. At the same time, CDA provided the categories (*topos*, topic) to be used when grouping collocates and keywords on the basis of the semantic prosody that they expressed (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 10).

Claiming that neither CDA nor CL need be subservient to the other, each equally contributing to the analysis of the corpus, the researchers state that each approach (CL and CDA) can help triangulate the findings of the other, both being used as entry points to create a virtuous research cycle (Baker *et al.* 2008: 295, Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 7). Their project aimed at demonstrating "the fuzzy boundaries between 'quantitative' and 'qualitative' approaches. […] [I]t showed that 'qualitative' findings can be quantified, and that

'quantitative' findings need to be interpreted in the light of existing theories, and lead to their adaptation, or the formulation of new ones" (Baker *et al.* 2008: 296).

The Lancaster group has thus developed a detailed framework to combine CDA with corpus linguistics, drawing on both qualitative and quantitative techniques. They (Baker *et al.* 2013: 27) suggest:

- starting with context-based analysis of a topic, identifying underlying discourses and strategies via wider reading and references (possibly referring to other CDA studies);
- establishing research questions, designing the corpus;
- carrying out corpus analysis focusing on frequencies, keywords, clusters, and any other salient or relevant pattern;
- qualitative analysis of smaller, but still representative, sets of data;
- further corpus analysis to identify additional discourses, eliciting new hypotheses.

What they seem to advocate is a sort of intertwinement between the two approaches, a movement back and forth between the two techniques, engaging with the analyst's reflexivity and casting a critical eye over the whole research process.

Indeed, their search for cross-pollination is thought to potentially and manifoldly benefit both CL and CDA. If CL does not usually take into account the social, political, historical, and cultural context in which data are embedded, a "multidimensional CDA analysis going beyond the linguistic elements of the texts can be instrumental to reveal processes of text production and reception of news data, politics and attitudes toward the subjects under investigation, together with macro-textual and text-inherent structures" (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 33).

4.4.2 Focus on the participants: agency and 'social actors'

The analysis of media texts can be very revealing as far as some specific questions are concerned: firstly, how the world (events and relationships) is represented, secondly, what identities are construed and, thirdly, what relationships are established between the participants involved (Fairclough 1995: 5). Representations, identities and relations can be then regarded as relevant elements when discussing the ideological construction of meanings and the power relations operating within society. Indeed, they can be tied to some of the Halladayan functions of language that are deemed to be simultaneously at work in any text: the ideational function generating *representations* of the world, the interpersonal function concerning the constitution of *relations* and *identities*. For its being constitutive of social

identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and beliefs at the same time, language use becomes a particularly fruitful area of research.

Moving from the basic assumption according to which media texts do not merely 'mirror' realities, but rather constitute versions of reality in accordance with the social positions and interests of those who produce them, the focus of attention in this study is on the choices made by the British press to represent the participants involved and their identities in texts. When analysing newspaper discourse, in particular, an important factor to be accounted for is the relevance given to some specific elements (an actor, a statement, an event) within the flow of information. If the news text is structured like an inverted pyramid – where the actors or facts regarded as the most important are located at the top – then the kind of relevance given to them is significant. It is, therefore, important to notice who or what is present or absent; even when present, actors can be discussed in terms of a scale of presence ranging from absent and presupposed (present as implicit meaning), to backgrounded and foregrounded (Fairclough 1995: 106), with a positive or negative presentation. Research in media language, for example, has often concentrated on the negative representations of some subjects in particular, such as ethnic minorities, refugees and asylum seekers, Muslims, young people, all alternatively stigmatised for the inauspicious effects of their deeds on the British culture and country. The British press has traditionally privileged news in which such subjects were reported in connection with crime, violence, social welfare or problematic issues in general (Hartmann and Husband 1974; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008).

This emphasis on actors and actions can be of great interest in any linguistic and discourse analysis. In fact, according to many views – from a variety of fields, like anthropology and sociology – representation is primarily based on practice, namely on what people do, on people's actions (Durkheim 1976, Bourdieu 1986). Similarly in linguistics, sequences of represented activities have long been at the forefront of investigations into language and context, together with the representation of roles and settings.

Drawing on these studies, van Leeuwen has adopted the view that "all texts, all representations of the world and what is going on in it, however abstract, should be interpreted as representations of social practices" (2008: 5). Discourse as social practice typically includes some elements, among them: participants (performing certain roles, usually those of agent, affected or beneficiary, not necessarily explicitly mentioned), actions (the core of any social practice), performance modes (indications of how the actions were or should be performed), eligibility conditions (referring to the 'qualifications' that participants must have to be eligible to play a particular role in a specific social practice), times (concerning the time

constraints of the social practice), locations (social practices involve a variety of locations in which actions take place), and so forth (2008: 7-12).

In the attempt to investigate the ways in which the participants of social practices are portrayed, van Leeuwen suggests an analytical framework to account for the "socio-semantic inventory of how social actors can be represented" in English (1996: 32). He then adopts the term 'social actors' (a term that has gained some currency in the last decades), highlighting that in any discourse people are evaluated through the way they are linguistically construed. This focus on social actors is strictly connected to the sociological concept of agency (which has been of major importance in CDA to explore the ways in which the potential resources of language are 'exploited' to create meaning) as far as a central question is concerned: "in which contexts are which social actors represented as 'agents' and which as 'patients'?" (van Leeuwen 2008: 23). But it should be also noted that sociological agency is not always realized by linguistic agency, namely by the grammatical role of agent, for instance "people of Asian descent said they received a sudden cold-shoulder from neighbours and co-workers" (van Leeuwen 2008: 24), where the grammatical agent is sociologically patient. Starting from the assumption according to which the ways in which social actors are linguistically portrayed depend upon culture (that prescribes what can be realized verbally and how, and such arrangements are subject to historical change), van Leeuwen notes that agency can be realized through a wide range of linguistic devices and patterns, and accordingly 'actors' – whether social or grammatical – can be represented through:

- functionalization and identification: two key types of categorization, the former typically occurs when social actors are categorized in terms of what they do, with reference to their occupation or the activities they carry out (for instance 'chairman of the Press Complaints Commission', or something that is realized by nouns formed from verbs through suffixes such as -er, -ant, -ent, -ian, -ee, as in 'interviewer', 'correspondent', etc.). The latter implies that social actors are described "not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are" (1996: 54). This category can be further divided into classification, relational identification, and physical identification. Classification defines social actors by resorting to the main distinctions relating to age, gender, class, wealth, provenance, ethnicity, religion (for example 'a 17-year-old Muslim'). Relational identification represents people in terms of their personal relationships ('a father of four'). Physical identification refers to the social actors' physical characteristics ('blonde').

- nomination and categorization: social actors can be referred to on the basis of their unique identity or on the basis of the identities and functions they share with others as ordinary people (in press stories, nameless characters are not meant to be points of identification for readers). On the contrary, nomination is based on the representation of social actors through proper nouns, which can be formal (featuring a surname and an honorific title, 'Dr Robertson'), semi-formal (with name and surname, 'Paul Robertson'), informal (with the first name only, 'Paul');
- appraisement: social actors can be referred to in what van Leeuwen calls interpersonal rather than experiential terms, by being appraised when they are depicted in terms which evaluate them as good or bad, loved or hated, admired or pitied (2008: 45). Such representation is realized by a set of linguistic items indicating appraisement (for example 'thugs' bears negative connotations);
- inclusion and exclusion: they may not be named at all (following a strategy that is meant to suit the media's interests and purposes in relation to their potential readers or audience), so what is absent is as important as what is present. Despite the fact that some exclusions can be regarded as 'innocent' because they omit something that is irrelevant or that readers are supposed to know already, in other cases, they are to be tied to the ideological and power relations operating within society;[16]
- role allocation (agent or patient): different roles can be allocated with respect to a specific action and depending on the positions social actors have in social practices and the grammatical roles (active or passive) they are given in texts. More specifically, activation implies that they are represented as active and dynamic forces, whereas passivation entails that they are depicted as undergoing an activity or being the beneficiary of it or passive goals;[17]

[16] Van Leeuwen mentions the example in which *The Times* and the *Rhodesian Herald* excluded the police in the accounts of the riots occurred in 1975, when officers opened fire and killed demonstrators, because both newspapers aimed at justifying white rule in Africa, thus omitting the fact that white regimes apply violence and intimidation (2008: 28). Both the social actors and their activities can be excluded from texts, leaving no trace at all, or the actions can be included – with the actors still being excluded – thus leaving a trace. In such cases, a further distinction between suppression and backgrounding can prove useful. With the former there is no reference to the social actors in question, while with the latter there is a less radical exclusion: the excluded social actors may be unnamed in relation to a given action, but they are mentioned somewhere else in the text.

[17] In van Leeuwen's accounts of social actors (2008: 33), Halliday's categories to define participants and processes within Systemic Functional Grammar are central. Indeed, the social actors realized by transitivity structures can be coded as 'actor' in material processes, 'behaver' in behavioral processes, 'senser' in mental processes, 'sayer' in verbal processes, 'assigner' in relational processes.

- genericization/assimilation and specification/individualization: they can be portrayed as classes or as specific individuals (depending on whether social actors are referred to as groups or individuals, van Leeuwen talks about assimilation or individualization);[18]
- indetermination and differentiation: when social actors are represented as unspecified, anonymous individuals or groups whose identity is not regarded as relevant to the reader (also by use of indefinite pronouns like 'somebody', 'someone', 'some people', or exophoric reference 'they won't let you do it'), or determined when their identity is somehow specified and they are differentiated as an individual social actors or a group of social actors;
- personalization and impersonalization: social actors can be personalized, namely depicted as human beings (as realized by personal and possessive pronouns, proper names, and all the nouns featuring aspects of humanity). Alternately, they can be impersonalized, that is to say, portrayed by abstract nouns (through abstraction, referring to immigrants, for example, as problems) or concrete nouns that do not have any semantic feature linked to humanity (through objectification);
- overdetermination: when social actors are represented as taking part to more than one social practice.

These are the main ways through which social actors can be linguistically construed in discourse, according to van Leeuwen (2008: 23-54). His taxonomy of 'social actors' provides the discourse categories and textual instantiations on which the linguistic construals of 'self' and 'other' are based. What kinds of identities emerge from newspaper texts and why they are conceptualized in a specific way can be interesting points to access a societal value-system and explain it (at the macro-level). However, since texts are embedded in the context of their production, distribution and reception as well as in a wider political, social and cultural context, such explanation necessarily also entails the description of their linguistic features (at the micro-level) and their interpretation of the discourse practices (at the meso-level).

Within the present study, van Leeuwen's model is employed in combination with Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (1978, 1994) and his emphasis on the linguistic resources to represent reality by providing a mental picture of it. According to Halliday, "[a] fundamental property of language is that it enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them" (1985: 101). To such extent, the most significant grammatical unit is the clause, whose main

[18] Social actors can also be represented as groups by association, for instance through parataxis 'politicians, bureaucrats, and ethnic minorities' in opposition to 'Australians as a whole', representing not an institutionalized group but rather an alliance.

function is to represent reality as processes, as ‘goings-on’ (thus realising the ideational function). This would be the experiential aspect of meaning that is expressed, in particular, by the system of transitivity.

More specifically, transitivity can be defined as a system of resources for construing the experiential meaning – representing events, happenings, mental states, and so forth – in terms of who does what to whom, and how. It is thus concerned with the semantic structure of clauses that depict reality by accounting for who are the actors, the acted upon and what kind of processes are involved in the action. So Halliday (1994) proposes a notion of grammar as a system of options and potential sources from which speakers and writers can choose to make meaning. His concept of transitivity transcends the traditional grammatical approach and assigns an ideological significance to all linguistic choices. By focusing on agency and on whether responsibility for actions is left explicit or implicit in texts, transitivity analysis sheds light not only on what is present but also on what is absent from texts; accordingly, the focus on participants becomes ideologically significant to investigate the variety of linguistic realizations.

Within the present study, this ‘combined’ analytical framework drawing on Halliday’s transitivity and van Leeuwen’s paradigm of social actors has proved very useful to examine what was said by the British press about the participants involved in the 2011 UK riots and how they were identified, something that the next chapter will show in details.

4.4.3 Corpus approaches to evaluation

The phenomenon of evaluation straddles many research areas, and is not easy to define since it can be investigated from many points of view. Hunston (1994: 210) has defined it as the expression of an attitude towards a person, a situation or other entity, that is both subjective and located within a societal value-system. Evaluative utterances are meant to convey personal opinions, they are the “expression of the speaker/writer’s stance, viewpoint or feelings about entities and propositions” (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 5). As such, they are subjective because they are personal and private statements, but, at the same time, they are an important factor in the construction and conveyance of an ideology that is shared by writer/speaker and reader/listener.

Depending on the focus of interest, evaluation can be examined by looking at the contents to uncover the ideological value systems that are behind texts and discourses and are linguistically realized by them (this approach is very close to Critical Linguistics and CDA); alternatively it can be examined by concentrating either on discourse and text structure (for

example clause relations) or on lexico-grammar (the linguistic features encoding evaluation). Since, overall, evaluative language is the language which indexes the act of evaluation or the act of stance-taking (Du Bois 2007), the various well-known approaches dealing with subjective elements in language expression – that are referred to by employing a variety of terms such as modality, stance, appraisal and evaluation – all commonly focus on the attitude of the speaker/writer, despite referring to different aspects of attitude (as the paragraph will briefly try to highlight).

Modality usually indicates the speaker's attitude towards the likelihood of an event (Halliday 1994), including the expression of ability, permission, possibility, volition, obligation, probability, desirability, necessity. These meanings are usually realized in English by modal auxiliaries,[19] although there is a general agreement on the fact that modal meaning can be expressed by a wider range of items. In fact, besides the list of modal auxiliaries ('can', 'could', 'may', 'might', 'must', 'shall', should', will', 'would', 'have to', 'ought to'), there are also phrasal modals such as 'be (un)able to', 'had better', 'be bound to', 'be going to', 'be liable to', 'be meant to', 'be supposed to', 'be sure to' (Francis *et al.* 1996: 574). Biber *et al.* (1999) further identify a series of adverbs and adverbials expressing modality (among them 'possibly', 'probably', and 'in fact'), together with clauses such as 'I think'. However, raising a central issue, Stubbs (1986) highlights that whenever speakers (or writers) say anything, they encode their point of view in their utterances. To such extent, and from a broader perspective on modality, the expression of the speaker's attitude would be pervasive in language, along a continuum from full commitment to total detachment, and cannot be itemised in single words and phrases. Accordingly, Hunston (2010: 68-69) suggests the term "modal-like expressions", to emphasize the fuzziness of the set and to recognize that it is a functional rather than a formal grouping: "the category comprises a much wider set of expressions than those normally associated with modal meaning and includes many that are an integral part of the clause concerned, rather than a peripheral item such as an adverb".

Stance is usually related to as "the overt expression of an author's or speaker's attitudes, feelings, judgements or commitment concerning the message" (Biber and Finegan 1988: 1), which is often signalled by stance adverbials ('honestly', 'generally', 'surely', 'maybe', 'amazingly') that emphasize different individual positions.

The term appraisal was used to designate a framework to analyse evaluation starting from Hallidayan Systemic Functional Grammar and adopting a view according to which

[19] Halliday (1994: 357-58) has systematised modal meanings into probability, usuality, obligation, and inclination, with varying degrees (high, median, low).

linguistic structures express affective meanings (attitudes, moods and feelings). Appraisal theory refers to a set of meanings to which a speaker or writer has access and may use to "approve and disapprove, enthuse and abhor, applaud and criticise", while positioning the reader/listener to do likewise (Martin and White 2005: 42). Three further domains were distinguished within this theory: attitude (concerning the speaker/writer's feelings, emotional reactions, judgement and evaluation), engagement (dealing with sourcing attitudes and the interaction of voices around opinions), graduation (regarding different grading phenomena through which feelings are amplified). A relevant point that is stressed by appraisal theory is that a great deal of attitude is implied (or evoked) rather than explicitly marked – which has led to the frequent adoption of qualitative, manual text analysis in works on evaluation.

The term evaluation (that is adopted in this study) is mostly employed as a cover term to indicate all the nuances of the writer/speaker's attitude (Thompson and Hunston 2000) and judgements of value, along a good-bad cline. However, while the judgements of value in themselves may be relatively clear to identify, it may not be so easy to pin them down in a linguistic category. As Murphy notes, "the more one looks at the realizations of evaluation in text, the more pervasive the phenomenon seems" (2005: 41).[20]

In the attempt to further define it, Thompson and Hunston recognize three functions of evaluation: expressing opinions, maintaining relations with the reader/listener and organizing texts. Indeed, evaluation as an interpersonal activity emphasizes aspects relating to interaction, to the act of building and expressing relationships, which is also regarded as one of the main reasons why the study of evaluative language appears pivotal: "[i]ndicating an attitude towards something is important in socially significant speech acts such as persuasion and argumentation. Taking a stance towards something and negotiating alignment or non-alignment is a crucial aspect of interaction between individuals" (Hunston 2010: 3).

Although, generally speaking, the typical language resources that are used to convey evaluation are words, phrases and collocations (Stubbs 1986) or, more specifically, (positive or negative) adjectives and (more or less intensifying) adverbs (Conrad and Biber 2000), the analysis of evaluative language presents some difficulties because there are no grammatical or lexical forms that can encompass the whole range of linguistic features conveying evaluation. Text-based analysis has consequently appeared more suited as opposed to corpus-based analysis, since such a slippery and context-dependent phenomenon seemed hard to investigate via corpus techniques. Indeed, due to its being such a widespread and manifold phenomenon,

[20] It seems also useful to notice that evaluation is context-dependent in that what can be considered as good or bad actually differs between cultures and situations.

evaluation can be partially detected by employing corpus analysis tools, like a concordancer, to retrieve lexico-grammatical patterns and frequent patterns of use, but it is worth noting that a close reading of longer stretches of texts, sometimes whole texts, is necessary in order to trace many of the factors contributing to evaluation.

However, Hunston has extensively focused on the contributions of corpus linguistics to the study of evaluation – still highlighting that quantitative and qualitative corpus research should not be seen as opposed to each other or mutually exclusive (2010: 50). Over the years, scholars have tried to isolate a relatively limited number of features to be quantified in large corpora to investigate evaluation – stance adverbials (Conrad and Biber 2000), together with a broad range of stance markers such as modal verbs, verbs, nouns, adjectives having that-clauses and to-infinitive clauses as complements (Hyland and Tse 2005; Biber 2006), hedges, boosters and attitude markers (e.g.: 'perhaps', 'definitely', 'unfortunately') (Hyland and Tse 2004). Among the many contributions considering evaluation in reference to corpus linguistics, Sinclair's observations are certainly worth noting: in his view, meaning cannot be said to belong to individual words, but is rather expressed by 'extended units of meaning' or 'lexical items', namely sequences of words with varying degrees of fixedness and flexibility (1987, 1991). Such units can realise meaning through the co-occurrence of several items in the same context. By articulating different kinds of co-occurrence relations, these items can realise evaluative meaning through prosody or collocation, for instance.[21] A generally agreed point is that the collocational behaviour of lexical items can realise evaluative meaning: in fact, the collocates of a particular node often belong to sets having in common an evaluative meaning. However, such meanings can emerge from a text even when no apparently affective lexis is involved.[22]

In the attempt to examine the evaluative portrayal of the participants involved in the 2011 UK riots, attention is paid to how the protagonists of the events are evaluated by the

[21] Sinclair's units of meaning can be further articulated into what Stubbs (2001: 64) describes as four types of co-occurrence relations: collocation (the frequent co-occurrence of a core or node word with another word, namely lexical realizations), colligation (the association of a node with a grammatical feature such as a word class or a clause type, namely lexico-grammatical realisations), semantic preference (a set of words occurring in a common semantic field) and semantic prosody (the expression of some kind of affective meaning and displaying a positive or negative polarity, namely pragmatic realisations). By defining semantic prosody as the colouring, a halo, that an item carries because of the context in which it occurs (Louw 1993), what emerges is the evaluative potential of semantic prosody (as a general characterisation of collocates).

[22] Implicit evaluation thus plays a central role in the interpretation of texts. The association between the verb 'to cause' and words indicating negative situations or between 'to bring about' and positive ones is well-known (Stubbs 2001; Hunston 2007).

British newspapers included in the corpus under investigation.[23] Therefore, special emphasis is given to the analysis of the depiction of such subjects and their agency.

[23] Chapter Five provides a comprehensive analysis of the data emerging from the corpus.

5. Analysis and discussion of data

Extensively covered by the British newspapers, the riots that occurred in the UK in August 2011, the so-called 'Tottenham summer', have been defined as "the most arcane of uprisings and the most modern, […] [whose] participants, marshalled by Twitter, are protagonists in a sinister flipside to the Arab Spring."[1]

In the attempt to investigate the ways in which the various participants involved in the 'Tottenham summer' are represented by the British press, this chapter concentrates on the roles assigned to them – which appear of central importance in the interpretation of events – and on the most recurring images. In the first place, the identification of the main participants in the news reports concerning the 2011 UK riots seems a crucial step in the examination of how they are construed by the newspapers. The analysis of the depiction of the social actors (drawing on van Leeuwen's taxonomy, 1996, 2008, see Chapter Four) can provide useful insights into the representations of both the individual and collective identities that are conceptualized and reproduced *in* and *by* discourse, to be then conveyed to readers.

5.1 Investigating the corpus: first steps

The very first steps of analysis consist of a qualitative investigation drawing on a close reading of a sample of articles. Such initial reading is necessary to notice the most recurrent elements in the corpus and group them into larger conceptual units or domains – which will be then further examined through a quantitative analysis. Therefore, a sample comprising 5% of the total number of articles per each newspaper was randomly selected for a qualitative analysis aiming at identifying the principal actors, clarifying the roles they were assigned. Indeed, such data could prove very revealing as far as the British newspapers' political, cultural and social attitude is concerned (something on which Chapter Six is concentrated).

The emerging protagonists of the events could be distinguished as follows:

- Mark Duggan (the 29-year-old man whose shooting, on August 4th, sparked the riots);
- the rioters;

[1] *The Telegraph*, 'London riots: the underclass lashes out', published 08/08/2011.

- the police and other State authorities (ranging from the MET and fire brigades to politicians);
- the local people and residents (whose homes and businesses were damaged by the rioters).

A close and extensive reading of the articles in the corpus with a specific interest in the participants was carried out with the aim of analysing the ways in which they were represented by applying van Leeuwen's analytical framework. Such analysis showed that among the most widely used categories of his model, identification seems to be the most common device to define them; in other words, the social actors involved in the events are often described for what they are. More specifically, identification is achieved through classification – giving information concerning their age, gender, ethnicity, religion (for example, 'Duggan, 29', 'mixed-race victim', 'black rioters', 'the Muslim community'); physical identification is very common ('hooded rioters', 'masked youths'), while relational identification is mostly used in connection to Duggan (who is described as a father of four or the nephew of a crime boss). Functionalization is very frequent too, social actors being categorised for what they do, although in this case there are rare references to their normal, occupational activities, while great emphasis is given to what they specifically do on the days of the riots, to their misdeeds (teenagers vandalising shops, gangs smashing windows and brandishing weapons, and so forth). As an individual social actor, Duggan is also often functionalised, when references are made to his being a drug dealer and a gangster member. Such depictions appear definitely more 'loaded' than those drawing on categories such as nomination, for instance, to identify him. In fact, simply naming him, generally in a semi-formal way (by employing his name and surname), and sometimes in a formal way ('Mr Duggan'), seems to result in a less prejudiced reporting. The rioters, on the other hand, are usually treated as a single entity sharing interests and aims, a crowd. They are also referred to as a mob, a term that, besides stressing aspects related to the number of people involved – who are assimilated into one big group (thus employing another of van Leeuwen's categories, assimilation) – also evokes additional connotative meanings: in fact, a mob is a large disorderly crowd intent on causing trouble and violence. Connotative meanings are, indeed, a significant element to be taken into account in relation to what van Leeuwen calls appraisement, namely the positive or negative evaluation of social actors. As specified in Chapters Four and Six, even though evaluation is context-dependent and is thus hard to be detected in single lexical items, words do carry cultural and emotional associations which appear as a sort of loading, a burden that affects and determines their reception upon hearing

or reading them. In the corpus under investigation, the rioters are frequently referred to through items that have a rather negative evaluation: for example 'thug' (a violent person, especially a criminal), 'yob' (a rude, noisy and aggressive youth).[2] As a matter of fact, the linguistic representation of the rioters is more complex because several strategies are employed when reporting on them. Apart from functionalization, identification, assimilation and appraisement, impersonalisation is also sometimes used when they are described as *feral* youths, thus drawing a parallel with wild and savage animals. In a conceptual opposition to the rioters is the portrayal of the police, which is usually achieved through assimilation and role allocation, in that officers are outlined as one single entity (conceptually opposing the mass of rioters); they rarely presented as an active force, but rather as powerless and incompetent subjects, repeatedly finding themselves in passive roles, at the mercy of looters. As evident, the newspapers' linguistic choices to represent the social actors do signal their stances towards them, and their attempts to foreground or downplay their actions and motivations. Therefore, in the subsequent (corpus-based) analysis, van Leeuwen's categories constitute the major reference for any semantic systematisation of the keywords searched for in relation to the actors.

N	Word	Freq.	%
17	Police	5,978	0.60
38	People	3,710	0.37
80	Rioters	1,325	0.13
180	Looters	613	0.06
210	Duggan	531	0.05
279	Mark	410	0.04
400	Offenders	302	0.03
493	Thugs	252	0.03
510	Mob	238	0.02
1032	Looter	119	0.01
1036	Yobs	119	0.01
1696	Offender	67	-
1897	Mobs	58	-
2840	Yob	35	-

Table 5.1 – Frequencies of terms relating to the main social actors

[2] Definitions were taken from *The Oxford English Dictionary* - http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/words/the-oxford-english-dictionary

The initial stage of mainly qualitative analysis was followed by corpus analysis, based on word lists, frequency information and concordance data. Preliminarily, the frequency list of the items occurring in the whole corpus was considered. The list showed that the item 'police' was actually the most frequently occurring lexical word within the first 35 top-ranking positions with a majority of function words (interestingly followed by 'riots' – the keyword searched for to collect the articles – that was wrongly expected to be the most frequent one). So, police together with two additional participants, Mark Duggan and the rioters, were chosen for further investigations. However, it is worth noting that a comprehensive analysis concerning the rioters as a group or social actor would necessarily include an investigation of other terms that were also used to refer to them, such as 'looter(s)', 'offender(s)', 'mob(s)', 'thugs', 'yob(s)' (Table 5.1 shows the ranking positions, frequency and percentage of the main lexical items referring to the social actors).

Since, as highlighted in Chapter Three, the riots seem to be a relatively frequent event in the British history – at least, as far as the last four decades are concerned – this study has started from the findings and data provided by previous studies on this issue in the attempt to achieve a deeper understanding of media reporting on riots, and to identify underlying discourses via wider references to other studies (as suggested by Baker *et. al* 2013). Despite the fact that the only previous research on the topic is exclusively based on CDA – therefore it does not take into account large numbers of texts and it does not feature statistical and replicable results – it can still be said to give relevant insights into the ways in which the British press (or a specific part of it) reported the news concerning the riots and the rioters in the past.[3] Across the years, and as a matter of routine, the British reporting has predominantly depicted the rioters drawing on a restricted repertoire of images from some recurring contexts: controversy, conflict, deviance, threat and anti-social behaviour. According to the existing literature on the news reports on the 1981 and 1985 riots in the UK (van Dijk 1989, 1993), the British quality press described the events through some recurring elements:

- crime and crime-related topics appeared among the top five of riot portrayals, indeed, the riots were reported as an orgy of murder, fights with police, arson, looting, destruction, petrol bombs, bricks and barricades;
- the criminal nature of events was enhanced by foregrounding evidence of 'vicious' or 'malicious' premeditation;

[3] It is important to specify that such study will not be considered as a term of comparison for the present research, which is based on a different corpus and adopts a different theoretical and methodological framework.

- there were numerous references to a ‘collapse of civil order’ as well as to a ‘direct challenge to the rule of law’.

So the dominant reading of the events could be mostly located within the framework of law and order, violence, destruction, crime, lawlessness, anarchy and terror spreading within society. Interestingly, the events were also strongly connoted in terms of their racial aspects, and therefore explicitly defined as ‘race’ riots.

Indeed, the media in general, and the press in particular, have usually associated minorities with specific forms of ‘ethnic’ crimes such as aggression, mugging, prostitution, drugs and rioting. If minorities have been outlined as problematic, deviant, criminal and fully blamed for the riots, the group against whom such allegations were directed was invariably described as young, male, Black or Afro-Caribbean, usually characterized as violent people, troublemakers, and perpetrators of crimes by terms such as ‘hooligans’, ‘thugs’ and ‘mobs’. Another central element in media reporting of riots was the production of very marked group representations opposing ‘us’ – British, white, law-abiding people – to ‘them’ – immigrants, coloured or black, alien and criminals. This distinction between ‘ingroup’ and ‘outgroup’ also corresponded to a very precise evaluation contrasting ‘good’ to ‘bad’. So the recurring language used to report these events became representative of the participants involved, a process which appears central in news discourse.

5.2 Investigating the corpus: second stage. Focus on the participants

Moving to a more detailed corpus-based analysis of the language used by the British newspapers in their reporting of the 2011 UK riots, a search for all the terms employed to identify the rioters was carried out. More specifically, the lexical items in Table 5.2 were used by the British press to refer to the variously defined actors of the events; such items were then classified according to some general criteria associating them with particular features, some shared ‘qualities’, depending on whether they indicated the real social *actors*, whether they emphasized the *legal aspects* connected to their actions, whether they referred to *groups* or collectivities, whether they carried an explicitly *negative evaluation*, to finish with references to their *age* (aware of the fact that some terms might be said to ‘overlappingly’ belong to more than one category).

LEXICAL ITEMS	SEMANTIC CATEGORIES
rioter* - looter*	ACTORS
criminal* - offender*	LAW
crowd* - gang* - mob*	GROUP
thug* - yob*	CRIMINAL
boy* - guy* - kid* - girl* - children - teenager* - youth* - youngster*	AGE

Table 5.2 – Terms used to refer to the rioters as social actors

After a close reading of all the concordances in which such lexical items occurred, the instances in which the terms did not refer to the rioters (in the context of the 2011 UK riots) were deleted, and for the remaining instances frequencies were normalised per hundred thousand words. Tables 5.3-5.7 provide detailed frequency information on the specific items (listed in alphabetical order) grouped according to the previously identified semantic categories.

word	Mail	Mirror	Sun	Guardian	Telegraph	Times	Total
looter	17	23	33	9	8	10	100
looters	76	57	105	27	62	60	387
rioter	11	8	22	6	7	7	61
rioters	142	157	180	47	128	113	768
Total	246	246	340	88	204	190	1315

Table 5.3 – Normalised frequencies of the items belonging to the category ‘ACTORS’ in each newspaper

word	Mail	Mirror	Sun	Guardian	Telegraph	Times	Total
criminal	0	31	46	2	1	2	83
criminals	55	20	17	13	28	16	148
offender	11	15	0	4	6	11	47
offenders	57	16	32	23	36	27	192
Total	123	82	96	42	70	56	470

Table 5.4 – Normalised frequencies of the items belonging to the category ‘LAW’ in each newspaper

word	Mail	Mirror	Sun	Guardian	Telegraph	Times	Total
crowd	11	18	25	0	11	18	82
crowds	6	5	0	9	7	7	34
gang	43	75	110	73	43	99	444
gangs	56	84	77	61	50	67	395
mob	34	46	49	10	21	19	179
mobs	10	10	10	3	6	6	43
Total	160	238	270	156	137	216	1177

Table 5.5 – Normalised frequencies of the items belonging to the category ‘GROUP’ in each newspaper

word	Mail	Mirror	Sun	Guardian	Telegraph	Times	Total
thug	3	8	36	0	1	0	49
thugs	41	71	121	3	15	7	258
yob	0	0	27	0	0	0	27
yobs	18	31	76	0	2	2	128
Total	62	110	259	3	19	9	462

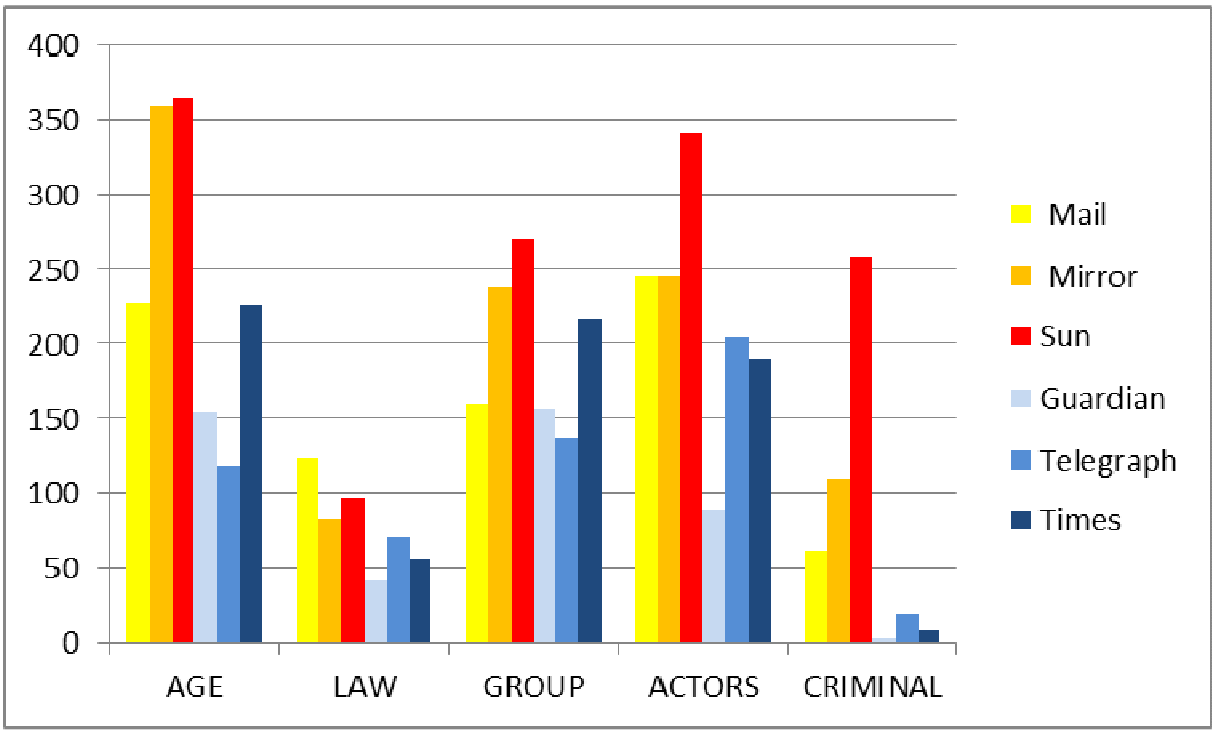
Table 5.6 – Normalised frequencies of the items belonging to the category 'CRIMINAL' in each newspaper

word	Mail	Mirror	Sun	Guardian	Telegraph	Times	Total
boy	33	69	66	13	25	24	230
boys	9	26	29	13	0	26	104
children	28	61	35	17	21	34	196
kids	11	38	86	25	4	32	196
teenager	23	26	28	9	7	9	102
teenagers	14	13	21	20	16	19	104
youngster	7	11	0	0	0	0	18
youngsters	11	21	0	6	0	18	57
youth	30	48	57	17	14	18	183
youths	62	46	42	33	31	46	260
Total	227	359	364	154	119	226	1449

Table 5.7 – Normalised frequencies of the items belonging to the category 'AGE' in each newspaper

As evident, all the newspapers under investigation do use the terms retrieved from corpus analysis to identify the rioters, but they give a different emphasis to different aspects. Overall, the popular press can be said to make a definitely larger use of such lexical items if compared to the quality press, judging from the total number featured by each newspaper. Within the popular press, the so-called red tops – the *Daily Mirror* and *The Sun* – feature considerably higher numbers than the black top – the *Daily Mail* – regardless of their political orientation. Within the quality press, on the other hand, the two right-leaning newspapers – *The Telegraph* and *The Times* – feature a higher frequency in use than *The Guardian*, that seems to lack or to avoid using some of the words that are present in the other papers' reporting (for example 'crowd' and 'yobs') while still using some items less often ('looters', 'mob', 'rioters'). This view is also exemplified by considering one lexical item in particular, 'rioters', which has the highest number of occurrences in almost all the newspapers, but has an uneven distribution across them (with *The Sun* and the *Daily Mirror* displaying a high rate of repetition of the word that signals a much stronger emphasis).

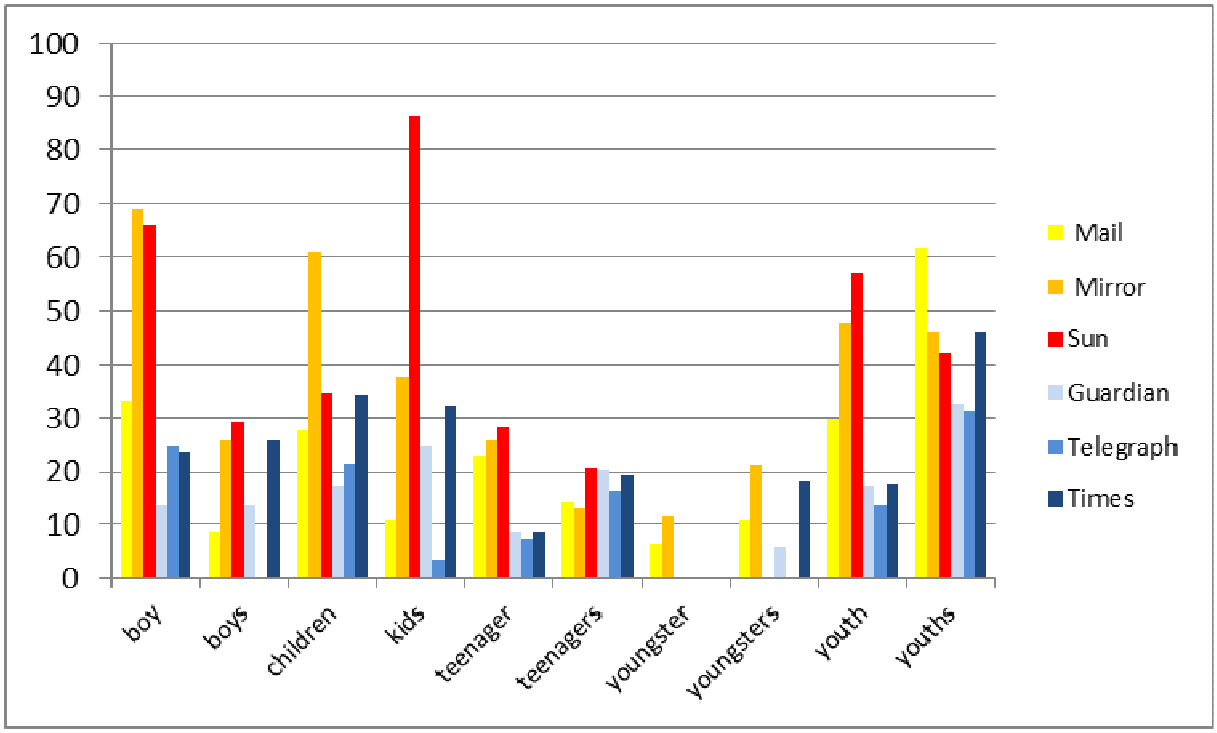
Moving to the specific categories in which the lexical items were classified, it can be noticed that the derogatory terms belonging to the category that was named 'CRIMINAL' (Table 5.6), – namely 'thug*' and 'yob*' – are almost absent in the reporting of the quality press, unlike the popular press which, on the contrary, makes extensive use of them, especially as far as *The Sun* is concerned. Generally speaking, *The Sun* features the highest percentages of presence and use of items, relating to nearly all categories, to designate the rioters. Whereas the categories 'LAW' (Table 5.4), 'GROUP' (Table 5.5) and 'ACTORS' (Table 5.3) seem slightly more balanced in the distribution of the terms, with the usual differences along the distinction quality-popular press, interestingly, the category 'AGE' (Table 5.7) appears to have very high numbers, marking the fact that the participants to the events might be strongly characterized by connotations linked to their age. Indeed, the category can be said to comprise more items than the others, all emphasizing the very young age of the rioters. Graph 5.1 below offers a comparative view of the semantic categories comprising the lexical items referring to the rioters, graphically exemplifying the differences between the newspapers under investigation.



Graph 5.1 – Classifying categories for the lexical items referring to the rioters

Upon further examination of the terms included in the category 'AGE' (Graph 5.2), it is worth noting that, among those featuring the lowest percentages, 'youngster' is almost completely absent from the quality papers, while the only item that displays more balanced figures in

both quality and popular press is ‘teenagers’, so that seems to be the term which is invariably and homogeneously employed by the newspapers. Overall, a close reading of the concordances of these words revealed that the terms ‘boy*’, ‘children’, ‘kids’, together with ‘youth’ and ‘teenager’ were more typical of the reporting of the popular papers, where they are often used in connection to the personal and individual stories told by families giving their view on the riots.[4]



Graph 5.2 – Lexical items included in the category ‘AGE’

Apart from the category they belonged to, all the terms employed to identify the rioters were then searched as keywords and their collocates – over an L5-R5 span (with MI value > 3 and LL value 6,63 – Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 11)[5] were retrieved. The main element emerging

[4] The singular terms ‘kid’ and ‘child’ were not included in the category because they were too low in frequency and were therefore regarded as not significant for the purposes of this analysis.

[5] Mutual Information (MI) indicates the relationship between two words, taking into account not just the most frequent words that are found near the searched keyword, but also whether each word is often found elsewhere, away from the word under investigation. The MI score, therefore, computes the strength of collocational relationships apart from the actual frequency of co-occurrences; the higher the MI score, the stronger the link between two items. However, collocational strength is not always reliable in identifying meaningful collocations; indeed, the amount of evidence available for a collocation is also necessary to understand how certain a collocation is (Hunston 2002:72). To such extent, an additional score can be looked up in order to retrieve collocates with statistically significant values: log likelihood (LL). If the LL score is greater than 6.63, there is a high probability (or certainty) that the co-occurrence is not by chance and it is salient. The LL test compares the difference between the observed values (i.e. the actual frequencies retrieved from corpora) and the expected

from corpus findings concerns a significant presence of the pre-modifying adjective 'young' in phrases like 'young people/groups of' (raw freq. 1,555). As a matter of fact, almost all the keywords feature 'young' among their collocates, excluding the terms belonging to the 'AGE' group that already give an age indication in themselves.[6] Therefore, the interesting datum concerning the participants to the 2011 riots is that there seems to be a strong connotation in terms of age: even when terms not belonging to the 'AGE' group are used, the young age is a constant and characterizing trait of the way in which the rioters are linguistically depicted by the British press.

Further considering the analysis of the previous riots in the UK, the additional striking feature emerging from corpus analysis is the scarce presence of the adjective 'black' among the collocates of the keywords. More specifically, 'black' co-occurred with 'youth' (in the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror*, *The Guardian* and *The Times*), 'gang', 'boy' and 'kid' (in *The Times*), 'rioter' (in the *Daily Mirror*). However, the few occurrences of 'black' do not appear particularly significant in the light of the fact that the adjective 'white' also collocates with the keywords in nearly all the cases, so the former cannot be regarded as a marking aspect more than the latter.

Moreover, out of the 500 occurrences of 'black' that were race-related, only half of them actually referred to the rioters, while the other half was referred to the wider social context (for instance, 'many in the black community', 'rejecting black culture', 'lack legitimacy in black areas', 'better future for the black community').[7] Similarly, out of the 1,555 occurrences of 'young', half of them referred to the rioters and half to social issues involving younger generations (such as unemployment, parenting issues, deprived areas, social workers and services): so numbers still remain higher in the case of age connotations rather than racial connotations.

Therefore, trying to give some initial findings deriving from an analysis of the whole corpus, we can say that if the past UK riots were strongly connoted by the British press in terms of ethnicity (with great emphasis on the rioters' ethnic background), the reporting of the 2011 events seems more heterogeneous, drawing on references to the social class of the rioters (to disadvantaged children as much as middle-class ones), to ethnicity (black rioters as well as white rioters), but above all to age, so that the most recent riots could be actually

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values (i.e. the frequencies that one would expect if no other factor than chance was affecting frequencies).

[6] 'Young' is not a collocate of 'GROUP' nouns ('crowd' and 'mob'), with the exception of 'gang'.

[7] The concordances in which 'black' was not race-related (as in 'it was pitch black', 'a navy T-shirt and black trousers', 'it was just black smoke', 'Twitter, Facebook, and Black-Berry Messenger') were deleted.

described as 'youth' riots.[8] In fact, while acknowledging the different viewpoints emerging on such an intricate and sensitive topic (see Chapter Three), the data emerging from corpus analysis show a remarkable emphasis on youth as a characterizing trait within the whole corpus. Such emphasis finds further evidence in the official data provided by the UK Home Office, according to which, in terms of ethnicity, 41% of those charged were white, 50% were black or mixed race, 7% Asian and 2% Chinese or other (Home Office 2011). The numbers of white and black rioters having had first hearing, found guilty and sentenced are not so dissimilar,[9] still with higher figures in the case of white rioters. The same statistics also show that, in terms of age, the most numerous groups of rioters were aged between 10 and 24, so they were, indeed, very young.

However, there are several significant differences among the newspapers relating to how the events were mediated and re-mediated with differing portrayals of their participants and causes, depending on the potential readership addressed and the political stance adopted. The notion of 'remediation', which entails the idea of transformation and reformulation, can be very useful in the field of language studies and for the scope of this investigation, to highlight the ways in which the same event has been reported by the press.

The following paragraphs of this chapter will give a detailed overview of how three social actors in particular, Mark Duggan, the rioters and the police, were linguistically construed. To this purpose, in the first place, a list of concordances was generated for each newspaper searching for the keywords 'Mark/Duggan', to highlight the ways in which this actor, whose shooting sparked the riots, was described by the British press. Secondly, in the attempt to further analyse the other major actor, namely the rioters, another list of concordances was retrieved with the keywords 'rioter*/looter*/offender*' which appeared as the most frequent and representative terms to define the whole group. Additionally, the keyword 'young*' (whether pre-modifying adjective or root of items like 'youngsters') was also searched for, given the emphasis on features connoting the rioters in terms of age. A close reading of 300 randomly selected concordances in each newspaper was therefore carried out to focus only on those describing and/or evaluating the rioters, and to examine the

[8] Despite the fact that the terms employed by the British press to report the 2011 UK riots were not significantly linked to ethnicity, there are indisputable factors relating to ethnicity and social disadvantage among the reasons why the riots sparked, which partly concern the fact that a black man was killed by police and partly concern the fact that the riots took place in areas where there was a majority of ethnic groups and a strong sense of harassment by the police – with black people being thirty times more likely to be stopped and searched by the MET – (Data from the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) reported by *The Guardian* - http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/jun/12/police-stop-and-search-black-people)

[9] First hearing: 1088 white rioters vs. 1025 black rioters. Found guilty: 773 white rioters vs. 614 black rioters. Sentenced: 761 white rioters vs. 605 black rioters (Home Office 2011).

potential differences in their construals. In order to have a representative sample of all the articles published by each newspaper, 100 randomly selected concordances were retrieved thrice, so to increase the possibility of having a significant variety of instances featuring the keywords under investigation, aware of the fact that some concordances could appear repeatedly. Thirdly, the same process was carried out with the keyword 'police' to analyse the ways in which this social actor was portrayed by the British press.

Additionally, while searching for the most recurrent linguistic representations, great attention was paid to the collocates of the keywords,[10] which have provided very useful insights into the meaning and usage of the words to be examined (see Appendix 1 for detailed lists).

5.3 Focus on the participants: Mark Duggan

Mark Duggan was a 29-year-old man living in Tottenham, London, who was shot by police on 4th August 2011, and died from a gunshot wound to the chest. He was under investigation by a subdivision of the Metropolitan Police, Operation Trident, on suspicion he was planning to commit a crime connected to the death of one of his cousins (who was stabbed to death) and was in possession of a handgun. Due to the numerous changes in the police reports on what happened and to the fact that circumstances remained very controversial, the media gave varying accounts of who Duggan was when describing the events that led to his shooting. The ways in which this social actor was linguistically portrayed by the different British newspapers under investigation will be the focus of the present paragraph.

5.3.1 *Daily Mail*

Searching for the keyword 'Mark/Duggan', 98 concordances could be retrieved from the *Daily Mail*, 85 of which actually referred to Duggan (rather than to other people called Mark, the verb 'to mark' or the noun 'mark'). From a close reading of the extended lines, the keyword can be said to co-occur with a series of recurring appellations that are summarized in the Table below.

As emerging from the highest percentages of the recurring concordances displayed in Table 5.8, the *Daily Mail* seems to describe Mark Duggan mostly in terms of a drug dealer, a gangster and senior gang member. Great prominence is given to the reporting of Duggan as the nephew of a well-known crime boss boasting his gang had more guns than the police, to

[10] Collocates were selected with the same parameters that were adopted and previously specified in this chapter – over an L5-R5 span, with MI value > 3 and LL value 6,63.

his friends' words claiming he was one of their fallen soldiers – once again clearly recalling the world of gangs – when not explicitly calling Duggan as 'Tottenham gangsta'.

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
Mark Duggan	alleged drug dealer/ suspected crack cocaine dealer	15%
	gangster-related descriptions (Tottenham 'gangsta', senior member of a gang, the nephew of notorious crime boss, 'one of our fallen soldiers')	10%
	father of four[11]	6%
	local man	4%
	an innocent victim and family man	3%

Table 5.8 – *Daily Mail*

On the other hand, a rather scarce emphasis is given to the reporting of his relatives and friends who describe him as an innocent victim and family man, a loving father idolizing his children. To such data, further concordances – that were not so frequent as to appear with a high percentage of occurrences in Table 5.8 – could still be retrieved. Among them, the interview to one of Duggan's primary school teachers claiming that Mark was one of the most disruptive children, always carrying a knife and beating up other pupils, together with reports stating that Duggan was said to have become a 'paranoid' about his own safety (thus carrying a gun for protection).

5.3.2 *Daily Mirror*

Moving to the *Daily Mirror*, 63 concordances could be retrieved with the keyword 'Mark/Duggan' – of which 47 had Duggan as their actual referent – with the most frequently recurring expressions displayed in the table below.

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
Mark Duggan	Mr Duggan	20%
	a local man	9%
	police shooting victim	4%

Table 5.9 – *Daily Mirror*

[11] Newspapers have given unclear information regarding the number of Duggan's children: according to some sources he had four children, while others talk about five or even six children (a discrepancy that also emerges from the concordances retrieved for corpus analysis). What seems certain is that he had four children with his (at the time) current partner Semone Wilson, and possibly one or two children with previous partners.

Table 5.9 shows that the *Daily Mirror* usually employs the courtesy title 'Mr', which is a sign of respect in itself, and often describes Duggan either as a local man (thus resorting to what seems to be a 'neutral' expression to give information on him) or as the victim of a police shooting (highlighting the fact that, strictly speaking, he was a victim whose life was taken away in a fatal shooting in ambiguous circumstances). The newspaper also mentions Duggan's gangster image, but with some hedging and usually clarifying they are referring to police sources ('he was described as a "well-known gangster" by police sources', *Daily Mirror* 08/08/11), unlike the *Daily Mail*.

5.3.3 *The Sun*

The Sun featured 75 concordances with the keyword 'Mark/Duggan', of which 65 were of actual interest for this study. Table 5.10 displays the most frequent and representative ways through which Duggan was depicted.

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
Mark Duggan	suspected gangster/gangster suspect	20%
	shot dead by cops	20%
	dad-of-five, 29	5%

Table 5.10 – *The Sun*

The newspaper partially emphasizes that Duggan was a suspected gangster, thus contributing to a rather negative portrayal and partially opts for a more 'neutral' reporting mentioning his age, the fact that he was the father of five children and that his shooting then sparked the disturbances. A significant percentage of the extended lines retrieved was also meant to clarify that Duggan did not fire at the police officers before being shot, contrary to what had been previously claimed by the MET. Interestingly, *The Sun* is the only newspaper to employ the noun 'cops', which seems a more informal (slang) term to refer to police officers (that was considered a derogatory term, especially in the past).

5.3.4 *The Telegraph*

Moving to the quality press, in *The Telegraph* out of 121 concordances, 110 actually referred to Mark Duggan. As Table 5.11 shows, there is a variety of images emerging from the reporting of the newspaper, mostly ranging from an unarmed man shot dead by police to a notorious gangster and key member of a North London gang, but the prevailing image is certainly that of a gangster (as emerging from the percentages of the concordances).

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
Mark Duggan	a key gang lieutenant, a notorious gangster, a member of N17 gang, a known associate of gangsters	10%
	unarmed man shot dead by police	5%
	a 29-year-old black man, a local man	5%
	victim of police shooting	3%

Table 5.11 – *The Telegraph*

5.3.5 *The Times*

With *The Times*, a slightly more complex frame emerges from the 131 concordances retrieved – 110 actually referring to Duggan (Table 5.12).

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
Mark Duggan	Mr Duggan	35%
	no gangster, a loving father, a family man sitting at home and playing the PlayStation with his kids (family/friends' portrayals)	10%
	an important player in the criminal underworld, a suspected gunman, well-known to police, involved in gun crime and drug dealing (police portrayals)	8%
	a local man and father of four	4%

Table 5.12 – *The Times*

The Times seems to be more cautious in describing Duggan. First of all, he is mentioned with the courtesy title 'Mr', and a remarkable emphasis is given to the polarity emerging from his family and friends' portrayals as well as from police sources depicting him, at the same time, as a drug dealer having a role in the criminal underworld and a loving father, as a man under close surveillance and a man spending his time with his kids.

5.3.6 *The Guardian*

With its 323 concordances (293 concerning Duggan), *The Guardian* certainly offers the most articulated picture of Duggan, covering a wide range of aspects of his life, personality and activities. The newspaper gives plenty of information about him, drawing on a variety of sources – ranging from police to family – and allowing equal opportunities and space to differing viewpoints. Due to this variety, the percentages of occurrences of the concordances are very low, since there seems to be no significantly prevailing depiction of him.

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
Mark Duggan	29-year-old man and father of four	4%
	well loved, an angel, a loving family man, a good dad who idolised his kids, a loving boy with a good heart, known to the police but with no criminal convictions, a peacemaker, harassed by the police for years (family and friends' portrayals)	3%
	unarmed at the moment he was shot	2%
	Tottenham man/resident	2%
	hardened North London gangster and drug dealer, in possession of a gun, followed by police believing the situation was a 'crime in action', having some illegal drugs in his blood (police portrayals)	2%

Table 5.13 – *The Guardian*

The many sources that *The Guardian* employs in its reports result in what seems to be a more balanced approach, devoting a lot of space to contrasting positions in the attempt to clarify the circumstances in which the shooting took place. Even when mentioning the gangster image, *The Guardian* claims that some of the messages posted by Duggan's friends on his Facebook page 'could suggest a possible gang involvement' since they referred to him as a 'soldier', a 'true star boy', and a 'five star general', still carefully hedging the utterances.

5.4 Focus on the participants: the rioters

5.4.1 *Daily Mail*

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
rioter* looter* offender* young*	hardened/known criminals having previous criminal convictions or cautions	10%
	alienated, angry, disaffected young people with no respect and a severe disregard for property and community	5%
	cheating the benefits system, claiming disability benefits, and getting council houses	4%
	under 25, the youngest rioters being 11 in London and 9 in Manchester	3%
	foreign looters having taken part to the events	2%

Table 5.14 – *Daily Mail*

Moving to the portrayal of the second social actor under investigation, the rioters, the *Daily Mail* seems to have a very 'oriented' focus. Table 5.14 displays the most frequent and

representative ways in which they were depicted by the newspaper as emerging from the concordances that could be retrieved.

The prevailing image of the rioters emerging from the *Daily Mail* is that of 'hardened criminals' who should have been in prison. The paper underlines the fact that the British society needs to face this new criminal underclass, tackling the sick and irresponsible behaviour of those they define as young thugs. Such reporting is aptly achieved by choosing a specific set of sources: police sources, claiming that offenders were often linked to gangs, together with conservative political sources, above all, the Home Secretary Theresa May – a representative of the Conservative Party – who highlights that the vast majority of rioters were not protesting, they were merely thieving, driven by a desire for 'instant gratification'. In agreement with the positions adopted by May, the newspaper appears very straightforward in defining the rioters as absolutely greedy (having identified greed as the main – and almost exclusive – reason for their deeds), still blaming others – the police, the Government, 'society' – for their actions, not accepting their responsibilities. The rioters' deeds are solely described as opportunistic looting targeting luxury brands, with no other political aim.

The newspaper also mentions the fact that, among the offenders who took part to the events, one in seven was a foreign national (born abroad), Jamaicans being the largest group, followed by Somali and Polish rioters, as well as from Colombia, Iraq, Congo, Vietnam, and Zimbabwe – something which seems to encourage and implicitly foment further hatred and feelings of intolerance towards foreign people.

5.4.2 *Daily Mirror*

As for the *Daily Mirror*, the depiction of the rioters features a series of recurring issues in common with the *Daily Mail*, above all the depiction of rioters as career criminals motivated by non-political reasons apart from sheer, greedy opportunism. As Table 5.15 shows, the most frequent descriptions emerging from the 300 randomly selected concordances represent this social actor as being brazen and bold, too angry and upset to feel any kind of fear or shame for what they were doing. In their 'orgy of mindless wanton murderous violence' (13/08/11), they are said to have killed the Britain everyone knew and loved. At the same time, the newspaper also underlines that the very young age of the rioters and looters involved in the events – termed as 'morality-free kids' (14/08/11) – urges the British society to face the moral issue raised by this generation of adults of tomorrow. However, the paper also seems to attempt a more in-depth reporting highlighting the need for the youth to believe they have a place in society, while having some kind of youth support. Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg

(and leader of the Liberal Democrats) is therefore often quoted announcing his £50-million summer school scheme for 100,000 youngsters at risk of going off the rails.

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
rioter* looter* offender* young*	brazen, feeling no fear, angry and upset, shameless, mindless and merciless, with no political agenda	10%
	young, children as young as 8 were reported to have joined the looting, most rioters were under 24, the youngest in London was 8	5%
	disadvantaged, poor, on benefits, failing at school and black	5%
	young black men still feeling huge resentment towards the police	3%

Table 5.15 – *Daily Mirror*

Among the other concordances that did not feature a significantly high percentage of occurrences, but were still part of the reporting of the *Daily Mirror*, the newspaper highlights the police claims according to which the Home Secretary Theresa May was warned, twice, that widespread rioting was likely to happen since the atmosphere on the streets was at a boiling point, but she completely dismissed the idea (21/09/11), thus explicitly stressing the responsibilities of the Conservative Party (of which May is a representative).

The other major topic that finds some relevance in the *Mirror* (and that was not mentioned by the *Daily Mail*) regards the 'race factor': while acknowledging that these riots cannot be named race riots, the paper states that race played a part in the 2011 events – mostly due to the resentment felt by young black people towards the police. They overtly define race and religion as 'the unspoken element' in the events, which seems, at least, an attempt to further 'problematize' and contextualize the whole issue.

5.4.3 *The Sun*

In *The Sun* the prevailing image representing the rioters is definitely a violent one, mostly based on their actions which are described for their criminal and deplorable nature (Table 5.16). Moreover, a number of negative items are often employed in connection to them, aiming at portraying them as greedy, arrogant, irresponsible, disaffected and lawbreakers. Some references are also made to their social status (many of the rioters are said to be on benefits), although the paper clearly mentions that the riots were not only about gang culture and deprived people: in fact, not all the looters were part of the so-called disaffected underclass having nothing to lose. Many of them were middle-class people (some were even upper-class people) sharing an uncontrolled desire for free goods.

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
rioter* looter* offender* young*	smashing windows, torching homes and buildings, setting fire to property, rampaging through the city, looting and trashing stores	12%
	hardened repeat offenders, having previous conviction or caution, lawless, greedy and hoodie looters, feckless looters shaming the nation, rioters having no fear of being caught	8%
	many were young black rioters, and on benefits	2%

Table 5.16 – *The Sun*

The newspaper further notes that as the riots shamed the nation, questions remained about how to cope with what they call 'the anarchy on British streets' (10/08/11). Frequent parallels are drawn with the 1981 disturbances, highlighting that scenes of rioting and urban violence had been commonplace for more than ten years in the "disunited Kingdom" (14/08/11). All emphasis is on the fact that, after decades, England is still sick, but the problem is not so much how to overcome cultural barriers but rather the difference between the rage of those who feel they have nothing to lose and other working-class people who feel (and are) threatened by this anger.

5.4.4 *The Telegraph*

The Telegraph emphasizes a depiction of the majority of the rioters as having been previously arrested, cautioned or convicted, stressing their recidivism for being serial and known criminals (Table 5.17). The other important point emerging from the concordances of the multiple keywords under investigation is the portrayal of this group as disaffected and opportunistic, some of them boldly describing the visceral excitement of going on the rampage, 'sensation-seeking' and 'risk-taking'.

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
rioter* looter* offender* young*	previously arrested, cautioned, or convicted, serial offenders, repeat offenders, having criminal records, being known criminals with recidivist background	10%
	carrying out shocking lawlessness, fighting in the streets, sensation-seeking, risk-taking, having no fear of the law, disaffected youth and opportunistic looters, rootless young people	4%

Table 5.17 – *The Telegraph*

The newspaper seems to offer the worst portrayal of the rioters as a social actor, not only, or not so much because of their sheer opportunism, but because of the outrageousness with which they took advantage of a state of lawlessness in what is perceived as an amoral excitement. The events are covered by stressing aspects related to the mob (headlining the riots as 'rule of the mob'- 09/08/11) and mob violence, often in connection to the fact that England has become a sick society where mobs of rioters behave like 'animals, greedy selfish animals' (13/08/11).[12] The news reports constantly depict the rioters as feral kids running amok – employing the adjective 'feral' that is generally used in reference to wild animals (rather than to human beings) escaping captivity and domestication. They are also termed 'the underclass', in a very derogatory way, described as the product of a crumbling nation.

5.4.5 *The Times*

With *The Times* more points in common with the *Mirror* can be (surprisingly) noted, among them the description of the rioters as criminals, young, poor, on benefits, with low education, black, with an indication of race as a significant element in the events. However, interesting dissimilarities continue to emerge. Table 5.18 shows a remarkable emphasis on the rioters' feelings of hopelessness, abandonment, and neglect, which seems to provide a sort of explanation for the events. The newspaper insists on the fact that young people feel they have no stake in society, something which the Government needs to address.

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
rioter* looter* offender* young*	poor, failing at school or excluded from school, unemployed, young people stripped of aspiration and hope (infected by a distorted morality), abused, abandoned or neglected, young people feeling no one really needs them, vulnerable young people, young black men complaining they had been shown a lack of respect	10%
	known criminals, uncontrollable looters, feral rioters	6%
	male, young, more than 50% under 20	5%

Table 5.18 – *The Times*

Going into more details (although not emerging from Table 5.18), *The Times* underlines that the youth's greed is a reaction to the perceived greed of MPs and bankers, which sheds a new light on their reasons for rioting, while highlighting, at the same time, that these riots were

[12] The newspaper allows plenty of space to the declarations by ordinary people, among them by the Polish woman who was forced to jump for her life after rioters torched the building where she lived (which has become one of the most startling and shocking images of the riots): she defined the rioters as greedy selfish animals (13/08/11).

political, indeed: according to the newspaper, they were born out of heady concoction of rising inequality, widespread social disenfranchisement, economic volatility and growing youth unemployment. The newspaper supports this view by publishing Ian Duncan Smith's (Work and Pensions Secretary and Conservative politician) declarations according to which the riots are a reminder that the British society is a divided society (15/09/11).

While stressing the urging need to tackle the complex questions lying behind the events, the newspaper interestingly (and perhaps surprisingly, given its well-known political stance) devotes its attention to the voices of the young rioters themselves, to allow some space to their points of view on the matter. According to these voices, the riots were about striking back to inequality, they were meant to signal a 'payback time' towards police and their power abuses (07/09/11), so, again, they were political to that extent.

5.4.6 *The Guardian*

As for the portrayal of the rioters in *The Guardian* (Table 5.19), we can notice the confirmation of a position emerged with *The Times*: the rioters' reasons are definitely political. In contrast with an early political consensus on the fact that the riots were 'non-political', the paper overtly tackles the issue of what could be 'more political than a generation deprived even of political consciousness, knowing only frustrated consumerism, and believing power lies not in Downing St but JD Sports' (30/12/11). In fact, the rioters are described as far more politically conscious than many first thought.

Apart from their consumeristic nature, that also played a part in the events, these riots were reported as a war between the youth and the government and/or the authorities representing a political and economic system that was only working for a minority of people (their targets ranging from the prime minister and MPs' expenses to cuts to social services, bankers' bonuses, university fees and the ending of the education maintenance allowance). *The Guardian* identifies a set of extremely serious problems affecting the relations between the police and youth, resulting in an explosive potential for the riots. Great emphasis is also given to the perceptions, feelings and thoughts of the rioters (emerging from the interviews held as part of the *Reading the Riots* sociological research) as pivotal motivations for the disturbances, as shown in Table 5.19.

According to the newspaper and the enquiries it resorts to, poverty is thought to be one of the key reasons behind the August riots, together with a sense of alienation uniting a part of the rioters, namely black people, who feel to be unfairly and disproportionally targeted by police stop and search tactics.

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
rioter* looter* offender* young*	feeling a deep-seated and visceral antipathy towards police, widespread anger and frustration at the way police engage with communities, concerned about disintegrating relations between police and young people (due to stop and search tactics), indicating policing as a very important factor in causing the disturbances, interpreting the riots as a battle, a war	10%
	perceiving a lack of justice and respect, feeling dislocated from the opportunities available to others, feeling a profound sense of alienation, harbouring a range of grievances, a pervasive sense of injustice that was economic (no jobs, no money, no opportunity) or more broadly social (how they felt they were treated compared with others), saying their confrontations with police made them feel powerful, feeling they had nothing to lose	6%
	coming from the most deprived boroughs in England, poverty being one of the key reasons behind the riots	5%
	mainly young and male, coming form a cross-section of local communities, with previous convictions is not reliable	5%
	united to fight against a common enemy: the authorities	2%

Table 5.19 – *The Guardian*

The most striking element emerging from the most frequent and representative extended concordance lines retrieved in *The Guardian* is that among the major factors fuelling the riots there was a deep anger together with a sense of distrust and antipathy at the police, mostly due to their discriminatory and unfair targeting of some people, in particular. These feelings led those involved in the riots to put hostilities aside and unite against a common enemy: the authorities. Moreover, the newspaper is the one that more overtly admits that although the riots were not ‘entirely about race’, race is still a hot and tricky issue among minority groups which feel alienated and not belonging to the British society. Indeed, many rioters interviewed by *The Guardian* complained about racial discrimination, mentioning a mixture of racism and Islamophobia that they could distinctly perceive and that fuelled their anger and lawlessness.

5.5 Focus on the participants: the police

5.5.1 *Daily Mail*

A close reading of the concordances of the keyword 'police' in the *Daily Mail* revealed the presence of some recurring depictions related to the police and their actions, as shown in Table 5.20.

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
police	liable for the shooting of Mark Duggan	15%
	criticised and blamed for the lack of control during the riots	15%
	victim of the rioters' attacks	3%
	enacting racist policies and discriminatory behaviour	1%

Table 5.20 – *Daily Mail*

The prevailing image emerging from corpus data is, first of all, that of the agent responsible for the shooting of Mark Duggan – so their responsibility is clearly signalled. Similarly, there is a significant emphasis on the fact that the police can be blamed for the spread of the riots and for having lost control of the streets; indeed, according to the newspaper, faced with the retreat of officers, communities felt abandoned while the riots raged, their properties were being destroyed and their lives threatened.

Although in a lower percentage, police officers are also described as the actor of a number of material processes performed against the rioters (for example, arresting people or hunting suspects), but, even more often, they are described in the act of issuing formal – written or oral – announcements concerning the events (especially the number of convictions, cautions, damage to shops, businesses and homes, and so on).

Some attention is also devoted to the fact that officers were the target of violent attacks carried out by the rioters, hurling concrete blocks and petrol bombs, setting police cars on fire, fighting running battles with the aid of makeshift weapons.

It is also worth noting that a very scarce relevance is given to the potential underlying reasons for the rioters' reactions and misdeeds: in fact, the feelings of harassment and frustration experienced at least by some of the rioters in relation to police stop-and-search tactics are hardly mentioned, and only following *The Guardian*'s investigations and interviews. The only instance in which the newspaper does refer to police brutality and racism as some of the prime causes of the disturbances, further specifies that if there is racism in Tottenham – where the first riots occurred – it has nothing to do with racial tensions between

whites and blacks, but rather between Jamaicans, Nigerians, Cypriots, Albanians, Kurds and Eastern European newcomers.

5.5.2 *Daily Mirror*

The *Daily Mirror* features a relatively different depiction of the police. From a close reading of its concordances, the most striking element is the lack of co-occurrences of the items *police* with conjugated forms or nominalizations of the verb *to shoot*; indeed, there are only a couple of occurrences of the group *police shooting*, while in most of the cases, *Duggan's shooting* or *the shooting dead of Mark Duggan* are the preferred forms, something which does not seem to draw attention on the police's responsibility of the shooting. Apart from this almost complete absence, Table 5.21 shows the most frequent portrayals as emerging from corpus analysis.

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
police	criticised for their handling of the riots	13%
	to be supported by the public and politicians	5%
	victim of the rioters' attacks	2%

Table 5.21 – *Daily Mirror*

Great emphasis is given to aspects concerning the fact that police officers were not ready for the speed and scale of the riots, they needed better training to cope with the violence and intensity of the disturbances, and they consequently left communities at the mercy of brazen and opportunistic looters. At the same time, the newspaper also stresses the need to provide the police with tougher powers, and with all the support they need from the public as well as from politicians against antisocial behaviour. As a matter of fact, it also noted that criticising the police while cutting their numbers is not so clever, therefore ministers are urged to stop playing the blame game.

Other significant – although with lower percentages – representations concern the police as the actor of material processes (in instances in which they are described as having arrested suspects, raided their homes, investigated, and so forth) or as the sayer of verbal processes (in examples in which they reveal figures, describe or make declarations on the events). Scarce prominence, however, is assigned to the depiction of police as a victim of the rioters' attacks: the newspaper mentions the actions performed by the rioters and the resulting numbers of injured officers not so often, usually reminding that there were far too few police officers deployed in the streets during the riots.

5.5.3 *The Sun*

As for the third tabloid, *The Sun*, two emerging – and equally frequent – portrayals can be sketched. On the one hand, the police are criticised for their slow and soft reaction and for their inability to protect the people living or working in the areas that were hit by the social unrest in August 2011. On the other hand, police officers are praised for their courage and bravery when facing the violence and the destructive force of those days.

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
police	criticised for their handling of the riots	12%
	praised for their courage	12%
	liable for the shooting of Mark Duggan	3%
	victim of the rioters' attacks	2%

Table 5.22 – *The Sun*

As Table 5.22 shows, the newspaper extensively marks the positive and negative sides of the police's actions and conduct. In comparison, the responsibility for the shooting of Duggan seems less relevant (judging from the percentages). Some attention is also paid to the fact that officers were injured after being attacked with bricks, bottles, planks of wood and even motor vehicles.

5.5.4 *The Telegraph*

Moving to the quality press, in *The Telegraph* one prevailing image can be observed from a close reading of the concordances retrieved (Table 5.23).

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
police	criticised for their handling of the riots	13%
	victim of the rioters' attacks	4%
	liable for the shooting of Mark Duggan	3%

Table 5.23 – *The Telegraph*

The police are thoroughly blamed by the newspaper for the way in which the social unrest was managed, as well as because they do not scare anyone and are generally deemed 'enfeebled and fearful of confrontation' (14/08/11). The newspaper devotes great attention to the results of a poll revealing that half of the public thought the police were too soft on the rioters, with one in three people saying officers should have used firearms. Such a weak

reaction is described as a ‘calamitous’ mistake. In line with this position, a lot of space is allowed to the reporting of several episodes of attacks in which the rioters launched missiles at police officers, and dropped concrete blocks from the top of buildings.

Relatively scarce emphasis is given to the police’s responsibility in the shooting of Duggan that then sparked the riots. Overall, considering that *The Telegraph* is part of the so-called ‘quality press’, a relatively higher problematisation of the events would have been expected.

5.5.5 *The Times*

The Times also gives quite a univocal representation of the police, stressing their inability to control the social unrest, barely hinting at diverging claims about their actions and conduct.

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
police	criticised for their handling of the riots	14%
	liable for the shooting of Mark Duggan	8%
	needing new powers to fight crime	3%

Table 5.24 – *The Times*

The newspaper mainly highlights aspects concerning the fact that the police shooting of Mark Duggan was the trigger of the riots and that they were not adequately prepared for the spread of the violence and looting. According to *The Times*, the perception that the police had lost control of the streets was the principal motive for the social unrest. This depiction of the police is partly mitigated by some news reports according to which the Metropolitan Police denied that officers had been ordered to stand back and observe while the rioters looted shops and businesses.

Some attention is also paid to the need to give support and additional powers to the police (including, for instance, clearing the streets and imposing curfews) to keep communities safe. The newspaper urges the Government to ensure that police forces are equipped to fight crime effectively. They also stress the importance of appointing police leaders with the operational skills and experience to take high-risk decisions, while gaining public confidence.

5.5.6 *The Guardian*

As for the last quality newspaper, *The Guardian*, the main feature to be noticed is the huge variety of points made in relation to the police, which has hindered the identification of one

prevailing image apart from the 'factual' one describing them as culpable of the shooting of Duggan. This is the reason why Table 5.25 shows low percentages of occurrences in each case.

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrences
police	liable for the shooting of Mark Duggan	10%
	target of anger, hostility and distrust	7%
	criticised for their handling of the riots	5%
	having bad relations with communities	4%
	being under pressure	2%
	victim of the rioters' attacks	2%

Table 5.25 – *The Guardian*

What emerges is that the newspaper offers a wide range of perspectives not only in depicting the police and its role within the events, but also on the wider (social, political and cultural) issues concerning the spread of the riots. It is worth noting that some of these viewpoints are actually those expressed by the rioters interviewed for the *Reading the Riots* sociological research, in which respondents underlined that their hostility to police was based on their experience of having been stopped and searched. Similarly, it is equally worth mentioning that the newspaper also refers to a significant number of authoritative sources, quoting their opinion on the police's actions and conduct (among them Scotland Yard, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, and so forth), highlighting the police's weaknesses in connection to the riots but also, and above all, in connection to their (poor) relations with communities.

5.6 Summarizing remarks

Summarizing the findings emerging from this phase of corpus analysis, it is worth noting that in all the popular newspapers examined as well as in one of the quality newspapers, *The Telegraph*, there is a common simplification of the issue reported. They generally convey the image of Mark Duggan as a gangster and drug dealer (with the *Daily Mirror* showing a softer position), they portray the rioters as greedy and hardened criminals with no political agenda apart from sheer opportunism, and they blame the police for their handling of the disturbances, in the first place, as much as for the shooting that sparked them.

The two remaining quality newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The Times*, differentiate themselves from this trend since they give a more balanced depiction of Duggan (resorting to a variety of sources), they represent the rioters as alienated and abandoned people, while still judging their misdeeds inexcusable, thus voicing a form of *malaise* within society. As for the police, *The Guardian* seems the only one to extensively underline the need to improve the relationship between the MET and communities to avoid further outbreaks of violence in the future.

Once the most recurring portrayals of the main social actors involved in the riots – namely, Mark Duggan, the rioters, and the police – were outlined, in order to draw a more detailed picture of the ways in which the different newspapers under investigation have linguistically construed them, this study moves to the analysis of the specific stances and attitudes expressed by the British press, by examining the evaluative language that is employed, with relevant and representative examples from the corpus (Chapter Six).

6. Evaluating the social actors

The analysis of the most recurring linguistic portrayals of the social actors involved in the 2011 UK riots (Chapter Five) has proved very revealing for a subsequent investigation of the ways in which they were evaluated by the British press, in terms of what was said about them. The proper name (in the case of Mark Duggan) and the lexical words referring to the various participants were further analysed and used as node words in the concordancer to retrieve the extended surrounding text and to examine the newspapers' attitude towards them. Since evaluation may be difficult to spot through corpus techniques – because it is subjective, value-laden and comparative (Hunston and Thompson 2000: 13), it expresses opinions and judgements and encourages others (the readers) to adhere or distance from the position expressed (see Chapter Four) – a close and extensive analysis of the co-text in which the node words found themselves was carried out in the attempt to pinpoint the newspapers' viewpoints on the events as encoded in the language they employ. Despite the difficulty in distinguishing the subjective elements in language expression as opposed to the informational elements in the news reports, the protagonists of the riots can be regarded as important 'sites' of evaluation. Therefore, after isolating all the occurrences in which the various protagonists to the 2011 UK riots were mentioned, special attention was paid to their (nominal, verbal, adjectival) collocates and main clusters, that were then examined in the light of the basic evaluative parameters of good and bad, looking for positive or negative concepts in the British (and Western) context.

In this work, Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) was particularly relevant for its understanding of texts both as products and as processes, namely respectively the output which can be studied in systematic terms and the set of semantic choices (selected from a network of meaning potential) that are made by speakers (Halliday and Hasan 1989: 10-11). A number of variables pertaining to the context in which texts are produced are seen as activating or determining the selection of meanings (semantic meta-functions), which are then realised in the wordings of texts (lexico-grammar), and with reference to the three functions of the clause – clause as representation (the semantic structure of participants, processes and circumstantial elements), clause as exchange (interactive speech roles, communicative functions), clause as message (information structure and textual meaning of

the clause, thematic foregrounding, meaning derived from context). Halliday's theory of clause as representation was specifically adopted for the analysis of the corpus under investigation (1994: 106-175; see also Chapter Four).

This chapter explicitly addresses the attribution of agency enacted by the British press through a number of linguistic strategies, something which seems to be pivotal in all discourses surrounding and construing the riots. Starting from the participants that were previously identified (Chapter Five), great emphasis was given to the roles they were assigned – on the functional level – within the clause, as well as to the lexical items collocating with the node words under investigation (collocates were counted above three occurrences). Once all the occurrences with the various keywords were isolated, what was said about the social actors emerged. In this case, data were grouped not according to the individual participants but on the basis of the individual newspapers, in order to outline a more general picture of the stances taken by them in connection to the evaluations that they expressed on the three protagonists and, more broadly, on the events. A detailed and articulated overview of how the participants involved in the disturbances were linguistically sketched, required a focus not only on the terms used to identify them, but also on the extended context in which such terms were used, to recognize the characterizing (connotative) features chosen by the British press to portray them. Indeed, bearing in mind that words carry positive or negative connotations depending on the context, the analysis of evaluation is pivotal to understand the culturally salient aspects of the value-system that is behind a certain portrayal of the participants.

In this context, quantitative corpus analysis, carried out with the help of *Wordsmith Tools 5.0* (Scott 2008), was central to retrieve the occurrences to be examined, and to have the relevant statistical information concerning collocates, clusters and recurring patterns. However, an extensive qualitative analysis was also essential to discover evaluations that could not be detected via corpus techniques. Indeed, evaluation in texts is not merely a question of single linguistic items working separately within the text, it is rather a question of the simultaneous use of a variety of resources enacting, implicitly as well as explicitly, and at the same time, various kinds of culturally-rooted attitudes and stances (Miller 2006). Moreover, at this stage, another device also proved to be very useful to provide data in a methodologically less subjective – and more replicable – way: *Sketch Engine* (Kilgarriff 2003). As a corpus query system working at the intersection of corpus and computational linguistics, *Sketch Engine* offers corpus-derived summaries of a word's grammatical and collocational behaviour (for a more detailed overview, see Chapter Four). For the analysis of the evaluations expressed in the news reports by the British press, one of the functions in

particular, word sketch, was extremely helpful to view the collocates of a specific keyword, grouped according to the grammatical relations in which they occur and, upon further examination, within their salient collocational context. This will be the focus of the next paragraphs.[1]

6.1 *Daily Mail*

Starting with the popular press, the *Daily Mail* appears to draw the most straightforward picture of Mark Duggan, univocally referring to him in terms of a drug dealer, both words being among the main collocates of the node words 'Mark/Duggan', which can be said to convey, in itself, a negative evaluation. Examples 1-4 illustrate the most frequent nominal groups referring to him:

1) For Duggan, 29, was also known as 'Starrish Mark'. He was ***an 'elder', or senior member***, ***of The Star Gang***, who strut the streets of Tottenham. (10/09/11)
2) Duggan was ***the nephew of notorious crime boss*** the late Desmond 'Dessie' Noonan. (10/09/11)
3) There was a real whiff of nostalgia about the funeral of ***Tottenham 'gangsta'*** Mark Duggan. (13/09/11)
4) But soon it became clear that Duggan was ***a suspected crack cocaine dealer and senior member of The Star Gang***, linked to drugs, violence and intimidation. (17/09/11)

Such a portrayal is also achieved by describing his gangster poses and attitudes, while never explicitly labelling him as a gangster, and by employing some specific adjectives in relation to his past, for instance *murky* (indicating something suspicious, questionable, turbid), as examples 5-6 show.

5) Duggan, who liked to be photographed ***wearing chunky jewellery and holding his fingers as if they were a pistol***, is said to have become obsessed with the death of his cousin Kelvin Easton, 23, another gang member, in a row over drugs and a woman. (13/08/11)

[1] The full list of collocates retrieved from *Sketch Engine* is available in Appendix 2. A selected number of examples from the concordances are presented in the following paragraphs; in all instances I emphasized in bold the parts carrying evaluation on the social actors under investigation.

6) But there was no escaping ***the murky past of Mark Duggan – the suspected gangster*** whose death sparked nationwide riots. (10/09/11)

This depiction might result in a more or less explicit downplaying of the police shooting by offering an implicit form of justification based on a 'law and order' morality.

The *Daily Mail*'s uses of the image of a gangster is further reinforced also when Duggan's partner, Semone Wilson, is involved, as the following headline reveals: "Fiancé of gangster whose death led to riots is let off drugs charge with caution" (17/09/11). The news report then goes on stressing the fact that she was arrested on suspicion of possessing cocaine and ecstasy with intent to supply; after raiding the house she shared with Mark, the police is said to have found a large quantity of drugs – something which would support, once again, Duggan's position as a gangster.

As for the second social actor under investigation, the rioters, the newspaper adopts an unmistakable position towards them, invariably describing them as greedy, criminals and gang members, with no political aim apart from opportunistic looting, thus highlighting the amoral and inexcusable nature of their actions. This position is mostly supported by drawing on religious institutional voices and Conservative political representatives (such as the Home Secretary Theresa May) who express thoroughly negative judgements and evaluations towards them – even giving some sort of cynical response to the questions arisen by *The Guardian Reading the Riots* sociological research and pertaining to the motivations for the social unrest (examples 7-16).

7) With a broken leg, it wasn't going to be easy to make a quick getaway. But that didn't stop this ***shameless looter in a wheelchair making off with a stolen plasma TV*** during the riots. (10/09/11)
8) Mrs May said: 'In fact, on average ***each rioter charged had committed 11 previous offences. In other words, they were career criminals***. And these are the very people saying they feel harassed by the police.' (15/09/11)
9) Speaking later, she said: 'What the LSE/Guardian report tells me more than anything is that ***the rioters still have not accepted responsibility for their actions. They're still blaming others – the police, the Government, 'society'. They're still making excuses***.' (15/09/11)

10) Mrs May said: 'Nearly two thirds of those brought before the courts were charged with either burglary, robbery or theft – so we know ***the vast mass of rioters weren't protesting, as they claimed; they were thieving***.' (15/09/11)
11) ***Most August rioters were hardened criminals driven by a desire for 'instant gratification'***, Theresa May declared last night. (15/09/11)
12) But yesterday Tory MP Romford Andrew Rosindell said ***the youngster needed a 'short sharp shock'. We need harsher penalties***. You've got to make people fear the punishment so they don't commit the crime,' he added. (17/09/11)
13) Figures also showed that ***young riot suspects were more likely to have faced suspension or expulsion from school for bad behaviour. More than one in three had been excluded in the last 12 months. They were also more likely to be low achievers at school***. (25/09/11)
14) ***Almost one in eight of those accused of involvement in the summer riots were claiming disability or sickness benefits***. Official figures showed ***12 per cent of the suspects hauled before the courts were on incapacity benefit or disability living allowance***. (25/09/11)
15) ***The thugs behind this summer's riots were no worse than Britain's bankers***, the Archbishop of Canterbury suggested yesterday. (26/09/11)
16) This paper, along with countless other witnesses to those frightening five days, took a less forgiving view of the rioters. As we commented at the time: 'To blame the cuts is immoral and cynical. ***This is criminality, pure and simple, by yobs who have nothing but contempt for decent, law-abiding people***.' (29/11/11)

The emerging picture of the rioters is a very deplorable one, they are exclusively depicted as disrespectful, opportunist and amoral people, lacking all kinds of moral restraints, and thus insulting law-abiding and honest people. The newspaper seems to invariably stigmatize them, not only for their misdeeds in the August disturbances, but also for their past actions, failures at school, and so forth, leaving no space to a more complex and articulated understanding of the events. Moreover, no political reason, apart from greed and opportunistic looting, is recognized (example 17).

17) We are told the rioters have been motivated by their rage at inequality, deprivation and unemployment. Some have blamed police brutality; others have wailed about 'Tory cuts' or the closure of youth clubs. But ***such explanations are as misguided as they're immoral. In reality, there is no justification for the outbreak of carnage that's gripped the capital***. (09/08/11)

The apolitical nature of the disturbances is further stressed as savage and despicable since, far from representing a political act, they are defined as a mixture of mindless criminality and opportunistic materialism.

On the linguistic level, there are a lot of negatively connotative words and/or phrases – that are often intensified by a series of adjectives and adverbs. The lexical items *criminal* and *criminality* – co-occurring with the pre-modifiers *hardened, career, shameless, sheer, pure and simple* – appear as recurring elements in the reporting concerning this social actor. Apart from the data emerging from the analysis of the most representative concordances, further analysis carried out with the corpus query system *Sketch Engine* (Kilgarriff 2003) has confirmed that, for instance, the keyword 'rioter' is often the subject of verbs such as *use* (6.38), *stone* (5.71), *cheat* (5.69), *target* (5.28), *fire* (5.21), *burn* (5.08), among those with the highest values.[2] Similarly, the keyword 'looter' is the subject of verbs such as *trash* (6.41), *tear* (6.39), *rampage* (6.33), *attack* (6.28), *torch* (6.23). In both cases, the verbs retrieved all invariably denote violent and unlawful material processes of which the rioters and looters are the actors, something which further contributes to portray them in execrable terms. Moreover, if in the case of 'rioter' most of the collocates stress aspects relating to their being young or even underage, 'looter' is often pre-modified by collocates such as *suspected* (8.96), *shameless* (8.02), *opportunistic* (7.56), *violent* (6.87), which certainly convey a very negative evaluation. Overall, the lexicon employed features a remarkable number of items belonging to the legal domain of crime and misdemeanour, with their emphasis on offences, criminal charges, criminality, penalties, and punishments, not to mention cheating and fraud by claiming benefits and allowances.

There is hardly any form of hedging in the articles, resulting in a very judgemental position, something which is also reflected in the very limited number of sources chosen for quotation: they almost exclusively refer to institutional or political (Conservative) statements together with those by police authorities (the MET). Indeed, the newspaper seems to grant very little access to the rioters in terms of self-expression and representation, which consequently produces a rather unbalanced reporting of the different viewpoints.

With both social actors, Duggan and the rioters, the linguistic 'devices' used by the *Daily Mail* to report the events seem to aim at enhancing the emotional properties of the words and phrases employed to elicit a sense of shared and irrevocable condemnation for

[2] Unless otherwise specified, the values in brackets are the scores for collocation analysis computed by *Sketch Engine*.

Duggan's lifestyle (downplaying the act of shooting by the police suggesting a sort of moral justification, after all 'he was just a gangster') as much as for the rioters' misdeeds (putting all the blame on them).

The third social actor, the police, whose shooting is deemed to have sparked the riots, seems to be implicitly 'condoned' by the newspaper for the killing of Mark Duggan, something that is achieved by avoiding all kinds of evaluations in relation to the action in itself, and by 'loading' the description of Duggan with the image of a gangster and drug dealer. In doing so, there is an attempt to link him to the (more or less stereotypical) world of black gangs in which young black people kill each other with alarming regularity in the utmost indifference:

18) ***Yet when the police kill an alleged crack-dealing gangster, the so-called 'dispossessed' of our inner cities go crazy. […] [T]he eagerness of community leaders to focus all indignation against the police, while ignoring the lethal realities of gang feuds, displays a warped double standard which is hindering the acceptance of moral responsibility***. (09/08/11)

As example 18 shows, the newspaper seems to adopt a sort of justificatory attitude towards the police, while accusing and blaming the communities for their reaction to the shooting of an alleged criminal.

Apart from this position, the *Daily Mail* significantly criticises the police, stating that they have a series of questions to answer, not so much in relation to Duggan's death but, more importantly, in relation to why they stood aside, why they were unable to come to people's aid – preventing the destruction of their property – and they allowed such an opportunistic looting (examples 19-22).

19) ***Retreating from the streets, the police abandoned the public to the scourge of anti-social behaviour and criminality***. (08/08/11)
20) The problem, however, is that ***the police are no longer trusted, neither in what they do nor in what they subsequently say about what they have done***. (08/08/11)
21) ***We can't rely on the police to protect us or our property in normal circumstances, let alone in the event of a riot***. (19/08/11)

22) Most worrying of all, however, is the finding that in many areas, ***people felt 'abandoned' by the police, who could have prevented the riots spreading if only they had reacted firmly from the start***. (29/11/11)

What is extensively underlined is the absolutely weak and inadequate response of the police: they could not contain the scale of the riots, it took them too much time to respond, and they could do nothing but abandon the streets in fear for their lives. This failure is further explained by highlighting the usual behaviour of police officers, as reported in examples 23-24.

23) Just as prison warders turn a blind eye to prisoners smoking dope in the belief that it keeps them docile, so ***the police routinely ignore criminality in pursuit of a quiet life*** (09/08/11)
24) ***The police***, in recent years, ***have developed a reputation for ignoring yobbery and bullying***, or even for taking the yob's side against complainants. (10/08/11)

The police are overtly accused of having a far too lenient attitude with criminals, blamed for their incompetence and self-justification, if not worse, when they are said to have cowardly fled the scenes of savage looting.

Despite the sense of condemnation for both Duggan and the rioters – in relation to whom the police are portrayed in a relatively positive light (at least as far as the legitimacy of their deeds is concerned) – the newspaper does not avoid a very negative depiction of this social actor as a general evaluation of its response to the social unrest. Indeed, *Sketch Engine* has indicated the co-occurrence of the keyword 'police' – in subject position (as the functional actor) – with the verb *abandon* (6.37) with a higher value, and verbs such as *force* (6.59), *accuse* (6.38), *blame* (6.35) in cases where 'police' is either the object or goal of the process ('forcing the police to chase them') or the subject of a passive voice. Another interesting occurrence is that of verbs like *trust* (6.34) – usually featuring a positive semantic prosody – that are, however, employed in the negative form ('the police are no longer trusted'), and a lot of modal verbs employed in their negative form, marking that something could have done, although it was not.

6.2 *Daily Mirror*

As for the *Daily Mirror*, there are few occurrences in which Duggan is described as a well-known gangster; overall the newspaper does not offer many instances of negatively evaluative language, and it employs fewer connotative expressions that appear to aim at a slightly less biased representation of Duggan. In fact, most often, he is depicted as a victim of a police shooting. Indeed, the main collocates of the node words 'Mark Duggan' are conjugated forms of the verb *shoot* (*shooting, shot*) and *die* (examples 1-2), and nominalised actions (examples 3-4).

1) About 120 people marched on Tottenham police station in North London after ***Mark Duggan, 29, died*** on Thursday in a firefight with cops. (07/08/11)
2) The riots began in Tottenham, London, two days after ***Mark Duggan, 29, was shot dead by police***. (22/09/11)
3) There needs to be a transparent and thorough investigation into the ***death of Mark Duggan***. (08/08/11)
4) More than 700 people have been charged with various offences related to the violence that blighted Britain after ***the police shooting of Mark Duggan*** sparked riots in Tottenham, North London. (12/08/11)

In such occurrences, however, no specific evaluative language seems to be used in relation to Mark Duggan.

Similarly in the case of the rioters, while expressing its strong disapproval for the people it defines as 'morality-free kids', the newspaper also attempts an analysis into the causes of the riots. More specifically, it does give a negative portrayal, by describing them as coward, violent, wild, outrageous, and arrogant, as evident from examples 5-9.

5) But as a Londoner, let me make a wild guess – ***the overwhelming majority of the rioters will turn out to be of a specific type, and it was this lost generation that made the riots possible***. As all law and order broke down on the streets of the capital, when the buildings burned and the children screamed and 999 calls meant nothing, there were ***opportunists who joined the riots to grab whatever they could***. ***Common thieves*** will always be with us. (13/08/11)

6) ***The rioters were so brazen*** during the disturbances they felt nobody could touch them. ***They have continued this arrogance*** and have bragged on the phone about their involvement and their hauls. (14/08/11)
7) We knew we had problems. But this? Homes and livelihoods torched, young men murdered on the streets, ***laughing yobs looting and vandalising whatever they can get their hands on***. (14/08/11)
8) ***Violent rioters beat up or mugged more than 700 victims as they brought anarchy to the streets*** over the summer, it emerged yesterday. (25/10/11)
9) ***Here is what the rioters all had in common – they are all cowards***. They were brave when they were mob-handed and running with the gang. They were full of bravado when the mob was bottling a handful of cowering policemen. (24/12/11)

A number of overtly evaluative nouns and pre-modifying adjectives are employed in connection to the rioters (*cowards*, *opportunists*, *common thieves*, *full of bravado*, *laughing yobs*, *violent*, *brazen*). Apart from the data emerging from the afore-mentioned examples, *Sketch Engine* provides further evidence of a very negative evaluative language in the reporting of this social actor. Word sketch also signals the use of adjectives like *dopey* (8.08), *bungling* (8.08), *dimwit* (8.02), *shameless* (8.02), among the pre-modifiers of the keyword 'looter'. Moreover, this social actor is usually associated to violent material processes, such as *beat* (7.08), *trash* (6.54), *burn* (6.08), *clash* (5.57), although the number of such processes and their values as collocates are lower if compared to the previous newspaper.

At the same time, the newspaper also stresses the fact that the country needs to face the challenges posed by the events by tackling important issues. To such extent, it quotes the statements of a series of chief executives of well-known companies (such as Virgin Atlantic, BAA, Nationwide, Holiday Inn) who overtly underline the importance of giving young people hope and support in order to avoid such troubles in the future (examples 10-13). So, despite the negative depiction of the rioters, there seems to be, at least, an attempt to contextualize the events from a wider perspective taking into account the general economic crisis and widespread distrust for the politicians' misdeeds.

10) ***As the adults of tomorrow these morality-free kids are the single biggest issue we face as a society***. ***We cannot allow them to grow up thinking they have no accountability***. […] ***They need to grow up believing they have a place in society***. (14/08/11)

11) In the cold light of day, ***is there a great deal of difference between MPs and looters*** – apart from the fact that the politicians needed the booty much less and should have known much better? ***Most looters are being sent to a house of correction while most of the guilty MPs were sent back to the House of Commons to moralise about the underclass. Shameless.*** (18/08/11)
12) ***We need to grow our future leaders by giving them the training they need today***. Over 20% of young people are unemployed. ***All of us need to support them into work*** or, as taxpayers, we will support them for years to come. (26/09/11)
13) ***Engaging young people in the world of work is vital for their future*** […]. ***We can't let them be a forgotten generation***. It would be great to get firms to offer mentoring, work experience and expertise to disadvantaged young people. We could inspire young Britain for a lifetime. (26/09/11)

Despite being a popular newspaper, the *Daily Mirror* seems to give a hint of a relatively in-depth analysis of the events and of the rioters motivations, which partly reduces the general negative depiction.

Another important issue is furthermore highlighted: the view according to which race and religion would be the unspoken elements underlying the 2011 social unrest – something that only *The Guardian* also heavily emphasizes. As emerging from examples 14-16, the rioters are sketched in terms of their social, cultural, and ethnic background, a factor that is signalled as influencing the very sparking of the disturbances.

14) Of course ***the unspoken element in all this is race and religion*** – a problem which the multiculturalists have been warned about for the past 40 years. (12/08/11)
15) They were not race riots. But race clearly played a part. Community leaders say ***young black men still feel huge resentment towards police***. And the shooting dead of Mark Duggan hasn't helped. More black officers at a senior level would be good for the MET in so many ways. (14/08/11)
16) The figures show many ***rioters were poor, on benefits, failing at school and black***. (25/10/11)

While acknowledging that these were not race riots as those occurred in the past decades (1981, 1985, 1995), the *Daily Mirror* suggests that deeper reasons might have played a part in the events.

Generally speaking, even when some negatively connotative words and/or phrases are employed, they are usually mitigated by some kind of hedging, toning down utterances that might have triggered certain images in the minds of potential readers. Moreover, the newspaper adopts an approach that aims at accounting for a variety of perspectives and viewpoints. Indeed, references to different sources are more numerous than in the previous newspaper: institutional and political (both Liberal and Conservative) voices find their space, as well as those of police authorities and ordinary people giving their impressions and comments on the disturbances.

Moving to the evaluative linguistic representations of the police, the *Daily Mirror* overtly blames them for the ways in which they confronted the rioters as well as the chaos and mayhem they created. While admitting that the scale of the social unrest and the terror were unprecedented, the newspaper constantly highlights that police officers had been deployed in absolutely insufficient numbers, which was perceived by the rioters as an opportunity to exploit the situation (examples 17-22).

17) ***There was little or no police presence in the streets around the central shopping district*** as gangs up to 30 strong continued the mayhem. (09/08/11)
18) ***The intensity of the rioting forced police to surrender the streets*** in parts of London last night. (09/08/11)
19) The residents have spoken of ***a complete failure by the police and the fire brigade*** to get to them. They almost died in the building. They said ***police ran in the opposite direction***. (09/08/11)
20) Questions were also being asked over ***the failure of police to bring the riots under control as thugs in many areas were left unchallenged to terrorise members of the public***. (10/08/11)
21) You were either with them or you were against them. And for four long days and nights, ***the police could not cope***. The big problem with the riots – and it is the big problem with our country – is that ***the rioters clearly felt no fear***. (03/09/11)
22) ***The police were outnumbered, outgunned and out-fought*** last summer. ***They could not cope*** and it was terrifying. (24/12/11)

A close reading of the concordances featuring the node word ‘police’ shows a frequent use of modal verbs in the negative form, to signal something that the police could have done, but in the end did not. Moreover, the use of verbs featuring the prefix ‘out-’ (*outnumber*, *outgun*,

out-fight) stresses the inferiority of the police compared to their counterpart, the rioters – the prefix 'out-' adding the meaning of 'exceeding', 'going beyond', 'being better than', a condition that the police passively suffer due to the surprising number and involvement of the rioters. Such a condition is further confirmed by the adjectives identified by *Sketch Engine* as co-occurring with the keyword 'police' in subject position: *timid* (8.39), *powerless* (8.34). Great emphasis is given to the police's inability to handle the riots, as illustrated by the reiteration of the noun *failure* in connection to their actions and conduct. That appears as the most significant feature – something also emerging from the several individual stories that are quoted claiming people felt abandoned by the police: the newspaper seems to hold a rather critical position towards them, signalled by an overall negative evaluation of their operations and strategies.

6.3 *The Sun*

The Sun certainly features the most negatively evaluative language in connection to Duggan. Among the lexical words collocating with the first keyword under investigation, *gangster* is the most frequent collocate (8.38), something which is also confirmed by the most recurrent clusters being *suspected gangster Mark Duggan* and *gangster suspect Mark Duggan*, as examples 1-4 illustrate.

1) Anger in the North London community about Thursday's ***shooting dead of suspected gangster Mark Duggan***, 29, by cops led to a protest outside Tottenham police station. (08/08/11)
2) The riots were sparked by the ***police shooting of suspected gangster Mark Duggan*** in Tottenham, London. (10/08/11)
3) ***A gangster suspect*** shot dead by police ***was the nephew of a crime lord*** who hinted on TV that he was responsible for 27 murders. ***Mark Duggan's late uncle was gangland boss Desmond 'Dessie' Noonan***, whose feared crime family have run Manchester's underworld for 20 years (12/08/11).
4) The trouble kicked off after ***suspected gangster Mark Duggan*** was shot dead by police in Tottenham, North London. (15/08/11)

The frequent use of the term *gangster* (despite its co-occurrence with *suspected*) and the emphasis on his strong connections with a crime family denotes a very precise portrayal of

Duggan and can be said to unmistakably reveal the newspaper's attitude towards this social actor.

Quite typically for a tabloid/red top paper, *The Sun* habitually mentions alleged witnesses or, more simply, quotes the words of Duggan's relatives and friends in relation to the victim and the shooting. Even in such cases, the image that is suggested is that of a gangster (see example 5):

5) The farewell to ***Mark Duggan***, 29 – ***hailed "one of our fallen soldiers"*** by a funeral steward – passed off peacefully as his horse-drawn hearse was saluted by mourners lining the streets (10/09/11).

In this case, even more than in the *Daily Mail*, there is a very univocal portrayal of the man whose shooting sparked the riots.

Moving to the second social actor, the rioters, the depiction that emerges from the reporting of the newspaper is (again) very straightforward. The news reports feature an extensive use of direct and indirect reported speech, with a lot of interviews to authorities, among them Prince William, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Conservative politician Theresa May, and the Ministry of Justice, giving plenty of official statements and figures, as examples 6-10 show. Even when institutional voices are not quoted, the newspaper's stance towards the rioters is very clear.

6) Let's get rid, once and for all, of the idea that last month's riots were an outpouring of anguish from victims of the recession. […] We now have concrete proof that ***the arsonists and looters were nearly all hardened criminals***. The Justice Dept.'s statistics behind the riots tell an ***appalling story of modern Britain*** and illustrate yet again the folly and irresponsibility of going soft on thugs. […] ***Rioters had no fear of the consequences of being caught***. (16/09/11)
7) ***Thugs*** held in the August riots ***were part of a feckless criminal underclass*** – with one in eight on DISABILITY benefits, figures reveal. […] ***A huge 76 per cent had criminal records, while more than a third were on some kind of benefit***. (25/10/11)
8) ***Hundreds of arrested thugs were disability or incapacity claimants – but not too incapacitated to hurl trolleys through shop windows and carry off gigantic TVs***. […] It also emerges ***many thugs had been kicked out of school***. And in some cities, the

number of young black rioters was disproportionately high. […] We ignore this snapshot of ***feral Britain*** at our peril. (25/10/11)

9) The trend suggests ***the violence was led by opportunist raiders***, despite a report last week claiming it was sparked by anger at cops. Figures show that ***80 per cent of adult rioters had a previous conviction or caution***. (13/12/11)

10) Theresa May was heckled by a leftie mob yesterday for daring to say the ***summer riots were fuelled by crime and greed***. The Home Secretary said […] they were NOT caused by cuts or unemployment. She added: "***The vast mass of rioters weren't protesting as they claimed – they were thieving***." (15/12/11)

By employing adjectives like *opportunist*, *feckless*, *criminal*, *hardened*, *feral*, as much as nouns like *thugs* and *criminals*, *The Sun* certainly conveys a very negative evaluation of the rioters (as defiant, shameless and unruly people), which clearly signals its stance. Additional pre-modifying collocates of the keyword 'rioter' as emerging from *Sketch Engine* are *hate-filled* (8.11), *berserk* (7.09), *feral* (6.68), which carry a series of connotations having to do with being rancorous, insane and out of control. Such representation is further emphasised by the several violent material processes to which this participant is associated as an actor: *trash* (7.13), *torch* (7.02), *burst* (6.68), *storm* (6.58), featuring the highest values. Similarly, in the case of the keyword 'looter', apart from the co-occurring items that were previously examined, other significant collocates are *opportunistic* (8.56), *teenage* (7.96), *lawless* (7.74), *arsonist* (7.52).

Moreover, it is worth noting that there is an extensive use of verbal irony and sarcasm, which allows the newspaper to make a commentary that can easily find a widespread consensus among its readers, while consistently marking the difference between the things that are said – as incongruent with the truth – and the viewpoint that is being adopted (example 11).

11) Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg has said the young thugs who rioted this summer had "lost touch with their own future". […] Perhaps ***this will be the rioters next excuse when in court: "Sorry, m'lud, I temporarily lost touch with my own future and thought a widescreen plasma TV might help."*** (22/09/11)

Similarly, the newspaper uses the same linguistic strategy to ridicule *The Guardian*/LSE's *Reading the Riots* sociological research by mocking their findings on the rioters' motivations (examples 12-13).

12) The LSE, which carried out the study, […] hasn't done itself any favours with this research. ***Excuse me young man, why did you riot? "It wasn't because I lack a moral sense and fancied a new pair of trainers, it's because I is oppressed, innit?" Come on! The rioters are not the first criminals to blame someone or something else for the crimes they committed***. And they won't be the last, either. (08/12/11)

13) What was the science behind this analysis? Simple – ***they asked the rioters why they rioted and, astonishingly, they all said stuff along the lines of: "Well, I felt oppressed by the filth, didn't I? And also by the current macroeconomic climate. In both cases I thought that I might feel better if I helped myself to a pair of training shoes from JD Sports and also a flat-screen plasma TV. […] And some fags, obviously." Oddly enough, very few of the rioters said: "I went on the rampage because I'm a criminally-inclined opportunistic little scrote who fancied a ruck and also some consumer durables. Plus it was fun smashing stuff up."*** (08/12/11)

In such cases, verbal irony and sarcasm are employed by *The Sun* to detach themselves from the (softer) positions of *The Guardian*.

Another important feature is that the newspaper chooses a very specific focus on the age of the participants involved in the events – with constant references to 'child rioters' – and on the legal proceedings following the riots – with many articles dealing with tougher justice in Crown courts, Magistrates handing rioters sentences longer than average, and rioters being 'caged'. A lot of space is also devoted to the reporting of individual stories, both of the rioters as well as of the people whose homes and businesses were damaged or completely destroyed.

As for the third participant, the police, in *The Sun* a significantly different attitude towards them can be outlined, since an interesting position seems to emerge. There is the usual emphasis on the fact that the police are to be blamed, indeed, because they had plenty of warning that the riots were going to happen, they reacted too softly and too slowly, and they merely stood back while the violence spread (examples 14-16).

14) ***Local police were starved of resources and experienced detectives***. (08/08/11)

15) ***Cops ordered to stand back at the Tottenham riots were the 'sole trigger' for unrest to spread across England***, a report has found. ***The MET's slow response "encouraged people to test reactions in other areas"*** […]. The report urged cops to "immediately review plans on how to deal with mass disorder". It added: ***"The perception was that police could not contain the rioting"***. (29/11/11)
16) A damning report by the Home Affairs Committee ***lays the blame for four days of mayhem on MET chiefs' soft tactics. It says police should also have done more to warn businesses***. (19/12/11)

Sketch Engine also confirms this depiction of the police; in fact, among the adjectival collocates with higher values, there are *thin* (8.99) and *delicate* (8.83), both appearing as pre-modifiers of the keyword 'police' in subject position. As for the processes to which the node word was mostly associated – apart from *shoot* (6.11) which refers to the act that sparked the riots – *catch* (6.16), *defeat* (5.45), *caution* (5.44) are also noteworthy.

Interestingly, however, the reports by *The Sun* also show a shift of the 'focus of the blame' from police officers in general to police chiefs in particular. This is a very clear mark of the stance that seems to characterize the newspaper: unlike chiefs, officers are to be praised for their courage and for risking their lives while confronting the social unrest (as examples 17-20 illustrate).

17) The law on rioting must be toughened. ***Our brave police must be given a free hand to smash the mobs whatever it takes***. (10/08/11)
18) Well, ***don't blame the police on the streets of Hackney, Croydon or Brixton*** for letting Britain down. ***Blame their politically-correct commanders and the handwringing politicians*** who adopt the cringe position when the 'underprivileged' resort to violence. ***Blame the Macpherson Report which emasculated our police by branding the entire force 'institutionally racist'***. […] And blame hypocrites like Ken Livingston and the race relations industry who have made a good living out of grievance politics and the victimhood of workshy whingers. (10/08/11)
19) ***The Tottenham police chief went away just as violence flared***. ***Leadership was lacking exactly when it was most needed***. (13/08/11)
20) David Cameron spoke for most of us when he said police were initially too thin on the ground and misjudged their early response. Police chiefs are right to say ***their bobbies displayed great courage confronting unprecedented disorder***. (13/08/11)

As evident, police officers receive a very positive evaluation in the news reports under investigation. Indeed, *Sketch Engine* shows the pre-modifying adjective *brave* (7.17) as having a very high value among the collocates of the keyword 'police'. This portrayal is further reinforced by a significant stress on the several violent attacks that they (together with police dogs) had to face during the disturbances. In fact, plenty of details are provided on the number of injured officers as they had been attacked with bricks, bottles, planks of wood and even motor vehicles.

The other noteworthy aspect is the mocking attitude of the newspaper towards politicians and institutional personalities (who were still on holiday during the first days when the riots spread) and, also, towards another British newspaper, *The Guardian*, for its compliant disposition, as examples 21-23 show.

21) ***Prince Charles was right to declare that the riots were a far cry for help. Most of the greedy, feral thugs were indeed shouting for assistance – but mainly because they couldn't physically carry the sheer volume of electrical goods they had nicked, or lift up the heavy bricks and masonry they lobbed at police, without calling out for help***. (20/08/11)

22) ***Teenagers are so sick of the police treating them like criminals that they've decided to protest against it through a mixture of arson, theft and violence. They're trying to smash the system. The system of earning money to pay for stuff***. (12/08/11)

23) At last, ***those awful riots*** we had in the summer have been explained. Apparently they ***were caused by the police. We know this because of a joint study between the London School of Economics and a low circulation local London newspaper for the insane, The Guardian.*** […] ***It was all the fault of the Old Bill*** and also the fact that the rioters were skint and didn't like being skint. (08/12/11)

Once again, *The Sun* uses a scornful and contemptuous tone to make its point, something which is very revealing of its stance in the whole reporting of the events. By deriding a variety of subjects, the newspaper prevents all possible explanations, encouraging its readers to take the view according to which the riots were exclusively caused by opportunistic looting.

6.4 *The Telegraph*

As for the quality press, *The Telegraph* seems to be rather direct in its portrayal of Duggan, employing almost no hedges in the reporting, but at the same time also resorting to family sources (balancing, to a certain extent, the many police sources quoted) claiming that he had left gangs behind and was staying far from trouble. Data showed that the principal image of Duggan offered by the newspaper is of a notorious gangster or 'gang lieutenant', although such nominal group could not be found among the collocates with the highest values. *Police*, *shooting* and *death* are the strongest lexical collocates, something which is confirmed by further examination of the concordances, showing that nominalisations are often preferred to other linguistic structures (nominalisation giving the chance not to explicitly express the agent) (see examples 1-2).

1) They said the initial riots in Tottenham rose out of long-standing grievances between the local community and the police, and 'insensitive policing' following ***the shooting of Mark Duggan***. (18/11/11)
2) At a pre-inquest hearing into ***the death of Mark Duggan***, 29, on Aug 4, Michael Mansfield QC, representing Mr Duggan's family, questioned the Independent Police Complaints Commission investigator, Colin Sparrow. (13/12/11)

This social actor is also frequently associated with relational processes – encoding states of being and information on him through attribution and identification – as examples 3-7 show.

3) ***Mr Duggan was known to the police*** – they were trying to arrest him at the time. (08/08/11)
4) ***Mark was one of the elders in the N17 gang***. (08/08/11)
5) According to others, ***Duggan was a key gang lieutenant***. His uncle was Desmond Noonan, a Manchester gangster who once boasted of having 'more guns than the police' and one of whose brothers, Domenyk, was arrested during rioting on Tuesday in Manchester. (14/08/11)
6) ***Duggan was armed with a blank-firing BBM 'Bruni' pistol*** that had been converted to fire live bullets. It was found in a sock at the scene. (14/08/11)
7) For several days before his death, ***Duggan was the target of specialist police motorcycle surveillance teams and officers*** from Operation Trident. (14/08/11)

In example 3, the (otherwise neutral) item *known* can be said to carry a negative evaluation because it is used in connection to *police*, where the fact of being known to the police clearly conveys a very bad depiction of him. This image is further reinforced by the many references to his role in the world of gangs and the fact that he was, indeed, armed when the police stopped him.

Pre- and post-modification is also often employed (example 8), together with some material processes having Duggan as the real or conceptual goal depending on whether an active or passive voice was used (examples 9-10).

8) They [the riots] might, ostensibly, have been triggered by the police shooting of ***Mark Duggan, a notorious gangster***, in North London. (10/08/11)

9) They were voicing concerns over the death on Thursday of ***Mark Duggan***, 29, who ***was killed*** after an apparent exchange of fire with officers. (07/08/11)

10) ***One bullet killed Duggan***, but an officer was hit, a bullet lodging in his shoulder-mounted radio. (14/08/11)

As evident, *The Telegraph* gives quite a univocal representation of Duggan, constantly stressing the same few aspects concerning his life and the event in which he died, while still employing the verb *killed* rather than *shot*, which seems to bear a stronger value.

Moving to the rioters, the newspaper holds a condemnatory view, and consequently uses a very judgmental and negatively evaluative language when reporting about them (examples 11-14).

11) There were, broadly, ***three groups of rioters – organised career criminals, targeting specific, high-value merchandise; semi-organised youths wanting 'pure terror' and whatever they could lay their hands on; and those who got carried away in the excitement***. Many of those turned out to be very far from the stereotype of the hopeless underclass. (14/08/11)

12) In a newspaper article, Mr Clarke [the Justice Secretary and Conservative politician] wrote that ***the "hard core" of rioters were known criminals and that the violence and looting was "an outburst of outrageous behaviour by the criminal classes."*** (06/09/11)

13) According to figures released yesterday, ***hundreds of rioters were serial offenders who had been handed community penalties, fines or cautions for their previous crimes***, leaving them free to join in the disturbances last month. (16/09/11)

14) There we all were during those tense few days in August, glued to our TV screens as shops were looted and homes burned to the ground, misguidedly thinking that the police had lost control of the streets to ***a rag-tag army of opportunistic, feral criminals***. (06/12/11)

Word sketch analysis of the most relevant node words with *Sketch Engine* has proved that the keyword 'rioter' is often pre-modified by the adjectival collocates *unchallenged* (9.51), *bonkers* (9.33), *white* (7.51), *young* (6.62), *black* (6.57), which reveal an emphasis on ethnicity, although not specifically on minorities; the keyword 'looter' is pre-modified by *juvenile* (8.96), *opportunistic* (8.56), while the keyword 'offender' collocates with adjectives such as *repeat* (8.57), *juvenile* (8.42), *young* (8.4), *violent* (7.72), *serial* (7.45), *persistent* (7.39). Overall, while foregrounding the fact that, in most of the cases, the participants to the riots had a criminal history, with serial crimes under their belt, aspects pertaining to the age of the rioters are also considerably remarked. However, the most stressed element certainly relates to the violence of their actions, as the following collocates (featuring the highest values) show: *destroy* (6.96), *smash* (6.84), *whip* (6.71), *outnumber* (6.65), *plunder* (6.63), *raid* (6.39), *rampage* (6.33), *ransack* (6.26), *burn* (6.08), with this participant in subject position, as the actor of such material processes.

Although the wave of civil unrest, the social damage and breach of trust deriving from the events are broadly highlighted, the newspaper criticises *The Guardian Reading the Riots* sociological study (mostly by quoting Theresa May's viewpoint), and displays a strong verbal irony reporting its 'extraordinary' findings according to which interviewees revealed a deep-seated and visceral antipathy towards the police (which is regarded as no surprise since most of those charged had previous convictions).

15) ***As three-quarters of those charged turned out to have previous convictions (and one in four had committed ten prior offences)***, ***perhaps it is not entirely surprising that interviewees revealed a "deep-seated and sometimes visceral antipathy" towards the police. Turkeys seldom have much affection for Christmas.*** […] ***For The Guardian to act as an apologist for young criminals who brought mayhem and misery to those members of their own communities who try hard to lead decent, productive lives is unsurprising***. (08/12/11)

16) But ***the project's ['Reading the Riots] main finding seems to be that the rioters don't like the police. I know, extraordinary, isn't it?*** (08/12/11)

17) The Home Secretary […] said: "***The riots weren't about protests, unemployment, cuts. The riots weren't about the future, about tomorrow. They were about today. They were about now. They were about instant gratification***. Because all the riots really come down to money." (15/12/11)

Further sarcastic language is used when commenting on the usual excuses the Left is said to find for the thugs, justifying their actions with all sorts of explanation or pretext (example 18):

18) Well, that didn't take long, ***just four months to turn the summer rioters from the scum of the earth into victims***. […] ***Silly me, I didn't realise the rioters were victims; common sense is turned on its head as the Left finds its usual excuses for the thugs***. (06/12/11)

Overall, no space seems to be given to the rioters as a social actor outside the rioting and looting: the rare occasions on which rioters are quoted are only meant to provide further evidence of the fact that they were driven by excitement and thrill, namely a sort of pleasure deriving from what they were doing. Therefore, although different 'voices' talking about them can be heard, their viewpoints are actually back-grounded in the reporting of *The Telegraph*.

Despite a strong emphasis on the destructive violence of rioters and looters, the newspaper does not spare its criticism to the police. Their decisions, actions and tactics are negatively evaluated, not only because they proved to be a failure, but also because they are regarded as a trigger for the spread of the disturbances. They are deemed "certainly culpable for the catastrophic handling of the events" (25/11/11) and for having allowed looters to steal from properties and shops in what the newspaper defines as one of the worst scenes of civil unrest in recent years. Examples 19-24 clearly show the position held by the newspaper.

19) ***The effective absence of police from the streets in the hours after the tragic shooting in Tottenham, and the spreading message that they took no interest, served to compound the view*** – held by many within the feral underbelly of our cities – ***that the police have become enfeebled and fearful of confrontation***. (14/08/11)
20) The investigation found that ***police withdrew from the area at 9.08pm and did not return until 10.38pm. Rioters were left free to attack 109 businesses***. (07/10/11)
21) ***Police lacked the training to deal with riots*** such as those seen in the summer, a senior officer said yesterday. (30/11/11)

22) In London and other areas, in contrast with the effectiveness of police responses in some towns and cities, ***there was a failure of police tactics***. (19/12/11)

23) ***The initial decision to stand back and allow the disturbances in Tottenham to run unchecked*** as police cars were torched and shops ransacked ***was a calamitous mistake***. As the report states: "***The single most important reason why the disorder spread was the perception***, relayed by television as well as social media, ***that in some areas the police had lost control of the streets***." (19/12/11)

24) ***The police, outmanoeuvred by the size and speed of the mob, appeared powerless to contain the violence***. (31/12/11)

Corpus data emerging from *Sketch Engine* confirm that the keyword 'police' frequently appears as subject of verbs such as *lose* (7,08) and *fail* (5,88) in the active voice (not to mention *shoot* that obviously features a higher value - 7,28 -), or *force* (8,01), *attack* (7,79), *accuse* (7,11), *criticise* (6,66), *blame* (6,35) in the passive voice, which results in a negative depiction of the social actor undergoing a series of attacks they could not cope with.

Overall, the newspaper criticises the police for not reacting earlier and robustly with sufficient numbers of officers. A report is also often referred to, stating that half of the public thought they were too soft on the rioters and they should have used firearms. Great emphasis is given to this general blame by quoting the interviews with a series of ordinary people having their say on the events after witnessing the riots, as example 25 shows.

25) The London businessman said he was "bitterly disappointed" by the way the police had acted during the riots and said ***officers should have done far more to protect the community***. […] "To me that just seems like ***the police haven't done their job***." (21/08/11)

Such a view is reported together with many others claiming that there were no police anywhere and that everyone felt completely abandoned, which, broadly speaking, seems the prevailing portrayal of this social actor, with a very negative evaluation.

6.5 *The Times*

In *The Times* the node words 'Mark/Duggan' feature *police*, *family* and the conjugated forms of the verb *shoot* among the most frequent collocates. The concordances retrieved show an

interesting use of the group *police killing* – in addition to *police shooting* – a choice that seems to state and underline the act of the police more explicitly (example 1):

1) It started with a peaceful protest in Tottenham over ***the police killing of Mark Duggan***, a 29-year-old black man. (18/11/11)

On the other hand, although it does not seem to be the prominent one, the image of a gangster is still present in the reporting of the newspaper (examples 2-4):

2) Armed handcover officers from the Metropolitan Police's firearms unit SO19 were following ***Duggan, 29, a suspected gangster***, when they stopped the minicab he was in near Tottenham Hale Tube station. (14/08/11)
3) The intelligence was correct: ***Duggan did have a firearm, an Olympic BBM 380 starting pistol converted for live rounds. Popular with gangs***, these guns were banned two years ago because they can be adapted in under an hour to fire short 9mm ammunition. (14/08/11)
4) A converted handgun found near the body of ***Mark Duggan, a suspected gangster*** shot dead by police in Tottenham, north London, in August, was used almost a week earlier during an alleged pistol-whipping at a hair salon in east London. (20/11/11)

To a certain extent (although in lower percentages if compared to the previous quality paper, *The Telegraph*), *The Times* describes Duggan in a way that relates him to the world of gangs, although it is worth noting that the pre-modifier *suspected* has a different value and a definitely less negative connotation than the pre-modifiers *well-known* or *notorious*, which were previously found in other newspapers.

However, the newspaper also highlights the fact that Duggan did not fire at the police, contrary to what had been initially reported, which seems to partially reduce the blame on him for having allegedly posed a threat to the police officers who shot him dead (examples 5-6):

5) ***At first it was claimed that Duggan opened fire on the police. Then it emerged that his weapon had not been discharged***. (14/08/11)
6) ***Earlier reports suggested that Duggan had fired his gun at an officer***. But the Independent Police Complaints Commission last week released a statement saying ***this was not the case***. (14/08/11)

As for the other central social actor under investigation, the rioters, the newspaper accounts for the usual depiction of rioters as criminals with previous convictions, being thrilled by what they were doing and the 'power' they felt, as examples 7-10 show.

7) Apart from spreading fear, ***many rioters and looters showed scant regard for human life***. Three young men were murdered in Birmingham and there were many lucky escapes from arson attacks elsewhere. (21/08/11)
8) ***What made the rioters so petrifying to the rest of us was the realisation that they had no conscience about behaving badly***. Only the threat of physical force or retribution could hold them back. (21/08/11)
9) The August riots revealed an uncomfortable truth that is far from exceptional: ***most of the offenders*** who took to looting and burning ***weren't new to crime. Three-quarters of defendants had a previous conviction or caution, with an average of 15 offences each***. (02/10/11)
10) ***The party atmosphere was seen as both encouraging and explaining the riots that swept London, Birmingham, Manchester and other cities***. In addition, ***youngsters saw looting as a chance to obtain property*** and were encouraged by the sight of older people, the sort normally viewed as 'respectable', taking part. (04/11/11)

Further analysis with *Sketch Engine* confirms a negative evaluation of this social actor, which, however, is not as negative as the portrayals found in the other newspapers previously analysed. In this case, among the most frequent collocates of the keywords 'rioter', 'looter', 'offender', and 'young', the following lexical items could be retrieved: *suspected* (9.69), *inarticulate* (9.48), *intent* (9.36), *unemployed* (8.33), *black* (7.78), *vulnerable* (7.76), *young* (7.25), *armed* (6.83), *feral* (6.68). Overall, they all appear less straightforward and judgemental than the terms used by the other newspapers.

The Times seems to actually adopt a softer position towards this social actor. Indeed, an in-depth reading has revealed that a lot of emphasis was also given to the fact that the people rioting in August 2011 were driven by some serious underlying motivations and that condemning all younger generations, treating them as criminals, would be a huge injustice (examples 11-14).

11) We saw scenes of terrible violence last week. […] The tragedy is, ***we are turning a large number of potentially decent young people into misfits and criminals***. (14/08/11)
12) If we want young people to share our beliefs then we must have the confidence to articulate those beliefs with authority. Unfortunately too many institutions and individuals have lost that confidence. ***The young men I interviewed interpreted this failure by authority as a failure to care***. (14/08/11)
13) ***Stigmatising the young, branding them all feral for the mischief of a relative few, does both society and, especially, children an injustice***. (03/11/11)
14) ***Youngsters were angry about MPs' expenses and the perceived greed of bankers***, believing that there was one rule for the rich and one for the poor. (04/11/11)

Above all, *The Times* draws attention on the dangers of generalised judgements vilifying young people. As a matter of fact, the newspaper extensively mentions additional nuances in the portrayal of the rioters, rejecting traditional descriptions of them. In examples 15-18, it seems to pay more attention to the potential causes of the riots and the need to tackle the question from a wider perspective taking into account more viewpoints, by respectively quoting the words of a project manager working for a charity in Brixton (Brathay/2XL), of the Labour MP Diane Abbott, together with the contribution of the Price's Trust. This signals, at least, an attempt to give a more balanced reporting.

15) In her view most of us have no idea about the young black men she works with. ***We think they are gangsters, drug dealers, stabbers, shooters, robbers, looters, but many of the men Brathay/2XL tries to help are ready to change their lives***, she says. "***They are often not in gangs but are forced to arm themselves for protection. They are fighting for their own lives***. (21/08/11)
16) So ***while we have to be tough on the perpetrators and on the gangs, we also have to ask ourselves what lies behind this***. […] First, we need to look at how we prevent people from joining gangs in the first place, as well as how we intervene to get them out. From intervening early to support parents with young children, to restoring discipline and autonomy in our classrooms and schools, ***we have to ensure that young people have the support networks they need throughout childhood***. (15/09/11)
17) Like almost a million Britons aged between 16 and 24, most teenagers who spoke to this newspaper were unemployed and not studying. According to the Price's Trust, ***there is an 'intractable link' between youth unemployment and crime***. (16/09/11)

18) Diane Abbott, Labour MP for Hackney North & Stoke Newington, said: "The fact that David Cameron blames gangs shows how little the Government knows about inner city areas." She added: "Education is the key issue. ***The Government needs to address why many of these youngsters feel as though they have no stake in society***." (25/10/11)

To a large extent, *The Times* seems to offer a wider – and more cautious – depiction of both Duggan and the rioters, further problematizing the violence spreading across many cities in the UK (as a reaction to the politicians and bankers' greed) and admitting a political dimension that was invariably dismissed not only by the popular press, but also by the other quality paper, *The Telegraph*. So, despite employing negative words and/or phrases, it still appears rather balanced in the reporting of the events due to a constant use of hedges, helping in being not too assertive – something which might seem appropriate given the unclear circumstances in which everything happened. More importantly, the newspaper chooses to quote a variety of sources – Duggan's family, politicians, police authorities and officers, ordinary people and the rioters themselves – quoting contrasting views, and thus contributing to a more complex analysis that opens up a space for various linguistic representations.

This does not seem to apply to the depiction of the police. In fact, the newspaper almost exclusively acknowledges the role played by the police in the spread of the riots as well as in connection to the killing of Mark Duggan, by stressing how incompetently they handled the events (examples 19-22).

19) Former officers say the problem runs deeper. They claim ***the causes of last week's failures lie in the MET's obsession with 'neighbourhood policing'*** which, they say, helps to explain why ***Britain's biggest police force seemed unable to muster sufficient numbers of riot-control officers at short notice***. (14/08/11)
20) ***The police shooting that sparked the summer riots across England could have been avoided if officers had not bungled an early inquiry***, Scotland Yard now fears. (20/11/11)
21) ***The key reason behind the spread of violence and looting*** in London and other cities […] ***was the perception that the police lost control of the streets***, the committee said. ***Police were sometimes not present at all*** in areas where disorder was taking place and their absence allowed criminal behaviour to occur. (19/12/11)
22) The report […] found that ***police were 'inadequately' prepared to cope and more robust tactics were needed to improve the response***. (21/12/11)

Corpus data retrieved from *Sketch Engine* and concerning the processes to which this social actor was associated highlight high values for verbs such as *stand* (7.28) (in occurrences like 'the police were just standing there', 'while police stood by doing nothing', 'riot police stood back'), *help* (7.0) (in occurrences like 'public participation helping the police to restore and maintain law and order'), *arrive* (6.56) (in occurrences like 'rioters dispersed only when armed police finally arrived', with the addition of the adverb *finally*, further emphasizing the delay of their operations).

What distinctly emerges is that the police are blamed both for the shooting of Duggan and for the subsequent management of the disturbances. Such portrayal seems to be the only one emerging from a close reading of the concordances. Given the evident insufficiency in restoring the order, the newspaper highlights that new powers are to be given to the police – such as clearing streets and imposing curfews – in order to fight crime more effectively and keep communities safe.

6.6 *The Guardian*

From a close reading of the concordances of *The Guardian*, it can be noticed that the newspaper mentions the fact that Duggan was found to have used some illegal drugs, but he is more often described through the nominal groups *father of four*, *young man* or *local man*, also drawing on the opinions of ordinary people living in Tottenham (examples 1-4):

1) Officers on horseback and others in riot gear clashed with hundreds of rioters armed with makeshift missiles in the centre of Tottenham after ***Mark Duggan, 29, a father of four***, was killed last Thursday. (07/08/11)
2) If there had been one problem that transformed anger with police over the unexplained shooting of ***a local man – Mark Duggan –*** into violence, and then to anarchic looting, she thinks it was that "young people in this community don't have anything to do". (14/08/11)
3) He knew ***Mark Duggan, the young man*** whose shooting by police led to the riots, and remembers him as a popular figure. (21/08/11)
4) ***Toxicology tests indicate Duggan had some illegal drugs, namely ecstasy, in his blood stream***. The effect on his behaviour, if any, is unclear. (09/11/11)

In example 2, the use of the adjective *unexplained* (as a pre-modifier of *shooting*) casts a shadow over the shooting itself. Plenty of space is given to his family and friends complaining about the reasons of his death and looking for the truth about it, which seems to reflect a more unbiased attitude of the newspaper towards the events.

After clarifying that Duggan was carrying a handgun when stopped by the MET, the miscommunication between the police and the media is also noticed, together with the failure of communication between the police and Duggan's family (examples 5-7):

5) Initial reports suggested that the father-of-five opened fire at an officer. But on Friday, ***the IPCC admitted it might have 'inadvertently' misled the media into believing Duggan shot at police***. (14/08/11)
6) ***The IPCC has broken its own guidelines by giving out erroneous information to journalists regarding the 'shoot-out' involving Duggan and police that didn't actually happen. And its investigation is flawed and in all probability tainted*** – so much so that we can never have faith in its final report. (21/11/11)
7) One thing emerges strongly: ***the failure of the police to inform Mark Duggan's family of either the facts or the circumstances of his shooting***. This was the match that lit the bonfire. (23/11/11)

Significantly, like *The Times*, *The Guardian* also employs the word *killing* in reference to Duggan's death while further stressing the misdeeds of the police (example 8).

8) There remain serious questions about ***the killing of Mark Duggan*** in Tottenham and the investigation by Independent Police Complaints Commission, which leaked that Mr Duggan had fired, when he hadn't. From the point of view of youths, who are routinely harassed by police stop-and-search operations and who know that police evidence presented in inner-city courts is often cooked up, it looked very much like ***an extra-judicial killing***. (14/08/11)

Overall, in the reporting of this newspaper, when Duggan is involved there seems to be a very strong emphasis on the responsibilities of the other actor involved in the initial events, namely the police, not only in the shooting but also in the subsequent management of the relations with the family and the media, something which does not appear (at all or, at least, not so clearly) in the other newspapers.

As for the rioters, the dominant depiction emerging from *The Guardian* is that of angry, alienated and frustrated young people, whose actions were the result of the government's cuts as well as of the police's discriminatory stop-and-search tactics (examples 9-12).

9) A consistent theme emerging from interviews with ***the rioters*** across England was that they ***harboured a range of grievances and it was anger and frustration that was being expressed on the streets in early August***. (06/12/11)
10) ***This anger was most often defined by the experience of being repeatedly stopped and searched*** (nearly three-quarters had been stopped in the previous year), but also less tangibly by a sense that the police simply showed them no respect. (09/12/11)
11) The research found that ***anger at the police was a major factor fuelling the London riots***, with 86% of rioters citing policing as an important or very important factor in causing the disturbances. (15/12/11)
12) ***The common thread was deprivation***. ***Seven in ten rioters came from the 30% most deprived boroughs in England. Adults were disproportionately jobless***, the younger ones more likely to be on free school meals, to have special educational needs, to be excluded from school. Other speakers pointed out how heavily ***the burden of economic recessions falls on young people, not only because the chance of work is slim*** – and so many of them are unready for it – ***but because cuts have taken away the education maintenance allowance and either reduced youth services or withdrawn them entirely***. (16/12/11)

Analysis through *Sketch Engine* reveals that among the most frequent collocates of the keywords referring to the rioters as a social actor, some adjectives in particular have a considerably high value: *black* (10.2), *disruptive* (8.99), *angry* (8.88), *marginalised* (8.05), *hapless* (8.05), *rootless* (8.03), *young* (7.5), *poor* (7.08). Such collocates suggest quite a heterogeneous picture of the rioters focusing on their troublesome and alienated behaviour as much as on their disadvantaged condition.

The afore-mentioned portrayal of the rioters as angry people frustrated by the lack of respect shown by police is further confirmed by the *Reading the Riots* sociological study – that *The Guardian* carried out with the London School of Economics – highlighting that, apart from consumerism, anger with the police was the prevailing motivation for the events. In these cases, evaluation is not provided by some specific linguistic elements but rather by the

general representation of the rioters, which partially mitigates the aspects related to their consumerist looting and tries to uncover their underlying reasons. Despite this emphasis, the newspaper also gives space to some rioters' opinions according to which their anger was actually misdirected (example 13):

13) Some rioters seemed to agree that if what they intended to do was voice their frustrations, ***their anger had been misdirected at their own communities***. "If you're going to smash somewhere up, go Chelsea or something like that", said an 18-year-old man who rioted in north London, ***one of many to complain that the riots had occurred in the wrong places***. (06/12/11)

In other words, *The Guardian* also voices the regret and disappointment of some of the participants involved in the disturbances as they admit that the protests could have been handled differently.

According to other news reports, even in the fury of the disturbances, a lot of rioters declared that there was a line they did not cross (example 14), thus showing some kind of moral restraint:

14) ***Many rioters sought to give moral explanations for what they saw as justifiable looting***. "***I only looted shops that I knew were like major consumer brands***, stuff that was like industries, businesses, like big business, ***like international businesses that are just raping the world anyway***," said a Battersea resident who looted in Clapham. (06/12/11)

The basic complaint emerging from *The Guardian*'s interviews with most of the rioters was that a banker or a politician can escape all kinds of punishment for their misdeeds, while ordinary people are more and more abused (example 15).

15) "I thought of it as a war between the youth and the government, police." ***For many who took the streets this summer, it was a war against a political and economic system that was no longer working***. (31/12/11)

The newspaper voices such positions by directly quoting extracts of interviews with rioters who were involved in the events or, broadly speaking, by analysing the riots and the rioters' behaviour from different angles and perspectives (example 16).

16) As we report today, the riots were not entirely about race. Stop and search powers are used, in some forces, disproportionately against black people. There is a generation of young Muslims whose lives have been shaped by the war on terror. But ***what unites our interviewees is a sense of alienation. Barely half "felt part of British society". Race contributed to it, but more often it was poverty and a lack of hope***. (09/12/11)

The fact that *The Guardian* gives plenty of space to such positions is also confirmed by *Sketch Engine* results showing that, among the most frequent verbal collocates of the keywords referring to this social actor, there are *interview* (9.12), *express* (6.94), *complain* (6.93), *concede* (6.69), *cite* (6.56), *speak* (6.41), *say* (5.46) – all verbal processes – something which signals a great emphasis on aspects other than their violent actions and misdeeds.

To a large extent, the general picture of the rioters offered by *The Guardian* can be said to be very balanced: their misdeeds are reported but, at the same time, their reasons are also accounted for. Far from lessening their responsibilities, this approach (that appears more typical of a form of 'high-quality journalism') aims at providing an in-depth analysis to explain the events (example 17).

17) ***As if to drive home the point that personal failings were at the heart of the spiralling disorder, much of the media has focused on the apparently comfortable backgrounds of those appearing in court***: a 'ballerina' allegedly caught on camera as an electronics store in Croydon was looted; a 2012 Olympic ambassador who is accused of participating in the trashing of a Vodafone store […]. The desire to call a crime a crime is understandable and right. ***Who would deny that the looters, muggers, and fire raisers of last week were engaged in appalling acts of illegality and many richly deserve the severe consequences that will follow?*** […] ***It is not good enough for British society to condemn, convict, and then carry on, hopeful that an eruption of inexplicable malfeasance has been contained and suppressed.*** […] ***[W]e do need to try to 'understand' what happened***. (14/08/11)

The Guardian's attempts to dig up relevant information – not to justify the riots but rather to explain them – appears pivotal to better understand the existing power relations within the British society. The newspaper investigates the events and the roles played by its participants from a number of perspectives that try to leave nobody unheard (within the corpus, for example, it is the only newspaper extensively tackling issues of racial discrimination, alienation and Islamophobia).

Similarly, when reporting on the police, a wide rage of perspectives and viewpoints are drawn upon. A high percentage of concordances in which the keyword 'police' occurs displays deep-seated anger and hostility, as indicated by examples 18-21.

18) Since the riots, Andrew tells me that he has been arrested once and stopped three times by the police. For him, ***the police use of stop and search has humiliated countless young men like himself***, leading to "too much bad blood that can't be undone". (21/08/11)
19) ***There was an atmosphere of absolute hatred towards the police*** and the establishment – the government. (28/08/11)
20) Respondents came up with many different explanations, the prospect of 'free stuff' among them. But ***more universal even than that was anger with the police***. ***Of our interviewees, 85% said policing was a "significant cause" of the rioting***. ***This anger was most often defined by the experience of being repeatedly stopped and searched*** […], ***but also less tangibly by a sense that the police simply showed them no respect***. (09/12/11)
21) He stayed clear of the looting, he said, so as not to damage the reputation of Muslims generally. […] But he did help to attack the police. "***I don't hate the policing system, I hate the police on the street. I hate them from the bottom of my heart***." (09/12/11)

Although examples 18 and 21 are quotations from interviews to rioters, the fact that the newspaper allows a considerable space to them is certainly revealing of its stance. Indeed, *Sketch Engine* has proved that the keyword 'police' is most frequently the object of verbs such as *hate* (8.28), *attack* (7.95), *blame* (7.76), and often co-occurs with nouns such as *antipathy* (12.23) and *hostility* (11.09).

Another significant element that is worth noting is the fact that *The Guardian* urges to improve the relations between police and communities, especially drawing attention on the tactics employed by the police in their investigations (examples 22-25):

22) A study by the Justice Policy Institute shows not only that ***these tactics*** often do little to reduce violent crime, but that they also ***create deeper divisions between the police and the community. Moreover, these aggressive and violent actions are frequently copied by the community itself***. (14/08/11)
23) Lord Stevens, a former commissioner at Scotland Yard, warned of years of public disorder ahead fuelled by the economic crisis. He also said ***concern over stop and search "rang alarm bells", arguing that police must be better at explaining to communities what they are doing***. (07/12/11)
24) ***Widespread anger and frustration at the way police engage with communities was a significant cause of the summer riots*** in every major city where disorder took place, the biggest study into their cause has found. (09/12/11)
25) ***What is clearly needed is a targeted programme of community engagement and police training to improve the relationship with young men***. (09/12/11)

Compared to the other newspapers included in the corpus, *The Guardian*'s tackling of issues concerning the underlying reasons to riot and also the emphasis on finding novel ways of engaging with communities appear as absolutely innovative factors within the general reporting of the events. Far from merely pointing the finger at the culprit for the spread of the riots – by giving an utterly negative evaluation of the police's actions – the newspaper primarily stresses the need to develop a better handling of potentially explosive situations.

However, it still acknowledges the inadequate reaction of the police – something that can also be found in *Sketch Engine* data indicating the adjectival collocate *slow* (9.21) with the highest value – (examples 26-29):

26) ***The police were slow to react and despite the bravery of the available officers, the disturbance got out of control***, to the degree that some even believe the MET held back to make their point about the effect of government cuts. (14/08/11)
27) The report is the first detailed account of the riots from the viewpoint of the rank-and-file police, who felt that ***some officers were left 'directionless' due to severe communication failures***. (04/11/11)
28) An interim report by the MET into the riots conceded last week that ***police did not have enough officers on the streets and were slow to deploy those they did have***. (04/11/11)

29) The report by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC), commissioned by the home secretary, concludes that ***the police were not well prepared for the "widespread, fast-moving and opportunistic criminal attacks on property" seen during the August riots*** that scarred many English cities. (21/12/11)

One last point that is also relevant in *The Guardian*'s reporting is the urge to think about the future of the British society, starting from a serious reflection on the events that shocked it (example 30).

30) ***A good society is characterised not just by liberty but by mutual respect and responsibility. When this breaks down it takes a lot more than police officers to put things right***. […] the fundamentals of disorder remain unchanged. ***Hopelessness still permeates the estates of concentrated poverty and worklessness. People who have no stake in society are the least likely to have respect for it. And those with the least to lose are invariably the first to throw the brick***. (27/12/11)

Through what appears as a very accurate analysis, the newspaper clarifies that the core of the problem does not have to do exclusively with police, but rather with society itself. It explicitly states that there are two possible options: either the British society does some hard thinking, top to bottom, or it simply limits its understanding of the events to "an epidemic of criminality" (14/08/11).

Therefore, *The Guardian* certainly offers the most comprehensive and exhaustive portrayal of all the social actors under investigation, since it relies on a wide range of sources from lay to expert – family, police, national and international press – providing as many details as possible on the events and the people involved, with a lot of hedges even when negatively connotative words or phrases are employed.

7. Conclusions

7.1 Summary of findings

The research aimed at examining the ways in which the British press reported the 2011 UK riots, with a specific emphasis on the linguistic construals of the main participants involved in the events as offered and conveyed by the newspapers under investigation.

The project started from the findings provided by previous (qualitative) studies on the riots that occurred in the UK in the 1980s and 1990s, and which – despite their methodological differences – could still be regarded as a valid entry point into a deeper understanding of the underlying discourses articulated by the press. Some recurrent elements were identified as characterising the past news reports, with ethnic minorities fully blamed for the rioting and looting, and usually associated with crime, lawlessness, anarchy and violence. At the time, regardless of a rather heterogeneous ethnic (black and white) participation to the disturbances, the events were strongly connoted in terms of 'race' riots, something which further strengthened the portrayal of the alleged rioters, especially black and Afro-Caribbean groups, as criminal and deviant people. The resulting binary pictures outlined by the British mainstream media then opposed white, law-abiding Britons, on the one hand, to coloured or black, criminal immigrants, on the other hand.

Moving from such background knowledge on the past riots in the UK, this project has explored the degree to which issues of social, cultural, ethnic discrimination could still be said to play a role within the British society, in the wake of the disturbances that took place in August 2011. To this extent, the articles published by six of the most read national daily newspapers – *Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror*, *The Sun*, *The Telegraph*, *The Times*, *The Guardian* – have been collected in a corpus to examine significant linguistic features and patterns, and the corresponding representations, perceptions and interpretations.

The most frequent terms employed by the newspapers to refer to the main participants have been identified by carrying out a qualitative reading and by applying van Leeuwen's framework of social actors, taking into account the linguistic resources chosen by newspapers to represent actors in discourse, resources that are indicative of their stances towards them. More specifically, whether the news reports on Mark Duggan used nomination, identification

or functionalisation to describe him was a signal of the newspapers' attempt to give a more or less unbiased picture of him, by simply naming him or, alternatively, by stressing his 'function' as a drug dealer; similarly, with the police, the usual depiction was achieved through role allocation and assimilation, namely officers were often sketched as one single powerless and incompetent entity, rarely showing an active force and repeatedly finding themselves in passive roles. In the case of the rioters there is a more complex outline. In fact, a variety of strategies were employed when mentioning them, ranging from functionalisation, identification, categorisation and appraisement, to role allocation, assimilation and impersonalisation, resulting in frequent descriptions classifying them according to factors like their age, ethnicity, class, and so forth, or their physical features, and emphasizing a (generally) bad evaluation, especially when they were treated as a mass, sometimes also assimilated to *feral* and savage animals. Therefore, since the ways in which social actors are conceptualised by newspapers convey the burden of a societal value-system (to which they align or which they challenge), great attention was paid to the lexical items used in connection to the rioters, in particular, and their linguistic realisations. Indeed, apart from the tokens *rioter** and *looter** which could be very frequently found in the corpus due to their denotative value (they explicitly designate the participants to the mayhem by their actions), some additional terms were even more revealing in the examination of the ways in which the press addressed the rioters. Items like *criminal** and *offender** (belonging to the semantic domain of law and indicating the rioters' (il)legal actions), *crowd**, *gang** and *mob** (hinting at the large number of disorderly people acting as one single collectivity), not to mention *thug** and *yob** (belonging to the semantic domain of criminality), can be certainly regarded as featuring a highly connotative value. Hence, the findings emerging from corpus analysis, according to which the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror* and *The Sun* show the highest frequency of such lexical items, suggest that the use of very negatively connotative words in reference to the rioters appears as a common trait characterising the so-called popular press rather than the so-called quality press. Within the quality newspapers, the left-leaning one, *The Guardian*, is the only one to avoid employing such lexical items (featuring no or very few instances), something which seems to result in a more neutral reporting as far as rioters are concerned.

The other pivotal element that could be noticed concerns the remarkable number of terms relating to the rioters' (young) age: *boy**, *guy**, *kid**, *girl**, *children*, *teenager**, *youth**, *youngster**, all having relatively high frequencies in the news reports. Both this widespread presence across the newspapers and the fact that the pre-modifying adjective *young* was often retrieved among the collocates of several of the other terms that had been identified seemed to

mark a paramount feature in the British reporting of the 2011 UK riots: the press strongly connoted the disorders in terms of age. Therefore, unlike the past 'race' riots, the news reports on the most recent events can be said to present no prominent aspect linked to ethnicity, since they heterogeneously account for the rioters' social class, their ethnic background and, above all, their age, mostly leading to a definition of the disturbances as 'youth' riots.

Further analysis of the concordances retrieved by searching the terms referring to the different social actors as keywords, has also shown that, apart from this common characteristic that is shared by all the newspapers included in the corpus, several significant differences relating to the linguistic representations of the main participants could be noted in connection with the potential readership to be addressed and the political stance to be adopted.

Starting with the first social actor under investigation whose shooting sparked the riots, Mark Duggan is mostly depicted as a drug dealer and a senior member of a gang by the *Daily Mail* and *The Sun* in particular; in fact, such images featured the highest percentages of recurrence within the articles they published. This was also confirmed by the analysis of the evaluative language employed when reporting on him: both newspapers have a very straightforward attitude and offer an extremely negative depiction – with the most frequent lexical collocates being, indeed, *gangster* and *drug dealer*. This portrayal is further indirectly achieved when references are made to his *fiancée* who, according to additional news reports, was then found in possession of large quantities of drugs. On the other hand, within the popular press, the *Daily Mirror* seems to distance itself from such a portrayal. In fact, it opts for the much more neutral form of address, *Mr Duggan*, or it simply refers to a *local man* and a *police shooting victim*, with very few instances of negative connotative expressions, usually hedged.

As for the quality press, if *The Telegraph* essentially aligns itself to the positions taken by the popular newspapers, mainly describing him as a *notorious gangster* and a *key gang lieutenant* (items that appeared among the most frequent collocates of the node words *Mark/Duggan*), *The Times* and *The Guardian* certainly show a different attitude in their reporting. More specifically, the former seems very cautious in the language used in relation to Duggan and the image that it offers: to a large extent, it draws on the polarity emerging from Duggan's relatives and friends' portrayals of him as a loving father and family man in contrast to police authorities depicting him as a central player in the criminal underworld, someone involved in crime and drug dealing (but it is worth noting that, even when the newspaper construes the gangster image, it employs the expression *suspected gangster*, which

has undoubtedly a softer value if compared to the adjectives *well-known* or *notorious* that were previously found, in *The Telegraph* for example). Furthermore, *The Times* also emphasizes the fact that he did not fire at police, contrary to the initial reports, which contributes to reducing the blame on him for having posed an alleged threat to the police officers who stopped the minicab he was in and then shot him dead. However, within the corpus, *The Guardian* definitely offers the most articulated articles on Duggan, with a kind of reporting that was meant to cover several aspects of his life, personality and activities, mentioning many sources to portray him from wide-ranging perspectives. It therefore gives a very balanced description, as a *father of four*, a *young man* or *local man*, allowing equal status to both family and official sources, and hedging all the utterances that could have suggested a straightforward and biased representation.

Unlike the past riots, in the 2011 events the responsibility for the shooting of Duggan was invariably attributed to the police, so no attempt was generally made by any of the newspapers under investigation to explicitly hide it – although, when great emphasis is given to the construal of Duggan as a criminal, there seems to be a more or less covert effort to 'justify' or downplay the shooting. Apart from this common feature – achieved by avoiding all kinds of evaluations in relation to the action itself – the other characterising element emerging from all the concordances retrieved for this social actor concerns the fact that the police are also largely blamed and criticised not for the killing of Duggan but rather for the incompetent handling of the riots and for having lost control of the streets because officers were not ready to cope with the speed and scale of the events, thus allowing the subsequent looting and destruction. In fact, on the linguistic level, the node word *police* was often found to co-occur with adjectival collocates such as *timid*, *delicate*, *slow*, as well as with modal verbs in the negative form, signalling that they could have done something, but in the end did not. Additional attention to this social actor was paid by *The Sun*, that blames police chiefs but praises officers for their bravery and courage in confronting with the rioters and looters' destructive violence; accordingly, the newspaper also stresses the fact that officers were attacked with makeshift weapons like bottles, bricks, and planks of wood, which resulted in a number of injuries among the police services.

In the quality press, the focus was on different aspects concerning police's behaviour and conduct. *The Telegraph* highlights that the police were too soft and fearful in their response to the disturbances, they should have used firearms to avoid a terribly weak attitude that then led to the looting. *The Times* urges the Government to ensure that police forces have the proper equipment to fight crime and rioting effectively, while it also notes that public

confidence should be re-gained. *The Guardian* is the only newspaper to acknowledge new factors and elements in the representation of the police: firstly, by drawing on the rioters' interviews included in the *Reading the Riots* sociological study, it depicts the police as the target of widespread hostility, anger and distrust mostly deriving from their discriminatory use of stop-and-search tactics and their disrespectful treatment, especially of black people. Secondly, while underlining the police's weaknesses in connection to the control of the riots, the newspaper also stresses such weaknesses as far as their bad and poor relations with communities are concerned. In both cases, a critical rethinking of the current state of affairs seems to be recommended and encouraged to avoid similar explosive situations in the future.

Moving to the last and probably most controversial social actor under investigation, the rioters, the prevailing representation offered especially by the popular press was that of hardened and known criminals, repeat offenders having previous convictions or cautions and a recidivist background. The *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror* and *The Sun* all invariably stress the fact that these 'thugs', who should have been in prison, were driven by no political reasons apart from greedy, mindless and sheer opportunism, thus highlighting the amoral and inexcusable nature of their actions. Such position is mostly achieved by quoting official and institutional sources (religious and political representatives), which thoroughly express their negative judgements and evaluations. In fact, pre-modifying adjectival collocates like *shameless*, *violent*, *opportunistic*, *brazen*, *feckless*, *hate-filled*, are often found to co-occur with the node words referring to the rioters. However, some minor differences also emerge among the newspapers. While the *Daily Mail* emphasizes that, besides the looting, they were also cheating the benefit systems (claiming something they were not entitled to), and *The Sun* draws attention on their violent material actions (smashing windows, setting fire to properties, looting and trashing stores), the *Daily Mirror* is the only popular paper attempting some kind of analysis into the potential causes that led to the sparking of the riots: namely, poverty and the disadvantaged conditions in which several rioters lived, together with feelings of huge resentment towards the police – race still being an issue in the 2011 events. The newspaper further underlines the importance of giving young people hope and support for their future, especially within the framework of a general economic crisis and in the light of a widespread distrust for the politicians' misdeeds.

Generally speaking, *The Telegraph* offers the worst portrayal of the rioters, not only because they are described as serial offenders with no political agenda, but also, and above all, because they are associated to an outrageous sense of moral excitement deriving from the state of lawlessness of the days of mayhem. In fact, the rare occasions on which their words

are quoted, are meant to prove that they were driven by a sort of deplorable thrill and excitement for what they were doing. The newspaper often employs the adjectival collocate *feral* in connection to this social actor, which gives a very clear indication of the extremely negative evaluation conveyed by its reporting. Just as previously seen with *The Sun*, *The Telegraph* also features a considerable number of frequently occurring verbs marking the rioters' violent crimes (for example, *destroy*, *smash*, *rampage*, *ransack*, *burn*, and so forth).

With *The Times* and *The Guardian*, as usual, a different attitude can be outlined. Unlike the afore-mentioned newspapers, they both take the view according to which the rioters did have political reasons, indeed, that could be traced in their being poor and unemployed, stripped of aspirations and hope, and therefore very vulnerable. More specifically, the former underlines that the youth's greed was a reaction to the perceived greed of MPs and bankers, thus emphasizing that the rioting could be deemed as the result of a mixture of rising inequality, growing youth unemployment and increasing social disempowerment. The latter similarly describes the riots as a war between the youth and the government or the authorities, in response to a political and economic system that was only deemed to work for a minority of people, and which allowed bankers and politicians to escape all kinds of punishment for their misdeeds, while ordinary people were incessantly abused. Most of all, *The Guardian* identifies a series of problems at the heart of the disturbances pertaining to the relations between the police and youth. In fact, the most frequent image of the rioters as emerging from the concordances retrieved, is that of people feeling a deep-seated anger and a visceral antipathy towards police, besides a sense of frustration for the lack of justice and respect they believed to be subjected to. The newspaper gives extensive emphasis to the alienation perceived by the majority of the rioters, especially black people deeming to be unfairly targeted by the police, overtly admitting that although the riots were not entirely about race, racial tensions still played a part in the events, since several of the rioters felt they did not belong to the British society. In both cases, the two quality newspapers offer a more balanced representation of the rioters, with the persistent use of hedges which help them to be not too assertive, and with constant references to a wide range of sources (ranging from politicians, police authorities and officers, Duggan's family and friends, ordinary people and witnesses, not to mention the rioters themselves), which, especially in the case of the left-leaning newspaper, implies an effort to leave nobody unheard. Hence, within the corpus, *The Guardian* certainly offers the most comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the roles and motivations of this social actor, which has long been the core topic of harsh debates.

Apart from the different positions and stances adopted by the newspapers under investigation, a general flattening of the several potential readings of the events can be noticed from the analysis of the corpus concerning the 2011 UK riots, since most of the British press has opted for a rather simplified and straightforward interpretation of the social unrest in terms of apolitical and issueless events. On the contrary, the reporting of *The Times* and, above all, *The Guardian* contradicts such a view, by claiming that nothing could be more political than the rioters' reasons. Therefore, the findings of this project seem to confirm and validate the assumptions held by some influential scientific (although non-linguistic) studies – like the Runnymede Trust report and the LSE *Reading the Riots* sociological report – that overall the riots were too quickly dismissed as sheer looting by most of the press, which left no space for a meaningful political debate on the causes of the disturbances. This attitude had hindered further thoughts and considerations not only to understand them, but also, and more importantly, to avoid such violent and brutal outbreaks in the future.

7.2 Re-mediating the 2011 UK riots

Overall, some core elements seem to be kept constant across the newspapers in the way they have construed the riots and the main participants: they have all underlined the most troubling and problematic aspects, focusing on violent deeds and – expectedly – on sensational bad news, mostly building the news reports around the concerns deriving from the situation.

However, some specific elements are also brought in to remediate the events according to the different potential readerships that were being addressed by the newspapers under investigation. In other words, assuming that the press does not merely and neutrally mirror reality, but rather constructs it through language (Fowler 1991), newspapers can be said to follow diverging paths when it comes to the reports about Mark Duggan, the police and the rioters. Such dissimilarities are mostly linked to the specific types of newspapers (quality vs. popular press) and their political orientations, factors that heavily affect the way they construe the events *in* and *through* discourse, by opting for some specific linguistic choices and strategies to organise and present the stories. To this extent, events and facts do not have an intrinsic importance, they become important because they are selected by newspapers for adhering to a culturally and ideologically determined set of criteria. Social events are thus transformed into specific media formats, namely, they become reports through a number of creative and editorial processes that are meant to give form to the actions and happenings depicted. In fact, as Habermas (1990: 23) has stated, "communication is a

symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired and transformed". By representing social reality in language, newspaper articles serve an agenda, and the press (as a whole) constructs meaning for its potential readership.

In this process of remediation, the audience is certainly a major component, heavily affecting the ways in which the events and their main actors are presented; as a matter of fact, "newspapers cater to their audiences: editorial decisions, topic selection, and presentation of events, the amount of detail in the story, the pictures and images accompanying it, all reflect the perceived needs of a target audience" (Busà 2013: 34). Therefore, the writing of news reports is based on a set of common values that are assumedly shared by potential readers; the style, vocabulary, the level of sophistication of language, the choice of topics, vary to suit the expected readership. In the case under investigation, the riots were so 'newsworthy' that the events were thoroughly reported by both the quality and popular press (although with some differences in the coverage). They were an unpredictable and bad event (respecting the value of negativity – readers are mostly attracted by news reports dealing with damage, death, accidents, conflicts and deviance), exceptional in some respect, geographically close to the British audience, and certainly relevant to the audience's lives or experiences. So the riots basically met almost all the characteristics identified by Bell (1991; see also Galtung and Ruge 1965) to assess the newsworthiness of stories.

However, it is important to note that newsworthiness functions like a prism: "[m]any different events and actions that take place pass through the 'newswortiness' prism, where they are filtered and deflected before being published or broadcast" (Durant and Lambrou 2009: 88). Accordingly, different aspects concerning the representations of the social actors involved in the events were highlighted as emerging from a microanalysis of the news reports on the riots in relation to their expected readership. More specifically, further consideration of the discourse practices entailed in the production and consumption of news reports (relating linguistic structures to a wider social context) has shown that the newspapers feature different forms of engagement with the political and social dimensions of the riots, by employing a certain kind of language to make the news available for their average audience, thus actively constructing a community of readers (Aitchinson and Lewis 2003: 47).

The readerships addressed by the popular newspapers comprised in the corpus, supposedly embracing down-market readers and, to some extent, middle-market readers – using Harry's classification of readers' socio-economic status (1978; see also Jucker 1992 and Atton 2002) – can be sketched as particularly keen on aspects constructing the riots and the deriving debates and discussions in terms of a 'law and order morality'. The almost exclusive

attention that they would expectedly pay to the mere identification of who is to blame for the events explains the newspapers' recurrent use of the several strongly connotative terms emerging from their reporting and the very straightforward and judgemental attitude towards all the actors involved in the social unrest (the only partial exception, in this case, is the *Daily Mirror*, whose recipient is a left-leaning readership). In the attempt to grasp and keep the readers' interest, the popular press utterly simplifies the riots and the rioters' motivations, resorting to a portrayal of the disturbances as pure criminality, highlighting the misdeeds of 'thugs' causing terror, panic, and bringing destruction to ordinary people. While shifting the focus on countless individual stories of ordinary people sharing their devastating and dreadful experiences of the riots with an audience of readers eager to know as many (morbid) details as possible, the popular newspapers also advocate more power to the police. Indeed, they appear almost exclusively concerned with the restoration of public order, with the recreation and reconfirmation of social groups. No matter how frustrated and humiliated young people may be, they are invariably criminalised and stigmatised.

On the other hand, the quality press examined in this project, which is widely read by an up-market readership belonging to a higher socio-economic status, tends to adopt a much wider perspective on the events. Apart from *The Telegraph*, which certainly appears as a remarkable exception in that it features forms of reader engagement which bear a strong resemblance with those adopted by the popular press, the reporting of the other quality newspapers is generally characterised by in-depth content. They significantly problematise the riots and the reasons that sparked them (although with varying degrees according to the specific newspaper, something that certainly reaches its apex with *The Guardian*). They set the agenda for their readers by treating the vandalism and violence erupted in August 2011 as the expression of a social *malaise* which urges some political consideration and rethinking. Accordingly, straightforward positions are avoided in the attempt to hinder stereotypical representations for the actors under investigation.

In this process of remediation, through which meaning is put on complex events in order to make news stories comply with socially shared principles (Reese 2003), the riots were elaborated to fit into structures of representation that appeal to cultural codes as much as to the existing knowledge of the readerships. In an everyday exercise of symbolic power (Bourdieu 1991; see also Butler 1990, 1997) that is carried out by (media) *élites*, millions of readers take part to this large-scale process of meaning-making. In doing so, they participate to the construal and performance of the individual and collective identities of the subjects involved in these semiotic productions. They find themselves caught in the network of power

relations that make newspaper discourse a highly contested space where struggles over the hierarchies of communicative power and control incessantly occur.

7.3 Contribution to research and future developments

The linguistic and discoursal nature of media power is one of the reasons why the analysis of media texts is recognised as an important element within research on contemporary processes of social and cultural change. In fact, by anchoring social and cultural investigations into a deeper understanding of the nature of media discourse, language analysis helps pinpoint power relations and institutional dynamics (Fairclough 1995). This project thoroughly adopts such a perspective, by examining newspaper discourse in relation to an event that appears of paramount importance in the British contemporary history and seems of great relevance for the understanding of ongoing dynamics of power relations within the British society. Its significance is currently present nowadays, after almost three years, considering that the case is still of public interest: indeed, in January 2014, the inquest jury's verdict, according to which an unarmed black man was 'lawfully' killed by the police, put the events linked to the shooting and the riots back in the news and generated great controversy over the legitimacy of the police's conduct and ethical code.

From a scientific viewpoint, this project appears (to my knowledge) as the first systematic study on the 2011 UK riots with a corpus-based discourse analysis approach. Research has already focused on the violent and traumatic events linked to previous riots, because they can be very revealing as far as the status of social (in)equalities and (dis)enfranchisement is concerned. However, due to its exclusively qualitative approach, it has only taken into account a very limited number of articles published by the British press, which makes its findings non-replicable and its conclusions hardly generalisable. The present research, on the contrary, has drawn on a large and representative specialized corpus of articles (almost 1,112,471 tokens) collected over the most salient period of time (the first five months after the events) from the six British newspapers featuring the highest circulation rates in August 2011, when the mayhem occurred. The specific approach adopted for the study has allowed the initial formulation of a 'critical' research question – moving from a CDA perspective – concentrating on the pivotal (ethnic, social, cultural or other) factors which were reported by the British press as playing a role in the most recent riots. The quantitative methods of analysis – adopting corpus-based investigations – led to the identification of significant and recurrent linguistic patterns in the texts pertaining to the representations of the

social actors involved in the events. A combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches was also adopted for the last stage of analysis implying an examination of the evaluations and stances expressed by the different newspapers depending on the kind of readership to be addressed. The hypotheses and findings, implemented and validated by corpus evidence, can thus be deemed reliable (because all the criteria and parameters are clearly acknowledged) and replicable.

Within the field of corpus-based discourse analysis on media discourse in general, and newspaper language in particular, further research is possible, following a number of interesting paths, starting from the findings and data gathered from this project and from the corpus collected.

In the first place, keeping the emphasis on the representations of the social actors taking part to the riots, an analysis of the processes (using Halliday's terms) to which they were most often associated by the British press could be fruitful to concentrate on how their agency is depicted in relation to the additional aspects that are considered central to such extent, namely processes (verbs and verbal groups) together with circumstances (giving information on when, where, and how something happened, usually in the form of adverbial groups or prepositional phrases).

In the second place, an investigation on the kind of reporting concerning the riots as emerging from hard news and editorials could be carried out from a comparative perspective. While the former are usually given a more informative function, providing readers with information that 'sticks to the facts', the latter are meant to express the opinions and judgments of the senior editorial staff on the events, reflecting the political stance of the newspaper. A future project could examine the extent to which evaluations exclusively emerge from editorials or whether they are more or less overtly embedded in the hard news too, thus comparing two different genres existing within newspaper discourse.

Also, since a specific focus on evaluation is only present in Chapter Six of this dissertation, a future study could take it further into account, offering a more systematic emphasis on the aspects concerning the lexico-grammatical structures marking evaluation and stance. Indeed, if this investigation has concentrated on the adjectival, verbal and nominal collocates of the lexical items referring to the main social actors, a much greater weight could be given to additional patterns like reporting markers (used by newspapers when quoting sources), impersonal structures, first-person verbs (expressing opinions), and adverbs (of stance), paying attention to the semantic prosody conveyed by the linguistic elements identified and to the wider societal value-system permeating texts to varying degrees.

Moving from the present findings regarding the British press construals of the main participants to the riots, a comparison between such representations and those emerging from the qualitative interviews carried out by the LSE researchers for the *Reading the Riots* sociological study would be extremely useful and productive to examine the protagonists' self-representations. All the recorded interviews to rioters and police officers were already transcribed; so, were these transcriptions made available by the LSE Social Policy Department, their qualitative analysis could go side by side to a quantitative (corpus-based) analysis, comparing the major portrayals offered by the press and the social actors' self-depictions, still acknowledging that, in this case, two different genres would be involved (news reports, on the one hand, and individual interviews with first-person accounts, on the other).

Another compelling investigation could have focused on a constrastive analysis between the linguistic representations offered by the British press for the 2011 riots and those that were articulated when the previous riots occurred in the UK in 1981, 1985, 1995. I suspect that very interesting findings would have emerged from a corpus-based discourse analysis of the news reports published over the last three decades, from a diachronic perspective. Unfortunately, although this was the initial aim of the project, the general outline and structure of the research had to be re-adjusted when faced with the difficulty of gathering large and representative corpora for the past riots. In fact, the impossibility of retrieving a significant number of articles published at the time by the six newspapers from the web-archive *LexisNexis* made the corpora not comparable with the one collected for the most recent events.

Appendix 1*

* The collocates of the keywords referring to the rioters are grouped according to the different newspapers (with keywords displayed in alphabetical order).

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	37	4.10	216.51
2	A	25	4.89	149.41
3	AND	20	4.56	106.54
4	OLD	10	7.61	89.34
5	YEAR	9	7.18	74.58
6	WAS	13	5.16	72.67
7	ADMITTED	6	8.95	64.78
8	WHO	10	5.77	63.45
9	IN	13	4.13	54.61
10	AGED	4	9.22	44.67
11	CANNOT	4	8.70	41.42
12	NAMED	3	10.22	38.60
13	CCTV	3	9.00	32.37
14	HIT	3	7.76	26.83
15	GIVEN	3	7.31	24.90
16	VIOLENT	3	7.13	24.13
17	AFTER	4	5.55	23.43
18	DISORDER	3	6.64	22.02
19	TOLD	3	6.50	21.46
20	UP	4	5.17	21.37
21	AN	4	4.91	19.97
22	BE	4	4.31	16.70
23	WITH	4	4.13	15.78
24	HAS	3	4.35	12.63
25	HIS	3	3.98	11.16
26	WERE	3	3.87	10.72
27	ARE	3	3.85	10.67
28	BY	3	3.81	10.52
29	AS	3	3.56	9.53
30	IS	3	3.24	8.31

Daily Mail collocates of *boy*

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	HAD	6	4.48	26.37
2	MY	4	5.99	25.78
3	THEIR	6	4.04	22.86
4	ARE	6	3.91	21.85
5	WHERE	3	5.39	16.77
6	HAVE	5	3.40	14.86
7	YOUNG	3	4.89	14.71
8	AS	5	3.36	14.56
9	WERE	4	3.34	11.52
10	THIS	3	3.39	8.80
11	BEEN	3	3.35	8.65
12	AT	3	3.04	7.48

Daily Mail collocates of *children*

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	AND	3	14.44	273.41
2	DAMAGE	7	3.85	134.45
3	BEHAVIOUR	7	4.81	116.67
4	BY	4	6.74	83.33
5	THIS	3	2.89	53.90
6	WHO	4	5.78	36.16
7	RIOTS	4	3.85	26.88
8	SAID	4	4.81	7.40

Daily Mail collocates of *criminal**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	10	4.10	56.92
2	OF	7	4.60	37.62
3	A	6	4.70	31.96
4	WERE	4	6.21	28.39
5	BY	4	6.16	28.10
6	AT	3	5.91	19.66
7	AND	3	3.68	10.66

Daily Mail collocates of *crowd**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	44	3.56	181.34
2	OF	32	4.09	143.55
3	A	28	4.23	129.03
4	IN	22	4.14	96.92
5	MEMBERS	9	8.44	91.19
6	TO	23	3.66	86.31
7	AND	18	3.60	65.28
8	BEING	8	6.57	58.57
9	LONDON	9	5.85	56.93
10	CULTURE	6	7.13	48.57
11	WITH	10	4.63	46.69
12	MEMBER	5	7.82	45.49
13	FOR	11	4.11	43.85
14	WERE	9	4.63	41.86
15	VIOLENT	5	7.05	39.84
16	ON	10	4.10	39.56
17	AMERICA	3	9.99	38.90
18	THREAT	3	9.67	36.67
19	TACKLING	3	9.67	36.67
20	YOU'VE	3	9.40	35.09
21	YOU'RE	3	8.82	31.95
22	LEARN	3	8.18	28.87
23	ARE	7	4.26	28.84
24	THEN	4	6.38	27.96
25	ME	4	6.34	27.71
26	HEAD	3	7.67	26.52
27	NOT	6	4.44	26.12
28	OUT	5	4.98	25.28
29	FROM	6	4.28	24.83
30	WAR	3	7.13	24.15
31	AREA	3	7.03	23.73
32	RIOTERS	4	5.39	22.44
33	GOT	3	6.56	21.70
34	ADDED	3	6.56	21.70
35	INVOLVED	3	6.53	21.56
36	HAVE	6	3.79	20.93
37	WANT	3	6.26	20.42
38	CRIME	3	6.06	19.56
39	ABOUT	4	4.76	18.99
40	THERE	4	4.62	18.25
41	VERY	3	5.70	18.08
42	PEOPLE	4	4.51	17.67
43	BY	5	3.73	17.00
44	THAT	6	3.27	16.94
45	UP	4	4.35	16.81
46	AN	4	4.09	15.44

47	HAD	4	4.02	15.04
48	MORE	3	4.41	12.79
49	IF	3	4.32	12.44
50	SAID	4	3.51	12.42
51	AFTER	3	4.32	12.41
52	WHICH	3	3.89	10.73
53	AS	4	3.16	10.62
54	I	3	3.80	10.37
55	RIOTS	3	3.63	9.71
56	BUT	3	3.33	8.57
57	THEIR	3	3.16	7.95

Daily Mail collocates of *gang**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	TEENAGE	5	10.81	68.82
2	BOYS	3	10.36	38.64
3	OLD	5	7.34	42.28
4	YEAR	5	7.06	40.33
5	AFTER	4	6.27	27.69
6	HIS	3	4.70	14.19
7	ON	5	4.65	23.72
8	WAS	5	4.50	22.76
9	IS	4	4.38	17.35
10	A	11	4.37	51.67
11	AND	9	4.07	37.53
12	IN	6	3.74	21.53
13	THE	13	3.28	43.71

Daily Mail collocates of *girl**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	HERE	4	10.88	60.70
2	THE	7	4.91	39.84
3	A	5	5.76	37.69
4	THREE	3	9.55	37.03
5	AND	4	5.42	30.06
6	THIS	3	7.58	28.80
7	BEEN	3	7.54	28.63
8	WHO	3	7.29	27.56
9	HAVE	3	6.86	25.77

Daily Mail collocates of *guy**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THESE	8	8.72	87.08
2	ARE	6	6.30	43.57
3	NO	4	6.96	32.00
4	AS	5	5.74	31.98
5	ONE	4	6.78	30.98
6	THE	8	3.30	27.13
7	THEIR	4	5.84	25.78
8	WITH	4	5.57	24.32
9	AND	5	3.93	19.76
10	TO	5	3.66	17.91
11	OF	5	3.63	17.74
12	IN	4	3.87	15.15
13	A	3	3.21	8.58

Daily Mail collocates of *kids*

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	OF	10	4.53	248.69
2	THE	16	4.29	245.04
3	AND	7	4.32	180.61
4	A	12	5.11	143.35
5	TO	13	5.04	142.70
6	IN	11	5.23	141.91
7	AS	3	4.90	105.44
8	FROM	4	5.86	65.61
9	THEIR	3	5.32	64.28
10	FOR	4	4.81	54.02
11	BY	3	5.16	52.02
12	WAS	7	5.60	27.60
13	WHO	5	6.12	25.45
14	WITH	3	5.06	23.68
15	THEY	3	4.97	23.23
16	UP	4	6.51	20.11
17	ARE	3	5.20	16.40
18	THAT	5	5.17	13.31

Daily Mail collocates of *looter**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	23	3.74	193.69
2	A	20	4.87	191.81
3	AND	12	4.05	191.19
4	OF	13	3.86	137.71
5	TO	9	3.36	72.05
6	AS	5	4.59	30.01
7	WHO	5	5.07	26.29
8	WAS	3	3.34	25.82
9	BY	5	4.85	24.78
10	IN	7	3.53	17.78
11	IS	4	3.95	14.90
12	FROM	5	5.13	12.86
13	HIS	4	4.69	12.37
14	WITH	7	5.23	11.33
15	THEY	5	4.66	11.01
16	ON	8	4.89	9.26

Daily Mail collocates of *looter**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	YOUNG	8	9.17	132.40
2	TO	5	4.14	128.42
3	INSTITUTION	5	12.88	114.03
4	A	9	5.28	105.59
5	A	3	3.21	105.59
6	AND	6	4.68	82.71
7	IN	8	5.36	78.79
8	WITH	4	6.06	48.03
9	OF	3	3.38	37.62

Daily Mail collocates of *offender**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	67	6.91	542.37
2	OF	27	6.60	355.57
3	TO	30	6.77	221.32
4	AND	16	6.19	188.15
5	WERE	16	8.30	167.54
6	BE	8	7.23	147.01
7	A	17	6.28	143.35
8	IN	16	6.45	141.91
9	AS	10	7.22	140.52
10	BY	12	7.74	135.10

11	THAT	4	5.43	131.30
12	FOR	5	5.72	121.32
13	WHO	4	6.38	117.72
14	ON	12	7.11	114.09
15	THEIR	4	6.32	106.22
16	IS	5	5.90	105.40
17	ARE	6	6.78	87.47
18	WILL	3	6.54	82.05
19	YOUNG	3	7.75	65.79
20	HAD	5	7.09	53.93
21	BEEN	4	6.64	52.86
22	MANY	3	7.84	52.73
23	WITH	10	7.38	48.03
24	ONE	5	7.59	45.79
25	NOT	4	6.60	41.18
26	POLICE	6	6.62	37.25
27	ALL	4	7.51	35.62
28	OUT	6	7.98	35.00
29	FROM	4	6.44	29.69
30	DOWN	3	8.22	29.32
31	AT	4	6.32	29.01
32	SAID	5	6.58	28.67
33	HE	3	5.34	25.88
34	AFTER	3	7.06	24.44
35	LONDON	6	8.01	24.24
36	BUT	3	6.07	20.35

Daily Mail collocates of *rioter**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	TO	13	4.49	71.47
2	FACEBOOK	4	8.52	40.39
3	A	9	4.15	38.70
4	WHO	6	5.83	38.51
5	THE	11	3.10	33.43
6	RIOT	4	6.88	31.10
7	USED	3	8.24	28.93
8	WHERE	3	7.12	24.17
9	ARE	4	5.06	21.05
10	IS	4	4.44	17.73
11	ON	4	4.39	17.44
12	SAID	3	4.71	14.22
13	BE	3	4.68	14.11
14	WITH	3	4.50	13.41
15	WAS	3	3.83	10.73

Daily Mail collocates of *teenager**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	20	6.91	108.18
2	TO	13	7.26	92.72
3	OF	10	6.85	78.05
4	A	7	6.66	67.86
5	AND	10	7.16	67.66
6	WHO	6	8.70	53.44
7	YOUNG	9	11.08	52.76
8	WERE	4	7.94	52.24
9	IN	9	7.26	47.26
10	BY	5	8.21	41.50
11	AS	7	8.45	40.08
12	RIOT	5	10.08	38.91
13	FOR	5	7.46	37.29
14	POLICE	5	8.09	30.62
15	HE	3	7.07	29.44
16	WAS	3	6.70	27.89

Daily Mail collocates of *thug**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	WITH	5	8.12	51.19
2	THE	8	5.52	45.53
3	TO	6	6.14	42.78
4	RIOT	3	9.34	38.91
5	IS	4	7.32	38.29
6	ON	4	7.26	37.99
7	AND	5	6.16	37.58
8	AFTER	3	8.80	36.63
9	OF	5	5.85	35.47
10	IN	4	6.09	31.50
11	BY	3	7.48	31.12
12	A	4	5.85	30.15
13	FOR	3	6.72	27.96

Daily Mail collocates of *yob**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	8	4.52	45.53
2	TO	6	5.14	42.78
3	IN	5	5.42	34.02
4	AND	4	4.84	22.52
5	WITH	3	6.38	22.42
6	OF	4	4.53	20.85
7	ON	3	5.85	20.22
8	A	3	4.44	14.43

Daily Mail collocates of *youngster**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	OF	24	3.74	93.24
2	A	19	3.74	72.75
3	AND	18	3.65	66.54
4	CENTRES	4	9.45	47.10
5	THAMES	3	12.03	43.59
6	CLUBS	3	12.03	43.59
7	WAS	10	4.00	38.29
8	BLACK	5	6.77	37.79
9	WORKERS	3	8.86	32.14
10	UNEMPLOYMENT	3	8.57	30.71
11	STUDENT	3	8.03	28.16
12	COMMUNITY	4	5.92	25.39
13	COURT	4	5.86	25.05
14	GROUP	3	7.17	24.33
15	ON	7	3.63	23.09
16	BY	6	4.04	22.91
17	GANG	3	5.97	19.18
18	THAT	6	3.32	17.29
19	WILL	4	4.26	16.30
20	INTO	3	5.08	15.50
21	YEAR	3	4.82	14.46
22	WHO	4	3.68	13.27
23	WHEN	3	4.34	12.51
24	WERE	4	3.51	12.39
25	POLICE	4	3.34	11.52
26	THIS	3	3.56	9.45
27	FROM	3	3.33	8.57
28	AT	3	3.21	8.11
29	BE	3	3.12	7.78
30	ARE	3	3.08	7.64

Daily Mail collocates of *youth**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	54	4.06	196.16
2	A	37	4.71	139.98
3	AND	30	4.32	97.96
4	OLD	14	7.50	88.00
5	YEAR	13	6.88	70.77
6	WAS	18	4.80	65.97
7	WHO	14	5.72	62.57
8	ADMITTED	9	7.84	55.16
9	IN	18	3.99	51.71
10	BOYFRIEND	4	10.50	43.90
11	CANNOT	6	8.60	41.25
12	AGED	6	8.50	40.66
13	NAMED	4	9.09	33.32
14	CCTV	4	7.13	24.23
15	GIVEN	4	7.09	24.03
16	VIOLENT	4	6.73	22.49
17	DISORDER	4	6.39	21.03
18	AN	6	5.04	20.67
19	OF	11.4	3	20.62
20	AFTER	6	4.90	19.91
21	UP	6	4.89	19.83
22	HIT	4	6.04	19.58
23	TOLD	4	5.47	17.20
24	BE	6	4.28	16.57
25	WITH	6	3.83	14.16
26	HAS	4	4.44	12.97
27	HIS	4	3.85	10.63
28	ARE	4	3.75	10.25
29	BY	4	3.70	10.05
30	WERE	4	3.60	9.68
31	AS	4	3.58	9.58
32	IS	4	3.19	8.13

Daily Mirror collocates of *boy*

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	HAD	9	5.60	35.98
2	THEIR	9	5.29	33.46
3	AND	14	3.43	31.98
4	ARE	9	4.93	30.49
5	TO	13	3.25	26.38
6	MY	6	6.00	25.98
7	AS	7	4.50	22.32
8	HAVE	7	4.39	21.59
9	WHERE	4	6.23	20.36
10	YOUNG	4	5.80	18.55
11	WERE	6	4.20	16.16
12	FOR	6	3.62	13.13
13	BEEN	4	4.38	12.78
14	THIS	4	4.30	12.45
15	AT	4	3.77	10.35
16	ON	4	3.16	8.01

Daily Mirror collocates of *children*

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	36.9	4.66	151.89
2	AND	21.3	4.98	91.39
3	TO	18.5	4.74	71.96
4	MINORITY	7	10.80	69.82
5	BEHAVIOUR	7	8.97	54.46
6	A	14.2	4.47	49.05
7	BY	10	6.06	48.08
8	DAMAGE	6	9.40	45.95
9	WHO	9	6.13	41.37
10	RECORD	4	10.23	38.36
11	OF	11.4	4.15	34.56
12	SAID	7	5.45	29.44
13	RIOTS	5.68	5.33	22.67
14	THAT	5.68	4.94	20.57
15	OFFICERS	4	6.07	19.89
16	FOR	5.68	4.58	18.61
17	THIS	4.26	5.26	16.55
18	BE	4.26	5.01	15.54
19	AS	4.26	4.72	14.35
20	HAVE	4.26	4.61	13.91
21	POLICE	4.26	4.49	13.41
22	IS	4.26	4.34	12.81
23	ON	4.26	4.12	11.93
24	IN	4.26	3.02	7.70

Daily Mirror collocates of *criminal**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	14	4.07	51.78
2	OF	10	4.74	38.18
3	A	9	4.52	30.01
4	BY	6	6.04	27.31
5	WERE	6	5.95	26.78
6	AT	4	5.52	17.97
7	AND	4	3.44	9.64

Daily Mirror collocates of *crowd**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	65	4.21	269.02
2	OF	47	4.92	193.51
3	A	41	4.73	157.81
4	IN	33	4.68	118.77
5	TO	34	4.35	113.65
6	MEMBERS	13	8.90	98.65
7	AND	27	4.04	79.31
8	CULTURE	9	9.79	75.64
9	BEING	11	6.77	61.38
10	LONDON	13	5.85	57.50
11	FOR	16	4.77	54.38
12	MEMBER	7	8.89	54.22
13	WITH	14	5.02	52.64
14	WERE	13	5.05	47.61
15	ON	14	4.58	46.64
16	AMERICA	4	10.37	43.34
17	GANGSTER	4	10.37	43.34
18	VIOLENT	7	7.34	42.10
19	LEARN	4	9.96	38.84
20	YOU'RE	4	9.64	36.61
21	TACKLING	4	9.64	36.61
22	ARE	10	4.84	34.65
23	YOU'VE	4	8.79	31.89
24	THREAT	4	8.79	31.89
25	NOT	9	5.05	31.29
26	ME	6	6.82	30.57

27	WAR	4	8.50	30.46
28	FROM	9	4.70	28.39
29	THEN	6	6.26	27.42
30	OUT	7	5.23	27.22
31	HAVE	9	4.34	25.48
32	THAT	9	4.25	24.83
33	HEAD	4	7.26	24.77
34	ABOUT	6	5.77	24.66
35	RIOTERS	6	5.77	24.66
36	INVOLVED	4	7.15	24.30
37	CRIME	4	7.10	24.08
38	AREA	4	6.96	23.47
39	BY	7	4.30	20.90
40	GOT	4	6.28	20.59
41	WANT	4	6.23	20.35
42	THERE	6	4.95	20.11
43	AN	6	4.91	19.93
44	ADDED	4	6.05	19.60
45	UP	6	4.76	19.09
46	HAD	6	4.70	18.78
47	VERY	4	5.75	18.33
48	PEOPLE	6	4.55	17.98
49	WHICH	4	5.65	17.94
50	IF	4	5.19	16.01
51	MORE	4	4.95	15.02
52	AS	6	3.86	14.31
53	SAID	6	3.85	14.25
54	AFTER	4	4.36	12.64
55	THEIR	4	3.98	11.14
56	I	4	3.88	10.75
57	BUT	4	3.65	9.85
58	RIOTS	4	3.64	9.81

Daily Mirror collocates of *gang**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	TEENAGE	7	10.13	63.62
2	A	16	4.86	62.76
3	THE	18	3.91	60.78
4	OLD	7	7.90	46.83
5	AND	13	4.49	44.83
6	YEAR	7	7.42	43.48
7	BOYS	4	9.48	34.64
8	AFTER	6	6.30	28.17
9	ON	7	5.10	27.36
10	IN	9	4.27	26.52
11	WAS	7	4.82	25.43
12	IS	6	5.00	21.05
13	HIS	4	5.24	16.54
14	TO	6	3.28	11.94

Daily Mirror collocates of *girl**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	HERE	6	9.27	45.89
2	THE	10	3.85	31.54
3	THREE	4	7.99	28.49
4	A	7	4.55	25.26
5	THIS	4	6.42	21.93
6	BEEN	4	6.34	21.58
7	WHO	4	6.21	21.04
8	HAVE	4	5.69	18.89
9	AND	6	4.15	17.39

Daily Mirror collocates of *guy**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THESE	11	8.09	77.75
2	ARE	9	5.62	36.74
3	NO	6	6.42	28.53
4	ONE	6	6.35	28.15
5	AS	7	5.18	27.38
6	THEIR	6	5.40	22.88
7	WITH	6	4.70	19.07
8	OF	7	3.20	14.20
9	AND	7	3.12	13.71
10	TO	7	3.08	13.50
11	IN	6	3.16	11.02

Daily Mirror collocates of *kids*

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	TO	20	5.28	102.70
2	THE	24	4.49	99.26
3	A	17	5.18	78.51
4	IN	16	5.33	72.33
5	OF	14	4.91	58.33
6	BELIEVE	6	9.56	47.06
7	WAS	10	5.49	43.85
8	WHO	7	6.31	35.94
9	AND	10	4.32	32.59
10	CAUGHT	4	8.92	32.14
11	JAIL	4	8.87	31.91
12	THAT	7	5.71	31.78
13	UP	6	6.47	29.31
14	HERE	4	8.21	29.08
15	FIRST	4	8.12	28.67
16	EVEN	4	7.84	27.48
17	COMMUNITY	4	7.74	27.07
18	FROM	6	5.83	25.73
19	INTO	4	7.28	25.11
20	FOR	6	5.02	21.33
21	NOT	4	5.77	18.80
22	THEIR	4	5.70	18.51
23	RIOTS	4	5.36	17.11
24	ARE	4	5.33	17.02
25	BY	4	5.28	16.81
26	AS	4	5.16	16.32
27	SAID	4	5.15	16.27
28	THEY	4	5.13	16.19
29	WITH	4	5.00	15.65

Daily Mirror collocates of *looter**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	A	30	4.98	126.30
2	THE	34	3.99	117.67
3	OF	18	4.29	59.42
4	AND	17	4.10	51.13
5	ON	11	4.97	42.16
6	BAYING	4	10.67	41.95
7	WITH	10	5.22	38.97
8	BRICKS	4	8.97	32.41

9	TO	13	3.65	31.81
10	WHO	7	5.31	28.03
11	FROM	7	5.15	26.95
12	BY	7	5.02	26.06
13	AS	7	4.90	25.25
14	THEY	7	4.87	25.04
15	IN	10	3.68	24.52
16	TOTTENHAM	4	6.56	21.82
17	HIS	6	4.85	19.76
18	BUT	6	4.78	19.41
19	RIOT	4	5.97	19.35
20	WERE	6	4.60	18.44
21	ALL	4	5.44	17.16
22	WHEN	4	5.44	17.12
23	IS	6	4.19	16.26
24	POLICE	4	3.93	11.04
25	WAS	4	3.27	8.51

Daily Mirror collocates of *mob**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	YOUNG	11	9.25	98.94
2	INSTITUTION	7	12.73	91.72
3	A	13	5.40	67.41
4	IN	11	5.51	56.84
5	INSTITUTE	4	12.73	54.06
6	AND	9	4.73	32.96
7	WITH	6	6.05	27.78
8	TO	7	4.44	24.49
9	AFTER	4	6.71	23.13
10	AT	4	5.81	19.38
11	OF	4	3.81	11.28

Daily Mirror collocates of *offender**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	99	8.02	409.93
2	TO	44	7.92	227.75
3	OF	40	7.88	210.05
4	WERE	24	9.17	175.41
5	A	26	7.25	134.93
6	IN	24	7.45	134.17
7	AND	24	7.08	125.53
8	BY	17	8.77	125.26
9	ON	17	8.04	113.04
10	AS	14	8.38	102.64
11	WITH	14	8.22	100.34
12	BE	11	8.35	85.35
13	OUT	9	8.70	70.38
14	SHOP	7	9.94	69.33
15	LONDON	9	8.47	68.40
16	ARE	9	7.82	62.96
17	ONE	7	8.87	61.70
18	POLICE	9	7.41	59.57
19	HAD	7	8.22	57.12
20	CCTV	6	10.62	56.21
21	SET	6	10.33	54.48
22	MOST	6	10.08	53.06
23	SAID	7	7.37	51.17
24	IS	7	7.00	48.58
25	FOR	7	6.83	47.39

26	BEGAN	4	11.57	45.29
27	ALL	6	8.35	43.17
28	CAUSED	4	11.07	42.94
29	CARS	4	10.77	41.56
30	UP	6	7.96	41.01
31	WHITE	4	10.64	40.98
32	USE	4	10.64	40.98
33	BEEN	6	7.69	39.47
34	NOT	6	7.67	39.37
35	THEIR	6	7.60	38.98
36	WHO	6	7.47	38.27
37	FROM	6	7.31	37.39
38	AT	6	7.07	36.04
39	GANGS	4	9.49	35.97
40	THAT	6	6.87	34.93
41	MAKE	4	9.23	34.87
42	FIRE	4	9.16	34.57
43	DOWN	4	9.03	34.02
44	NIGHT	4	8.86	33.28
45	MANY	4	8.84	33.21
46	VIOLENCE	4	8.80	33.06
47	YOUNG	4	8.68	32.56
48	JUST	4	8.68	32.56
49	WAS	6	6.17	31.06
50	LAST	4	8.25	30.74
51	YESTERDAY	4	8.04	29.85
52	AFTER	4	7.56	27.83
53	WILL	4	7.44	27.35
54	BUT	4	6.85	24.87
55	THEY	4	6.62	23.90
56	HE	4	6.33	22.72

Daily Mirror collocates of *rioter**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	TO	20	5.09	90.74
2	A	13	4.57	45.81
3	FACEBOOK	6	9.25	45.09
4	THE	16	3.67	44.89
5	WHO	9	6.38	43.87
6	RIOT	6	7.20	33.19
7	USED	4	8.67	31.02
8	WHERE	4	7.44	25.69
9	ARE	6	5.56	24.08
10	IS	6	5.00	21.05
11	ON	6	4.78	19.85
12	OF	7	3.72	18.08
13	BE	4	5.26	16.64
14	SAID	4	4.96	15.40
15	WITH	4	4.80	14.78
16	WAS	4	4.08	11.87

Daily Mirror collocates of *teenager**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	30	6.28	122.65
2	YOUNG	13	10.27	118.48
3	TO	18	6.66	95.35
4	ON	14	7.78	94.17
5	OF	14	6.40	74.89
6	AND	14	6.32	73.80

7	AS	10	7.87	71.79
8	IN	13	6.53	70.97
9	WHO	9	8.06	64.95
10	RIOT	7	9.20	63.98
11	A	10	5.88	52.42
12	BY	7	7.50	52.09
13	WITH	7	7.22	50.11
14	POLICE	7	7.15	49.63
15	FOR	7	6.83	47.39
16	BULLETS	4	10.91	42.21
17	USE	4	10.64	40.98
18	HAD	6	7.90	40.68
19	LOOTED	4	10.11	38.68
20	SHOPS	4	9.87	37.64
21	BUT	6	7.27	37.13
22	WERE	6	7.09	36.13
23	FIRE	4	9.16	34.57
24	MANY	4	8.84	33.21
25	UP	4	7.54	27.77
26	HE	4	6.33	22.72
27	WAS	4	5.76	20.34

Daily Mirror collocates of *thug**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	WITH	7	7.96	50.11
2	THE	11	5.62	46.69
3	TO	9	6.28	43.98
4	IS	6	7.42	38.86
5	RIOT	4	9.20	38.33
6	ON	6	7.19	37.62
7	OF	7	6.13	37.43
8	AND	7	6.06	36.88
9	AFTER	4	8.30	34.55
10	IN	6	6.10	31.53
11	BY	4	7.50	31.23
12	A	6	5.81	29.94
13	FOR	4	6.83	28.42

Daily Mirror collocates of *yob**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	11	4.40	46.69
2	TO	9	5.06	38.29
3	IN	7	5.20	31.11
4	WITH	4	6.00	20.54
5	OF	6	4.59	20.52
6	AND	6	4.51	20.09
7	ON	4	5.56	18.72
8	A	4	4.18	13.09

Daily Mirror collocates of *youngster**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	OF	36	5.18	164.41
2	THE	37	4.05	132.93
3	A	28	4.86	114.45
4	AND	27	4.71	103.47
5	WAS	14	4.96	53.24
6	CENTRES	6	10.23	52.23
7	BLACK	7	7.75	45.16
8	CLUBS	4	10.04	37.91
9	THAMES	4	10.04	37.91
10	IN	13	3.99	35.83
11	ON	10	4.73	34.22
12	WORKERS	4	9.30	34.02
13	BY	9	5.23	33.20
14	COMMUNITY	6	7.11	32.30
15	UNEMPLOYMENT	4	8.82	31.69
16	TO	13	3.60	31.10
17	GROUP	4	8.62	30.80
18	THAT	9	4.92	30.65
19	STUDENT	4	8.23	29.02
20	COURT	6	6.10	26.61
21	GANG	4	7.10	24.08
22	WILL	6	5.32	22.35
23	INTO	4	6.23	20.41
24	WHO	6	4.93	20.22
25	YEAR	4	5.83	18.74
26	WERE	6	4.55	18.15
27	WHEN	4	5.38	16.90
28	POLICE	6	4.29	16.77
29	FOR	6	3.97	15.07
30	THIS	4	4.65	13.91
31	BE	4	4.40	12.92
32	FROM	4	4.36	12.75
33	ARE	4	4.28	12.44
34	AT	4	4.12	11.79
35	THEY	4	4.08	11.63
36	HE	4	3.80	10.52

Daily Mirror collocates of *youth**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	A	45	4.83	267.56
2	THE	42.6	3.94	198.78
3	OF	27.1	4.5	135.78
4	WAS	18	4.73	94.44
5	STOLE	5	9.57	59.82
6	BOY'S	4	10.57	58.87
7	GOOD	6	7.00	47.46
8	WHO	9	4.98	46.15
9	GRABBED	4	9.25	45.42
10	YOUNGEST	4	9.25	45.42
11	COURT	7	5.54	41.03
12	LONDON	8	4.98	40.88
13	MOUTHED	3	10.15	39.60
14	FROM	8	4.85	39.55
15	SAW	5	6.82	38.18
16	AGED	4	8.04	37.64
17	Ã	6	5.84	37.60
18	FOUL	3	9.35	34.54
19	AMONG	4	7.48	34.28
20	ON	7.75	3.9	29.383
21	ADDED	4	6.57	29.02
22	I	6.78	4.26	28.894
23	ADMITTED	4	6.55	28.89
24	THEIR	6	4.74	28.54
25	WITH	6.78	4.19	28.28
26	IN	9.68	3.04	25.925
27	ARE	5.81	4.4	25.783
28	BY	5.81	4.15	23.804
29	AT	5.81	3.95	22.209
30	IS	5.81	3.79	20.975
31	Â	4	5.08	20.72
32	ONE	4	5.01	20.34
33	STORE	3	5.61	17.71
34	SHE	4	4.51	17.65
35	YOUNG	3	5.41	16.87
36	OLD	2.91	5.25	16.19
37	HOME	3	5.08	15.49
38	YEAR	3	4.88	14.68
39	INTO	3	4.85	14.57
40	OR	3	4.85	14.57
41	SAID	3.87	3.48	12.237
42	AS	3.87	3.45	12.13
43	HAS	2.91	4.1	11.555
44	IT	3.87	3.31	11.403
45	HE	3.87	3.26	11.147
46	PEOPLE	2.91	3.97	11.064
47	UP	2.91	3.52	9.2922
48	RIOTS	2.91	3.31	8.5222
49	THEY	2.91	3.03	7.4597

The Sun collocates of *boy**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	CHILDREN	31	11.50	574.10
2	HAVE	7	5.35	39.90
3	BEEN	6	5.97	39.14
4	THEIR	6	5.67	36.66
5	TAUGHT	3	9.76	35.90
6	TO	10	3.58	34.31
7	ALWAYS	3	8.84	31.55
8	PROBLEM	3	8.33	29.29
9	MY	4	6.16	26.87
10	LIVES	3	7.62	26.23
11	RIGHT	3	6.76	22.57
12	OF	7	3.43	21.97
13	SHE	3	5.02	15.38
14	ON	4	3.83	14.29
15	WHO	3	4.32	12.56
16	FOR	3	3.33	8.67

The Sun collocates of *children*

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	DAMAGE	23	10.30	35.60
2	RECORD	4	8.98	30.43
3	LAST	4	5.06	30.43
4	FOR	12	4.9	30.43
5	WERE	6	4.69	30.43
6	ARE	5	4.64	30.43
7	WHO	5	4.63	30.43
8	AND	22	4.63	30.43
9	BE	5	4.61	30.43
10	SAID	6	4.56	30.43
11	AFTER	3	4.33	30.43
12	RIOTS	4	4.23	30.43
13	THAT	4	4.13	30.43
14	IS	5	4.03	30.43
15	UP	3	4.02	30.43
16	WAS	8	3.98	30.43
17	WITH	4	3.89	30.43
18	HE	4	3.76	30.43
19	TO	4	3.74	30.43
20	A	4	3.72	30.43
21	AT	4	3.45	30.43
22	THE	4	3.37	30.43
23	OF	4	3.36	30.43

The Sun collocates of *criminal**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	22	4.41	140.7
2	CAREERING	4	11.97	67.14
3	WASH	4	10.39	51.87
4	INTO	5	6.99	39.87
5	A	9	3.88	35.33
6	IN	8	4.12	33.52
7	CAR	4	7.29	33.35
8	THAN	4	7.04	31.98
9	MORE	4	6.40	28.38
10	OF	7	3.9	26.96
11	AT	5	5.09	26.74
12	AND	6	3.59	20.35
13	TO	6	3.32	18.23
14	WAS	4	3.88	14.75
15	IT	3	4.3	12.58

The Sun collocates of *crowd**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	69	3.89	312.75
2	A	55	4.4	277.52
3	TO	54	4.39	271.29
4	OF	50	4.65	267.28
5	MEMBERS	19	9.29	240.74
6	IN	35	4.14	152.58
7	AND	35	4.03	147.03
8	ARE	21	5.53	131.66
9	ON	20	4.55	97.149
10	CULTURE	9	8.54	93.68
11	DUGGAN	10	7.90	93.49
12	SUSPECTED	8	8.43	81.74
13	MARK	8	7.62	71.05
14	WAS	17	3.91	67.108
15	FROM	13	4.81	63.652
16	AS	14	4.52	63.125
17	WHO	13	4.77	62.813
18	STREET	8	6.64	59.29
19	BE	12	4.63	55.655
20	SUSPECT	6	7.77	54.58
21	IS	13	4.16	52.292
22	BY	12	4.41	52.066
23	MORE	9	5.42	51.223
24	MARAUDING	4	9.50	49.64
25	LIFE	7	6.35	48.89
26	CRIMINAL	6	6.98	47.41
27	ACTIVITY	4	9.24	47.01
28	TACKLING	4	9.24	47.01
29	THAT	11	4.34	46.657
30	WILL	9	4.97	45.626
31	VIOLENCE	7	5.92	44.61
32	REPORT	5	7.50	43.38
33	WITH	11	4.1	43.137
34	AGAINST	6	6.48	42.99
35	MURDER	5	7.34	42.13
36	GANGLAND	3	9.83	40.95
37	NEW	6	6.18	40.42
38	SOLDIERS	4	8.37	40.24
39	INTO	7	5.33	38.837
40	LEADERS	4	8.13	38.62
41	TWO	7	5.29	38.487
42	UP	9	4.36	38.199
43	PART	5	6.66	37.05
44	UNCLE	3	9.41	36.46
45	GLASGOW'S	3	9.41	36.46
46	GLASGOW	4	7.74	36.12
47	AFTER	8	4.5	35.338
48	FOR	11	3.53	34.851
49	BRATTON	3	9.09	34.23
50	RIVAL	3	9.09	34.23
51	HANDED	4	7.18	32.71
52	WAR	4	7.18	32.71
53	DESSIE	3	8.83	32.64
54	UNIT	3	8.83	32.64
55	YOUNGSTERS	4	7.07	32.04
56	PROBLEM	4	7.07	32.04
57	HAS	7	4.58	31.638
58	OR	6	5.11	31.388
59	ABOUT	6	5.06	31.018
60	HE	9	3.69	30.219
61	SEEK	3	8.24	29.51
62	BLACK	4	6.40	28.11
63	ORGANISED	3	7.83	27.48
64	DECLARED	3	7.83	27.48
65	SAYS	4	6.21	27.03
66	THEY	8	3.7	26.938
67	ASIAN	3	7.71	26.93
68	GIRLS	3	7.60	26.43
69	AN	6	4.49	26.366
70	CRIME	4	6.02	25.94
71	IT	8	3.57	25.56
72	WEARING	3	7.41	25.54
73	DEAD	3	7.41	25.54
74	WHILE	4	5.94	25.51
75	POWERS	3	7.24	24.77
76	DID	4	5.70	24.12
77	POLICE	7	3.74	23.897
78	WERE	7	3.66	23.145
79	BAIL	3	6.83	22.91
80	TACKLE	3	6.77	22.66
81	SHOOTING	3	6.71	22.41
82	NOYE	3	6.71	22.41
83	WHEN	5	4.55	22.301
84	BOYS	3	6.66	22.17
85	SHOT	3	6.55	21.72
86	BEFORE	4	5.23	21.504
87	BILL	3	6.32	20.73
88	OUT	5	4.18	19.816
89	THAN	4	4.9	19.688
90	GET	4	4.76	18.951
91	DIDN'T	3	5.89	18.87
92	STOP	3	5.86	18.74
93	NOT	5	4	18.638
94	LOCAL	3	5.74	18.24
95	HAVE	6	3.45	18.162
96	HOURS	2.91	5.68	18.005
97	CAME	2.91	5.63	17.781
98	VERY	3	5.55	17.46
99	CAUGHT	3	5.53	17.356
100	OVER	4	4.43	17.143
101	SET	3	5.43	16.961
102	TAKE	3	5.41	16.867
103	MEN	3	5.35	16.592
104	AT	6	3.21	16.308
105	WORK	3	5.13	15.684
106	FACEBOOK	3	5.09	15.533
107	WE	5	3.52	15.524
108	MAN	3	4.98	15.104
109	HIS	5	3.45	15.093
110	OTHER	3	4.78	14.273
111	TOTTENHAM	3	4.77	14.214
112	SAID	5	3.06	12.611
113	HOME	3	4.33	12.465
114	THEIR	4	3.41	11.844
115	RIOTERS	3	4.03	11.244
116	JUST	3	4.02	11.21
117	DO	3	4.01	11.176

118	LONDON	4	3.23	10.943
119	COPS	3	3.93	10.85
120	LAST	3	3.4	8.8102

The Sun collocates of *gang**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	A	25	4.65	140.07
2	WINDOWS	6	8.89	64.24
3	SMASHED	6	8.63	61.82
4	IN	14	4.17	59.74
5	THE	17	3.29	58.26
6	OF	13	4.04	52.80
7	RIOT	8	5.84	50.97
8	OLD	6	6.89	46.68
9	YEAR	6	6.52	43.56
10	AIN'T	3	10.21	38.56
11	AN	5.81	5.88	38.2
12	AND	10	3.57	33.57
13	TEENAGE	3	8.55	30.31
14	FREE	3	7.71	26.60
15	INTO	4	5.91	25.41
16	WHO	5	4.77	24.13
17	DAD	3	7.07	23.85
18	ACCUSED	3	6.92	23.20
19	SHOPS	3	6.82	22.80
20	SHOP	3	5.97	19.21
21	ON	4	3.55	12.73
22	POLICE	3	3.91	10.88
23	IS	3	3.44	9.05
24	FOR	3	3.04	7.56

The Sun collocates of *girl**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	13	5.11	79.48
2	THREE	6	9.48	73.72
3	CAR	4	8.81	43.49
4	WHO	5	7.06	43.13
5	INNOCENT	3	11.08	42.00
6	KILLED	3	10.18	37.94
7	BAD	3	9.95	36.97
8	DIDN'T	3	9.56	35.26
9	MAKE	3	9.44	34.75
10	CAME	3	9.30	34.16
11	ONE	3	7.52	26.65
12	BEEN	3	6.97	24.35
13	BUT	3	6.36	21.81
14	ARE	3	6.33	21.69
15	HAVE	3	6.12	20.84
16	IT	3	5.83	19.61

The Sun collocates of *guy**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	KIDS	79	10.18	1316.86
2	TO	24	3.56	85.23
3	THESE	9	6.61	66.51
4	HAVE	13	4.90	65.56
5	WITH	12	4.56	54.85
6	MUST	6	6.48	42.92
7	RIOT	8	4.79	38.62
8	OF	14	3.09	37.34
9	AND	14	3.00	35.76
10	DON'T	4.84	5.99	32.25
11	LOVE	4	6.91	31.02
12	I	8	4.04	30.63
13	THEY	8	4.03	30.55
14	PREMIER	3	8.42	30.16
15	PLAYERS	3	8.04	28.33
16	REDKNAPP	3	8.04	28.33
17	HARRY	3	7.42	25.48
18	WANTS	3	7.35	25.17
19	THEIR	6	4.33	25.12
20	FOR	8	3.40	23.96
21	WHICH	4	5.64	23.77
22	PROBLEM	3	6.99	23.56
23	WE	6	4.11	23.40
24	YOUNG	4	5.42	22.56
25	LIKE	4	5.36	22.27
26	OUT	5	4.51	22.07
27	PARENTS	3	6.39	20.96
28	SOME	4	5.10	20.84
29	GIVE	3	6.28	20.53
30	ON	7	3.30	20.01
31	MY	4	4.82	19.29
32	NEVER	2.91	5.99	19.28
33	SO	4	4.78	19.09
34	NEED	3	5.91	18.95
35	ARE	5	3.73	16.90
36	WHO	5	3.72	16.86
37	STREETS	3	5.40	16.83
38	HELP	3	5.28	16.34
39	AS	5	3.37	14.60
40	CAN	3	4.84	14.50
41	DURING	3	4.81	14.40
42	OUR	3	4.39	12.68
43	DO	3	4.34	12.51
44	WHEN	3	4.14	11.71
45	THAT	4	3.22	10.88
46	UP	3	3.11	7.72

The Sun collocates of *kids*

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	44	4.9	61.16
2	TO	24	4.9	59.17
3	A	41	5.63	45.90
4	IN	15	4.64	45.80
5	OF	30	5.57	39.12
6	WAS	7	4.22	29.20
7	WHO	13	6.44	26.20
8	CAUGHT	3	7.20	24.43
9	JAIL	6	8.13	24.13
10	FIRST	4	7.04	22.00
11	AND	32	5.57	21.16
12	UP	7	5.67	19.76
13	FROM	11	6.24	19.34
14	INTO	5	6.52	18.48
15	NOT	6	5.93	15.02
16	THEIR	6	5.67	13.95
17	FOR	8	4.74	13.81

18	ARE	5	5.07	12.58
19	RIOTS	7	5.47	12.25
20	BY	5	4.82	11.60
21	SAID	6	4.99	11.25
22	AS	19	6.71	11.16
23	THEY	7	5.18	11.12
24	WITH	8	5.32	10.89

The Sun collocates of *looter**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	MOB	44	11.01	390.49
2	MOBILE	14	11.01	234.55
3	A	30	4.70	91.73
4	THE	41	4.31	86.63
5	MOBS	9	11.01	80.93
6	PHONES	4	10.01	66.29
7	OF	25	4.83	48.59
8	AND	27	4.85	41.31
9	ON	9	4.51	34.39
10	WITH	5	4.15	32.65
11	WHO	3	3.83	22.664
12	TO	22	4.29	22.47
13	BY	11	5.46	21.05
14	IN	14	3.96	17.43
15	HIS	3	3.89	16.669
16	IS	6	4.23	13.18
17	RIOT	8	5.64	12.08
18	WAS	10	4.24	5.61
19	IT	3	3.33	5.61

The Sun collocates of *mob**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	YOUNG	11	13.22	108.82
2	INSTITUTION	6	16.28	99.89
3	A	10	8.56	65.37
4	INSTITUTE	3	16.08	63.53
5	IN	9	8.81	62.63
6	TO	14	9.06	36.44
7	AT	3	8.88	30.35
8	OF	9	8.79	23.38

The Sun collocates of *offender**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	70	6.26	428.95
2	TO	42	6.36	226.26
3	OF	40	6.66	218.59
4	WERE	23	7.79	161.10
5	A	40	6.27	117.91
6	IN	21	5.78	116.39
7	AND	27	6.02	113.69
8	BY	15	7.17	98.15
9	ON	12	6.1	87.072
10	AS	15	7.06	74.95
11	WITH	9	6.16	73.996
12	BE	9	6.57	58.925
13	SHOP	5	7.67	44.76
14	CCTV	3	8.59	43.28
15	LONDON	8	6.58	41.536
16	ARE	9	6.59	40.189
17	ONE	3	6.2	39.642
18	POLICE	11	6.75	39.081
19	SET	5	8.52	38.61
20	HAD	12	7.37	33.91
21	ALL	4	6.61	29.644
22	SAID	18	7.33	29.06
23	IS	7	5.62	27.225
24	NOT	4	6.03	26.433
25	MANY	4	7.84	25.48
26	THEIR	9	6.93	24.98
27	FOR	17	6.59	24.536
28	YOUNG	5	7.76	23.79
29	UP	13	7.24	23.76
30	DOWN	7	8.13	23.31
31	WHO	14	7.22	23.07
32	THAT	11	6.69	22.085
33	NIGHT	3	6.35	21.007
34	AT	7	5.78	20.661
35	LAST	8	7.17	18.52
36	WILL	12	7.73	18.45
37	YESTERDAY	6	6.67	18.183
38	AFTER	6	6.43	17.205
39	WAS	9	5.26	15.912
40	THEY	8	6.05	13.982
41	HE	6	5.45	13.242

The Sun collocates of *rioter**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	A	25	5.24	189.02
2	THE	21	4.17	112.62
3	WAS	11	5.17	62.76
4	WHO	8	6.04	54.02
5	TWO	6	7.04	48.38
6	COLLARED	3	11.38	44.93
7	OF	10	4.24	43.98
8	COPS	5	6.64	37.25
9	ACCUSED	4	7.92	36.85
10	RAP	3	9.80	35.94
11	ARRESTED	4	7.53	34.66
12	BY	6	5.38	34.55
13	TO	9	3.72	32.96
14	BEFORE	4	7.20	32.78
15	IN	8	3.94	31.26
16	AMONG	3	8.30	29.15
17	USED	3	7.50	25.74
18	FACEBOOK	3	7.06	23.88
19	RIOT	4	5.43	22.95
20	FOR	5	4.36	21.69
21	MORE	3	5.81	18.65
22	WHEN	3	5.78	18.55
23	WITH	4	4.62	18.55
24	COURT	3	5.54	17.57
25	ARE	3	4.63	13.84
26	WERE	3	4.41	12.97
27	THEY	3	4.26	12.37
28	HE	3	4.07	11.64
29	ON	3	3.72	10.24

The Sun collocates of *teenager**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	47	4.98	86.33
2	YOUNG	9	7.88	83.89
3	ON	15	5.79	54.77
4	TO	34	5.34	51.59
5	OF	36	5.79	38.43
6	AS	7	5.15	37.95
7	AND	28	5.34	37.23
8	WHO	18	6.94	33.4
9	IN	29	5.51	32.76
10	RIOT	27	7.89	28.54
11	POLICE	10	5.89	25.01
12	BY	26	7.21	24.24
13	FOR	25	6.4	19.2
14	BUT	5	5.05	19.03
15	A	48	5.84	18.12
16	WERE	9	5.65	17.71
17	UP	7	5.62	12.87

The Sun collocates of *thug**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	A	25	5.29	189.02
2	THE	29	4.67	183.54
3	TO	21	5.07	142.30
4	IN	19	5.32	131.90
5	OF	18	5.22	120.93
6	AS	13	6.44	98.92
7	RIOT	11	6.94	90.12
8	JAILED	7	8.85	75.03
9	BY	10	6.17	70.62
10	AND	13	4.59	65.65
11	WHO	9	6.26	64.20
12	LAST	8	6.84	63.13
13	FROM	8	6.14	55.29
14	DURING	6	7.51	52.38
15	ARE	7	5.91	45.78
16	RAMPAGED	3	11.44	45.18
17	FOR	8	5.10	43.80
18	OUT	6	6.47	43.62
19	NABBED	3	11.12	42.95
20	INVOLVED	4	8.81	42.05
21	THAN	5	7.25	41.56
22	AFTER	6	6.11	40.63
23	RIOTING	4	7.90	36.78
24	FOUR	4	7.68	35.55
25	LOOTERS	4	7.25	33.12
26	CAN	4	6.95	31.39
27	HIM	4	6.89	31.06
28	ATTACKED	3	8.68	30.85
29	LOOTER	3	8.44	29.78
30	UP	5	5.54	29.71
31	TEN	3	8.31	29.22
32	TWO	4	6.51	28.97
33	BE	5	5.40	28.72
34	NIGHT	4	6.45	28.59
35	COPS	4	6.37	28.17
36	WHEN	4	6.25	27.53
37	REVEALED	3	7.74	26.76
38	HER	4	6.04	26.35
39	USED	3	7.56	25.99
40	FACEBOOK	3	7.12	24.13
41	MANCHESTER	3	6.95	23.41
42	THROUGH	3	6.92	23.28
43	LEFT	3	6.85	23.02
44	ON	5	4.51	22.73
45	THESE	3	6.73	22.48
46	BUT	4	5.13	21.35
47	RIOTS	4	5.02	20.73
48	THAT	4	4.91	20.17
49	HAVE	4	4.89	20.08
50	MORE	3	5.86	18.89
51	WITH	4	4.67	18.88
52	AT	4	4.65	18.76
53	THEIR	3	5.03	15.47
54	WAS	4	3.76	14.06291
55	SAID	3	4.35	12.73
56	THEY	3	4.32	12.60
57	IS	3	4.08	11.66

The Sun collocates of *yob**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	YOUNGSTERS	26	12.59	493.57
2	YOUNGSTER	12	12.27	208.80
3	THE	26	5.26	165.17
4	F	6	11.72	92.38
5	A	13	5.03	82.77
6	OF	11	5.17	68.54
7	WHO	8	6.83	65.29
8	TO	11	4.81	63.01
9	Y	3	14.18	53.01
10	BEING	5	7.66	45.16
11	CAUTIONED	3	11.59	44.69
12	ARE	6	6.42	44.39
13	PHOTOGRAPHER	3	11.01	41.56
14	MUSTAFA	3	10.27	38.00
15	GANG	4	7.92	37.27
16	YEAR	4	7.32	33.88
17	AND	7	4.43	33.31
18	ONE	4	7.03	32.29
19	AS	5	5.80	32.26
20	DOING	3	8.97	32.20
21	WITH	5	5.73	31.78
22	FACE	3	8.82	31.56
23	YOUR	3	8.27	29.20
24	ADMITTED	3	8.15	28.71
25	FOR	5	5.16	27.84
26	FROM	4	5.88	25.91
27	TOLD	3	7.21	24.74
28	OR	3	6.87	23.33
29	LAST	3	6.17	20.39
30	THEIR	3	5.76	18.73
31	WAS	4	4.50	18.41
32	LONDON	3	5.58	17.99
33	BY	3	5.17	16.31
34	IN	4	3.74	14.35

The Sun collocates of *youngster**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	COURT	17	7.10	149.77
2	THE	32	3.72	133.59
3	TO	25	4.23	117.67
4	A	23	4.09	103.01
5	OF	21	4.35	101.00
6	AT	13	5.27	73.19
7	WAS	15	4.59	71.20
8	AND	16	3.89	65.52
9	IN	15	3.92	61.90
10	REMAIN	4	9.96	50.48
11	WAVING	3	10.77	44.97
12	CARDIGAN	3	10.77	44.97
13	WITH	9	4.76	43.68
14	SOME	6	6.30	41.52
15	PRINCE'S	3	10.36	40.47
16	CROYDON	5	7.09	40.11
17	CALM	4	8.45	40.04
18	OUR	6	6.00	38.98
19	BESIDE	3	10.03	38.24
20	WORKER	4	8.07	37.73
21	PINK	3	9.77	36.65
22	WHOM	3	9.55	35.41
23	FOUGHT	3	9.19	33.52
24	BLACK	4	7.34	33.46
25	TRUST	3	9.03	32.76
26	HIGHBURY	3	9.03	32.76
27	BY	7	4.58	31.97
28	HOODED	3	8.66	30.93
29	FOR	8	4.01	30.69
30	PLEASE	3	8.27	29.14
31	CHARITY	3	8.27	29.14
32	MUST	4	6.50	28.66
33	ASIANS	3	8.11	28.41
34	APPEAR	3	7.90	27.46
35	RESPECT	3	7.71	26.64
36	WILL	5	5.06	25.96
37	HUNDREDS	3	7.36	25.09
38	TOLD	4	5.80	24.76
39	CUSTODY	3	6.86	22.97
40	ALSO	4	5.40	22.55
41	LONDON	5	4.50	22.14
42	ONE	4	5.21	21.47
43	HIS	5	4.40	21.44
44	ALL	4	5.20	21.43
45	CAUGHT	3	6.47	21.31
46	HEARD	3	6.45	21.21
47	WERE	5	4.12	19.62
48	LOOTING	3	5.76	18.31
49	GANG	3	5.68	18.00
50	AFTER	4	4.44	17.32
51	TWO	2.905	5.02	15.261
52	NIGHT	3	4.95	14.98
53	POLICE	4	3.88	14.37
54	WHEN	3	4.76	14.20
55	OUT	3	4.38	12.71
56	IS	4	3.41	11.93
57	ON	4	3.11	10.408
58	ARE	3	3.60	9.63
59	WHO	3	3.59	9.61
60	SAID	3	3.26	8.3478
61	I	3	3.24	8.2592

The Sun collocates of *youth**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	27	4.14	353.28
2	A	19	5.04	275.30
3	OLD	8	8.30	189.29
4	YEAR	9	7.70	182.52
5	OF	12	3.97	111.40
6	WAS	8	5.18	100.40
7	WHO	6	5.99	99.43
8	WITH	6	4.98	67.60
9	AND	8	3.75	65.77
10	IN	7	3.85	64.04
11	ARRESTED	3	7.89	54.68
12	HER	3	6.2	54.25
13	NAMED	2	8.83	52.29
14	HAD	4	5.36	50.81
15	BOY'S	1	11.8	49.34
16	CANNOT	2	8.04	46.57
17	MOTHER	2	7.34	41.60
18	BE	3	4.59	36.71
19	BEEN	3	5.06	36.42
20	FOR	4	4.09	35.44
21	GIRLS	1	9.71	35.30
22	COURT	2	6.21	33.68
23	HIS	3	4.76	33.55
24	ADMITTED	1	7.58	25.86
25	LITTLE	1	7.43	25.25
26	AT	3	4.3	25.00
27	ACCUSED	1	6.77	22.44
28	AS	3	3.89	21.75
29	HAS	2	4.31	20.77
30	AFTER	2	5.05	20.53
31	DID	1	6.22	20.17
32	OFF	1	5.95	19.05
33	UP	2	4.76	18.96
34	ON	3	3.50	18.69
35	OVER	1	5.09	15.53
36	THAT	3	3.07	15.46
37	SAID	1	3.46	9.07
38	BY	1	3.23	8.21
39	HE	1	3.02	7.41

The Telegraph collocates of *boy**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	TO	24	3.77	207.36
2	AND	22	3.97	204.07
3	THEIR	13	5.96	203.24
4	ARE	9	4.78	96.95
5	OF	15	3.06	94.19
6	SCHOOL	4	7.43	85.08
7	UP	6	5.38	84.49
8	WHO	7	4.80	77.61
9	ADULTS	3	9.02	76.74
10	FOR	9	3.96	75.03
11	PARENTS	4	7.17	73.04
12	AS	8	4.19	72.82
13	IN	10	3.06	63.15
14	TEACH	2	9.69	60.87
15	HAVE	6	4.13	55.18
16	WITH	6	3.90	54.64
17	WERE	5	4.16	47.64
18	SCHOOLS	2	7.61	43.68
19	CANNOT	2	6.75	37.43
20	DIFFICULTIES	1	9.54	35.58
21	THAT	6	3.00	34.94
22	ANIMALS	1	9.12	33.32
23	FOUR	2	6.09	32.78
24	FROM	4	3.80	31.23
25	YOUNGER	1	8.54	30.41
26	LEARNING	1	8.04	28.07
27	GET	2	5.36	27.70
28	MORE	3	4.14	27.39
29	SO	3	4.62	27.24
30	FAMILIES	2	6.16	26.59
31	LEARN	1	7.54	25.84
32	THESE	2	5.09	25.82
33	DISCIPLINE	1	7.48	25.58
34	WHOSE	2	5.95	25.42
35	TOOK	2	5.78	24.47
36	YOUNG	2	4.84	24.14
37	OTHER	2	4.71	23.25
38	AGE	1	6.84	22.79
39	AROUND	2	5.41	22.40
40	HAS	3	3.50	21.57
41	MAKE	2	5.24	21.45
42	NOT	3	3.48	21.34
43	THEY	3	3.38	20.50
44	STREETS	2	5.06	20.46
45	HOMES	1	6.24	20.25
46	EVEN	2	4.83	19.25
47	WOULD	2	4.11	19.25
48	WHERE	2	4.82	19.18
49	YOU	2	4.02	18.68
50	OR	2	4.01	18.63
51	LOOK	1	5.78	18.33
52	OUT	2	3.89	17.81
53	I	3	3.38	17.48
54	WITHOUT	1	5.55	17.38
55	BEING	2	4.40	16.93
56	NUMBER	1	5.41	16.78
57	OWN	1	5.29	16.29
58	ALSO	2	4.21	15.91
59	COUNTRY	1	5.01	15.12
60	WILL	2	3.45	14.97
61	SUCH	1	4.40	12.69
62	MY	1	4.32	12.37
63	ONE	2	3.44	11.92
64	COURT	1	4.18	11.81
65	TWO	1	4.09	11.45
66	MANY	1	3.97	10.99
67	DO	1	3.89	10.67
68	THEM	1	3.74	10.07
69	HER	1	3.50	9.15
70	WHAT	1	3.46	8.99
71	IF	1	3.33	8.52
72	ABOUT	1	3.21	8.05
73	THERE	1	3.20	8.03

The Telegraph collocates of *children*

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	38	4.21	499.27
2	OF	28	4.84	397.13
3	AND	21	4.75	259.83
4	JUSTICE	10	8.93	250.62
5	TO	21	4.47	247.64
6	SYSTEM	7	9.02	185.98
7	A	14	4.13	136.73
8	DAMAGE	5	8.51	121.31
9	BE	8	5.42	110.74
10	ACTS	3	10.67	81.88
11	BEHAVIOUR	3	8.45	79.68
12	FOR	7	4.59	79.34
13	ON	7	4.58	79.11
14	THAT	8	4.23	75.67
15	ARE	6	5.13	75.00
16	AS	6	4.79	73.73
17	WHO	6	5.37	73.69
18	IS	7	4.47	71.96
19	IN	8	3.59	64.14
20	WERE	5	5.03	62.34
21	WITH	6	4.56	59.46
22	NOT	5	5.00	56.51
23	BY	5	4.69	51.90
24	PURE	2	10.24	51.09
25	DEALING	2	8.64	51.00
26	MORE	4	5.37	50.62
27	CRIMINALLY	1	11.41	47.55
28	YOUNG	3	6.19	47.07
29	ORDINARY	2	9.60	46.71
30	WE	4	5.02	46.32
31	SIMPLE	2	9.41	45.46
32	HAVE	4	4.51	44.71
33	ACTIVITY	2	9.24	44.39
34	HAD	3	4.77	38.35
35	OPPORTUNISTIC	1	10.18	37.99
36	ELEMENTS	1	10.18	37.99
37	OUT	3	5.24	37.90
38	WAS	4	3.92	36.82
39	CASES	2	7.68	35.12
40	WHAT	3	5.32	33.09
41	THEIR	3	4.68	32.57
42	BEEN	3	4.64	32.25
43	THESE	2	5.95	31.85
44	VIOLENCE	2	5.86	31.19
45	REPUTATION	1	8.67	30.65
46	RIOTERS	2	5.62	29.55
47	BUT	3	4.33	29.37
48	THEY	3	4.25	28.60
49	OFFENCE	1	8.18	28.50
50	ORGANISED	1	7.99	27.66
51	GANG	2	6.33	27.51
52	RECORD	1	7.90	27.28
53	DISORDER	2	6.22	26.88
54	THAN	2	5.20	26.66
55	BROUGHT	1	7.60	25.96
56	HE	3	3.82	24.63
57	FEAR	1	7.18	24.19
58	ABOUT	2	4.81	24.04
59	RIOTS	3	4.20	24.02
60	UP	2	4.66	23.03
61	ONE	2	4.63	22.81
62	OUR	2	5.39	22.33
63	MANY	2	5.26	21.60
64	INTO	2	5.21	21.33
65	FACE	1	6.48	21.24
66	INVOLVED	1	6.42	20.98
67	WILL	2	4.31	20.71
68	FOUND	1	6.33	20.61
69	ALREADY	1	6.33	20.61
70	SOME	2	5.04	20.42
71	ORDER	1	6.11	19.67
72	CENT	1	5.92	18.91
73	PER	1	5.90	18.83
74	IT	3	3.46	18.29
75	IF	2	4.61	18.14
76	HAS	2	3.88	17.91
77	WHICH	2	4.52	17.63
78	SAYS	1	5.57	17.46
79	STREETS	1	5.51	17.19
80	NEED	1	5.49	17.13
81	EVEN	1	5.28	16.28
82	SHOULD	1	5.13	15.66
83	MAY	1	5.11	15.56
84	JUST	1	5.06	15.37
85	AN	2	4.03	15.04
86	POLICE	2	3.33	14.39
87	THIS	2	3.70	13.31
88	HIS	2	3.53	12.46
89	SAID	2	3.45	12.07
90	WOULD	1	4.24	12.06
91	WHEN	1	4.09	11.49
92	THERE	1	4.07	11.40
93	I	1	3.24	8.22
94	FROM	1	3.08	7.61

The Telegraph collocates of *criminal**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	14	4.56	184.97
2	OF	7	4.66	94.11
3	A	6	4.61	66.91
4	AND	4	4.27	44.91
5	AMONG	2	9.02	42.97
6	IN	3	4.13	33.55
7	SAW	1	8.58	30.23
8	OUT	2	6.21	27.30
9	THEN	1	7.29	24.83
10	DOWN	1	7.11	24.07
11	TO	3	3.44	22.71
12	BY	2	5.01	20.72
13	AFTER	1	5.99	19.43
14	AS	2	4.67	18.88
15	LONDON	1	5.55	17.60
16	ON	2	4.27	16.78
17	WERE	1	4.81	14.60
18	THAT	2	3.84	14.52
19	AT	1	4.66	14.01

20	IT	1	4.24	12.33
21	WAS	1	3.96	11.22
22	FOR	1	3.87	10.85

The Telegraph collocates of *crowd**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	58	4.04	757.83
2	OF	46	4.76	621.65
3	MEMBERS	15	9.38	424.33
4	A	32	4.58	383.26
5	CULTURE	13	9.48	369.75
6	TO	28	4.1	282.57
7	AND	25	4.27	266.30
8	IN	23	4.33	245.14
9	YOUTHS	6	8.05	141.81
10	WERE	10	5.26	133.00
11	THAT	13	4.2	124.63
12	AS	11	4.76	121.71
13	GANGSTER	3	10.63	118.40
14	ON	11	4.42	114.92
15	BY	9	4.91	111.26
16	WITH	10	4.61	107.02
17	WAS	10	4.41	105.30
18	MEMBER	4	8.74	105.00
19	WHO	8	5.06	94.14
20	ARE	8	4.80	92.61
21	RIVAL	3	9.98	89.13
22	INTO	5	6.02	78.03
23	THEIR	6	5.00	76.87
24	FROM	7	4.72	75.98
25	LONDON	6	5.22	75.72
26	GANGSTA	2	10.6	73.88
27	OUT	6	5.36	72.76
28	NOT	6	4.57	63.47
29	FOR	7	3.82	60.40
30	OR	5	5.24	59.66
31	WHICH	5	5.21	59.10
32	DUGGAN	3	7.37	58.75
33	ABOUT	5	5.17	58.60
34	YOUNG	4	5.78	55.34
35	IS	7	3.70	54.32
36	RIOTS	5	4.42	51.87
37	USED	3	6.41	49.06
38	POLICE	6	3.94	47.95
39	BLACK	3	6.9	46.17
40	STOP	3	6.82	45.57
41	HAVE	5	4	45.15
42	BE	5	3.98	44.88
43	ORCHESTRATED	2	9.17	44.67
44	MEMBERSHIP	1	11.2	44.29
45	THEY	5	4.13	43.15
46	ASSAULT	2	8.82	42.34
47	CRIME	3	6.24	40.61
48	USING	2	6.95	38.86
49	RIOTERS	3	5.33	38.60
50	INTELLIGENCE	2	8.17	38.24
51	SUSPECTED	2	8.17	38.24
52	TEENAGE	2	8.05	37.47
53	PARENTS	2	6.41	35.03
54	MCCLUSKEY	2	7.59	34.74
55	CLAIMED	2	7.46	34.00
56	NEW	3	5.32	32.97
57	SMARTPHONES	1	9.05	32.84
58	HE	4	3.56	31.75
59	AGAINST	2	5.92	31.57
60	THERE	3	4.52	30.88
61	INVITED	1	8.63	30.80
62	BEEN	3	4.06	30.49
63	ITS	3	5.02	30.48
64	GATHERED	1	8.41	29.75
65	VIOLENT	2	6.27	27.21
66	RAN	1	7.82	27.08
67	TARGET	1	7.82	27.08
68	LOOTING	2	5.27	27.07
69	AN	3	4.06	26.67
70	TACKLE	1	7.69	26.50
71	MASKED	1	7.69	26.50
72	WEARING	1	7.69	26.50
73	CONTROL	2	6.12	26.37
74	VIOLENCE	2	5.08	25.81
75	CONTINUE	1	7.52	25.72
76	MAIN	1	7.36	25.03
77	BETWEEN	2	5.86	24.91
78	HELPED	1	7.26	24.61
79	WEBSITE	1	7.17	24.22
80	SUGGESTED	1	7.13	24.03
81	MURDER	1	7.05	23.67
82	DO	2	4.72	23.35
83	BLAME	1	6.97	23.34
84	MAN	2	5.42	22.48
85	SOME	2	4.59	22.46
86	THEM	2	4.57	22.31
87	DESCRIBED	1	6.73	22.29
88	TEENAGERS	1	6.73	22.29
89	LEADERS	1	6.69	22.16
90	STREET	2	5.31	21.86
91	WAR	1	6.49	21.29
92	US	2	5.21	21.29
93	THEN	2	5.16	21.02
94	PEOPLE	3	3.82	20.91
95	RUN	1	6.29	20.43
96	AFTER	2	4.18	19.72
97	AMONG	1	6.05	19.43
98	GROUP	1	6.03	19.35
99	WHEN	2	4.06	18.93
100	WITHOUT	1	5.65	17.76
101	BECOME	1	5.57	17.46
102	BEING	2	4.49	17.43
103	OTHER	2	4.48	17.35
104	SAME	1	5.52	17.22
105	PRISON	1	5.44	16.89
106	HELP	1	5.25	16.13
107	CHARGED	1	5.25	16.13
108	FAMILY	1	5.22	15.99
109	PART	1	5.19	15.90
110	LIFE	1	5.16	15.76
111	RIOTING	1	5.13	15.63
112	SAY	1	5.09	15.46

113	STILL	1	5.07	15.38
114	ME	1	4.90	14.68
115	THREE	1	4.79	14.25
116	HAD	2	3.32	14.19
117	HAS	2	3.11	12.89
118	OLD	1	4.44	12.85
119	FIRST	1	4.4	12.67
120	BUT	2	3.07	12.67
121	GOVERNMENT	1	4.39	12.64
122	UP	2	3.56	12.56
123	ONE	2	3.53	12.40
124	TOTTENHAM	1	4.32	12.35
125	MOST	1	4.26	12.11
126	HOME	1	4.23	12.00
127	MORE	2	3.43	11.88
128	MANY	1	4.07	11.36
129	CAN	1	3.79	10.26
130	SO	1	3.71	9.98
131	LAST	1	3.56	9.37
132	ALL	1	3.54	9.30
133	IF	1	3.43	8.88

The Telegraph collocates of *gang**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	A	12	4.74	156.85
2	TEENAGE	5	11.03	155.05
3	OLD	6	8.19	136.53
4	YEAR	6	7.41	112.08
5	THE	12	3.34	102.23
6	OF	8	3.79	72.53
7	HIS	4	5.60	60.38
8	HAD	4	5.69	55.21
9	WHO	4	5.58	53.92
10	ATTACKED	2	8.80	52.10
11	AND	6	3.72	50.39
12	BOYS	2	9.63	46.50
13	SEMONE	1	11.74	46.25
14	POLICE	4	4.93	45.92
15	WITH	4	4.78	44.04
16	BALCONY	1	11.15	42.43
17	WILSON	1	10.74	40.16
18	TO	6	3.30	39.50
19	ATTACK	2	8.18	37.98
20	YOUNG	2	6.45	35.48
21	SCHOOL	2	7.73	35.43
22	ON	3	4.24	33.21
23	BY	3	4.56	27.21
24	PHONE	1	7.83	26.95
25	YESTERDAY	2	6.10	26.37
26	WHETHER	1	7.51	25.58
27	BEEN	2	4.90	24.88
28	HAS	2	4.63	23.06
29	SAID	2	4.53	22.33
30	WAS	3	3.93	22.18
31	SHE	2	5.21	21.50
32	AT	2	4.37	21.28
33	COURT	1	5.80	18.44
34	RIOT	1	5.53	17.35
35	OVER	1	5.42	16.90
36	NOT	2	4.29	16.51
37	LAST	1	5.08	15.50
38	OR	1	4.89	14.74
39	AN	1	4.36	12.63

The Telegraph collocates of *girl**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	A	3	5.11	50.34
2	NICE	1	11.88	45.00
3	THE	3	3.72	35.07
4	WAS	2	5.90	34.05
5	THIS	1	6.26	21.12
6	WHO	1	6.23	20.99
7	AND	2	4.14	17.13

The Telegraph collocates of *guy**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	TO	3	3.77	30.05
2	AND	3	3.88	26.97
3	THESE	1	7.13	24.17
4	WERE	2	5.36	22.69
5	OF	2	3.03	13.23
6	WITH	1	4.35	12.82
7	THAT	1	3.56	9.69

The Telegraph collocates of *kids*

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	33	6.22	431.88
2	OF	22	6.68	360.75
3	TO	21	6.66	343.69
4	AND	15	6.55	273.10
5	A	15	6.51	271.38
6	IN	12	6.42	227.33
7	WERE	7	7.75	182.88
8	ON	8	6.96	179.16
9	AS	7	7.10	152.05
10	RIOTERS	5	9.1	139.65
11	FROM	6	7.52	135.70
12	SHOPS	4	9.87	111.81
13	THEIR	5	7.54	102.74
14	AN	4	7.57	92.69
15	HAD	4	7.31	89.08
16	THEY	4	6.98	84.51
17	SMASHED	3	11	82.58
18	POLICE	4	6.55	78.56
19	WHILE	3	8.87	75.71
20	BY	4	6.61	70.60
21	THAT	4	5.60	65.43
22	WHO	3	6.88	65.02
23	WAS	4	5.98	62.73
24	GREEN	2	9.62	58.66
25	WOOD	2	10.67	52.72
26	FOR	3	5.72	52.15
27	ONE	3	7.11	49.65
28	ORDERLY	1	12.62	48.90
29	ARSONISTS	1	12.4	47.65
30	WITH	3	5.88	46.64
31	QUEUE	1	12.2	46.63
32	BEEN	3	6.63	45.73

33	PROTECTED	1	11.7	44.32
34	MANCHESTER	2	9.21	44.31
35	THEM	2	7.56	44.12
36	FORMED	1	11.62	43.72
37	NOT	3	6.34	43.27
38	VANS	1	11.2	41.77
39	SHOP	2	8.64	41.10
40	HIGH	2	8.48	40.19
41	STILL	2	8.47	40.13
42	SUSPECTED	1	10.7	39.69
43	UP	2	6.87	39.40
44	THROUGH	2	8.29	39.12
45	ALLOW	1	10.6	38.87
46	STEAL	1	10.5	38.38
47	ALIGHT	1	10.45	38.38
48	LONDON	2	6.72	38.33
49	MOVE	1	10.35	37.93
50	OLD	2	7.85	36.64
51	THESE	2	7.85	36.64
52	TUESDAY	1	10.00	36.39
53	DURING	2	7.71	35.90
54	PROTECT	1	9.62	34.78
55	MANY	2	7.47	34.55
56	BUT	2	6.06	33.80
57	HOMES	1	9.32	33.50
58	SAID	2	5.99	33.31
59	TAKING	1	9.21	33.00
60	ARE	2	5.86	32.39
61	BUSINESSES	1	8.73	30.99
62	NUMBER	1	8.49	29.98
63	STREET	1	7.88	27.43
64	TAKE	1	7.88	27.39
65	TOLD	1	7.84	27.25
66	BECAUSE	1	7.61	26.27
67	DOWN	1	7.55	26.03
68	HOW	1	7.50	25.82
69	RIOTS	2	5.83	25.47
70	SHOULD	1	7.35	25.19
71	JUST	1	7.28	24.89
72	MOST	1	7.25	24.77
73	YOUNG	1	7.18	24.51
74	INTO	1	7.01	23.77
75	NO	1	6.93	23.46
76	HAVE	2	5.41	23.16
77	BE	2	5.39	23.07
78	WOULD	1	6.45	21.47
79	AFTER	1	6.43	21.38
80	WHEN	1	6.31	20.88
81	OUT	1	6.23	20.57
82	THIS	1	5.50	17.55
83	HAS	1	5.36	17.00
84	AT	1	5.10	15.92
85	HE	1	4.81	14.76
86	IS	1	4.27	12.60

The Telegraph collocates of *looter**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	26	4.49	336.44
2	OF	19	5.10	311.18
3	AND	17	5.29	264.95
4	A	15	5.10	219.66
5	TO	11	4.40	127.55
6	AS	7	5.82	111.29
7	IN	9	4.51	97.07
8	ON	6	5.24	85.47
9	SHOPS	3	8.33	78.52
10	SOCIAL	3	7.53	60.54
11	BY	4	5.39	57.68
12	THAT	5	4.49	55.18
13	MESSAGING	2	10.79	53.88
14	ATTACKED	2	8.90	52.80
15	HAD	3	5.61	48.17
16	USED	2	7.54	43.08
17	THROUGH	2	7.24	40.99
18	WHO	3	5.32	39.13
19	ATTACK	2	8.27	38.53
20	USING	2	8.25	38.40
21	SYSTEMS	1	10.13	37.11
22	LONDON	3	5.61	35.80
23	YOUTHS	2	7.76	35.61
24	BEING	2	6.43	35.36
25	RULE	1	9.59	34.59
26	SHOP	2	7.27	32.88
27	PART	2	7.23	32.62
28	AFTER	2	5.79	30.96
29	FOOTAGE	1	8.59	30.18
30	OUT	2	5.60	29.62
31	SERVICES	1	8.34	29.13
32	FRIENDS	1	8.34	29.13
33	AT	3	4.73	28.59
34	VIOLENCE	2	6.38	27.90
35	HAVE	3	4.62	27.73
36	CARS	1	7.95	27.46
37	OTHER	2	6.09	26.33
38	POLICE	3	4.44	26.31
39	EVERY	1	7.44	25.30
40	WITH	3	4.29	25.08
41	HIS	2	4.70	23.51
42	FROM	2	4.66	23.26
43	WAS	3	4.02	22.98
44	LOCAL	1	6.75	22.39
45	RIOTING	1	6.75	22.39
46	IS	3	3.90	22.02
47	MUST	1	6.58	21.68
48	TOO	1	6.56	21.60
49	ONE	2	5.15	21.16
50	OFF	1	6.38	20.84
51	WHILE	1	6.27	20.41
52	HE	2	4.18	20.05
53	NIGHT	1	6.12	19.79
54	SUCH	1	6.11	19.76
55	THESE	1	6.06	19.54
56	BEEN	2	4.68	18.62
57	RIOTS	2	4.46	17.44

58	THEY	2	4.29	16.53
59	THERE	1	4.91	14.84
60	THIS	1	4.13	11.70
61	FOR	2	3.34	11.65
62	SAID	1	3.88	10.75
63	WERE	1	3.87	10.71
64	BE	1	3.60	9.66

The Telegraph collocates of *mob**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	YOUNG	10	10.69	324.57
2	TO	15	6.70	250.53
3	OF	13	6.47	219.18
4	THE	14	5.5	184.97
5	IN	9	6.39	156.74
6	THAT	7	6.87	150.15
7	A	8	6.02	135.62
8	ON	6	6.91	122.54
9	AND	7	5.88	121.31
10	FOR	5	6.68	96.96
11	INSTITUTE	2	12.99	85.20
12	WERE	4	7.33	83.28
13	WITH	4	6.75	75.96
14	FELTHAM	2	13.12	68.74
15	BE	3	6.89	67.74
16	MORE	3	7.73	66.36
17	CONCERN	2	12.04	61.28
18	THOSE	3	8.35	61.28
19	PRISON	2	9.66	59.68
20	INSTITUTION	1	13.71	55.06
21	AS	3	6.41	53.57
22	THEIR	3	7.17	51.43
23	WHO	3	6.97	49.74
24	SENTENCES	2	10.08	49.66
25	VIOLENT	2	9.77	47.87
26	THAN	2	7.91	47.41
27	ARE	3	6.62	46.87
28	IF	2	7.65	45.60
29	REPEAT	1	11.71	44.12
30	LOTTERY	1	11.71	44.12
31	AN	2	7.07	41.55
32	WAS	3	5.9	40.86
33	IS	3	5.78	39.85
34	ONLY	2	8.12	38.61
35	JAIL	1	10.39	38.25
36	GROWING	1	10.39	38.25
37	BEING	2	7.98	37.87
38	MANY	2	7.97	37.81
39	JAILED	1	9.95	36.39
40	MR	2	7.31	34.14
41	SYSTEM	1	9.23	33.33
42	FACE	1	9.20	33.20
43	INVOLVED	1	9.14	32.93
44	JUSTICE	1	8.71	31.12
45	NOT	2	6.26	28.29
46	HOW	1	8.00	28.16
47	FROM	2	6.21	28.04
48	TIME	1	7.81	27.35
49	AT	2	6.02	26.97

50	BY	2	5.95	26.58
51	RIOTERS	1	7.60	26.49
52	OTHER	1	7.55	26.29
53	NO	1	7.43	25.79
54	SOME	1	7.34	25.41
55	WOULD	1	6.95	23.80
56	UP	1	6.64	22.50
57	ONE	1	6.61	22.37
58	LONDON	1	6.49	21.86
59	BEEN	1	6.14	20.42

The Telegraph collocates of *offender**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	81	7.69	1056.16
2	TO	37	7.68	616.34
3	OF	33	7.44	537.90
4	WERE	20	9.40	507.06
5	IN	25	7.60	455.07
6	BY	17	8.91	408.47
7	AND	23	7.29	402.26
8	WITH	14	8.26	318.42
9	POLICE	13	8.32	304.97
10	A	17	6.81	294.01
11	THAT	13	7.37	265.12
12	AS	10	7.87	239.60
13	ON	10	7.47	226.37
14	FROM	9	8.21	216.57
15	HAD	8	8.42	213.13
16	BE	9	7.89	207.63
17	WHO	7	8.15	188.15
18	FOR	8	7.15	179.42
19	SAID	6	7.76	161.55
20	UP	6	8.54	160.72
21	LOOTERS	5	10.22	146.18
22	WAS	6	6.90	143.56
23	NOT	6	7.63	129.71
24	LONDON	5	8.16	126.40
25	OUT	5	8.29	116.06
26	THEIR	5	7.72	107.41
27	LAST	4	8.46	106.59
28	WOULD	4	8.37	105.29
29	THEY	5	7.30	100.88
30	CONVICTED	3	11.29	100.78
31	AT	5	7.15	98.66
32	ONE	4	7.87	87.39
33	YOUNG	3	8.78	86.97
34	IS	5	6.33	86.07
35	BEING	3	8.66	85.65
36	HAVE	4	6.91	84.93
37	BENEFITS	3	10.93	82.56
38	SET	3	9.47	82.20
39	OFFICERS	3	8.33	81.97
40	THREE	3	9.18	79.36
41	SENTENCES	3	10.34	77.40
42	COULD	3	8.59	73.54
43	YESTERDAY	3	8.56	73.21
44	GANGS	3	9.57	70.71
45	SOME	3	8.24	70.11
46	CRIMINALS	2	10.24	63.32

47	TOTTENHAM	3	8.49	61.56
48	MOST	3	8.43	61.07
49	VANS	2	11.80	59.72
50	SMASHING	2	11.71	59.16
51	OVER	3	8.07	58.07
52	ALSO	3	8.06	57.95
53	MASKED	2	11.28	56.46
54	SHOP	2	9.15	55.50
55	HER	3	7.76	55.49
56	HIS	3	6.73	55.42
57	BUT	3	6.73	55.37
58	JUSTICE	2	9.12	55.34
59	USED	2	9.09	55.11
60	AGAINST	2	9.09	55.11
61	WHEN	3	7.49	53.21
62	DEALING	2	10.71	53.08
63	CLAPHAM	2	10.71	53.08
64	ABOUT	3	7.47	53.04
65	BURNING	2	10.63	52.60
66	HANDED	2	10.59	52.37
67	WHILE	2	8.56	51.39
68	DALSTON	1	13.07	51.32
69	WINDOWS	2	10.41	51.30
70	MORE	3	7.18	50.68
71	WHERE	2	8.40	50.27
72	WARNED	2	10.10	49.51
73	STARTED	2	10.05	49.20
74	CAUGHT	2	9.92	48.47
75	USING	2	9.80	47.79
76	DIDN'T	2	9.78	47.66
77	BEEN	3	6.82	47.60
78	CENTRE	2	9.61	46.71
79	EVICT	1	12.22	46.59
80	CORE	1	12.07	45.83
81	ALREADY	2	9.14	44.05
82	CONFRONT	1	11.69	44.00
83	TOOK	2	9.05	43.51
84	PRISON	2	9.02	43.36
85	CONTAIN	1	11.48	43.04
86	CITY	2	8.78	42.00
87	WAY	2	8.77	41.94
88	COMMUNITY	2	8.63	41.17
89	MANDRAKE	1	11.07	41.14
90	SUSPECTED	1	10.93	40.52
91	LEWISHAM	1	10.93	40.52
92	OFF	2	8.34	39.55
93	THEN	2	8.33	39.46
94	URBAN	1	10.69	39.45
95	CONTINUE	1	10.69	39.45
96	STREETS	2	8.32	39.41
97	NEED	2	8.30	39.32
98	AN	2	6.75	38.77
99	MAIN	1	10.53	38.76
100	GROUPS	1	10.43	38.34
101	NEARBY	1	10.43	38.34
102	LOOTING	2	8.12	38.28
103	SEVEN	1	10.39	38.14
104	NIGHT	2	8.09	38.12
105	EALING	1	10.26	37.57
106	NICK	1	10.22	37.40
107	ALLEGED	1	10.18	37.23
108	BROUGHT	1	9.99	36.44
109	FORCED	1	9.96	36.29
110	ACTION	1	9.90	36.01
111	CAUSED	1	9.86	35.87
112	MANY	2	7.65	35.70
113	OTHER	2	7.65	35.67
114	BRIEF	1	9.77	35.48
115	RIOT	2	7.59	35.36
116	ATTACKED	1	9.71	35.23
117	JAILED	1	9.63	34.88
118	MESSAGE	1	9.63	34.88
119	THOSE	2	7.44	34.54
120	WHITE	1	9.50	34.33
121	ARE	2	6.04	33.88
122	LOOTED	1	9.36	33.74
123	TOUGH	1	9.34	33.65
124	CROYDON	1	9.34	33.65
125	THAN	2	7.27	33.58
126	HARD	1	9.28	33.37
127	BEGAN	1	9.16	32.86
128	OFFENDERS	1	9.12	32.70
129	TROUBLE	1	9.08	32.54
130	BLACK	1	9.07	32.47
131	ROAD	1	9.03	32.32
132	FAMILIES	1	9.01	32.24
133	IF	2	7.01	32.14
134	ARRESTED	1	8.86	31.62
135	COURTS	1	8.79	31.29
136	SUMMER	1	8.70	30.93
137	NUMBER	1	8.67	30.81
138	TWITTER	1	8.66	30.75
139	BETWEEN	1	8.62	30.58
140	FIRE	1	8.53	30.21
141	CENT	1	8.32	29.33
142	PER	1	8.30	29.24
143	HIGH	1	8.25	29.02
144	LEFT	1	8.22	28.90
145	WILL	2	6.39	28.68
146	RIGHT	1	8.10	28.41
147	STREET	1	8.07	28.26
148	THROUGH	1	8.06	28.22
149	WE	2	6.25	27.93
150	WEEK	1	7.94	27.75
151	BACK	1	7.90	27.55
152	DOWN	1	7.73	26.86
153	SUCH	1	7.67	26.59
154	THESE	1	7.61	26.37
155	GOVERNMENT	1	7.56	26.15
156	SHOULD	1	7.53	26.02
157	VIOLENCE	1	7.52	25.97
158	INTO	1	7.19	24.60
159	AFTER	1	6.61	22.20
160	THERE	1	6.47	21.61
161	PEOPLE	1	5.99	19.65
162	IT	1	4.86	15.02

The Telegraph collocates of *rioter**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	15	4.75	201.80
2	OF	9	5.10	155.51
3	A	9	5.37	150.15
4	IN	8	5.36	120.35
5	TO	6	4.51	71.77
6	ARRESTED	3	9.31	67.67
7	COURT	3	7.89	55.64
8	FACEBOOK	2	9.15	54.93
9	TWO	3	7.80	54.87
10	WITH	3	5.70	50.83
11	WHO	3	6.32	49.99
12	AND	4	4.33	46.04
13	WAS	3	5.25	39.69
14	WERE	3	5.87	38.85
15	FOR	3	5.15	38.80
16	AMONG	1	8.66	30.60
17	AT	2	5.46	29.30
18	ACCUSED	1	8.19	28.60
19	GANGS	1	8.01	27.86
20	CHARGED	1	7.87	27.25
21	BEEN	2	5.68	24.41
22	YEARS	1	7.03	23.76
23	YOUNG	1	6.81	22.84
24	YESTERDAY	1	6.78	22.73
25	THEM	1	6.45	21.33
26	CAN	1	6.40	21.15
27	AS	2	4.73	19.26
28	ON	2	4.34	17.15
29	FROM	1	4.92	15.08
30	SAID	1	4.88	14.92
31	BY	1	4.66	14.01
32	HAVE	1	4.62	13.86
33	IS	1	3.90	11.01
34	THAT	1	3.49	9.42

The Telegraph collocates of *teenager**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	AND	9	8.2	151.7
2	THE	10	6.98	128.90
3	OF	5	7.10	84.80
4	TO	4	6.90	71.54
5	RAMPAGING	1	15.39	66.33
6	THIEVES	1	14.39	60.84
7	OUT	2	9.47	60.59
8	A	3	6.85	60.26
9	RANSACKED	1	13.62	57.21
10	BE	2	8.21	51.84
11	THOUSANDS	1	11.93	49.77
12	AFTER	2	9.35	49.56
13	WHO	2	8.38	44.21
14	NOT	2	8.26	43.49
15	THROUGH	1	10.38	43.22
16	WERE	2	8.16	42.98
17	STREETS	1	10.23	42.58
18	AT	2	8.02	42.16
19	BY	2	7.95	41.77
20	YOUNG	1	9.69	40.32
21	IN	2	6.39	39.17
22	IS	2	7.19	37.58
23	HAVE	1	7.49	31.17
24	POLICE	1	7.32	30.44
25	HE	1	7.31	30.43
26	THAT	1	6.37	26.48

The Telegraph collocates of *thug**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	RIOT	3	9.34	38.91
2	AFTER	3	8.80	36.63
3	WITH	5	8.12	51.19
4	BY	3	7.48	31.12
5	IS	4	7.32	38.29
6	ON	4	7.26	37.99
7	FOR	3	6.72	27.96
8	AND	5	6.16	37.58
9	TO	6	6.14	42.78
10	IN	4	6.09	31.50
11	OF	5	5.85	35.47
12	A	4	5.85	30.15
13	THE	8	5.52	45.53

The Telegraph collocates of *yob**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	TO	5	7.03	78.69
2	THE	5	6.04	67.24
3	OF	4	6.68	63.60
4	IN	3	6.87	54.84
5	AND	3	6.47	45.48
6	WHO	2	8.38	44.21
7	GET	1	10.21	42.51
8	BY	2	7.95	41.77
9	FOR	2	7.22	37.74
10	A	1	5.43	22.59

The Telegraph collocates of *youngster**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	38	4.11	493.65
2	OF	32	4.91	462.98
3	A	21	4.65	257.02
4	AND	20	4.63	243.08
5	TO	20	4.29	215.81
6	IN	14	4.30	148.20
7	WITH	10	5.29	130.94
8	UNEMPLOYMENT	4	9.83	121.64
9	AS	9	5.19	115.98
10	HOODED	4	10.16	114.68
11	BY	7	5.23	93.82
12	WHO	6	5.48	87.69
13	GANG	4	7.56	86.92
14	MASKED	3	9.60	82.16
15	COURT	4	6.70	74.64
16	ON	7	4.40	70.26
17	WERE	6	5.06	68.06
18	WAS	6	4.41	65.88
19	GANGS	3	7.30	58.00
20	THAT	6	3.88	55.32
21	BE	5	4.54	49.71
22	SEEN	3	7.08	47.74

23	OFFENDING	2	9.62	46.91
24	AT	4	4.53	44.89
25	UP	3	5.25	43.48
26	GROUP	2	7.45	42.34
27	LONDON	3	5.09	41.79
28	HE	4	4.24	41.08
29	VOLUNTEERING	1	10.32	38.86
30	HOODS	1	10.32	38.86
31	BROKE	2	8.15	37.85
32	HAD	3	4.68	37.35
33	INTO	3	5.70	36.20
34	SERVICES	2	7.82	35.98
35	SOME	3	5.54	34.83
36	SERVICE	2	7.09	31.77
37	ANONYMITY	1	8.90	31.74
38	WHEN	3	5.00	30.48
39	WEARING	1	8.38	29.38
40	MANY	2	5.49	28.64
41	POVERTY	1	8.15	28.35
42	IDENTIFIED	1	8.09	28.12
43	SHOP	2	6.34	27.57
44	HUNDREDS	1	7.95	27.48
45	HIGH	2	6.18	26.66
46	OFFICERS	2	5.17	26.48
47	SMASHED	1	7.65	26.21
48	WINDOWS	1	7.51	25.59
49	APPEAR	1	7.41	25.16
50	BELIEVE	1	7.09	23.82
51	POLICE	3	3.73	23.81
52	LOOTING	2	5.63	23.64
53	OUT	2	4.66	23.05
54	CUT	1	6.88	22.91
55	HIS	3	4.03	22.65
56	FROM	3	3.99	22.35
57	SAW	1	6.71	22.20
58	CENTRE	1	6.71	22.20
59	AWAY	1	6.69	22.12
60	THEY	3	3.94	21.96
61	TRYING	1	6.62	21.80
62	AREA	1	6.49	21.28
63	BEING	2	5.18	21.17
64	NATIONAL	1	6.36	20.74
65	AN	2	4.26	20.38
66	INCLUDING	1	6.22	20.12
67	BETWEEN	1	6.13	19.78
68	FOR	3	3.22	19.25
69	SHOPS	1	5.98	19.15
70	IS	3	3.19	19.00
71	HELP	1	5.94	18.96
72	CRIME	1	5.92	18.91
73	JUSTICE	1	5.90	18.82
74	SET	1	5.76	18.24
75	STREET	1	5.58	17.49
76	WHICH	2	4.43	17.15
77	DOWN	1	5.24	16.11
78	SUCH	1	5.18	15.85
79	HAVE	2	3.42	14.93
80	ONLY	1	4.90	14.70
81	YESTERDAY	1	4.85	14.52
82	RIOTERS	1	4.79	14.28
83	THEIR	2	3.78	13.73
84	WE	2	3.76	13.65
85	BEEN	2	3.74	13.55
86	ALSO	1	4.57	13.39
87	CAN	1	4.47	12.99
88	IT	2	3.11	12.97
89	THIS	2	3.61	12.84
90	ALL	1	4.22	12.00
91	SAID	2	3.37	11.61
92	AFTER	1	4.12	11.61
93	ABOUT	1	3.98	11.06
94	THERE	1	3.98	11.04
95	WILL	1	3.49	9.13
96	HAS	1	3.06	7.54
97	BUT	1	3.02	7.40

The Telegraph collocates of *youth**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	40	4.64	469.02
2	A	27	5.36	408.66
3	AND	24	5.16	320.09
4	OF	21	4.78	246.54
5	OLD	9	8.62	198.76
6	YEAR	9	7.76	175.13
7	BLACK	8	8.93	173.68
8	CARIBBEAN	5	10.39	144.20
9	PEMBURY	5	10.28	142.11
10	GIRLS	5	10.09	138.45
11	WHITE	6	8.82	138.21
12	WHO	9	6.19	125.49
13	BULLDOG	4	9.31	90.14
14	TO	11	3.85	89.66
15	TEENAGE	3	9.79	84.12
16	BOYFRIEND	2	11.63	81.06
17	WITH	7	5.29	79.19
18	FROM	6	5.50	76.89
19	LIKE	4	7.27	74.73
20	AGE	3	8.51	70.31
21	SCHOOL	4	7.20	65.44
22	WAS	6	4.72	63.07
23	LIPS	3	8.60	60.98
24	IN	8	3.83	59.74
25	HAVE	5	5.09	58.60
26	CLASS	2	8.86	52.69
27	AN	4	5.48	52.37
28	HALF	2	8.70	51.49
29	HAD	4	5.25	49.50
30	STREATHAM	1	11.63	48.53
31	MEN	3	7.10	48.01
32	WORKING	2	8.07	46.85
33	HAS	4	5.34	44.86
34	WORKINGCLASS	1	11.21	44.03
35	ASIAN	2	8.99	42.81
36	ONE	3	5.49	40.50
37	SOUTHWEST	1	10.63	40.21
38	NOTORIOUS	1	10.41	38.97
39	MASH	2	8.24	38.38
40	GRAMMAR	1	10.21	37.95
41	APPEARED	2	8.11	37.62
42	BE	4	4.66	37.42
43	HER	3	5.68	36.23
44	CANNOT	2	7.75	35.56
45	IS	4	4.01	34.47
46	HARRIS	1	8.97	31.96
47	NAMED	1	8.82	31.31
48	WHY	2	6.96	31.08
49	READING	1	8.76	31.01
50	LONDON'S	1	8.51	29.94
51	WOMEN	1	8.51	29.94
52	FOR	4	3.83	28.71
53	I	3	4.72	28.34
54	LED	1	8.01	27.72
55	ME	2	6.34	27.61
56	MAJORITY	1	7.89	27.24
57	ADMITTED	1	7.72	26.51
58	THREE	2	6.01	25.80
59	AT	3	4.22	24.38
60	BY	3	4.20	24.20
61	SON	1	6.95	23.22
62	AS	3	4.07	23.21
63	NORTH	1	6.81	22.62
64	CAME	1	6.57	21.64
65	NOT	2	4.34	21.02
66	WHAT	2	5.04	20.51
67	VERY	1	6.30	20.49
68	THAT	3	3.30	20.17
69	ON	3	3.66	20.00
70	OUT	2	4.77	19.02
71	OR	2	4.72	18.79
72	LONDON	2	4.67	18.50
73	MOST	1	5.54	17.35
74	HOME	1	5.48	17.12
75	THESE	1	5.43	16.93
76	BEING	1	5.39	16.74
77	TWO	1	5.19	15.94
78	IT	2	3.56	15.94
79	DO	1	4.92	14.86
80	SHE	1	4.41	12.80
81	THERE	1	4.20	11.93
82	BEEN	1	3.87	10.67
83	BUT	1	3.61	9.63
84	SAID	1	3.47	9.10
85	HE	1	3.10	7.72

The Times collocates of *boy**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	AND	42	3.78	320.52
2	THE	48	2.69	229.79
3	OF	36	3.34	226.55
4	TO	35	3.28	214.01
5	THEIR	20	5.09	212.41
6	YOUR	9	6.91	149.31
7	ARE	15	4.37	132.95
8	FOR	17	3.73	117.37
9	SCHOOL	8	6.09	112.75
10	PARENTS	7	6.41	99.23
11	WHO	11	4.34	97.28
12	OUR	8	5.34	94.67
13	WITH	12	3.93	92.28
14	IN	18	2.85	86.87
15	HIS	10	4.30	83.18
16	HAVE	11	3.90	79.98
17	THAT	14	3.10	73.69
18	MILK	3	9.02	69.62
19	OUT	7	4.38	59.40
20	A	16	2.40	59.39
21	WITHOUT	4	6.08	59.33
22	AT	9	3.61	58.42
23	FAMILIES	4	5.85	56.35
24	YOUNG	5	4.82	53.10
25	NEIGHBOURS	3	7.56	52.88
26	WEEP	2	9.43	52.38
27	ADULTS	3	7.11	48.66

28	UP	6	4.09	46.29
29	HE	8	3.32	45.85
30	BUY	2	7.67	44.93
31	THEM	5	4.23	44.35
32	ALL	5	4.18	43.64
33	DISCIPLINE	2	7.51	43.63
34	AGED	3	6.38	42.05
35	OR	5	3.99	40.83
36	AS	7	3.20	40.69
37	LOOK	3	6.21	40.62
38	TWO	4	4.58	40.50
39	MOTHERS	2	6.95	39.28
40	SEEN	3	5.89	37.85
41	FERAL	2	7.85	37.13
42	DEPRIVED	2	6.63	36.87
43	HAD	6	3.47	36.50
44	TEACH	2	7.63	35.66
45	HAS	5	3.61	35.37
46	POEM	1	9.02	34.78
47	BEHAVE	2	7.43	34.42
48	HER	4	4.07	34.37
49	FIVE	3	5.43	33.98
50	THEY	6	3.11	33.77
51	ON	7	2.79	33.13
52	WHITES	1	8.70	32.55
53	BLACKS	1	8.70	32.55
54	IS	8	2.64	32.51
55	WERE	6	3.20	32.44
56	MY	3	4.56	31.27
57	WHERE	3	4.56	31.27
58	SINGLE	2	5.85	31.23
59	SMILED	1	8.43	30.96
60	NOT	5	3.28	30.83
61	CAUSES	2	6.85	30.81
62	THESE	3	4.46	30.30
63	RISK	2	6.73	30.12
64	DAY	3	4.94	29.89
65	NO	4	3.92	28.93
66	GO	3	4.78	28.56
67	US	3	4.76	28.41
68	READ	2	6.35	27.83
69	COME	2	5.36	27.81
70	GROW	1	7.56	26.40
71	POINTING	1	7.56	26.40
72	ANSWERS	1	7.56	26.40
73	PROPORTION	1	7.43	25.80
74	THREE	3	4.40	25.44
75	NEVIN	1	7.32	25.26
76	DEMONSTRATORS	1	7.21	24.76
77	SOME	3	3.81	24.24
78	IDEA	2	5.68	24.00
79	THINK	2	4.78	23.77
80	FROM	5	2.92	23.53
81	WHILE	2	4.68	23.09
82	POSTED	1	6.70	22.41
83	ALCOHOL	1	6.63	22.10
84	INCLUDED	1	6.63	22.10
85	YOU	3	3.51	21.58
86	EXPERIENCE	1	6.50	21.52
87	MOTHER	2	5.17	21.14
88	STREETS	2	4.38	21.08
89	THIS	4	3.15	21.05
90	NEED	2	4.35	20.85
91	CAN	3	3.78	20.55
92	LOW	1	6.26	20.50
93	NONE	1	6.26	20.50
94	OWN	2	4.96	19.99
95	GIVE	2	4.88	19.55
96	GIRLS	1	6.02	19.44
97	WHICH	3	3.63	19.39
98	PICTURES	1	5.98	19.25
99	NOW	2	4.06	18.96
100	I	4	2.94	18.92
101	LONGER	1	5.89	18.89
102	ATTACKED	1	5.77	18.38
103	WORST	1	5.77	18.38
104	OTHER	2	3.94	18.16
105	BEING	2	3.93	18.08
106	FOUR	2	4.59	17.97
107	WHAT	3	3.43	17.84
108	HOMES	1	5.63	17.77
109	POOR	1	5.50	17.22
110	MANY	2	3.73	16.80
111	SENTENCED	1	5.38	16.71
112	GETTING	1	5.38	16.71
113	DEAL	1	5.35	16.59
114	WANTED	1	5.35	16.59
115	ALMOST	1	5.29	16.36
116	SHE	3	3.22	16.24
117	CONTROL	1	5.24	16.14
118	MILLION	1	5.21	16.03
119	I'VE	1	5.19	15.92
120	FREE	1	5.14	15.71
121	DON'T	2	4.17	15.71
122	AGE	1	5.09	15.52
123	END	1	5.04	15.32
124	WAY	2	4.07	15.18
125	DO	2	3.47	15.08
126	BEST	1	4.93	14.87
127	BENEFITS	1	4.91	14.78
128	PROBLEMS	1	4.89	14.70
129	THERE	3	3.00	14.61
130	WHEN	2	3.39	14.57
131	IF	2	3.34	14.30
132	DOES	1	4.79	14.29
133	BROKEN	1	4.79	14.29
134	SCHOOLS	1	4.77	14.21
135	WE	3	2.66	14.17
136	BECAUSE	2	3.79	13.72
137	SHOULD	2	3.79	13.72
138	NEVER	1	4.63	13.62
139	KIDS	1	4.56	13.35
140	HOW	2	3.71	13.32
141	ONLY	2	3.71	13.32
142	ALSO	2	3.62	12.84
143	PEOPLE	3	2.68	12.29
144	EVERY	1	4.29	12.26
145	BE	3	2.27	11.06

146	LOCAL	1	3.90	10.71
147	GANGS	1	3.87	10.59
148	FIRE	1	3.85	10.51
149	GOING	1	3.74	10.10
150	BACK	1	3.68	9.85
151	NEW	1	3.56	9.39
152	LIKE	1	3.49	9.11
153	WAS	4	1.82	8.87
154	AFTER	2	2.81	8.81
155	MOST	1	3.34	8.55
156	MORE	2	2.55	7.57
157	THOSE	1	3.05	7.48
158	SO	1	2.82	6.63
159	SAID	2	2.01	6.48
160	WILL	2	2.30	6.45
161	AN	2	2.12	5.64
162	BEEN	2	2.09	5.53
163	IT	3	1.63	5.52
164	BY	2	1.74	5.12
165	ONE	1	2.07	4.06
166	BUT	1	1.41	2.14
167	POLICE	1	1.12	1.44

The Times collocates of *children*

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	111	4.17	658.16
2	OF	60	4.34	296.58
3	AND	47	4.20	216.58
4	A	41	4.02	176.42
5	TO	40	3.76	157.42
6	BAR	12	9.86	150.15
7	IN	34	4.00	139.98
8	JUSTICE	15	7.39	136.25
9	PURE	7	10.48	97.95
10	DAMAGE	10	8.08	94.81
11	ASSOCIATION	9	8.38	89.31
12	CHAIRMAN	8	8.86	85.43
13	BE	16	4.78	82.75
14	QC	8	8.46	80.31
15	GANG	10	6.30	69.03
16	BARRISTER	6	9.35	68.89
17	THIS	13	5.09	68.22
18	SYSTEM	8	7.33	66.77
19	PLOTTING	5	10.18	65.80
20	COOPER	5	9.82	61.82
21	AS	13	4.33	59.35
22	BEHAVIOUR	6	8.04	56.30
23	LOOTING	8	6.38	55.97
24	OPPORTUNISM	4	10.35	54.30
25	UNDERWORLD	4	10.35	54.30
26	SIMPLE	5	8.90	53.59
27	RIOTS	11	4.79	53.03
28	FOR	14	3.78	52.74
29	THAT	15	3.53	51.18
30	HAVE	12	4.26	49.45
31	WHO	11	4.51	48.96
32	DISORDER	7	6.38	48.85
33	RECORD	5	7.99	46.47
34	PEOPLE	10	4.65	46.24
35	OFFENCE	5	7.95	46.14
36	PLAYER	4	9.35	45.85
37	ARSON	5	7.86	45.50
38	FORMER	6	6.81	45.49
39	INVOLVED	6	6.76	45.08
40	ROBUSTLY	3	10.67	44.45
41	VIOLENCE	7	5.88	43.94
42	ACTIVITY	4	8.86	42.56
43	JOHN	5	7.41	42.15
44	IS	13	3.57	42.02
45	STREET	6	6.23	40.58
46	THOSE	7	5.51	40.40
47	BROADWATER	4	8.42	39.76
48	HOPED	3	9.93	37.72
49	ONE	8	4.72	37.59
50	BY	10	3.97	37.28
51	DURING	6	5.82	37.13
52	FARM	4	7.97	37.00
53	HYSTERICAL	3	9.67	36.14
54	ENGAGED	3	9.67	36.14
55	TURF	3	9.67	36.14
56	ON	11	3.58	35.41
57	WARS	3	9.45	34.89
58	WERE	9	4.02	34.00
59	AN	8	4.35	33.66
60	COULD	6	5.33	33.08
61	WELL	5	6.11	32.91
62	IMPORTANT	4	7.08	31.82
63	OFFENCES	4	7.00	31.32
64	THEIR	8	4.00	29.93
65	MAY	5	5.59	29.31
66	SAID	8	3.92	29.12
67	CONFRONTED	3	8.25	29.02
68	EXPRESSED	3	8.17	28.62
69	RESULT	3	8.17	28.62
70	STAR	3	8.17	28.62
71	FROM	8	3.83	28.21
72	ACT	4	6.38	27.84
73	ALL	6	4.54	26.65
74	SPOKE	3	7.67	26.39
75	ARE	8	3.64	26.25
76	ADULTS	3	7.35	24.98
77	NOT	7	3.86	24.91
78	RESPONSIBLE	3	7.25	24.57
79	COURTS	4	5.75	24.30
80	KNOWN	3	7.01	23.50
81	GROUPS	3	6.97	23.34
82	APPEAL	3	6.86	22.88
83	CARE	3	6.86	22.88
84	CUT	3	6.79	22.59
85	THROUGH	4	5.39	22.33
86	WANTED	3	6.58	21.69
87	BEEN	6	3.91	21.67
88	COURT	4	5.17	21.10
89	LESS	3	6.40	20.90
90	WHOSE	3	6.30	20.50
91	SHOULD	4	5.02	20.32
92	CULTURE	3	6.25	20.30
93	WEEK	4	4.97	20.05

94	COMMUNITIES	3	5.95	19.03
95	ORDER	3	5.90	18.81
96	INTO	4	4.54	17.73
97	UNDER	3	5.42	16.84
98	AUGUST	3	5.37	16.63
99	THEY	6	3.23	16.46
100	LAST	4	4.30	16.44
101	SOME	4	4.23	16.07
102	OFF	3	5.04	15.29
103	DOWN	3	4.74	14.05
104	OR	4	3.76	13.60
105	JUST	3	4.58	13.42
106	MOST	3	4.57	13.39
107	LONDON	4	3.71	13.33
108	HAS	4	3.38	11.65
109	MR	3	4.13	11.62
110	OUR	3	4.07	11.38
111	WITH	5	2.85	11.30
112	CAN	3	4.01	11.17
113	NO	3	3.74	10.10
114	BUT	4	3.06	10.05
115	WHAT	3	3.66	9.80
116	AT	4	2.68	8.20
117	IT	4	2.28	6.39
118	HAD	3	2.70	6.23
119	WE	3	2.67	6.10
120	HE	3	2.14	4.31
121	WAS	3	1.64	2.78

The Times collocates of *criminal**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	52	4.52	308.71
2	ANGRIER	6	12.11	101.61
3	AND	18	4.27	86.21
4	TO	17	3.97	73.89
5	DISPERSE	4	10.65	53.11
6	OF	13	3.53	43.77
7	WHEN	6	6.32	41.72
8	HE	8	4.99	41.48
9	SWELLED	3	10.69	39.99
10	FANS	3	10.69	39.99
11	IN	11	3.77	39.97
12	PROMISING	3	9.99	36.53
13	AT	7	4.92	35.44
14	CONSTABLE	3	9.44	34.00
15	ADDRESS	3	9.11	32.49
16	BUT	6	5.08	31.53
17	HEAR	3	8.88	31.51
18	KEPT	3	8.83	31.29
19	THEM	5	5.76	30.80
20	SOMEONE	3	8.69	30.67
21	GETTING	3	8.05	27.89
22	SMALL	3	7.58	25.92
23	A	9	3.20	25.58
24	THROUGH	3	6.41	21.02
25	BACK	3	6.35	20.76
26	THAT	6	3.55	19.35
27	BEING	3	5.86	18.75
28	COULD	3	5.77	18.34

29	WAS	5	3.81	17.70
30	INTO	3	5.57	17.52
31	WOULD	3	5.01	15.24
32	YOU	3	4.96	15.06
33	WITH	4	3.96	14.84
34	ONE	3	4.74	14.16
35	HIS	3	4.23	12.14
36	ON	3	3.14	7.92

The Times collocates of *crowd**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	178	3.96	926.87
2	TO	117	4.4	601.84
3	OF	108	4.3	528.40
4	MEMBERS	43	8.61	481.80
5	A	88	4.2	403.81
6	AND	73	3.94	303.04
7	IN	61	3.96	248.06
8	MEMBER	19	9.01	227.02
9	WITH	40	5.02	221.30
10	CULTURE	20	8.17	205.91
11	WHO	32	5.21	180.61
12	LEADERS	15	7.94	150.53
13	ON	33	4.31	144.82
14	THAT	35	3.81	129.46
15	ARE	26	4.51	121.14
16	WERE	24	4.6	115.11
17	AS	25	4.34	110.52
18	YOUTHS	13	6.82	107.33
19	HAD	21	4.68	103.46
20	BY	21	4.22	89.69
21	STAR	8	8.69	85.25
22	ONE	16	4.91	84.81
23	BE	20	4.19	84.78
24	SUSPECTED	8	8.13	77.43
25	INTO	13	5.35	72.49
26	TACKLE	7	8.12	67.62
27	IS	21	3.44	67.26
28	SAID	16	4.12	66.54
29	VIOLENCE	11	5.64	65.57
30	UPON	6	8.66	63.56
31	RESTRICT	5	9.51	62.48
32	ACTIVITY	6	8.55	62.39
33	WAS	19	3.48	62.05
34	BRIXTON	7	7.5	60.59
35	COULD	11	5.31	60.59
36	OR	13	4.57	58.55
37	HE	16	3.75	58.34
38	HAS	13	4.3	57.97
39	STREET	9	5.92	57.21
40	INVOLVED	8	6.28	54.92
41	GANGSTA	4	9.78	54.29
42	DRUG	6	7.72	53.98
43	WOMEN	6	7.66	53.45
44	LEADER	7	6.75	52.76
45	PREVENTION	5	8.64	52.74
46	SCHEME	6	7.55	52.44
47	JOINING	5	8.51	51.60
48	AN	13	4.16	51.40

49	THEIR	13	3.91	50.87
50	THEY	14	3.66	49.66
51	INCLUDING	7	6.28	47.98
52	LOCAL	8	5.66	47.81
53	MEN	8	5.66	47.81
54	MOVEMENT	5	8.01	47.32
55	PEOPLE	12	4.02	45.17
56	BEEN	12	4.02	45.17
57	HAVE	13	3.59	44.97
58	NOTORIOUS	4	8.97	44.73
59	TWO	9	4.92	44.69
60	MANY	9	4.92	44.69
61	YOUNG	9	4.87	44.03
62	SEE	7	5.87	43.89
63	DUGGAN	7	5.58	41.08
64	GANGSTERS	3	9.78	40.70
65	GANGLAND	3	9.78	40.70
66	MANDEM	3	9.78	40.70
67	SPARK	3	9.78	40.70
68	REFORMED	3	9.78	40.70
69	BENT	3	9.78	40.70
70	DOMINATING	3	9.78	40.70
71	DARRELL	3	9.78	40.70
72	FOR	15	2.98	39.27
73	LONDON	10	4.14	39.12
74	LINKED	4	8.19	39.03
75	SAYS	7	5.23	37.69
76	AFTER	9	4.32	37.40
77	POLICE	12	3.47	36.56
78	JOIN	4	7.78	36.32
79	DECISIVE	3	9.36	36.21
80	ORCHESTRATED	3	9.36	36.21
81	BANNED	3	9.36	36.21
82	DEALERS	3	9.36	36.21
83	SHIRT	3	9.36	36.21
84	MEMBERSHIP	3	9.36	36.21
85	WALKING	4	7.69	35.77
86	WHERE	7	4.9	34.51
87	PRISON	6	5.49	34.41
88	NOW	7	4.89	34.37
89	PLANNED	4	7.45	34.31
90	ABANDON	3	9.04	33.98
91	ARRESTING	3	9.04	33.98
92	WHICH	8	4.39	33.89
93	ARRESTED	5	6.05	32.61
94	FROM	11	3.4	32.55
95	STRIKE	3	8.78	32.39
96	INJUNCTIONS	3	8.78	32.39
97	LONDON'S	4	7.08	32.01
98	THOSE	7	4.62	31.79
99	WORKS	4	7.02	31.69
100	DRUGS	4	7.02	31.69
101	ENFIELD	4	6.97	31.38
102	PEMBURY	4	6.97	31.38
103	DELIBERATELY	3	8.55	31.15
104	BASEBALL	3	8.55	31.15
105	OPPORTUNISTS	3	8.55	31.15
106	FOLLOWING	4	6.92	31.08
107	GOVERNMENT'S	4	6.92	31.08
108	SOUTH	5	5.81	30.90
109	CRIMINALITY	4	6.87	30.79
110	NOT	10	3.49	30.64
111	OPERATED	3	8.36	30.13
112	PRIORITY	3	8.36	30.13
113	HACKNEY'S	3	8.36	30.13
114	ESTATES	4	6.73	29.98
115	OUR	7	4.4	29.72
116	AGAINST	5	5.64	29.68
117	GUNS	3	8.19	29.26
118	DEAD	4	6.61	29.24
119	OUT	8	3.91	28.84
120	BEARING	3	8.04	28.50
121	RAIDED	3	8.04	28.50
122	MASKED	3	7.90	27.83
123	ALTERNATIVE	3	7.90	27.83
124	POPULAR	3	7.90	27.83
125	BLOW	3	7.90	27.83
126	HOW	6	4.64	27.40
127	VANDALISM	3	7.78	27.23
128	TACKLING	3	7.78	27.23
129	CRIME	5	5.28	27.17
130	LIPS	4	6.16	26.68
131	UNDERCLASS	3	7.66	26.68
132	OTHER	6	4.55	26.65
133	CAMERON	5	5.17	26.41
134	DAVID	5	5.14	26.25
135	ATTACKS	3	7.55	26.18
136	GET	6	4.47	25.99
137	PART	5	5.1	25.93
138	PAST	4	5.92	25.30
139	JAMES	3	7.36	25.29
140	USUALLY	3	7.36	25.29
141	THEM	7	3.92	25.27
142	SMITH	4	5.89	25.16
143	STOP	4	5.89	25.16
144	WOULD	7	3.9	25.10
145	SHOT	4	5.87	25.02
146	SIGNIFICANT	3	7.27	24.89
147	DANGEROUS	3	7.27	24.89
148	ALLEGED	3	7.27	24.89
149	DUNCAN	4	5.85	24.89
150	PENSIONS	3	7.19	24.52
151	APPLY	3	7.19	24.52
152	DEFINITION	3	7.11	24.16
153	RIOTS	8	3.44	23.93
154	CAMERON'S	3	7.04	23.83
155	MAKE	5	4.78	23.73
156	SOCIAL	5	4.76	23.61
157	HANDS	3	6.9	23.22
158	MARK	4	5.55	23.22
159	COMMUNITIES	4	5.47	22.80
160	FAMILY	5	4.63	22.74
161	HIS	8	3.32	22.74
162	ORGANISED	3	6.78	22.66
163	TARGETED	3	6.78	22.66
164	ORDER	4	5.42	22.50
165	DOWN	5	4.58	22.42
166	CO	3	6.66	22.16

167	FORMER	4	5.33	22.02
168	MURDER	3	6.55	21.69
169	HEAR	3	6.55	21.69
170	HELPED	3	6.55	21.69
171	PROGRAMME	3	6.5	21.47
172	CRIMINALS	3	6.5	21.47
173	LATE	3	6.5	21.47
174	MOST	5	4.42	21.32
175	WAR	3	6.45	21.26
176	GIVEN	4	5.16	21.08
177	HOME	5	4.36	20.95
178	GIRLS	3	6.36	20.85
179	RESPONSIBLE	3	6.36	20.85
180	DEALING	3	6.32	20.66
181	YEARS	5	4.3	20.51
182	WHAT	6	3.77	20.49
183	WANTS	3	6.23	20.30
184	LED	3	6.15	19.95
185	ACCORDING	3	6.11	19.79
186	LIFE	4	4.92	19.74
187	GROUPS	3	6.08	19.63
188	FULL	3	6.04	19.47
189	CARE	3	5.97	19.17
190	WORDS	3	5.93	19.03
191	CHILDREN	5	4.07	19.00
192	CHANCE	3	5.9	18.89
193	TOGETHER	3	5.9	18.89
194	SAY	4	4.75	18.85
195	LARGE	3	5.87	18.75
196	WHILE	4	4.7	18.55
197	HAVING	3	5.81	18.49
198	ATTACK	3	5.81	18.49
199	GUN	3	5.81	18.49
200	ROLE	3	5.81	18.49
201	TOTTENHAM	4	4.66	18.32
202	THOUSANDS	3	5.75	18.23
203	BRITAIN'S	3	5.75	18.23
204	CAUSE	3	5.75	18.23
205	RUN	3	5.69	17.99
206	DEAL	3	5.69	17.99
207	PROBLEM	3	5.63	17.76
208	RATHER	3	5.61	17.64
209	GOING	4	4.5	17.47
210	ALWAYS	3	5.55	17.42
211	CROYDON	3	5.5	17.21
212	TAKEN	3	5.48	17.11
213	WORKING	3	5.48	17.11
214	WE	7	3	17.07
215	STREETS	4	4.4	16.94
216	ESTATE	3	5.43	16.91
217	BUT	7	2.97	16.88
218	THAN	5	3.73	16.76
219	SUCH	4	4.35	16.67
220	TOP	3	5.25	16.17
221	LIKE	4	4.24	16.11
222	NUMBER	3	5.23	16.08
223	REPORT	3	5.19	15.92
224	NO	5	3.59	15.85
225	THREE	4	4.15	15.63
226	SHOULD	4	4.13	15.51
227	BECAUSE	4	4.13	15.51
228	ITS	4	4.13	15.47
229	OVER	4	4.06	15.14
230	ONLY	4	4.06	15.10
231	THESE	4	3.99	14.79
232	AREAS	3	4.89	14.66
233	ALL	5	3.38	14.56
234	BEING	4	3.95	14.55
235	USED	3	4.85	14.53
236	WHITE	3	4.85	14.53
237	YOU	5	3.37	14.48
238	IT	8	2.39	13.77
239	HACKNEY	3	4.66	13.74
240	BLACK	3	4.66	13.74
241	USE	3	4.66	13.74
242	CRIMINAL	3	4.57	13.36
243	FOUR	3	4.52	13.15
244	WELL	3	4.48	13.01
245	MR	4	3.65	13.00
246	GOT	3	4.43	12.81
247	MUCH	3	4.27	12.18
248	WILL	5	2.97	11.97
249	WHEN	4	3.41	11.74
250	GO	3	4.12	11.58
251	OLD	3	4.1	11.51
252	ME	3	4.07	11.36
253	TOLD	3	4.06	11.32
254	HIM	3	4.04	11.25
255	NIGHT	3	4.04	11.25
256	WORK	3	4.03	11.22
257	BACK	3	4.02	11.18
258	NEW	3	3.9	10.71
259	GOVERNMENT	3	3.87	10.58
260	OFFICERS	3	3.4	8.76

The Times collocates of *gang**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	A	25	5.62	194.20
2	AND	21	5.38	164.16
3	BOYS	11	10.25	142.84
4	WHITE	10	9.82	122.70
5	OF	15	4.72	89.56
6	MEN	7	8.69	73.24
7	THE	15	3.66	66.34
8	ONE	8	7.05	65.76
9	IN	12	4.79	64.41
10	BLACK	6	8.89	64.11
11	TO	13	4.40	63.76
12	WHO	8	6.39	58.40
13	WHITES	3	12.27	47.78
14	BLACKS	3	12.27	47.78
15	WERE	7	5.99	46.86
16	DRINKING	3	12.00	46.19
17	FOR	8	5.21	45.42
18	THERE	6	6.57	44.61
19	HEADING	3	11.27	42.29
20	YOUNG	5	7.25	41.62
21	WINE	3	11.13	41.62

22	CHEAP	3	11.13	41.62
23	YEAR	5	7.21	41.36
24	REALISED	3	11.00	41.01
25	UPON	3	10.89	40.46
26	SITTING	3	10.50	38.67
27	OPPOSITE	3	10.50	38.67
28	FROM	6	5.75	37.87
29	TAKE	4	7.89	36.70
30	TEENAGE	3	9.94	36.17
31	WOMEN	3	9.89	35.92
32	OLD	4	7.75	35.86
33	HIS	5	5.87	32.07
34	TWO	4	6.98	31.60
35	IS	6	4.79	30.02
36	SHE	4	6.20	27.29
37	GANGS	3	7.44	25.46
38	THEN	3	7.39	25.25
39	MY	3	6.91	23.25
40	GET	3	6.69	22.35
41	CHILDREN	3	6.56	21.80
42	THAT	5	4.19	20.68
43	SOME	3	6.15	20.12
44	WITH	4	4.86	19.96
45	THEIR	3	4.92	15.06
46	AT	3	4.60	13.76
47	AS	3	4.45	13.17

The Times collocates of *girl**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	19	4.63	114.27
2	A	12	5.16	78.21
3	AT	6	6.25	43.14
4	HAVE	6	6.25	43.12
5	FAIL	3	11.43	42.94
6	YOUNGER	3	11.43	42.94
7	THREW	3	11.33	42.47
8	ONE	5	7.03	40.85
9	BOTTLE	3	10.49	38.65
10	RESPECT	3	10.43	38.42
11	NUMBERS	3	9.43	34.10
12	EACH	3	9.24	33.27
13	OTHERS	3	9.03	32.38
14	SHOW	3	8.80	31.40
15	OF	7	4.18	31.28
16	TO	7	4.16	31.07
17	BUT	4	6.05	26.90
18	IT'S	3	7.61	26.42
19	THESE	3	7.46	25.78
20	FROM	4	5.82	25.67
21	THEY	4	5.63	24.64
22	WHEN	3	6.87	23.33
23	SOME	3	6.81	23.07
24	ABOUT	3	6.59	22.18
25	YOU	3	6.51	21.85
26	AN	3	5.92	19.42
27	WHO	3	5.63	18.20
28	WITH	3	5.10	16.03
29	IN	4	3.86	15.08

The Times collocates of *guy**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	59	3.59	243.45
2	THESE	17	7.39	154.09
3	COMPANY	10	9.57	118.14
4	TO	26	3.46	88.21
5	OF	22	3.25	67.86
6	AND	19	3.24	58.19
7	FOR	13	4.02	53.85
8	ARE	11	4.44	48.12
9	WHITE	6	7.08	47.79
10	HANDING	4	9.54	46.79
11	WHO	9	4.56	40.61
12	WERE	9	4.35	38.16
13	PLAY	4	8.10	37.66
14	AMAZING	3	9.59	35.28
15	CHARITY	4	7.51	34.24
16	BATMANGHELIDJH	3	8.59	30.43
17	EXACTLY	3	8.42	29.66
18	ON	9	3.62	29.51
19	HAD	7	4.26	28.64
20	BLACK	4	6.30	27.38
21	MANY	5	5.30	27.38
22	GOOD	4	6.26	27.15
23	SO	5	5.13	26.17
24	CLASS	3	7.50	25.60
25	MIDDLE	3	7.34	24.91
26	BAD	3	7.34	24.91
27	DON'T	4	5.74	24.24
28	WE	6	4.00	22.44
29	STOP	3	6.71	22.20
30	SAME	3	6.27	20.35
31	INTO	4	4.88	19.55
32	WANT	3	5.81	18.44
33	THEM	4	4.34	16.65
34	ALL	4	4.29	16.39
35	TOO	3	5.29	16.32
36	ME	3	5.29	16.32
37	BECAUSE	3	4.94	14.90
38	MY	3	4.91	14.75
39	CHILDREN	3	4.56	13.35
40	BEEN	4	3.66	13.11
41	CAN	3	4.35	12.51
42	BUT	4	3.39	11.75
43	FROM	4	3.17	10.62
44	HAVE	4	3.01	9.83
45	UP	3	3.66	9.81
46	THERE	3	3.57	9.45

The Times collocates of *kids*

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	72	6.18	428.93
2	AND	40	6.60	313.60
3	A	37	6.46	283.94
4	TO	37	6.24	272.11
5	BY	24	7.92	258.71
6	OF	34	6.14	251.71
7	FOR	19	6.82	185.09
8	IN	19	5.82	157.26

9	RIOTERS	11	9.08	125.86
10	AS	13	6.96	123.26
11	WERE	13	7.17	116.73
12	PROPOSALS	6	11.71	89.92
13	SUSPECTED	6	11.23	85.28
14	SHOPPING	6	11.18	84.75
15	WHO	10	7.00	84.26
16	THEIR	10	6.94	83.49
17	SENTENCES	7	9.12	78.11
18	WITH	10	6.47	76.91
19	DRIVEN	5	11.61	73.80
20	PROCESSED	4	12.97	69.67
21	THAT	10	5.48	63.17
22	PREMISES	4	11.97	61.21
23	OUT	7	7.24	59.55
24	CAR	5	9.64	58.76
25	HAVE	8	6.30	58.27
26	SHOPS	5	9.24	55.90
27	RADIOS	3	13.29	55.81
28	DROPPING	3	13.29	55.81
29	PENALISE	3	13.29	55.81
30	DIVERSION	3	13.29	55.81
31	TWO	6	7.86	55.78
32	MANY	6	7.86	55.78
33	INTO	6	7.75	54.93
34	RETAIL	4	10.97	54.66
35	BUT	7	6.49	52.31
36	MAYHEM	4	10.43	51.41
37	DISGUSTED	3	12.88	51.31
38	RAID	3	12.88	51.31
39	FROM	7	6.27	50.13
40	STUPID	3	12.56	49.08
41	PLUNDERED	3	12.56	49.08
42	DISTRICTS	3	12.56	49.08
43	MORE	6	6.99	48.57
44	ARE	7	6.08	48.30
45	COURT	5	8.11	47.95
46	NAIL	3	12.07	46.25
47	HELPLESSLY	3	12.07	46.25
48	EMPTIED	3	12.07	46.25
49	STOLEN	4	9.29	44.76
50	BIRMINGHAM	4	9.12	43.79
51	DESERVE	3	11.42	42.92
52	NOT	6	6.27	42.54
53	COMPUTERS	3	11.29	42.32
54	DROVE	3	11.29	42.32
55	COUNT	3	11.18	41.77
56	FAMILIES	4	8.54	40.47
57	REPORTED	3	10.79	39.97
58	MAIN	3	10.63	39.24
59	THEY	6	5.86	39.16
60	SEEING	3	10.56	38.91
61	FINAL	3	10.18	37.22
62	DURING	4	7.86	36.66
63	STAND	3	9.88	35.91
64	RESIDENTS	3	9.83	35.71
65	USING	3	9.83	35.71
66	TRIED	3	9.71	35.17
67	RIOTS	5	6.27	35.16
68	BEEN	5	6.27	35.15
69	ON	6	5.33	34.80
70	GROUPS	3	9.59	34.67
71	OTHER	4	7.48	34.54
72	QUICKLY	3	9.45	34.06
73	COST	3	9.42	33.92
74	CUT	3	9.42	33.92
75	HAD	5	6.06	33.71
76	ATTACK	3	9.32	33.51
77	HUNDREDS	3	9.15	32.76
78	CCTV	3	9.04	32.32
79	TOUGH	3	8.92	31.80
80	BENEFITS	3	8.77	31.14
81	LATER	3	8.75	31.06
82	FACE	3	8.61	30.47
83	AFTER	4	6.67	30.05
84	GIVE	3	8.32	29.26
85	CENTRE	3	8.16	28.58
86	CITY	3	8.15	28.53
87	IT	5	5.23	27.97
88	FIRE	3	7.71	26.67
89	THEN	3	7.68	26.55
90	SET	3	7.57	26.11
91	COMMUNITY	3	7.56	26.07
92	WAY	3	7.51	25.85
93	MOST	3	7.20	24.54
94	TIME	3	7.14	24.29
95	ALSO	3	7.06	23.99
96	AT	4	5.30	22.53
97	SO	3	6.68	22.38
98	HER	3	6.35	21.01
99	WHAT	3	6.29	20.77
100	IS	4	4.50	18.19
101	AN	3	5.56	17.77
102	SAID	3	5.13	16.02
103	BE	3	4.90	15.10
104	HE	3	4.76	14.53
105	WAS	3	4.26	12.53

The Times collocates of *looter**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	AND	43	5.14	291.44
2	THE	47	4.01	252.21
3	A	29	4.56	152.67
4	TO	23	4.02	100.42
5	BY	14	5.63	92.36
6	IN	18	4.19	81.57
7	RULE	6	9.86	72.54
8	ON	12	4.77	59.06
9	WAS	12	4.71	58.02
10	TWO	7	6.52	50.56
11	IMPLEMENTS	3	11.73	48.98
12	EXCITEDLY	3	11.73	48.98
13	CONGREGATING	3	11.73	48.98
14	SHOP	6	7.09	48.01
15	OF	14	3.36	46.78
16	DEFINITION	4	9.49	45.83
17	TRUE	4	9.41	45.37
18	LOOTED	5	7.77	44.72

19	STEREO	3	11.32	44.48
20	TARGETED	4	9.15	43.77
21	THEIR	8	5.06	41.92
22	WERE	8	4.92	40.31
23	SMASHED	4	8.49	39.83
24	POLICE	8	4.84	39.49
25	BASEBALL	3	10.51	39.42
26	FIRE	5	6.89	38.47
27	TURNED	4	8.24	38.41
28	LANDMARK	3	10.32	38.39
29	SYSTEMS	3	10.15	37.52
30	KITCHEN	3	10.00	36.76
31	HIS	7	5.08	36.74
32	FORCE	4	7.88	36.30
33	WINDOWS	4	7.80	35.88
34	COMPUTERS	3	9.73	35.49
35	PARKING	3	9.73	35.49
36	VIOLENCE	5	6.46	35.47
37	CURRYS	3	9.62	34.94
38	HOODED	3	9.41	33.97
39	AWAY	4	7.45	33.87
40	THROWN	3	9.32	33.54
41	BLACKBERRY	3	9.23	33.14
42	BOTTLE	3	8.56	30.15
43	BROKE	3	8.56	30.15
44	FORCED	3	8.28	28.89
45	TALKING	3	8.19	28.52
46	FROM	6	4.49	26.53
47	ALMOST	3	7.59	25.95
48	FIRST	4	5.96	25.55
49	SAW	3	7.41	25.19
50	THEY	6	4.30	25.04
51	HE	6	4.20	24.29
52	INTO	4	5.61	23.63
53	SINCE	3	6.96	23.28
54	MET	3	6.93	23.14
55	HAD	5	4.51	22.15
56	ACROSS	3	6.63	21.90
57	BETWEEN	3	6.55	21.56
58	NO	4	5.22	21.51
59	MAN	3	6.51	21.40
60	DAYS	3	6.26	20.37
61	SET	3	6.02	19.34
62	WAY	3	5.95	19.08
63	ARE	5	4.03	19.02
64	DOWN	3	5.80	18.46
65	BEEN	4	4.39	17.04
66	THAT	6	3.18	16.35
67	IS	5	3.26	14.06
68	AFTER	3	4.70	13.95
69	BE	4	3.76	13.72
70	MORE	3	4.43	12.89
71	AS	4	3.59	12.87
72	WITH	4	3.59	12.85
73	HAS	3	4.03	11.30

The Times collocates of *mob**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	YOUNG	17	9.23	222.44
2	TO	28	5.70	207.61
3	INSTITUTION	10	13.14	188.31
4	THE	22	4.32	131.42
5	A	16	5.15	110.18
6	AND	16	5.14	110.07
7	OF	16	4.95	105.45
8	WHO	12	7.11	103.89
9	IN	13	5.05	76.57
10	HUNDREDS	6	10.00	73.89
11	BEING	7	8.12	67.86
12	AT	9	6.32	65.88
13	GUILTY	5	10.21	62.87
14	DIFFERENT	5	9.68	58.95
15	MUNT	3	13.14	55.13
16	TESSA	3	13.14	55.13
17	TWO	6	7.70	54.27
18	AN	7	6.63	53.31
19	TAKES	4	10.56	52.10
20	MONTHS	5	8.68	51.79
21	NUTS	3	12.73	50.63
22	FROM	7	6.11	48.31
23	BE	7	5.97	46.96
24	WITHDRAW	3	12.14	46.81
25	JAILED	4	9.56	46.20
26	WITH	7	5.80	45.32
27	YEARS	5	7.66	44.63
28	IDENTIFY	3	10.73	39.69
29	ALLEGED	3	10.64	39.28
30	FOR	7	5.15	39.09
31	PART	4	8.14	38.15
32	OR	5	6.56	36.94
33	PLEADED	3	10.08	36.78
34	AS	6	5.58	36.67
35	THROUGH	4	7.86	36.60
36	CIRCUMSTANCES	3	9.87	35.84
37	WEEKS	3	9.82	35.63
38	HAVING	3	9.17	32.82
39	PLANS	3	9.08	32.44
40	DEAL	3	9.05	32.32
41	BENEFITS	3	8.62	30.46
42	AFTER	4	6.52	29.12
43	INVOLVED	3	8.23	28.84
44	WOULD	4	6.46	28.78
45	SENTENCES	3	7.75	26.79
46	WHILE	3	7.65	26.38
47	TAKE	3	7.62	26.24
48	TIME	3	6.98	23.60
49	HAVE	4	5.15	21.59
50	CAN	3	6.49	21.54
51	ON	4	4.59	18.59
52	THAT	4	4	15.455
53	WERE	3	4.91	15.06
54	WAS	3	4.11	11.87

The Times collocates of *offender**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	131	7.51	778.64
2	OF	62	7.48	460.66
3	TO	58	7.37	429.91
4	WERE	27	8.75	297.60
5	AND	37	6.93	283.70
6	A	30	6.64	231.59
7	FROM	20	8.32	222.56
8	FOR	23	7.55	222.16
9	IN	26	6.72	212.36
10	ON	21	7.67	211.13
11	BY	19	8.07	206.87
12	WITH	18	7.87	193.08
13	THAT	20	7.02	184.28
14	POLICE	15	7.87	168.13
15	LOOTERS	11	10.47	153.29
16	AS	14	7.53	152.46
17	CONVICTED	8	11.95	125.57
18	ONE	11	8.27	118.89
19	ARE	12	7.32	116.85
20	DID	9	9.76	112.95
21	SOME	10	8.65	111.41
22	HAD	11	7.67	109.67
23	NOT	11	7.61	108.74
24	HUNT	6	13.03	104.34
25	FIRE	8	9.59	97.29
26	THEIR	10	7.41	94.13
27	WAS	11	6.61	93.38
28	AGAINST	7	10.11	89.41
29	WHICH	8	8.37	83.53
30	HUNDREDS	6	10.62	80.37
31	THREW	5	12.18	78.53
32	EVICT	5	11.84	75.73
33	WILL	8	7.63	75.21
34	RAMPAGE	4	13.18	70.06
35	WHO	8	7.15	69.84
36	SAID	8	7.01	68.36
37	BE	8	6.79	65.84
38	ATTACK	5	10.53	65.77
39	DOWN	6	8.83	65.00
40	THESE	6	8.57	62.76
41	BUT	7	6.96	58.38
42	DARED	3	13.76	57.99
43	GRILLE	3	13.76	57.99
44	DIEHARDS	3	13.76	57.99
45	ACTIONS	4	11.12	55.71
46	ALL	6	7.63	54.94
47	THEY	7	6.55	54.39
48	OUT	6	7.48	53.69
49	HARDSHIP	3	13.35	53.49
50	FORCED	4	10.72	53.32
51	UP	6	7.42	53.18
52	POWERS	4	10.67	53.07
53	GREATER	4	10.59	52.58
54	FACES	4	10.55	52.35
55	FACT	4	10.44	51.69
56	HOMES	4	10.37	51.28
57	GAVE	4	10.30	50.89
58	STUDENT	4	10.21	50.34
59	BEEN	6	7.01	49.71
60	METAL	3	12.76	49.67
61	CONCEALED	3	12.76	49.67
62	CCTV	4	9.93	48.73
63	FILMED	3	12.54	48.43
64	TARGETING	3	12.54	48.43
65	MANY	5	8.06	48.23
66	YOUNG	5	8.01	47.85
67	MIGHT	4	9.70	47.40
68	BENEFITS	4	9.65	47.16
69	SEEN	4	9.63	47.04
70	SO	5	7.88	46.99
71	OTHERS	4	9.55	46.58
72	QUARTER	3	12.18	46.53
73	FACE	4	9.50	46.25
74	LOOTED	4	9.48	46.15
75	THAN	5	7.71	45.80
76	MOLOTOV	3	12.03	45.77
77	SHOPS	4	9.39	45.64
78	WASTE	3	11.89	45.10
79	DISPERSE	3	11.89	45.10
80	COUNCIL	4	9.25	44.89
81	BRISTOL	3	11.76	44.49
82	AT	6	6.35	44.30
83	HAVE	6	6.35	44.29
84	PROMISING	3	11.65	43.94
85	LAID	3	11.35	42.55
86	MORE	5	7.2	42.22
87	OR	5	7.18	42.08
88	BODY	3	11.18	41.77
89	LONDON	5	7.12	41.71
90	WHILE	4	8.69	41.68
91	LANGUAGE	3	10.95	40.77
92	SET	4	8.46	40.40
93	ANNOUNCED	3	10.76	39.91
94	SUSPECTS	3	10.59	39.15
95	MOST	4	8.08	38.30
96	PRIVATE	3	10.35	38.08
97	ECONOMIC	3	10.30	37.89
98	BLAME	3	10.06	36.84
99	OFFICERS	4	7.8	36.70
100	TWO	4	7.74	36.39
101	OPEN	3	9.82	35.81
102	THEMSELVES	3	9.70	35.30
103	PLANS	3	9.70	35.30
104	BELIEVE	3	9.67	35.17
105	CONTROL	3	9.57	34.71
106	LAST	4	7.4	34.47
107	SAW	3	9.44	34.17
108	CULTURE	3	9.35	33.78
109	HE	5	5.97	33.73
110	NO	4	7.25	33.67
111	HER	4	7.23	33.56
112	WHAT	4	7.17	33.24
113	HIGH	3	9.12	32.80
114	BUSINESS	3	8.95	32.11
115	BETWEEN	3	8.58	30.53
116	MAN	3	8.54	30.36

117	MADE	3	8.49	30.15
118	AN	4	6.44	29.21
119	TOTTENHAM	3	8.23	29.05
120	OFF	3	8.14	28.67
121	GO	3	8.11	28.55
122	LOOTING	3	8.06	28.36
123	STREETS	3	7.97	27.98
124	YEARS	3	7.55	26.20
125	BEING	3	7.52	26.09
126	COULD	3	7.42	25.69
127	THOSE	3	7.38	25.51
128	CAN	3	7.11	24.38
129	WHEN	3	6.98	23.83
130	AFTER	3	6.73	22.79
131	THEM	3	6.68	22.61
132	WOULD	3	6.66	22.54
133	HAS	3	6.06	20.04
134	RIOTS	3	6.01	19.82
135	IS	3	4.55	13.89

The Times collocates of *rioter**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	A	20	5.61	156.83
2	THE	17	4.12	102.84
3	TO	15	4.99	102.05
4	AND	14	5.12	95.83
5	WHO	10	7.00	84.26
6	IN	12	5.08	71.65
7	AS	9	6.32	66.58
8	OF	11	4.47	55.39
9	ON	8	5.74	52.13
10	FOR	7	5.30	40.89
11	WERE	6	6.06	40.83
12	BLACK	4	8.59	40.78
13	UNEMPLOYED	3	10.12	36.98
14	TWO	4	7.27	33.38
15	FACEBOOK	3	8.79	31.23
16	GROUP	3	8.67	30.72
17	WELL	3	8.00	27.88
18	WAS	5	5.00	26.44
19	SAYS	3	7.53	25.92
20	NEW	3	7.42	25.46
21	MOST	3	7.20	24.54
22	RIOT	3	7.13	24.26
23	IT	4	4.90	20.37
24	OR	3	5.97	19.46
25	THAT	4	4.15	16.35
26	SAID	3	5.13	16.02
27	AT	3	4.88	15.02
28	BY	3	4.86	14.93
29	THEY	3	4.86	14.91
30	HE	3	4.76	14.53
31	IS	3	4.08	11.81

The Times collocates of *teenager**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	13	6.82	74.27
2	TERRORISING	3	16.46	72.03
3	HACKNEY'S	3	15.05	61.45
4	SHORTLY	3	14.24	57.49
5	BEFORE	4	11.03	55.70
6	TO	7	6.97	50.08
7	ON	5	8.23	47.93
8	HIGH	3	11.82	46.84
9	AND	6	6.96	44.75
10	STREET	3	11.03	43.49
11	SHOP	3	10.82	42.62
12	WHO	3	8.43	32.65
13	A	4	6.38	29.86

The Times collocates of *thug**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	YOBS	18	15.13	359.91
2	YOB	3	14.88	67.90
3	RIOT	3	9.34	38.91
4	AFTER	3	8.80	36.63
5	WITH	5	8.12	51.19
6	BY	3	7.48	31.12
7	IS	4	7.32	38.29
8	ON	4	7.26	37.99
9	FOR	3	6.72	27.96
10	AND	5	6.16	37.58
11	TO	6	6.14	42.78
12	IN	4	6.09	31.50
13	OF	5	5.85	35.47
14	A	4	5.85	30.15
15	THE	8	5.52	45.53

The Times collocates of *yob**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THESE	7	10.90	94.17
2	THE	15	6.53	91.41
3	IN	11	7.54	86.47
4	INVOLVED	5	11.71	76.33
5	THEY	3	8.66	72.26
6	MORE	6	9.58	71.42
7	A	9	6.97	67.19
8	AND	8	6.79	59.67
9	OF	8	6.60	57.49
10	TO	8	6.57	57.24
11	THAT	6	7.32	52.61
12	HAVE	5	8.21	51.79
13	CHANGE	3	12.00	50.13
14	LIVES	3	10.94	45.59
15	WERE	4	8.06	42.41
16	ARE	4	7.85	41.27
17	AS	4	7.74	40.62
18	HOME	3	9.73	40.50
19	MANY	3	9.44	39.30
20	CAN	3	9.22	38.39
21	FOR	4	7.08	36.98
22	ABOUT	3	8.82	36.68
23	YOU	3	8.73	36.35
24	WILL	3	8.33	34.66
25	HAD	3	7.91	32.92
26	BUT	3	7.85	32.67
27	WHO	3	7.85	32.65
28	AT	3	7.47	31.07
29	ON	3	6.91	28.75

The Times collocates of *youngster**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	A	64	4.74	360.86
2	AND	62	4.69	343.41
3	THE	75	3.72	334.89
4	OF	52	4.25	248.73
5	IN	46	4.57	237.66
6	TO	49	4.15	225.47
7	WITH	27	5.44	165.15
8	HOODED	11	10.33	148.15
9	WERE	22	5.48	135.71
10	MASKED	9	10.49	124.83
11	SERVICES	10	9.01	109.22
12	BY	19	5.08	106.41
13	UNEMPLOYMENT	10	8.74	104.87
14	POLICE	18	5.13	102.10
15	WORKERS	9	9.14	100.12
16	ON	19	4.55	91.88
17	WHO	15	5.16	86.18
18	GANG	11	6.55	79.89
19	AT	14	4.69	71.03
20	THAT	18	3.88	70.32
21	SHOPS	8	7.4	67.60
22	THEIR	13	4.81	63.34
23	WORKER	6	8.66	61.92
24	MEMBER	6	8.27	58.33
25	AGAINST	7	7.12	56.28
26	OUR	9	5.76	55.27
27	CONVINCING	4	10.45	54.91
28	SHAUN	4	10.45	54.91
29	WALKING	5	9.01	54.36
30	BLACK	7	6.88	53.87
31	LAST	9	5.58	53.01
32	HUNDREDS	6	7.63	52.61
33	CUTS	6	7.58	52.14
34	CENTRES	5	8.71	51.91
35	SMASHING	5	8.64	51.38
36	WINDOWS	6	7.43	50.83
37	REVENGE	4	9.97	50.36
38	OPINIONS	4	9.97	50.36
39	CLASHED	4	9.78	48.83
40	AREA	6	6.99	46.99
41	CLUBS	4	9.45	46.46
42	CLOSE	5	7.93	45.96
43	GROUPS	5	7.81	45.11
44	BENT	3	10.78	44.91
45	EXCITEDLY	3	10.78	44.91
46	MISSILE	3	10.78	44.91
47	CONGREGATING	3	10.78	44.91
48	VOWING	3	10.78	44.91
49	DISGORGED	3	10.78	44.91
50	HOODIES	4	9.08	43.87
51	LAID	4	8.78	41.93
52	TWO	7	5.56	40.91
53	MICHELIN	3	10.36	40.41
54	GREY	3	10.36	40.41
55	NOTICED	3	10.36	40.41
56	SHOP	6	6.13	39.76
57	MATTER	4	8.32	39.07
58	ONE	8	4.82	38.79
59	BATS	3	10.04	38.18
60	LOOTED	5	6.81	37.88
61	BAILEY	4	8.08	37.61
62	HELPING	4	8.02	37.29
63	UNDERPRIVILEGED	3	9.78	36.59
64	TRANSIT	3	9.78	36.59
65	ROAD	5	6.56	36.08
66	BASEBALL	3	9.55	35.35
67	CONSENSUS	3	9.55	35.35
68	RUNNING	4	7.69	35.32
69	AFTER	7	4.96	35.17
70	ABOUT	7	4.94	34.93
71	BLAME	4	7.49	34.16
72	MUSLIM	3	9.19	33.45
73	CUT	4	7.32	33.15
74	FILL	3	9.04	32.70
75	SERVICE	4	7.16	32.25
76	AGED	4	7.13	32.09
77	RETURNED	3	8.90	32.02
78	SURROUNDING	3	8.90	32.02
79	VAN	3	8.90	32.02
80	VICTIM	3	8.90	32.02
81	LONDON	7	4.62	31.98
82	CHARITIES	3	8.78	31.42
83	LOOTING	5	5.81	30.86
84	OUTSIDE	4	6.92	30.86
85	STOP	4	6.89	30.72
86	NIGHT	5	5.78	30.61
87	THROWING	3	8.55	30.37
88	WHEN	6	4.99	30.33
89	WAY	5	5.73	30.30
90	SAID	8	4.03	30.28
91	FROM	8	3.94	29.38
92	LATER	4	6.65	29.32
93	RESTAURANT	3	8.27	29.08
94	STAR	3	8.27	29.08
95	GROUP	4	6.57	28.87
96	WEST	4	6.53	28.65
97	BEEN	7	4.24	28.41
98	DOZENS	3	8.11	28.35
99	VIDEO	3	8.04	28.02
100	DECADES	3	8.04	28.02
101	SALFORD	3	7.97	27.70
102	FORMER	4	6.33	27.55
103	YEARS	5	5.3	27.31
104	COUNCIL	4	6.27	27.19
105	BRICKS	3	7.84	27.12
106	EXPERIENCE	3	7.84	27.12
107	INTEREST	3	7.78	26.84
108	FIVE	4	6.19	26.76
109	ASIAN	3	7.72	26.58
110	HAD	7	4.03	26.48
111	HE	8	3.66	26.46
112	AROUND	4	6.12	26.35
113	STANDING	3	7.66	26.33
114	WORKS	3	7.61	26.09
115	NOT	7	3.97	25.93
116	ENFIELD	3	7.55	25.86

117	THERE	6	4.34	25.09
118	BOTTLES	3	7.32	24.83
119	REMANDED	3	7.27	24.65
120	TALKING	3	7.23	24.47
121	WHILE	4	5.7	24.02
122	FOR	9	3.15	24.02
123	LOCAL	4	5.66	23.79
124	GANGS	4	5.63	23.62
125	FIRE	4	5.61	23.51
126	LARGE	3	6.87	22.91
127	SET	4	5.47	22.77
128	APPEARED	3	6.84	22.77
129	RIOTS	6	4.02	22.55
130	PEOPLE	6	4.02	22.53
131	THOUSANDS	3	6.75	22.38
132	CAUSE	3	6.75	22.38
133	STREETS	4	5.4	22.38
134	RUN	3	6.69	22.14
135	LOT	3	6.69	22.14
136	COURT	4	5.28	21.70
137	DOWN	4	5.26	21.61
138	MILLION	3	6.55	21.57
139	CROYDON	3	6.5	21.35
140	ESTATE	3	6.43	21.05
141	SMALL	3	6.25	20.30
142	OUT	5	4.23	20.15
143	FIND	3	6.21	20.12
144	LOST	3	6.13	19.79
145	SUPPORT	3	5.97	19.11
146	FOUND	3	5.76	18.25
147	HACKNEY	3	5.66	17.83
148	CENTRE	3	5.65	17.77
149	CRIME	3	5.54	17.33
150	ARE	6	3.34	17.27
151	RIOTING	3	5.48	17.08
152	TOLD	3	5.06	15.35
153	SOCIAL	3	5.02	15.20
154	ALL	4	4.06	15.18
155	SHE	4	3.98	14.72
156	MORE	4	3.89	14.28
157	ITS	3	4.71	13.94
158	ONLY	3	4.64	13.66
159	HOME	3	4.63	13.60
160	RIOT	3	4.61	13.55
161	BE	5	3.12	13.01
162	HAVE	5	3.1	12.89
163	OFFICERS	3	4.4	12.68
164	UP	3	3.44	8.93
165	WILL	3	3.23	8.15
166	THIS	3	3.08	7.60
167	HAS	3	3.07	7.57

The Times collocates of *youth**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	A	13	5.48	378.15
2	THE	13	4.15	296.97
3	AND	10	5.01	231.81
4	OLD	5	8.62	209.67
5	YEAR	5	7.90	179.31
6	YOUNG	4	7.18	116.16
7	OF	6	3.96	90.19
8	WAS	4	5.04	80.57
9	GIRLS	2	9.55	68.89
10	TEENAGE	1	10.45	63.99
11	IN	4	3.96	63.19
12	WHO	3	5.66	61.06
13	FROM	3	5.40	57.55
14	ARE	3	5.20	54.76
15	BOYD	1	12.83	53.53
16	TURKISH	1	10.66	52.40
17	ACCUSED	1	8.86	52.31
18	TO	4	3.46	49.08
19	FOR	3	4.63	47.00
20	TWO	2	6.72	44.87
21	SAID	2	5.11	42.44
22	BY	2	4.95	40.76
23	ON	2	4.43	39.79
24	HE	2	4.75	38.64
25	HEAD	1	8.26	38.32
26	PLEADED	1	9.60	34.47
27	HAVE	2	4.59	32.12
28	MAINLY	1	8.92	31.50
29	MEN	1	7.00	31.28
30	BLACK	1	6.84	30.38
31	BAIL	1	8.55	29.94
32	AGED	1	8.55	29.94
33	LOOKED	1	8.39	29.24
34	GUILTY	1	8.22	28.53
35	DIED	1	8.15	28.20
36	OPEN	1	7.83	26.86
37	WHITE	1	7.73	26.43
38	ABOUT	1	5.07	25.98
39	AS	2	4.23	24.52
40	HAS	1	4.79	24.07
41	ARRESTED	1	6.96	23.23
42	THAT	2	3.53	22.34
43	SHOP	1	6.69	22.11
44	SOME	1	5.27	21.79
45	BETWEEN	1	6.41	20.96
46	12	1	4.27	20.30
47	11	1	4.25	20.16
48	16	2	3.35	20.12
49	WITH	1	3.99	18.77
50	18	1	5.73	18.08
51	17	1	5.53	17.27
52	14	1	4.39	16.83
53	THIS	1	4.33	16.73
54	15	1	3.72	16.69
55	HER	1	5.23	16.10
56	THAN	1	5.03	15.28
57	SHE	1	4.88	14.69
58	NO	1	4.85	14.55
59	WERE	1	3.91	14.52
60	WHEN	1	4.76	14.19
61	LONDON	1	4.73	14.09
62	ONE	1	4.49	13.10
63	OR	1	4.46	13.00
64	MORE	1	4.43	12.89
65	HIS	1	4.36	12.59
66	AN	1	4.19	11.94
67	THEIR	1	4.09	11.55
68	I	1	3.53	9.35
69	POLICE	1	3.29	8.46
70	THEY	1	3.29	8.44
71	IS	1	6.35	6.45

The Guardian collocates of *boy**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THEIR	11	5.70	258.64
2	AND	14	3.39	178.23
3	OF	15	3.18	168.87
4	TO	15	3.21	168.05
5	ARE	9	4.76	164.41
6	IN	13	3.40	155.34
7	FOR	7	3.96	108.47
8	PEOPLE	6	4.41	94.77
9	HAVE	6	4.10	89.84
10	PARENTS	3	7.09	87.82
11	WHO	5	4.38	80.96
12	YOUNG	4	5.07	77.61
13	SCHOOL	3	6.37	69.56
14	THAT	6	3.10	62.91
15	THEY	5	3.67	59.73
16	FAMILIES	2	6.09	59.00
17	WITH	5	3.63	58.93
18	ADULTS	2	7.96	55.40
19	POVERTY	2	6.71	51.98
20	MY	3	5.05	51.18
21	BECAUSE	2	5.06	46.24
22	SCHOOLS	2	6.80	45.23
23	UP	3	4.29	45.14
24	DISCIPLINE	1	7.66	43.91
25	BEING	2	4.85	43.69
26	WHERE	2	4.85	43.62
27	AS	4	3.35	43.43
28	THEM	3	4.36	41.90
29	OUR	2	4.66	36.72
30	FROM	3	3.46	36.38
31	UNDER	2	5.58	34.97
32	WERE	3	3.29	33.77
33	UNICEF	1	9.21	33.64
34	LOT	1	6.00	32.06
35	THESE	2	4.65	32.00
36	CASES	1	5.95	31.74
37	OR	2	3.84	31.56
38	NOW	2	4.60	31.51
39	HIS	2	3.74	30.35
40	NOT	3	3.25	30.34
41	OFF	2	5.01	30.29

42	DIFFICULTIES	1	8.51	30.18
43	AT	3	3.23	30.13
44	MANY	2	4.42	29.81
45	RISK	1	6.69	29.51
46	BURNING	1	6.67	29.38
47	DEAD	1	6.67	29.38
48	YOUR	1	5.53	28.83
49	CONVICTED	1	6.56	28.75
50	FOUR	1	5.50	28.59
51	HE	3	3.01	27.07
52	RAISE	1	7.81	27.01
53	OTHER	2	4.55	26.58
54	OWN	1	5.09	25.80
55	START	1	5.99	25.58
56	IF	2	3.91	25.12
57	THREE	1	4.91	24.56
58	WHOSE	1	5.78	24.38
59	TOLD	1	4.77	23.64
60	HAD	2	3.10	23.11
61	OUT	2	3.68	23.02
62	FOOTBALL	1	6.62	21.83
63	ASK	1	6.51	21.34
64	MORE	2	3.45	20.97
65	EARLY	1	5.13	20.83
66	THAN	2	3.82	20.82
67	BRING	1	6.37	20.78
68	BELIEVED	1	6.35	20.67
69	HOME	1	4.27	20.30
70	TWO	1	4.25	20.16
71	ABOUT	2	3.35	20.12
72	STUDY	1	5.73	18.08
73	WOMEN	1	5.53	17.27
74	SEE	1	4.39	16.83
75	AFTER	1	3.72	16.69
76	HAVING	1	5.37	16.61
77	CAN'T	1	5.35	16.50
78	MAKING	1	5.32	16.40
79	BACK	1	4.30	16.36
80	WAY	1	4.30	16.36
81	LIVE	1	5.30	16.30
82	ROLE	1	5.18	15.83
83	EVERY	1	5.17	15.78
84	INTO	1	3.54	15.51
85	AMONG	1	5.05	15.27
86	PROBLEM	1	5.00	15.07
87	LIFE	1	4.72	13.95
88	WHEN	1	3.29	13.92
89	DAY	1	4.68	13.76
90	NEVER	1	4.58	13.37
91	COUNTRY	1	4.53	13.17
92	INVOLVED	1	4.52	13.14
93	WHAT	1	3.09	12.68
94	STILL	1	4.26	12.09
95	HER	1	3.44	11.89
96	BETWEEN	1	4.21	11.89
97	LIKE	1	3.36	11.51
98	SUCH	1	4.09	11.44
99	THROUGH	1	4.05	11.28
100	SOCIETY	1	3.85	10.50
101	DON'T	1	3.81	10.33
102	THEN	1	3.76	10.14
103	SOME	1	3.07	10.04
104	EVEN	1	3.70	9.90
105	ALL	1	3.00	9.70
106	ONLY	1	3.61	9.55
107	SHOULD	1	3.60	9.52
108	COULD	1	3.33	8.51
109	OVER	1	3.26	8.25

The Guardian collocates of *children*

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	AND	31	4.89	713.14
2	THE	38	3.83	708.45
3	OF	27	4.42	533.60
4	JUSTICE	8	7.97	281.06
5	TO	18	3.86	274.49
6	PURE	5	10.52	274.10
7	A	15	3.95	242.01
8	RECORD	4	9.24	191.00
9	SIMPLE	4	9.48	186.26
10	DAMAGE	5	8.65	185.72
11	BEHAVIOUR	5	8.28	185.32
12	WITH	9	4.98	181.44
13	FOR	9	4.65	171.01
14	IS	8	4.39	144.26
15	SYSTEM	4	7.54	129.64
16	THAT	8	3.90	119.06
17	WAS	7	4.12	111.51
18	NO	5	5.61	107.03
19	ARE	6	4.58	105.19
20	SHEER	2	9.53	105.15
21	BY	6	4.59	100.78
22	ACTS	2	9.22	100.48
23	AS	6	4.28	91.74
24	THIS	5	4.68	84.25
25	HISTORIES	1	11.01	76.44
26	OR	4	4.96	75.64
27	ON	5	3.84	75.06
28	VIOLENCE	3	5.83	74.51
29	HAD	4	4.40	73.13
30	ACTIVITY	2	8.57	70.82
31	PREVIOUS	2	7.67	70.30
32	BE	4	4.13	67.04
33	ORGANISED	2	8.14	66.35
34	NOT	4	4.17	63.86
35	BEING	3	5.53	63.73
36	WILL	3	4.82	62.82
37	PLOTTING	1	10.69	56.13
38	PEOPLE	4	4.14	55.09
39	CONVICTED	2	7.53	51.42
40	DISORDER	2	5.97	51.05
41	THESE	2	5.40	50.42
42	YOUNG	3	4.87	48.91
43	LOOTING	2	5.65	47.48
44	THEM	3	4.74	47.16
45	AN	3	4.25	44.65
46	THOSE	2	4.89	44.21
47	HISTORY	1	7.66	43.77

48	CHARGES	1	7.66	43.77
49	OPPORTUNISTIC	1	9.10	43.74
50	GANG	2	5.79	42.92
51	ANTISOCIAL	1	8.92	42.59
52	SOME	2	4.62	40.97
53	ACT	1	7.20	40.48
54	CONDEMNED	1	8.55	40.29
55	ALL	2	4.55	40.11
56	CLASSES	1	8.20	38.19
57	INVOLVED	2	5.91	37.70
58	GANGS	2	5.83	37.07
59	HAS	3	3.97	36.89
60	RIOTERS	2	4.99	35.28
61	WHO	3	3.84	35.22
62	FACE	1	6.36	34.57
63	ELEMENTS	1	9.42	34.38
64	OUTRAGEOUS	1	9.42	34.38
65	POLICY	1	6.11	32.80
66	MEMBER	1	7.20	32.36
67	ORDINATED	1	9.01	32.34
68	RECORDS	1	8.89	31.79
69	LOOTERS	1	5.90	31.37
70	RANDOM	1	8.78	31.29
71	SEEMINGLY	1	8.69	30.83
72	DESTRUCTIVE	1	8.42	29.62
73	COMMIT	1	8.34	29.27
74	USUAL	1	8.34	29.27
75	SIMPLY	1	6.58	28.85
76	WHICH	2	4.27	28.44
77	OUR	2	4.63	27.27
78	LONDON	2	4.13	27.22
79	ONCE	1	6.25	27.01
80	STREETS	1	5.05	25.51
81	PART	1	5.05	25.51
82	INCLUDING	1	5.96	25.40
83	EFFECTIVE	1	7.34	24.87
84	PROBLEM	1	5.80	24.49
85	REFORM	1	7.23	24.40
86	ANY	1	4.83	24.03
87	EVEN	1	4.82	23.97
88	OFFENCE	1	7.10	23.83
89	ANSWER	1	7.07	23.69
90	ONLY	1	4.73	23.35
91	SHOULD	1	4.72	23.30
92	CONTEXT	1	6.95	23.18
93	HOUSING	1	6.89	22.94
94	NOTHING	1	5.50	22.85
95	CAMERON'S	1	6.73	22.27
96	UNDER	1	5.38	22.18
97	KNOWN	1	6.59	21.67
98	PRISON	1	5.19	21.14
99	WHERE	1	4.39	21.06
100	ACTIONS	1	6.44	21.04
101	DOESN'T	1	6.38	20.79
102	COME	1	5.09	20.63
103	LAST	1	4.27	20.28
104	PROTEST	1	6.23	20.17
105	AROUND	1	4.99	20.07
106	DAVID	1	4.96	19.89
107	FACT	1	6.17	19.88
108	CO	1	6.15	19.81
109	SENTENCE	1	6.15	19.81
110	DO	1	4.19	19.78
111	WHY	1	4.91	19.66
112	LIKE	1	4.07	18.98
113	FAMILY	1	4.75	18.77
114	ALWAYS	1	5.86	18.63
115	SHOW	1	5.86	18.63
116	GROUPS	1	5.84	18.51
117	HAVING	1	5.76	18.19
118	THAN	1	3.94	18.14
119	EVIDENCE	1	5.56	17.36
120	IF	1	3.81	17.27
121	THEMSELVES	1	5.54	17.27
122	CHARGED	1	5.53	17.23
123	LAW	1	5.53	17.23
124	WITHOUT	1	5.35	16.52
125	OUTSIDE	1	5.25	16.10
126	OTHERS	1	5.20	15.89
127	EARLY	1	5.10	15.48
128	HELP	1	5.03	15.20
129	ACROSS	1	4.77	14.15
130	RIOTING	1	4.72	13.95
131	VERY	1	4.56	13.32
132	RIGHT	1	4.44	12.81
133	COURT	1	4.26	12.09
134	CAMERON	1	4.22	11.93
135	DON'T	1	4.20	11.85
136	GOING	1	4.13	11.58
137	DOWN	1	4.12	11.53
138	FIRST	1	4.05	11.26
139	MOST	1	3.91	10.72
140	GET	1	3.84	10.47

The Guardian collocates of *criminal**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	28	4.43	633.50
2	A	10	4.38	193.08
3	OF	11	4.11	188.35
4	IN	7	4.01	116.73
5	WERE	5	5.42	116.28
6	AND	7	3.76	103.12
7	TO	6	3.20	63.52
8	INTO	2	5.78	55.51
9	POLICE	3	4.48	53.28
10	AT	3	4.63	50.87
11	GATHERING	1	9.56	45.96
12	FROM	2	4.44	39.17
13	DISPERSE	1	10.43	38.62
14	SEEING	1	8.23	38.17
15	DIRECTED	1	10.14	37.19
16	LARGE	1	7.79	35.62
17	DIRECTION	1	9.79	35.53
18	AS	2	4.00	33.95
19	WAS	3	3.64	33.11
20	THEIR	2	4.50	30.90
21	SOME	2	5.05	30.80
22	WHEN	2	4.94	29.96

23	GATHERED	1	8.35	29.10
24	THEY	2	3.89	28.93
25	MEN	1	6.19	26.68
26	BY	2	3.95	25.75
27	HUGE	1	7.49	25.43
28	ON	2	3.45	24.40
29	TURNED	1	7.24	24.38
30	STARTED	1	7.19	24.16
31	RUNNING	1	7.06	23.61
32	THAT	2	3.08	23.32
33	WITH	2	3.66	23.18
34	NIGHT	1	5.51	22.94
35	BEGAN	1	6.86	22.77
36	OUT	1	4.59	22.50
37	OFFICER	1	6.62	21.78
38	BIG	1	6.40	20.86
39	THERE	1	4.18	19.79
40	AN	1	4.12	19.40
41	BETWEEN	1	5.60	17.55
42	AROUND	1	5.58	17.48
43	THROUGH	1	5.45	16.92
44	PART	1	5.32	16.40
45	HAD	1	3.65	16.34
46	UP	1	4.22	16.03
47	THEN	1	5.15	15.73
48	DOWN	1	5.12	15.61
49	FOR	2	3.08	15.36
50	MORE	1	4.04	15.05
51	OTHER	1	4.94	14.87
52	BUT	1	3.41	14.85
53	TWO	1	4.91	14.74
54	ITS	1	4.85	14.51
55	TIME	1	4.78	14.22
56	YOUNG	1	4.14	11.68
57	BEEN	1	3.12	7.74
58	WHO	1	3.11	7.73
59	THIS	1	3.11	7.70

The Guardian collocates of *crowd**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	59	3.88	1137.57
2	AND	39	4.64	820.91
3	A	36	4.58	722.76
4	OF	37	4.31	710.21
5	MEMBERS	15	9.36	696.53
6	CULTURE	15	9.14	660.90
7	IN	24	4.15	414.34
8	TO	25	3.76	367.92
9	AS	12	4.85	245.17
10	WERE	11	4.93	218.65
11	THAT	13	4.04	208.22
12	ON	12	4.41	206.75
13	VIOLENCE	7	6.41	191.06
14	WITH	10	4.51	170.82
15	IS	10	4.04	151.02
16	BY	8	4.45	131.58
17	PLAYED	3	8.34	128.34
18	OR	6	4.99	117.09
19	ARE	7	4.28	116.10
20	MEMBER	3	8.20	115.77
21	FOR	8	3.85	111.41
22	ORGANISED	3	8.21	106.24
23	HAVE	7	4.08	100.69
24	WAS	8	3.63	99.04
25	NEW	4	6.08	98.53
26	CRIME	3	6.69	96.52
27	CRIMINAL	3	6.69	96.37
28	NOT	6	4.17	95.79
29	FROM	6	4.20	92.53
30	INVOLVED	3	6.43	91.71
31	WAR	3	7.74	89.44
32	ANTI	2	8.38	89.30
33	INJUNCTIONS	2	9.90	89.09
34	HAD	6	4.19	88.13
35	LONDON	4	4.83	82.32
36	SAID	5	4.09	81.34
37	CHIC	2	10.20	81.07
38	TACKLE	2	8.29	78.22
39	AN	5	4.37	76.17
40	WHO	5	4.18	75.69
41	MEMBERSHIP	2	9.83	75.35
42	YOUTHS	3	6.70	74.18
43	PART	3	5.72	72.67
44	AT	5	3.89	72.22
45	ALL	4	4.70	70.02
46	STREET	3	5.86	68.60
47	RELATED	2	7.23	65.43
48	ROLE	2	6.57	65.06
49	ACTIVITY	2	7.98	65.04
50	HE	5	3.59	61.17
51	DIFFERENT	2	6.19	60.24
52	IDENTIFIED	2	7.47	59.72
53	BUT	5	3.67	59.53
54	RIVAL	1	9.42	58.46
55	SMITH	2	7.32	58.15
56	INTERVENTION	2	7.16	56.52
57	ABOUT	4	4.15	54.97
58	THEY	5	3.47	54.91
59	PROBLEM	2	6.21	53.76
60	THERE	4	4.07	53.44
61	WHAT	3	4.26	52.95
62	SHE	3	4.47	52.19
63	SOME	3	4.45	51.84
64	PLAY	2	7.51	51.52
65	DRUG	1	8.42	49.85
66	DUNCAN	2	7.30	49.68
67	RIVALRY	1	9.61	48.28
68	CAMERON	2	5.21	48.08
69	UP	3	4.21	48.01
70	BEING	3	4.80	47.88
71	TOGETHER	2	6.24	47.29
72	MEN	2	5.59	46.87
73	RIOTS	4	3.66	46.10
74	HAS	3	3.76	44.37
75	WHEN	3	4.22	44.13
76	PEOPLE	4	3.55	44.08
77	AFFILIATED	1	10.42	43.37
78	ISSUE	2	6.55	43.12

79	BEEN	3	3.64	42.28
80	ESTATES	1	7.42	42.23
81	YOUNG	3	4.28	40.90
82	DID	2	5.02	40.57
83	VIOLENT	2	6.21	40.27
84	FORM	1	7.10	39.88
85	WHICH	3	4.19	39.69
86	PRESENT	1	7.07	39.67
87	SEXUAL	1	8.33	39.31
88	SIGNS	1	8.25	38.79
89	BELIEVED	1	6.88	38.33
90	THEMSELVES	2	5.95	38.08
91	OTHER	2	4.76	37.77
92	FORCES	1	6.65	36.69
93	DEPENDENCY	1	9.68	36.64
94	IMAGE	1	7.90	36.61
95	POLICE	4	3.11	36.22
96	DRAWN	1	7.78	35.89
97	MASKED	1	7.78	35.89
98	SO	2	4.14	35.09
99	ARRESTED	2	5.55	34.78
100	OVER	2	4.48	34.72
101	THEIR	3	3.56	34.64
102	MAY	2	4.86	33.92
103	MOSTLY	1	7.38	33.51
104	ORCHESTRATED	1	9.00	32.79
105	JOIN	1	7.13	32.10
106	OUT	2	3.84	31.50
107	INSIDE	1	7.03	31.48
108	BOSTON	1	8.68	31.16
109	THOSE	2	4.13	31.07
110	HEART	1	6.93	30.90
111	LITTLE	1	5.81	30.75
112	CENTRAL	1	6.90	30.72
113	BECAUSE	2	4.50	30.56
114	POSTCODE	1	8.55	30.49
115	BEHAVIOUR	1	5.76	30.43
116	INVOLVEMENT	1	6.83	30.37
117	INTO	2	4.01	29.81
118	CLAIMED	1	6.72	29.71
119	STRATEGY	1	6.72	29.71
120	LEADERS	1	6.69	29.55
121	BAIL	1	6.56	28.81
122	GIRLS	1	6.56	28.81
123	MADE	2	4.82	28.80
124	NO	2	3.85	28.13
125	INITIATIVES	1	8.00	27.94
126	THEM	2	3.83	27.92
127	APPROACH	1	6.35	27.63
128	CONVICTED	1	6.35	27.63
129	MEDIA	1	5.35	27.56
130	ANTISOCIAL	1	7.92	27.54
131	ORDERS	1	7.92	27.54
132	SIGNIFICANT	1	6.29	27.27
133	DESTRUCTIVE	1	7.83	27.17
134	RESPONDENTS	1	7.76	26.82
135	FUELLED	1	7.76	26.82
136	WORK	2	4.58	26.81
137	EXTENT	1	7.68	26.48
138	WOULD	2	3.69	26.40
139	ANY	2	4.50	26.22
140	UNDER	1	5.11	25.94
141	USING	1	6.04	25.89
142	EXPERT	1	7.55	25.87
143	FOUND	1	5.06	25.59
144	US	2	4.42	25.56
145	CO	1	5.98	25.51
146	FAMILIES	1	5.04	25.45
147	DUGGAN	1	5.03	25.36
148	DIRECTLY	1	7.42	25.31
149	ENFORCEMENT	1	7.42	25.31
150	AGAINST	1	4.98	25.03
151	SHOT	1	5.88	24.97
152	LOTS	1	7.30	24.80
153	WILL	2	3.53	24.78
154	SAYS	2	4.31	24.67
155	DESCRIBED	1	5.80	24.55
156	SET	1	4.90	24.51
157	SHOUTING	1	7.10	23.90
158	STYLE	1	7.10	23.90
159	GROUPS	1	5.66	23.77
160	SUGGEST	1	7.05	23.70
161	PRISONS	1	6.96	23.31
162	KIDS	1	5.49	22.80
163	DRUGS	1	6.83	22.76
164	SUCH	1	4.63	22.65
165	INTELLIGENCE	1	6.80	22.59
166	DAILY	1	6.76	22.43
167	THROUGH	1	4.59	22.38
168	YOUTH	1	4.55	22.14
169	BENEFIT	1	6.68	22.11
170	TROUBLED	1	6.68	22.11
171	RESEARCH	1	5.34	22.00
172	ALSO	2	3.93	21.66
173	BROKE	1	6.42	20.99
174	GUN	1	6.39	20.86
175	KEY	1	6.36	20.74
176	TROUBLE	1	5.11	20.70
177	RESPONSIBLE	1	6.33	20.62
178	GROWTH	1	6.33	20.62
179	WORKED	1	6.30	20.50
180	YOU	2	3.38	20.36
181	DOWN	1	4.27	20.24
182	MARK	1	5.00	20.13
183	PAY	1	6.20	20.05
184	BEYOND	1	6.17	19.94
185	MURDER	1	6.15	19.83
186	PUT	1	4.89	19.52
187	SUGGESTED	1	6.05	19.43
188	ATTACK	1	6.00	19.24
189	KNOWN	1	6.00	19.24
190	LEAVE	1	5.98	19.14
191	HOW	1	4.08	18.99
192	MOST	1	4.06	18.87
193	GOVERNMENT	1	4.03	18.69
194	GET	1	3.99	18.44
195	CITY	1	4.68	18.42
196	KNEW	1	5.80	18.36

197	THEY'RE	1	5.70	17.97
198	PROGRAMME	1	5.66	17.82
199	TALKING	1	5.61	17.60
200	WHOLE	1	5.60	17.53
201	WHERE	1	3.80	17.18
202	ACTION	1	5.48	17.06
203	BLACK	1	4.43	17.05
204	RUNNING	1	5.47	16.99
205	DURING	1	4.38	16.79
206	MANY	1	3.73	16.73
207	DAVID	1	4.37	16.73
208	BAD	1	5.33	16.44
209	CAN	1	3.64	16.14
210	TOLD	1	4.25	16.09
211	DO	1	3.60	15.93
212	THING	1	5.17	15.78
213	MUCH	1	4.11	15.36
214	WAY	1	4.10	15.29
215	TRYING	1	5.04	15.24
216	BELIEVE	1	5.04	15.24
217	TAKEN	1	5.04	15.24
218	EVIDENCE	1	4.97	14.96
219	INCLUDING	1	4.96	14.92
220	NORTH	1	4.96	14.92
221	DON'T	1	4.02	14.90
222	WORKING	1	4.92	14.74
223	PAST	1	4.86	14.53
224	BOTH	1	4.82	14.37
225	REPORT	1	4.82	14.37
226	WITHOUT	1	4.77	14.13
227	ONLY	1	3.82	13.84
228	SAYING	1	4.69	13.83
229	SEEN	1	4.60	13.44
230	ENGLAND	1	4.59	13.41
231	LOOTERS	1	4.58	13.37
232	TWO	1	3.73	13.37
233	DISTURBANCES	1	4.56	13.30
234	FOUR	1	4.56	13.30
235	GROUP	1	4.53	13.17
236	EARLY	1	4.51	13.11
237	SOCIAL	1	3.67	13.05
238	HELP	1	4.44	12.83
239	TOOK	1	4.41	12.71
240	IT'S	1	3.59	12.64
241	COULD	1	3.55	12.43
242	MET	1	4.33	12.36
243	OWN	1	4.15	11.67
244	THREE	1	3.97	10.96
245	YEAR	1	3.24	10.90
246	LOCAL	1	3.88	10.58
247	NEED	1	3.87	10.56
248	LIKE	1	3.16	10.50
249	THINK	1	3.82	10.39
250	LOOTING	1	3.64	9.68
251	THEN	1	3.56	9.36
252	EVEN	1	3.50	9.12
253	OLD	1	3.47	9.03
254	COMMUNITY	1	3.31	8.42
255	RIOTERS	1	3.18	7.95

The Guardian collocates of *gang**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	16	4.02	342.86
2	A	12	5.01	282.14
3	OLD	6	8.50	246.72
4	AND	10	4.66	206.50
5	YEAR	5	7.66	189.61
6	TO	9	4.34	172.01
7	OF	8	4.11	140.13
8	IN	7	4.33	123.19
9	WOMEN	3	9.09	108.73
10	WAS	5	4.99	100.72
11	WHO	4	5.86	96.25
12	YOUNG	3	6.44	78.65
13	HIS	3	5.97	78.19
14	FROM	3	5.40	74.70
15	BOYS	2	9.22	65.95
16	ONE	3	5.84	62.97
17	SEEING	1	8.98	53.15
18	GROUP	2	7.55	51.65
19	VIOLENCE	2	6.48	49.97
20	WERE	3	4.85	49.48
21	LAVENDER	1	12.03	47.39
22	DESCRIBED	1	8.15	47.18
23	WITH	3	4.61	46.23
24	HER	2	6.07	45.94
25	ABOUT	2	5.37	44.94
26	SAID	2	4.89	44.92
27	AN	2	5.22	43.38
28	HILL	1	8.74	41.06
29	CAUGHT	1	8.40	39.09
30	AT	2	4.59	36.61
31	BOOTS	1	9.86	35.67
32	TALK	1	7.73	35.29
33	IS	2	3.95	33.59
34	TEENAGE	1	9.33	33.30
35	VISIT	1	8.70	30.59
36	SCHOOL	1	6.87	30.51
37	BY	2	4.37	29.86
38	I	2	4.36	29.77
39	THEIR	2	4.71	28.19
40	GANG	1	6.42	28.00
41	AS	2	4.07	27.02
42	IMPACT	1	7.86	26.97
43	ATTACKED	1	7.49	25.41
44	UP	1	4.97	25.18
45	WHITE	1	7.34	24.79
46	VIOLENT	1	7.23	24.34
47	NOT	2	4.19	24.08
48	HEARD	1	7.16	24.02
49	FOR	2	3.73	23.91
50	GETTING	1	6.93	23.07
51	WORLD	1	6.54	21.47
52	I'M	1	6.43	20.98
53	BEEN	1	4.28	20.56
54	INTO	1	5.04	20.44
55	SOME	1	4.89	19.64
56	HAD	1	4.07	19.20
57	SAY	1	5.97	19.08
58	THAT	2	3.14	18.72

59	ME	1	5.70	18.01
60	ARE	1	3.81	17.51
61	HAVE	1	3.72	16.90
62	HOW	1	5.36	16.60
63	TWO	1	5.34	16.50
64	POLICE	1	3.64	16.41
65	THEY	1	3.64	16.38
66	HAS	1	4.08	15.35
67	LAST	1	4.97	15.00
68	DO	1	4.89	14.69
69	THIS	1	3.95	14.64
70	AFTER	1	4.81	14.35
71	RIOTS	1	3.88	14.29
72	ON	1	3.20	13.60
73	SO	1	4.58	13.44
74	WHICH	1	4.48	13.03
75	NO	1	4.46	12.97
76	THEM	1	4.44	12.88
77	BE	1	3.48	12.24
78	OUT	1	4.28	12.23
79	WE	1	3.34	8.59
80	BUT	1	3.10	7.72

The Guardian collocates of *girl**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	A	5	4.84	106.72
2	NICE	2	11.26	84.30
3	I	2	5.51	41.53
4	SHOT	1	8.63	30.32
5	WAS	2	4.47	26.96
6	SAW	1	7.83	26.96
7	POLICE	1	4.79	24.40
8	WHO	1	5.10	21.05
9	THESE	1	6.39	20.98
10	CAN	1	6.07	19.64
11	OF	2	3.06	18.87
12	WITH	1	4.43	17.45
13	AND	2	3.10	16.28
14	ON	1	4.02	15.30
15	IS	1	3.92	14.77
16	THIS	1	4.67	13.98
17	HAD	1	4.48	13.19
18	THAT	1	3.48	12.48
19	HAVE	1	4.13	11.79
20	HE	1	4.10	11.68

The Guardian collocates of *guy**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THESE	5	6.98	150.08
2	OF	9	3.35	112.38
3	THE	11	2.57	96.76
4	TO	8	3.19	89.10
5	THEIR	4	5.10	78.90
6	ARE	4	4.56	72.67
7	AND	7	3.15	72.17
8	NOT	4	4.49	61.94
9	DON'T	2	6.28	61.54
10	PARENTS	2	7.33	58.01
11	THEY	4	4.19	56.52
12	MY	2	5.78	55.30
13	GET	2	5.76	48.87
14	HAVE	3	3.93	40.28
15	SMASHING	1	8.47	39.61
16	GETTING	1	6.74	37.16
17	I	3	3.95	36.81
18	WERE	3	3.92	36.40
19	ONE	2	4.58	36.07
20	JUST	2	5.06	35.95
21	RESPECT	1	7.65	34.89
22	A	4	2.61	34.83
23	FOR	3	3.45	33.47
24	BLACK	1	5.84	30.98
25	UP	2	4.53	30.95
26	FATHERS	1	8.70	30.74
27	JOBS	1	6.87	30.44
28	DO	2	4.96	29.98
29	YOUNG	2	4.64	27.39
30	ALL	2	4.47	26.06
31	SCHOOL	1	5.94	25.29
32	WHO	2	3.83	24.54
33	GANGS	1	5.75	24.23
34	WHAT	2	4.24	24.20
35	OR	2	4.14	23.45
36	WE	2	3.63	22.72
37	FROM	2	3.57	22.22
38	TALKING	1	6.70	22.12
39	MIDDLE	1	6.65	21.90
40	WINDOWS	1	6.45	21.06
41	SOME	1	4.28	20.40
42	FRIENDS	1	6.28	20.33
43	US	1	4.93	19.76
44	LIVES	1	5.99	19.13
45	OUT	1	4.08	19.09
46	BECAUSE	1	4.78	18.97
47	THAT'S	1	5.78	18.29
48	SEEN	1	5.69	17.89
49	OUR	1	4.55	17.73
50	NOTHING	1	5.59	17.48
51	ABOUT	1	3.76	16.98
52	AT	2	3.25	16.54
53	GOOD	1	5.35	16.50
54	WANT	1	5.29	16.26
55	IN	3	2.10	15.82
56	IT	2	2.82	15.62
57	SO	1	4.06	15.15
58	ON	2	2.75	15.12
59	RIGHT	1	4.94	14.84
60	GO	1	4.89	14.64
61	SEE	1	4.86	14.53
62	WITH	2	2.94	14.24
63	AS	2	2.91	14.06
64	HAD	1	3.14	13.09
65	YOU	1	3.67	13.08
66	WILL	1	3.62	12.85
67	HOME	1	4.43	12.78
68	NOW	1	4.27	12.14
69	BEING	1	4.16	11.72
70	WHERE	1	4.15	11.69

71	BUT	1	2.91	11.66
72	THAT	2	2.21	10.74
73	IS	2	2.43	10.65
74	POLICE	1	2.71	10.49
75	WAS	2	2.40	10.43
76	NO	1	3.53	9.27
77	THEM	1	3.51	9.19
78	WHEN	1	3.44	8.93
79	THERE	1	2.94	7.06
80	AN	1	2.88	6.84
81	HAS	1	2.74	6.34
82	BY	1	2.22	4.57

The Guardian collocates of *kids*

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	29	6.39	655.95
2	AND	15	6.74	440.26
3	TO	14	6.43	394.52
4	OF	12	6.21	347.66
5	A	11	6.39	332.74
6	IN	7	5.91	224.26
7	THAT	6	6.45	219.69
8	FROM	5	7.50	195.86
9	WAS	5	6.54	169.34
10	RIOTERS	3	8.80	142.31
11	BY	4	7.04	139.77
12	WERE	4	7.00	138.86
13	AS	4	6.74	132.94
14	WHO	4	7.24	123.79
15	POLICE	4	6.61	111.51
16	THEIR	3	7.18	103.49
17	SHOPS	2	9.30	102.53
18	ONE	3	7.45	98.21
19	FOR	3	6.1	93.412
20	SOME	3	7.69	91.93
21	WHILE	2	8.72	84.17
22	ON	3	5.94	82.817
23	TARGETED	2	11.01	82.15
24	HAVE	3	6.33	81.175
25	THEY	3	6.25	79.954
26	WITH	3	6.22	79.43
27	HAD	3	6.55	76.141
28	THEMSELVES	2	9.45	68.60
29	RIOTS	2	6.53	67.695
30	SAID	2	6.37	65.721
31	NOT	2	6.26	64.333
32	BUT	2	6.16	63.203
33	BE	2	6.13	62.748
34	JUSTIFY	1	11.39	56.67
35	PROTECTING	1	11.39	56.67
36	SUSPECTED	1	11.39	56.67
37	IT	2	5.58	56.038
38	BIRMINGHAM	1	8.94	53.29
39	ARSONISTS	1	13.18	51.56
40	FOUND	1	8.56	50.66
41	SHOP	1	8.52	50.37
42	HAS	2	6.37	50.318
43	RELEASING	1	12.92	49.98
44	BREAK	1	10.19	49.56
45	PROTECT	1	10.16	49.41
46	HOMES	1	9.79	47.26
47	MADE	1	8.06	47.16
48	ALL	2	6.88	47.06
49	SCUM	1	12.18	46.08
50	OUT	2	6.75	46.01
51	ARE	2	5.78	44.639
52	APPEARED	1	9.19	43.87
53	INTENTION	1	11.70	43.75
54	GET	1	7.49	43.21
55	OFFICERS	1	7.44	42.84
56	BEEN	2	6.02	39.953
57	JEWELLERY	1	10.80	39.70
58	AWAY	1	8.33	39.01
59	THAN	1	6.85	38.79
60	ACROSS	1	8.10	37.74
61	AT	2	5.66	36.959
62	WHEN	1	6.58	36.923
63	OFF	1	7.72	35.63
64	ABOUT	1	6.16	34.029
65	SPOKE	1	9.46	33.89
66	OTHER	1	7.26	33.08
67	COULD	1	7.04	31.89
68	ALSO	1	6.84	30.78
69	CAR	1	8.66	30.51
70	IS	2	4.84	30.282
71	LITTLE	1	8.57	30.15
72	TRYING	1	8.54	30.00
73	INTO	1	6.51	28.952
74	OTHERS	1	8.11	28.21
75	SEEN	1	8.09	28.14
76	CRIMINAL	1	8.07	28.04
77	AREA	1	8.02	27.83
78	CAME	1	8.00	27.76
79	LONDON	1	6.24	27.433
80	HOURS	1	7.92	27.41
81	HE	1	5.17	27.223
82	FAMILIES	1	7.80	26.93
83	WHAT	1	6.06	26.47
84	FEW	1	7.68	26.43
85	AUGUST	1	7.61	26.12
86	BETWEEN	1	7.50	25.68
87	DURING	1	7.88	25.52
88	TOTTENHAM	1	6.82	22.83
89	MANY	1	6.91	21.48
90	CAN	1	6.4	21.104
91	AFTER	1	6.28	20.616
92	SO	1	6.06	19.688
93	YOUNG	1	6.05	19.645
94	WOULD	1	5.77	18.513
95	UP	1	5.71	18.268
96	MORE	1	5.52	17.502
97	HIS	1	5.45	17.195
98	THIS	1	5.42	15.407
99	PEOPLE	1	4.83	14.682

The Guardian collocates of *looter**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	19	5.10	431.54

2	AND	12	5.69	343.18
3	TO	12	5.52	337.09
4	OF	11	5.33	305.06
5	A	10	5.53	294.91
6	ON	6	6.25	181.29
7	IN	7	5.07	156.48
8	SOCIAL	4	8.29	139.50
9	WERE	4	6.22	106.88
10	AS	3	5.75	83.23
11	AN	3	6.33	71.06
12	T	1	10.85	66.98
13	BE	3	5.59	60.88
14	IS	3	5.03	58.81
15	POLICE	3	5.43	58.70
16	WITH	3	5.40	58.18
17	SHOP	2	8.10	56.58
18	ILLOGICAL	1	13.82	55.28
19	UNRULY	1	13.23	55.28
20	THAT	3	4.58	52.24
21	MASKED	1	10.59	51.85
22	THEIR	2	5.91	51.71
23	HARMFUL	1	12.82	50.78
24	NICE	1	10.33	50.27
25	PEOPLE	2	5.56	47.82
26	NOW	2	6.99	47.31
27	SHOPS	1	7.77	44.69
28	LEVEL	1	9.14	43.41
29	YOUNG	2	6.36	42.10
30	WHICH	2	6.27	41.35
31	RECORDED	1	10.82	39.84
32	AT	2	5.19	38.14
33	ITS	1	6.81	38.02
34	YOUTHS	1	8.19	38.00
35	BY	2	5.16	37.87
36	SUPPORT	1	8.14	37.76
37	OFFICERS	1	6.75	37.66
38	ARE	2	5.09	37.17
39	ABOUT	2	5.74	37.00
40	THROWING	1	10.12	36.69
41	USE	1	7.94	36.60
42	INTERNET	1	9.77	35.18
43	THOSE	1	6.27	34.31
44	CITY	1	7.50	34.14
45	IMAGES	1	9.33	33.25
46	HAD	2	5.13	31.98
47	FROM	2	5.07	31.54
48	SEE	1	7.00	31.37
49	NETWORKS	1	8.86	31.27
50	WAS	2	4.34	30.12
51	BLACKBERRY	1	8.39	29.27
52	HAVE	2	4.77	29.12
53	STORE	1	8.26	28.73
54	THERE	1	5.39	28.33
55	THING	1	7.98	27.56
56	OUR	1	6.27	27.35
57	HIT	1	7.85	27.00
58	THEMSELVES	1	7.76	26.62
59	WORKING	1	7.73	26.49
60	WHO	1	5.07	26.10
61	JUST	1	5.97	25.69
62	FOR	2	4.29	25.27
63	EARLY	1	7.33	24.80
64	WE	1	4.86	24.74
65	SAID	1	4.83	24.53
66	HELP	1	7.26	24.51
67	SET	1	6.98	23.35
68	OWN	1	6.97	23.30
69	WOULD	1	5.50	23.12
70	DURING	1	6.78	22.53
71	THROUGH	1	6.66	22.04
72	OR	1	5.28	21.93
73	PART	1	6.54	21.52
74	LOOTING	1	6.46	21.19
75	MAY	1	6.45	21.15
76	BEING	1	5.88	18.82
77	OVER	1	5.87	18.79
78	WHERE	1	5.87	18.79
79	CAN	1	5.71	18.14
80	AFTER	1	5.60	17.65
81	NOT	1	4.40	17.19
82	INTO	1	5.41	16.90
83	WHEN	1	5.16	15.88
84	THEY	1	4.11	15.65
85	HIS	1	4.76	14.27
86	HAS	1	4.46	13.05
87	RIOTS	1	4.26	12.24
88	HE	1	3.74	10.24

The Guardian collocates of *mob**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	TO	13	6.94	365.80
2	YOUNG	7	9.94	362.42
3	AND	10	6.83	305.86
4	THE	10	5.46	224.10
5	OF	8	6.16	219.89
6	IN	6	6.13	170.11
7	INSTITUTION	2	14.37	160.25
8	A	4	5.45	113.38
9	FELTHAM	1	13.40	87.48
10	INSTITUTIONS	1	12.40	79.06
11	BE	2	6.74	73.26
12	REHABILITATE	1	13.21	68.32
13	FOR	2	6.18	66.25
14	REPEAT	1	12.14	61.33
15	INSTITUTE	1	12.01	60.52
16	WHO	2	6.85	56.56
17	AT	2	6.49	53.07
18	PERSISTENT	1	13.53	52.78
19	ARE	2	6.39	52.09
20	HARDCORE	1	12.53	47.60
21	ON	2	5.78	46.17
22	THOSE	1	7.57	44.45
23	PRISON	1	8.71	41.59
24	THAT	2	5.24	40.95
25	AS	2	5.94	40.32
26	ALLEGED	1	10.87	40.11
27	PUNISHMENT	1	10.69	39.34
28	COURT	1	8.20	38.71

29	HANDED	1	10.39	38.04
30	DOWN	1	8.06	37.93
31	SHOULD	1	7.93	37.20
32	PREVIOUS	1	9.78	35.44
33	WHERE	1	7.59	35.34
34	SENTENCE	1	9.68	35.00
35	ALSO	1	7.46	34.61
36	SENTENCING	1	9.43	33.97
37	SERIOUS	1	9.31	33.46
38	WERE	1	5.94	33.19
39	HAVE	1	5.81	32.32
40	SENTENCES	1	8.99	32.11
41	PLACE	1	8.65	30.69
42	COURTS	1	8.63	30.59
43	MORE	1	6.55	29.60
44	MAKE	1	8.21	28.83
45	IS	1	5.19	28.06
46	PART	1	7.84	27.30
47	WORK	1	7.69	26.69
48	FIRST	1	7.57	26.19
49	TIME	1	7.30	25.05
50	NOT	1	5.70	24.92
51	HER	1	6.94	23.55
52	WITH	1	5.38	23.14
53	THAN	1	6.73	22.71
54	YOU	1	6.27	20.81
55	WILL	1	6.23	20.62
56	ONE	1	6.19	20.48
57	WAS	1	4.84	20.21
58	THERE	1	5.96	19.52
59	AN	1	5.90	19.27
60	THIS	1	5.63	18.14
61	RIOTS	1	5.56	17.87
62	BUT	1	5.20	16.39

The Guardian collocates of *offender**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	84.63	8.04	1893.01
2	OF	38.42	7.98	1087.15
3	AND	29.89	7.88	888.85
4	TO	29.89	7.67	854.39
5	A	21.35	7.47	643.24
6	THAT	16.32	7.96	571.79
7	IN	16.83	7.25	518.47
8	WERE	11	8.62	470.51
9	AS	10.55	8.26	423.41
10	FROM	10	8.55	406.33
11	WITH	10.05	8.21	404.58
12	BY	10	8.42	399.36
13	FOR	9.794	7.81	374.57
14	WAS	9.543	7.60	355.69
15	ON	9.292	7.70	353.26
16	POLICE	8.036	7.93	325.26
17	BE	7.785	8.04	321.99
18	THEIR	6	8.37	282.03
19	THEY	6.53	7.63	264.06
20	YOUNG	5	8.98	262.19
21	HAD	6.027	7.94	258.24
22	AT	5.525	7.66	231.87
23	SAID	5.023	7.65	206.27
24	ONE	4.52	8.29	195.62
25	LOOTERS	4	10.43	188.24
26	NOT	4.772	7.46	187.43
27	SOME	4	8.50	174.48
28	ARE	4.52	7.27	169.93
29	LONDON	3.767	8.28	157.35
30	HAVE	4.269	7.09	154.09
31	ABOUT	3.767	7.88	149.07
32	ACCOUNTS	2	12.46	145.49
33	WHEN	3.516	8.20	144.05
34	WOULD	3.516	8.12	142.55
35	MANY	3	8.74	142.40
36	MORE	3.516	7.88	137.73
37	INTERVIEWED	2	11.31	129.14
38	IS	4.018	6.38	127.42
39	THAN	3.014	8.25	122.22
40	INTO	3.014	8.23	121.90
41	SOCIAL	3	8.76	119.01
42	BEING	3	8.57	116.16
43	THROUGH	3	9.22	113.92
44	INTERVIEWS	2	11.14	112.23
45	SUSPECTED	2	12.33	110.72
46	MISSILES	2	12.21	109.34
47	FIRST	3	8.82	108.40
48	USED	2	9.70	108.10
49	BUT	3.265	6.83	107.75
50	WHICH	2.763	7.96	106.75
51	HE	3.265	6.68	105.07
52	ALSO	3	8.30	101.02
53	THEMSELVES	2	9.99	98.87
54	EVICT	2	12.39	95.07
55	CONVICTED	2	10.79	94.12
56	HOMES	2	10.73	93.48
57	MOST	2	8.54	93.30
58	WHO	2.763	7.02	92.39
59	AN	2.511	7.15	85.07
60	SENTENCES	2	9.73	83.41
61	CALLING	2	11.08	82.87
62	BEEN	2.511	6.89	81.42
63	MOTIVATIONS	1	12.56	80.43
64	GUARDIAN	2	9.33	79.43
65	UP	2.26	7.43	79.38
66	SPOKE	2	10.59	78.56
67	OR	2.26	7.27	77.40
68	IT	2.763	6.01	76.95
69	PRISON	2	9.04	76.58
70	BENEFITS	2	10.28	75.84
71	ATTACKED	2	10.10	74.28
72	SENTENCING	2	9.95	73.02
73	TALK	2	9.92	72.78
74	NON	1	11.37	70.95
75	NO	2.009	7.48	70.67
76	STORIES	1	11.20	69.67
77	DISPERSED	1	13.24	69.16
78	SHOULD	1.758	8.25	68.86
79	WE	2.26	6.53	68.20
80	CRIMINALS	1	10.88	67.29
81	STOP	2	9.11	65.90

82	CAMERON'S	1	10.51	64.62
83	HARSHER	1	12.59	64.30
84	AFTER	1.758	7.64	62.87
85	PUNISHMENTS	1	12.24	61.97
86	HUNDREDS	1	10.12	61.81
87	ALTHOUGH	1	10.00	60.90
88	THEM	1.758	7.27	59.32
89	WAY	2	8.31	59.19
90	ORGANISE	1	11.80	59.17
91	ALL	1.758	7.23	58.96
92	MIX	1	11.66	58.27
93	LIKELY	1	9.59	58.01
94	NIGHT	1.507	8.13	57.63
95	PROTESTERS	1	11.53	57.47
96	OTHER	1.507	7.98	56.37
97	EVIDENCE	1	9.34	56.23
98	POINT	1	9.33	56.15
99	VOICES	1	11.29	56.07
100	CALLED	1	9.23	55.48
101	AMONG	1	9.21	55.34
102	OFFICERS	1.507	7.83	55.18
103	NOW	1.507	7.80	54.94
104	MUST	1	9.01	53.88
105	OUR	1.507	7.67	53.85
106	THERE	1.758	6.70	53.77
107	OTHERS	1	8.98	53.70
108	CAME	1	8.87	52.95
109	POLITICAL	1	8.85	52.78
110	FERAL	1	10.66	52.31
111	FAMILIES	1	8.67	51.54
112	AGAINST	1	8.61	51.11
113	HOUSING	1	10.35	50.52
114	IDENTIFIED	1	10.29	50.21
115	BETWEEN	1	8.37	49.45
116	IF	1.507	7.11	49.20
117	SEEM	1	10.10	49.07
118	SAY	1	8.31	49.02
119	EVICTING	1	12.63	48.30
120	TOLD	1.256	8.20	48.26
121	DISPERSE	1	12.46	47.42
122	OUT	1.507	6.88	47.27
123	MAY	1.256	8.00	46.86
124	TURNED	1	9.69	46.77
125	DID	1.256	7.97	46.65
126	PERSON	1	9.64	46.47
127	FACT	1	9.62	46.38
128	HEAD	1	9.48	45.56
129	HARDCORE	1	12.05	45.39
130	HOW	1.256	7.71	44.81
131	EDUCATION	1	9.34	44.75
132	GROUPS	1	9.29	44.52
133	FORCE	1	9.27	44.37
134	VIOLENCE	1.256	7.61	44.12
135	ASIDE	1	11.73	43.87
136	ASKED	1	9.07	43.26
137	OVER	1.256	7.43	42.89
138	WHERE	1.256	7.43	42.89
139	RESEARCH	1	8.97	42.70
140	HOPED	1	11.39	42.31

141	TWITTER	1	8.84	41.96
142	MEDIA	1	8.66	40.93
143	SEEN	1	8.64	40.84
144	SOUGHT	1	11.05	40.80
145	ENGLAND	1	8.63	40.79
146	FIRE	1	8.62	40.74
147	JUST	1.256	7.11	40.67
148	APPROPRIATE	1	10.99	40.54
149	REALLY	1	8.58	40.51
150	THOSE	1.256	7.09	40.51
151	GROUP	1	8.57	40.47
152	COURTS	1	8.56	40.38
153	SAME	1	8.54	40.29
154	FAR	1	8.47	39.90
155	HAPPY	1	10.73	39.38
156	RESEARCHERS	1	10.73	39.38
157	SUGGESTS	1	10.68	39.17
158	UNPRECEDENTED	1	10.68	39.17
159	TALKED	1	10.68	39.17
160	MEANWHILE	1	10.59	38.78
161	YESTERDAY	1.005	8.24	38.61
162	ACROSS	1.005	8.23	38.54
163	FEW	1.005	8.23	38.54
164	RANGE	1	10.51	38.41
165	EXPRESSED	1	10.51	38.41
166	ALLEGED	1	10.39	37.89
167	BLACK	1.005	8.06	37.60
168	THREE	1.005	8.02	37.35
169	DURING	1.005	8.01	37.32
170	DISORDER	1.005	8.01	37.32
171	WIDESPREAD	1	10.24	37.27
172	LSE	1	10.14	36.84
173	IMAGES	1	10.14	36.84
174	RIGHT	1.005	7.89	36.68
175	JAIL	1	10.08	36.57
176	WHAT	1.256	6.52	36.57
177	TREATED	1	9.99	36.19
178	CERTAINLY	1	9.96	36.07
179	PART	1.005	7.77	35.98
180	ARREST	1	9.91	35.83
181	CCTV	1	9.83	35.49
182	AGED	1	9.78	35.27
183	GOING	1.005	7.59	34.96
184	DOWN	1.005	7.57	34.89
185	ANY	1.005	7.55	34.76
186	KNOWN	1	9.63	34.67
187	PUBLIC	1.005	7.49	34.45
188	MESSAGES	1	9.53	34.21
189	IDEA	1	9.44	33.86
190	TOTTENHAM	1.005	7.36	33.72
191	GET	1.005	7.30	33.38
192	TORY	1	9.29	33.23
193	HAS	1.256	6.01	33.11
194	STARTED	1	9.23	32.93
195	COULD	1.005	7.18	32.69
196	NUMBERS	1	8.99	31.94
197	RIOTS	1.256	5.81	31.72
198	WEST	1	8.88	31.47
199	HACKNEY	1	8.74	30.89

200	GIVE	1	8.72	30.78
201	LOT	1	8.69	30.69
202	FIVE	1	8.67	30.59
203	HIT	1	8.67	30.59
204	FACE	1	8.67	30.59
205	LIKE	1.005	6.79	30.56
206	ROLE	1	8.61	30.35
207	LAW	1	8.57	30.17
208	PARTY	1	8.51	29.90
209	NUMBER	1	8.46	29.73
210	REPORT	1	8.45	29.69
211	DIDN'T	1	8.44	29.65
212	SO	1.005	6.60	29.52
213	SOMETHING	1	8.38	29.36
214	WENT	1	8.35	29.25
215	USE	1	8.34	29.21
216	BIRMINGHAM	1	8.33	29.17
217	DIFFERENT	0.753	8.23	28.76
218	ANOTHER	0.753	8.21	28.66
219	FOUND	0.753	7.96	27.60
220	NEXT	0.753	7.95	27.57
221	MAKE	0.753	7.72	26.63
222	AROUND	0.753	7.62	26.19
223	GANG	0.753	7.61	26.17
224	DAVID	0.753	7.58	26.06
225	WHY	0.753	7.54	25.88
226	TOO	0.753	7.54	25.85
227	MAN	0.753	7.45	25.49
228	GO	0.753	7.43	25.41
229	GOT	0.753	7.43	25.39
230	STREETS	0.753	7.35	25.09
231	EVEN	0.753	7.13	24.15
232	YEARS	0.753	7.07	23.93
233	ONLY	0.753	7.03	23.77
234	PEOPLE	1.005	5.38	22.79
235	CAN	0.753	6.53	21.69
236	SHE	0.753	6.10	19.92
237	THIS	0.753	5.14	15.98

The Guardian collocates of *rioter**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	EMERGING	1	10.57	38.71
2	WALKED	1	9.91	35.78
3	ADULTS	1	9.57	34.30
4	LOOT	1	9.50	33.98
5	CLOTHES	1	9.08	43.06
6	SHOWED	1	8.71	30.61
7	TAKING	1	8.43	49.31
8	PAST	1	8.09	37.47
9	CHARGED	1	7.75	26.58
10	LOCAL	2	7.69	53.16
11	BRITISH	1	7.52	25.62
12	SCHOOL	1	7.25	24.48
13	THREE	1	7.20	32.48
14	MOST	2	7.13	48.53
15	SHOP	1	7.10	23.85
16	SHOPS	1	7.03	23.57
17	WITH	6	6.60	183.56
18	DON'T	1	6.42	21.04
19	WHO	3	6.33	85.99
20	OTHER	1	6.16	19.96
21	SAYS	1	6.12	19.82
22	ONE	2	6.11	46.96
23	YEAR	1	6.06	26.16
24	UP	2	6.02	39.34
25	SOME	1	6.00	32.48
26	BEING	1	5.88	18.82
27	MANY	1	5.81	18.51
28	YOUNG	1	5.78	24.63
29	ABOUT	2	5.74	37.00
30	A	11	5.70	332.74
31	DO	1	5.68	18.00
32	WHEN	1	5.58	23.54
33	WERE	2	5.49	53.18
34	ARE	2	5.45	52.77
35	WHAT	1	5.38	22.45
36	FROM	2	5.29	39.12
37	THEIR	1	5.24	27.25
38	ALL	1	5.19	16.01
39	HIS	1	5.18	21.37
40	WAS	3	5.12	66.07
41	SAID	2	5.10	31.74
42	BEEN	1	5.07	26.13
43	OUT	1	5.07	15.49
44	AND	7	5.03	178.05
45	BY	2	4.94	30.48
46	HAS	1	4.87	19.72
47	OF	8	4.86	187.44
48	AS	2	4.86	34.96
49	FOR	2	4.71	38.60
50	BUT	1	4.63	23.17
51	TO	6	4.55	124.83
52	IT	2	4.54	31.95
53	AT	1	4.38	17.11
54	THAT	2	4.30	38.70
55	BE	1	4.27	16.51
56	ON	2	4.25	24.95
57	THE	11	4.22	235.31
58	HAVE	1	4.19	16.08
59	IN	4	4.17	60.13
60	WE	1	4.13	11.74
61	HAD	1	4.13	11.73
62	THEY	1	4.11	15.65
63	NOT	1	3.98	11.17
64	I	1	3.93	10.97
65	HE	1	3.74	10.24
66	000	1	0.00	0.00
67	MESSAGES	1	9.53	34.21
68	HEAD	1	9.48	45.56
69	IDEA	1	9.44	33.86
70	EVIDENCE	1	9.34	56.23
71	EDUCATION	1	9.34	44.75
72	POINT	1	9.33	56.15
73	GUARDIAN	2	9.33	79.43
74	GROUPS	1	9.29	44.52
75	TORY	1	9.29	33.23
76	FORCE	1	9.27	44.37
77	CALLED	1	9.23	55.48

78	STARTED	1	9.23	32.93
79	AMONG	1	9.21	55.34
80	STOP	2	9.11	65.90
81	ASKED	1	9.07	43.26
82	PRISON	2	9.04	76.58
83	MUST	1	9.01	53.88
84	NUMBERS	1	8.99	31.94
85	YOUNG	5	8.98	24.63
86	OTHERS	1	8.98	53.70
87	RESEARCH	1	8.97	42.70
88	WEST	1	8.88	31.47
89	CAME	1	8.87	52.95
90	POLITICAL	1	8.85	52.78
91	TWITTER	1	8.84	41.96
92	HACKNEY	1	8.74	30.89
93	MANY	3	8.74	18.51
94	GIVE	1	8.72	30.78
95	LOT	1	8.69	30.69
96	FAMILIES	1	8.67	51.54
97	FIVE	1	8.67	30.59
98	HIT	1	8.67	30.59
99	FACE	1	8.67	30.59
100	MEDIA	1	8.66	40.93
101	SEEN	1	8.64	40.84
102	ENGLAND	1	8.63	40.79
103	WERE	11	8.62	53.18
104	FIRE	1	8.62	40.74
105	ROLE	1	8.61	30.35
106	AGAINST	1	8.61	51.11
107	REALLY	1	8.58	40.51
108	GROUP	1	8.57	40.47
109	BEING	3	8.57	18.82
110	LAW	1	8.57	30.17
111	COURTS	1	8.56	40.38
112	FROM	10	8.55	39.12
113	SAME	1	8.54	40.29
114	MOST	2	8.54	48.53
115	PARTY	1	8.51	29.90
116	SOME	4	8.50	32.48
117	FAR	1	8.47	39.90
118	NUMBER	1	8.46	29.73
119	REPORT	1	8.45	29.69
120	DIDN'T	1	8.44	29.65
121	BY	10	8.42	30.48
122	SOMETHING	1	8.38	29.36
123	THEIR	6	8.37	27.25
124	BETWEEN	1	8.37	49.45
125	WENT	1	8.35	29.25
126	USE	1	8.34	29.21
127	BIRMINGHAM	1	8.33	29.17
128	WAY	2	8.31	59.19
129	SAY	1	8.31	49.02
130	ONE	5	8.29	46.96
131	AS	11	8.26	34.96
132	YESTERDAY	1	8.24	38.61
133	DIFFERENT	1	8.23	28.76
134	ACROSS	1	8.23	38.54
135	FEW	1	8.23	38.54
136	WITH	10	8.21	183.56
137	ANOTHER	1	8.21	28.66
138	TOLD	1	8.20	48.26
139	WHEN	4	8.20	23.54
140	NIGHT	2	8.13	57.63
141	BLACK	1	8.06	37.60
142	THE	85	8.04	235.31
143	BE	8	8.04	16.51
144	THREE	1	8.02	32.48
145	DURING	1	8.01	37.32
146	DISORDER	1	8.01	37.32
147	MAY	1	8.00	46.86
148	OF	38	7.98	187.44
149	OTHER	2	7.98	19.96
150	DID	1	7.97	46.65
151	THAT	16	7.96	38.70
152	FOUND	1	7.96	27.60
153	NEXT	1	7.95	27.57
154	HAD	6	7.94	11.73
155	RIGHT	1	7.89	36.68
156	AND	30	7.88	178.05
157	ABOUT	4	7.88	37.00
158	OFFICERS	2	7.83	55.18
159	FOR	10	7.81	38.60
160	NOW	2	7.80	54.94
161	PART	1	7.77	35.98
162	MAKE	1	7.72	26.63
163	HOW	1	7.71	44.81
164	ON	9	7.70	24.95
165	OUR	2	7.67	53.85
166	TO	30	7.67	124.83
167	AT	6	7.66	17.11
168	SAID	5	7.65	31.74
169	THEY	7	7.63	15.65
170	AROUND	1	7.62	26.19
171	GANG	1	7.61	26.17
172	VIOLENCE	2	7.61	44.12
173	WAS	1	7.60	66.07
174	GOING	1	7.59	34.96
175	DAVID	1	7.58	26.06
176	DOWN	1	7.57	34.89
177	ANY	1	7.55	34.76
178	WHY	3	7.54	25.88
179	TOO	1	7.54	25.85
180	PUBLIC	3	7.49	34.45
181	A	1	7.47	332.74
182	NOT	6	7.46	11.17
183	MAN	1	7.45	25.49
184	GO	8	7.43	25.41
185	OVER	1	7.43	42.89
186	WHERE	1	7.43	42.89
187	UP	1	7.43	39.34
188	GOT	1	7.43	25.39
189	TOTTENHAM	1	7.36	33.72
190	STREETS	1	7.35	25.09
191	GET	7	7.30	33.38
192	THEM	1	7.27	59.32
193	ARE	1	7.27	52.77
194	IN	1	7.25	60.13
195	ALL	1	7.23	16.01

196	COULD	6	7.18	32.69
197	EVEN	1	7.13	24.15
198	IF	1	7.11	49.20
199	JUST	1	7.11	40.67
200	HAVE	1	7.09	16.08
201	THOSE	1	7.09	40.51
202	YEARS	1	7.07	23.93
203	ONLY	1	7.03	23.77
204	WHO	1	7.02	85.99
205	BEEN	1	6.89	26.13
206	OUT	1	6.88	15.49
207	BUT	1	6.83	23.17
208	LIKE	1	6.79	30.56
209	THERE	1	6.70	53.77
210	HE	1	6.68	10.24
211	SO	1	6.60	29.52
212	CAN	1	6.53	21.69
213	WE	1	6.53	11.74
214	WHAT	1	6.52	22.45
215	SHE	1	6.10	19.92
216	HAS	1	6.01	19.72
217	IT	1	6.01	31.95
218	RIOTS	1	5.81	31.72
219	PEOPLE	1	5.38	22.79
220	THIS	1	5.14	15.98

The Guardian collocates of *teenager**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	AND	3	7.38	89.48
2	THE	3	6.04	67.21
3	MINDLESS	1	14.6	61.56
4	POLICE	1	7.32	30.45
5	FOR	1	6.92	28.78
6	THAT	1	6.33	26.35
7	A	1	5.45	22.67
8	OF	1	5.11	21.27

The Guardian collocates of *thug**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	THE	2	4.62	33.61
2	OR	1	8.08	30.83
3	AND	1	5.38	29.82

The Guardian collocates of *yob**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	OF	33	3.98	551.48
2	SERVICES	12	8.78	505.99
3	AND	29	4.046	482.47
4	A	28	4.069	467.34
5	TO	28	3.788	425.26
6	IN	25	4.044	413.43
7	CLUBS	6	9.98	316.47
8	UNEMPLOYMENT	7	8.31	267.32
9	WORKER	6	9.46	262.67
10	AS	11	4.46	186.10
11	WHO	8	4.81	160.67
12	ARE	9	4.47	159.29
13	WORKERS	4	8.57	143.91
14	WITH	8	4.138	130.95

15	CUTS	4	6.78	128.76
16	JUSTICE	4	6.40	119.33
17	LOCAL	4	6.21	114.83
18	ALIENATED	2	9.84	114.70
19	YOUTHFUL	2	10.25	113.92
20	ON	8	3.688	108.00
21	MASKED	2	8.78	95.55
22	DISAFFECTED	2	9.35	93.20
23	PROVISION	2	10.03	79.66
24	CLUB	2	7.54	77.87
25	BEEN	5	4.09	77.25
26	GROUP	3	6.24	74.47
27	AT	5	3.797	73.10
28	WERE	5	3.728	71.22
29	VIOLENCE	3	5.19	69.13
30	CUT	2	6.87	68.99
31	WORK	3	5.41	67.46
32	GANG	3	5.69	66.04
33	WHEN	4	4.50	65.93
34	ABOUT	4	4.175	63.39
35	BOARD	2	8.67	62.50
36	BY	5	3.624	61.78
37	HAD	5	3.731	60.96
38	BOROUGH'S	1	9.57	60.57
39	BLACK	3	5.59	58.56
40	OR	4	4.108	54.14
41	HAS	4	3.799	51.98
42	OUTSIDE	2	5.91	50.44
43	HOODED	1	8.40	49.90
44	CENTRE	2	5.85	49.75
45	WHICH	3	4.288	49.19
46	SOCIAL	3	4.82	48.10
47	GROUPS	2	6.30	47.97
48	CRIB	1	9.44	47.35
49	CENTRES	1	7.87	45.73
50	UP	3	4.044	45.32
51	CULTURE	2	5.92	44.18
52	FUNDING	1	7.36	41.89
53	AFTER	3	4.352	41.78
54	RUNNING	2	6.30	41.04
55	HARINGEY	1	7.18	40.55
56	TODAY	2	5.84	37.16
57	FAITH	1	7.93	36.91
58	MUSLIM	1	7.73	35.68
59	GENERATION	1	6.33	34.39
60	SLASHED	1	9.25	34.36
61	SYSTEM	2	5.46	34.03
62	ROAD	2	5.42	33.68
63	ATTACKING	1	7.39	33.68
64	STATUTORY	1	9.03	33.11
65	YOUNG	2	3.965	32.97
66	WHERE	2	4.31	32.92
67	RAN	1	7.25	32.84
68	MOSTLY	1	7.21	32.58
69	FUTURE	1	6.05	32.44
70	ASIAN	1	7.12	32.08
71	SUTTON	1	8.67	31.22
72	ALL	2	3.798	31.01
73	GANGS	2	5.08	30.85

74	WEST	1	5.82	30.82
75	LONDON	2	3.741	30.34
76	TARGETED	1	6.76	29.97
77	EIGHT	1	6.64	29.27
78	OFFENDING	1	8.25	29.19
79	BETWEEN	2	4.84	28.90
80	ITS	2	4.311	28.80
81	FUNDED	1	8.14	28.64
82	NOW	2	4.23	28.04
83	LISTENED	1	7.93	27.68
84	THROUGH	2	4.68	27.65
85	THINK	2	4.66	27.44
86	HOODS	1	7.84	27.25
87	SAW	1	5.23	26.78
88	PART	2	4.56	26.63
89	ANOTHER	1	5.15	26.18
90	TRAINED	1	7.52	25.79
91	HUNDREDS	1	6.00	25.68
92	BASED	1	6.00	25.68
93	DO	2	3.922	25.21
94	EXPERT	1	7.38	25.17
95	I'M	1	4.97	25.00
96	PROFESSOR	1	7.31	24.89
97	HIGH	1	4.82	23.95
98	SHOPS	1	4.79	23.72
99	UNDERSTOOD	1	6.98	23.42
100	TOTTENHAM	2	4.151	23.39
101	NEEDS	1	5.58	23.31
102	BEGAN	1	5.51	22.93
103	OPPORTUNITIES	1	6.84	22.80
104	CLOSED	1	6.75	22.42
105	COUNCIL	1	5.38	22.22
106	MOB	1	6.63	21.90
107	OVER	2	3.895	21.37
108	SETTING	1	6.48	21.27
109	TOXTETH	1	6.48	21.27
110	INCLUDING	1	5.21	21.26
111	WHILE	1	4.38	20.99
112	LEVELS	1	6.31	20.56
113	SAFE	1	6.22	20.17
114	IDENTIFIED	1	6.08	19.58
115	YEAR	2	3.66	19.55
116	SPEAK	1	6.03	19.36
117	PROJECT	1	6.00	19.25
118	ESPECIALLY	1	6.00	19.25
119	RECORD	1	5.98	19.14
120	BRITAIN	1	4.78	18.96
121	GROUND	1	5.91	18.84
122	ALONG	1	5.84	18.55
123	DUE	1	5.81	18.45
124	CLOSE	1	5.69	17.92
125	ENGLISH	1	5.69	17.92
126	HOPE	1	5.61	17.59
127	AGAINST	1	4.49	17.37
128	THESE	1	3.796	17.15
129	WELL	1	4.43	17.03
130	MEN	1	4.43	17.03
131	OFFICERS	1	3.773	17.01
132	SET	1	4.41	16.96
133	SMASHED	1	5.38	16.64
134	BEHIND	1	5.36	16.57
135	SEVERAL	1	5.31	16.37
136	ATTACKED	1	5.30	16.31
137	HEAD	1	5.27	16.18
138	BEING	1	3.637	16.13
139	AROUND	1	4.235	16.02
140	OUR	1	3.614	15.98
141	THE	3	3.605	15.98
142	RIOT	3	3.605	15.98
143	OTHER	3	3.594	15.98
144	NOT	3	3.589	15.98
145	JUST	3	3.575	15.98
146	MANY	3	3.563	15.98
147	SAYS	3	3.559	15.98
148	POLICE	3	3.524	15.98
149	ME	3	3.515	15.98
150	GET	3	3.504	15.98
151	ONE	3	3.496	15.98
152	THAT	3	3.467	15.98
153	HAVE	3	3.456	15.98
154	DON'T	3	3.44	15.98
155	TIME	3	3.432	15.98
156	HE	3	3.427	15.98
157	FROM	3	3.414	15.98
158	IS	3	3.394	15.98
159	BE	3	3.379	15.98
160	COULD	3	3.379	15.98
161	FOR	3	3.372	15.98
162	MY	3	3.354	15.98
163	THOSE	3	3.289	15.98
164	SOME	3	3.284	15.98
165	PUBLIC	3	3.282	15.98
166	MORE	3	3.272	15.98
167	ONLY	3	3.237	15.98
168	BUT	3	3.235	15.98
169	SAID	3	3.231	15.98
170	SHOULD	3	3.23	15.98
171	THEY	3	3.215	15.98
172	MOST	3	3.154	15.98
173	TWO	3	3.147	15.98
174	SO	3	3.127	15.98
175	BECAUSE	3	3.109	15.98
176	THERE	3	3.092	15.98
177	LIKE	3	2.995	15.98
178	WHAT	3	2.981	15.98
179	I	3	2.951	15.98
180	WAS	3	2.876	15.98
181	INTO	3	2.847	15.98
182	OUT	3	2.822	15.98
183	HIS	3	2.782	15.98
184	LAST	3	2.776	15.98
185	ALSO	3	2.763	15.98
186	IF	3	2.732	15.98
187	WE	3	2.732	15.98
188	NO	3	2.686	15.98
189	WILL	3	2.682	15.98
190	AN	3	2.617	15.98
191	PEOPLE	3	2.578	15.98

192	IT	3	2.556	15.98
193	THEIR	3	2.518	15.98
194	RIOTS	3	2.497	15.98
195	YOU	3	2.407	15.98
196	THEM	3	2.25	15.98
197	WOULD	3	2.104	15.98
198	THIS	3	2.079	15.98
199	75	3	0	15.98
200	10	3	0	15.98
201	200	3	0	15.98
202	17	3	0	15.98
203	13	3	0	15.98
204	SAY	1	4.191	15.78
205	WOMEN	1	5.16	15.76
206	WHITE	1	5.15	15.70
207	SUCH	1	4.138	15.50
208	ADDED	1	5.10	15.48
209	KNOW	1	4.128	15.45
210	GREEN	1	5.07	15.37
211	LIKELY	1	5.06	15.31
212	VIOLENT	1	5.04	15.26
213	TOLD	1	4.082	15.21
214	LEAST	1	4.93	14.80
215	SUMMER	1	4.93	14.80
216	SERVICE	1	4.84	14.42
217	COURT	1	3.917	14.34
218	ROLE	1	4.81	14.33
219	LOOTING	1	3.89	14.20
220	PAST	1	4.70	13.86
221	AMONG	1	4.68	13.77
222	GIVEN	1	4.68	13.77
223	REPORT	1	4.66	13.69
224	BOTH	1	4.66	13.69
225	GOING	1	3.789	13.67
226	DOWN	1	3.776	13.61
227	HARD	1	4.62	13.53
228	ANY	1	3.752	13.49
229	MONEY	1	4.59	13.42
230	BRITISH	1	4.54	13.23
231	BIRMINGHAM	1	4.53	13.19
232	TROUBLE	1	4.52	13.16
233	SEEN	1	4.43	12.77
234	CRIME	1	4.41	12.70
235	FIRE	1	4.41	12.70
236	JOB	1	4.40	12.67
237	AREA	1	4.353	12.47
238	USED	1	4.321	12.34
239	GUARDIAN	1	4.306	12.28
240	AWAY	1	4.245	12.04
241	CITY	1	4.102	11.48
242	GOOD	1	4.089	11.42
243	ACROSS	1	4.017	11.14
244	MAKE	1	3.924	10.78
245	WHY	1	3.744	10.07
246	GO	1	3.632	9.64

The Guardian collocates of *youth**

N	Word	pHTw	MI	LOG
1	YOUNGSTERS	6	18.44	470.44
2	MADE	1	11.85	42.71
3	THESE	1	11.25	40.21
4	MANY	1	11.02	39.24
5	WHO	2	10.54	66.19
6	WHEN	1	10.37	36.55
7	BEEN	1	10.28	55.18
8	HAVE	1	9.72	51.29
9	FROM	1	9.28	32.02
10	WERE	1	9.11	31.30
11	ARE	1	9.08	31.16
12	OF	3	8.70	85.10
13	FOR	1	8.50	28.78
14	IN	1	7.58	30.92
15	TO	1	7.49	35.84
16	AND	1	7.38	29.82
17	THE	2	7.04	44.81
18	A	1	7.04	22.67

The Guardian collocates of *youngster**

Appendix 2*

* *Sketch Engine*'s word sketch shows a corpus-derived summary of a word's grammatical and collocational behaviour. Collocates are grouped according to the grammatical relations in which they co-occur with the keyword searched, among the most relevant relations for this study: 'object of', 'subject of', 'modifier', 'modifies'. Appendix 2 only comprises the most significant lists of collocates as identified for the analysis of the evaluative language employed by British newspapers (Chapter Six).

Daily Mail Word Sketch *rioter**

object_of	freq.	score
rampage	2	7.06
claim	3	6.96
convict	2	6.71
snarl	1	6.39
harden	1	6.37
alert	1	6.34
maraud	1	6.33
spray	1	6.3
process	1	6.26
assist	1	6.23
promise	1	6.05
interview	1	5.95
address	1	5.94
become	2	5.8
treat	1	5.78
expect	1	5.59
drive	1	5.56
catch	1	5.47
keep	1	5.31
bring	1	5.19
believe	1	5.18
think	1	4.77
tell	1	4.28
give	1	4.25
say	3	4.24
Total	33	4.1

subject_of	freq.	score
use	5	6.38
stone	1	5.71
foul	1	5.71
regroup	1	5.7
cheat	1	5.69
cry	1	5.61
protest	1	5.53
challenge	1	5.47
escape	1	5.46
accept	1	5.41
target	1	5.28
fire	1	5.21
remain	1	5.12
burn	1	5.08
have	12	5.05
cause	1	4.75
steal	1	4.68
charge	1	4.67
appear	1	4.64
think	1	4.51
run	1	4.49
leave	1	4.4
set	1	4.27
find	1	4.25
do	3	4.17
Total	50	4.9

modifier	freq.	score
alleged	4	8.65
underage	2	8.09
would-be	2	7.99
masked	2	7.72
foreign	2	7.61
MOST	1	7.12
non	1	7.11
prospective	1	7.11
bedroom	1	6.84
suspected	1	6.71
hooded	1	6.69
young	6	6.62
urban	1	6.55
few	2	6.28
August	2	6.2
first	1	5.03
centre	1	4.68
other	1	4.48
many	1	4.46
city	1	4.26
child	1	3.97
police	1	2.16
Total	32	2.9

and/or	freq.	score
looter	10	8.06
public	1	5.97
damage	1	5.38
justice	1	5.29
force	1	4.91
police	1	2.18
Total	14	3.0

Daily Mail Word Sketch *looter**

object_of	freq.	score
apprehend	1	7.43
hunt	1	7.25
quote	1	7.25
strip	1	7.24
range	1	7.23
shop	1	7.19
pour	1	7.15
chase	1	6.97
flee	1	6.83
defend	1	6.4
tackle	1	6.29
describe	1	5.83
stop	1	5.51
arrest	1	5.13
Total	14	2.8

subject_of	freq.	score
queue	1	6.55
disperse	1	6.49
trash	1	6.41
tear	1	6.39
rampage	1	6.33
attack	2	6.28
struggle	1	6.24
torch	1	6.23
agree	1	6.22
threaten	1	6.22
smash	1	5.32
hit	1	5.15
want	1	4.94
leave	1	4.73
tell	1	4.36
come	1	4.0
say	2	3.68
get	1	3.56
have	4	3.51
go	1	3.44
be	6	2.26
Total	24	3.9

modifier	freq.	score
suspected	3	8.96
shameless	1	8.02
strip	1	7.93
opportunistic	1	7.56
masked	1	7.39
foreign	1	7.22
teenage	1	7.13
violent	2	6.87
moment	1	6.21
girl	1	5.45
young	1	4.12
child	1	4.05
London	1	2.78
Total	16	1.9

and/or	freq.	score
arsonist	2	8.45
Swarovski	1	7.85
troublemaker	1	7.38
rioter	10	7.16
family	1	3.75
Total	15	3.1

Daily Mail Word Sketch *police*

object_of	freq.	score
force	3	6.59
accuse	3	6.38
blame	3	6.35
trust	2	6.34
advise	2	6.22
attack	2	5.62
tell	3	5.56
include	2	5.43
want	2	5.4
see	3	5.19
say	6	5.13
take	2	4.26
be	4	1.65
Total	74	5.1

subject_of	freq.	score
abandon	4	6.37
shoot	4	6.11
stop	3	5.61
fight	2	5.25
fire	2	5.23
throw	2	5.11
have	13	5.07
believe	2	5.04
arrest	2	4.87
be	31	4.59
tell	2	4.56
do	4	4.37
come	2	4.34
make	2	4.03
Total	104	5.9

modifies	freq.	score
officer	37	7.74
chief	11	7.21
station	11	7.0
force	9	6.64
van	6	6.43
number	6	5.93
authority	4	5.66
car	5	5.61
caution	3	5.55
dog	3	5.53
shooting	3	5.33
power	3	5.13
response	3	5.11
brutality	2	5.0
helicopter	2	4.97
commander	2	4.94
stop	2	4.91
budget	2	4.87
round	2	4.83
source	2	4.81
tactic	2	4.78
line	2	4.75
commissioner	2	4.72
Total	166	5.2

and/or	freq.	score
politician	3	6.44
teacher	2	6.43
public	2	6.21
service	3	5.93
authority	2	5.89
minister	2	5.4
government	2	4.96
riot	3	3.62
Total	47	4.6

Daily Mirror Word Sketch *rioter**

object_of	freq.	score
bend	1	6.34
blast	1	6.33
slam	1	6.33
bang	1	6.31
trace	1	6.3
battle	1	6.26
shame	1	6.25
unite	1	6.24
assist	1	6.23
punish	1	6.12
adopt	1	6.07
appeal	1	6.06
rampage	1	6.06
confront	1	5.86
call	2	5.77
convict	1	5.71
emerge	1	5.7
warn	1	5.45
see	3	5.42
use	2	5.24
help	1	4.86
need	1	4.85
arrest	1	4.84
show	1	4.68
say	4	4.65
Total	32	4.0

subject_of	freq.	score
beat	3	7.08
scrawl	2	6.71
trash	2	6.54
plan	2	6.33
burn	2	6.08
begin	2	5.94
cause	2	5.75
clash	1	5.57
point	1	5.4
enter	1	5.38
target	1	5.28
fight	1	5.25
arrive	1	5.21
throw	1	4.97
steal	1	4.68
feel	1	4.68
need	1	4.58
leave	1	4.4
make	2	4.38
find	1	4.25
come	1	3.79
do	2	3.58
be	15	3.57
have	4	3.47
Total	45	4.8

adj_subject_of	freq.	score
home-grown	1	9.48
brazen	1	9.22
poor	1	6.87
white	1	6.51
Total	4	4.5

modifier	freq.	score
stadium	2	7.78
jailed	1	7.06
most	2	6.88
copycat	1	6.83
masked	1	6.72
hooded	1	6.69
foreign	1	6.61
road	1	5.85
violent	1	5.6
shooting	1	5.58
many	2	5.46
young	2	5.04
shop	2	4.73
London	1	2.74
Total	17	2.0

modifies	freq.	score
yesterday	1	3.86
week	1	3.81
Total	2	-1.1

and/or	freq.	score
stadium	2	8.34
inmate	1	7.22
Carpetright	1	7.12
use	1	6.13
road	1	6.12
looter	2	5.74
shop	2	4.79
Total	10	2.5

Daily Mirror Word Sketch *looter**

object_of	freq.	score
chase	2	7.97
catch	3	7.52
shop	1	7.19
lock	1	6.81
escape	1	6.74
believe	2	6.55
say	1	2.71
Total	10	2.4

subject_of	freq.	score
stream	1	6.67
haul	1	6.57
cause	1	5.19
steal	1	5.09
come	2	5.0
put	1	4.94
do	2	3.67
have	3	3.09
be	7	2.48
Total	17	3.4

modifier	freq.	score
brazen	2	8.9
DOPEY	1	8.08
bungling	1	8.08
teenage	1	8.07
dimwit	1	8.02
shameless	1	8.02
elderly	1	7.96
corporate	1	7.75
A	1	6.89
single	1	6.49
most	1	6.22
young	2	5.12
street	2	4.85
Total	12	1.5

and/or	freq.	score
MP	1	4.88
street	2	4.84
rioter	2	4.84
family	1	3.75
Total	6	1.8

Daily Mirror Word Sketch *police*

object_of	freq.	score
allow	3	6.54
outnumber	2	6.33
confront	2	6.09
call	3	5.94
attack	2	5.62
tell	3	5.56
give	3	5.53
obstruct	1	5.37
task	1	5.36
phone	1	5.35
brace	1	5.34
taunt	1	5.34
file	1	5.34
spin	1	5.34
sack	1	5.33
assault	1	5.31
draft	1	5.3
track	1	5.28
stretch	1	5.28
hurt	1	5.25
invite	1	5.25
complain	1	5.23
produce	1	5.2
see	3	5.19
deploy	1	5.14
Total	67	5.0

subject_of	freq.	score
know	5	6.12
arrive	3	5.82
shoot	3	5.69
follow	3	5.48
uncover	2	5.46
reveal	2	5.21
protect	2	5.17
have	13	5.07
arrest	2	4.87
run	2	4.82
comb	1	4.46
distract	1	4.46
foil	1	4.46
infiltrate	1	4.46
cordon	1	4.44
occupy	1	4.44
patrol	1	4.43
question	1	4.39
chase	1	4.39
approach	1	4.39
control	1	4.36
handle	1	4.35
kick	1	4.35
launch	1	4.31
treat	1	4.28
Total	66	5.2

modifier	freq.	score
Midlands	3	7.02
West	3	6.83
frontline	2	6.63
white	2	6.13
wellorganised	1	5.74
French	1	5.66
sufficient	1	5.64
hour	2	5.52
top	1	5.52
contact	1	5.49
New	1	5.42
York	1	5.3
only	1	5.29
Metropolitan	1	5.15
former	1	5.14
public	1	5.04
British	1	4.98
wrong	1	4.91
riot	7	4.83
Met	1	4.78
few	1	4.74
many	1	4.13
last	1	3.77
yesterday	1	3.53
night	1	3.49
Total	32	2.8

adj_subject_of	freq.	score
timid	1	8.39
powerless	1	8.34
Total	2	2.6

Daily Mirror Word Sketch *police*

modifies	**freq.**	**score**
station	18	7.71
officer	31	7.49
chief	10	7.07
car	12	6.87
force	10	6.8
number	7	6.15
boss	4	5.91
budget	4	5.87
response	3	5.11
presence	2	4.91
vehicle	2	4.87
operation	2	4.85
source	2	4.81
shooting	2	4.74
Johnson	2	4.6
cut	2	4.52
service	2	4.4
marksman	1	4.03
HQ	1	4.02
cordon	1	4.02
morale	1	4.02
desk	1	4.0
leave	1	4.0
watchdog	1	3.99
closure	1	3.98
Total	148	5.0

and/or	**freq.**	**score**
brigade	3	7.4
public	2	6.21
passer-by	1	5.92
politician	2	5.86
crew	1	5.78
Johnson	2	5.76
helicopter	1	5.76
poll	1	5.75
mayhem	1	5.57
budget	1	5.45
government	2	4.96
council	1	4.81
leader	1	4.48
system	1	4.46
crime	1	4.35
service	1	4.34
Duggan	1	4.02
community	1	3.72
night	1	3.54
court	1	3.51
officer	1	2.97
riot	1	2.04
Total	27	3.8

The Sun Word Sketch *rioter**

object_of	freq.	score
warn	5	7.77
convict	4	7.71
minibused	2	7.4
spray	2	7.3
demand	2	6.86
chop	1	6.39
join	2	6.38
aid	1	6.36
bend	1	6.34
allege	1	6.32
cage	1	6.31
outnumber	1	6.3
pile	1	6.29
send	2	6.25
shop	1	6.25
believe	2	6.18
communicate	1	6.18
ask	2	6.13
rampage	1	6.06
charge	2	5.96
name	1	5.93
age	1	5.91
call	2	5.77
reveal	1	5.59
jail	1	5.49
Total	53	4.7

subject_of	freq.	score
trash	3	7.13
torch	3	7.02
burst	2	6.68
storm	2	6.58
set	4	6.27
stand	2	5.97
tool	1	5.72
overrun	1	5.7
feel	2	5.68
taunt	1	5.67
pretend	1	5.64
use	3	5.64
lose	2	5.63
ruin	1	5.61
await	1	5.61
protest	1	5.53
tear	1	5.53
loot	2	5.49
threaten	1	5.43
end	1	5.36
target	1	5.28
grow	1	5.21
burn	1	5.08
catch	1	5.07
cut	1	5.02
Total	75	5.5

modifier	freq.	score
Diner-rap	2	8.11
hate-filled	2	8.11
under-age	1	7.09
berserk	1	7.09
typical	1	7.0
most	2	6.88
white	2	6.88
copycat	1	6.83
masked	1	6.72
feral	1	6.68
alleged	1	6.65
urban	1	6.55
Tuesday	1	6.24
adult	1	6.22
poor	1	6.1
young	3	5.62
violent	1	5.6
child	3	5.55
black	1	5.21
Birmingham	1	5.17
centre	1	4.68
other	1	4.48
many	1	4.46
city	1	4.26
Tottenham	1	4.23
Total	29	2.7

and/or	freq.	score
looter	12	8.33
lawbreaker	1	7.73
terrorist	1	7.67
suspect	1	6.0
police	1	2.18
Total	16	3.2

adj_subject_of	freq.	score
NOT	2	10.54
skint	1	9.68
indiscriminate	1	9.19
ready	1	7.8
high	1	5.69
more	1	4.29
Total	7	5.3

modifies	freq.	score
stand-off	1	9.33
leap	1	9.12
Gilmour	1	8.87
wave	1	7.56
yesterday	3	5.44
sentence	1	4.44
police	1	2.2
Total	9	1.0

The Sun Word Sketch *looter**

object_of	freq.	score
rampage	5	9.17
chase	2	7.97
catch	3	7.52
disillusion	1	7.45
excuse	1	7.23
cheer	1	7.01
lock	1	6.81
recognise	1	6.78
cop	1	6.69
confront	1	6.51
defend	1	6.4
jail	1	5.97
join	1	5.82
help	1	5.15
say	4	4.71
give	1	4.43
be	3	1.26
Total	29	3.9

predicate_of	freq.	score
SCUM	2	11.54
one	2	8.45
daughter	2	7.27
criminal	1	6.33
crime	1	4.87
Total	8	6.4

subject_of	freq.	score
haul	4	8.57
wreck	2	7.54
bring	3	6.92
leg	1	6.75
empty	1	6.59
shame	1	6.56
nick	1	6.48
run	3	6.43
get	7	6.37
beat	1	6.33
smash	2	6.32
ransack	1	6.26
struggle	1	6.24
turn	2	6.11
continue	1	5.96
target	1	5.96
hand	1	5.77
jail	1	5.67
burn	1	5.66
steal	1	5.09
go	2	4.44
be	15	3.58
take	1	3.48
Total	51	5.0

modifier	freq.	score
suspected	3	8.96
opportunistic	2	8.56
YOB	1	8.01
teen	1	8.0
targeted	1	7.97
TEENAGE	1	7.96
feckless	1	7.85
hoodie	1	7.78
lawless	1	7.74
arsonist	1	7.52
several	1	6.54
rioting	2	5.96
criminal	1	5.7
young	2	5.12
riot	2	3.11
Total	20	2.2

modifies	freq.	score
Bell	1	9.22
White	2	9.17
yesterday	3	5.45
week	1	3.82
Total	7	0.7

and/or	freq.	score
arsonist	5	9.77
yob	3	8.14
RIOTERS	1	7.77
vandal	1	7.68
Bell	1	7.67
lout	1	7.66
rioter	12	7.42
PM	1	6.67
thug	1	5.62
Total	25	3.8

The Sun Word Sketch *police*

object_of	freq.	score
phone	3	6.93
help	4	6.42
call	4	6.35
tell	5	6.3
contact	2	6.27
rush	2	6.24
accept	2	6.13
support	2	5.98
say	10	5.87
hear	2	5.64
stop	2	5.63
emasculate	1	5.38
goad	1	5.38
starve	1	5.37
applaud	1	5.36
think	2	5.35
slam	1	5.34
taunt	1	5.34
tip	1	5.32
pledge	1	5.31
praise	1	5.21
like	1	5.15
back	1	5.11
injure	1	5.06
treat	1	5.04
Total	67	5.0

subject_of	freq.	score
mount	4	6.4
catch	4	6.16
shoot	4	6.11
confirm	3	5.91
defeat	2	5.45
caution	2	5.44
round	2	5.41
look	3	5.34
issue	2	5.32
launch	2	5.31
consider	2	5.24
fall	2	5.21
have	14	5.18
start	2	5.02
try	2	4.99
do	6	4.96
work	2	4.75
find	2	4.66
probe	1	4.46
advance	1	4.45
tend	1	4.43
nick	1	4.41
estimate	1	4.41
approach	1	4.39
react	1	4.39
Total	110	5.9

modifier	freq.	score
Midlands	4	7.43
West	4	7.25
brave	3	7.17
undercover	2	6.7
shell-shocked	1	5.73
provocation	1	5.72
Strategy	1	5.72
Los	1	5.62
RIOT	1	5.55
Angeles	1	5.52
baton	1	5.48
carnival	1	5.45
more	2	4.87
Met	1	4.78
last	2	4.77
few	1	4.74
today	1	4.7
local	1	4.59
riot	5	4.34
rioter	1	3.56
week	1	3.49
night	1	3.49
Total	28	2.6

adj_subject_of	freq.	score
thin	2	8.99
delicate	1	8.83
right	1	6.21
bad	1	5.58
Total	5	3.9

The Sun Word Sketch *police*

modifies	**freq.**	**score**
chief	16	7.75
car	19	7.53
station	8	6.54
helicopter	4	5.97
resource	4	5.91
vehicle	4	5.87
dog	3	5.53
bail	3	5.46
officer	7	5.34
shooting	3	5.33
cut	3	5.11
bodyguard	2	5.03
HQ	2	5.02
patrol	2	4.99
gallery	2	4.99
yesterday	4	4.96
cell	2	4.92
raid	2	4.92
van	2	4.85
politician	2	4.64
figure	2	4.59
force	2	4.47
Arrested	1	4.04
Shields	1	4.03
Band	1	4.03
Total	134	4.9

and/or	**freq.**	**score**
politician	4	6.86
provocation	1	6.01
Street	2	5.98
NHS	1	5.93
yob	1	5.5
park	1	5.43
anything	1	5.34
school	2	5.29
authority	1	4.89
today	1	4.83
parent	1	4.58
minister	1	4.4
youth	1	3.97
rioter	1	3.62
year	1	3.57
family	1	3.54
people	1	2.11
Total	20	3.4

The Telegraph Word Sketch *rioter**

object_of	freq.	score
convict	8	8.71
mask	3	7.9
contain	3	7.57
confront	3	7.44
reward	2	7.32
handle	2	7.0
warn	2	6.45
impel	1	6.39
accuse	2	6.39
enrage	1	6.37
liken	1	6.37
bash	1	6.36
combat	1	6.34
deal	2	6.33
outnumber	1	6.3
mind	1	6.29
shame	1	6.25
ban	1	6.19
realise	1	6.11
advise	1	6.1
evict	1	6.04
monitor	1	6.03
witness	1	5.97
push	1	5.93
name	1	5.93
Total	77	5.3

subject_of	freq.	score
smash	4	6.84
outnumber	2	6.65
begin	3	6.52
start	3	6.41
confront	2	6.36
burn	2	6.08
catch	2	6.07
set	3	5.85
cause	2	5.75
converge	1	5.7
outmanoeuvre	1	5.7
swarm	1	5.68
spray	1	5.65
pelt	1	5.64
possess	1	5.64
hijack	1	5.63
belong	1	5.61
need	2	5.58
storm	1	5.58
chase	1	5.54
trash	1	5.54
tear	1	5.53
approach	1	5.53
travel	1	5.5
rampage	1	5.5
Total	126	6.3

modifier	freq.	score
jailed	3	8.65
suspected	3	8.29
alleged	3	8.23
urban	3	8.14
would-be	2	7.99
Jail	1	7.12
Identikit	1	7.12
righteous	1	7.11
lesser	1	7.08
savage	1	7.02
Whitechapel	1	6.97
surprise	1	6.72
hooded	1	6.69
young	6	6.62
teenage	1	6.55
summer	2	6.4
few	2	6.28
adult	1	6.22
only	1	6.15
Brixton	1	5.94
serious	1	5.76
other	2	5.48
black	1	5.21
looter	1	4.63
store	1	4.36
Total	46	3.4

adj_subject_of	freq.	score
unchallenged	1	9.51
bonkers	1	9.33
male	1	7.99
white	2	7.51
black	2	6.57
guilty	1	6.31
more	1	4.29
Total	9	5.7

modifies	freq.	score
AFP	1	9.42
Mulholland	1	9.22
ty	1	9.05
remark	1	7.82
Tuesday	1	7.09
failure	1	6.71
Jahan	1	6.28
centre	1	4.92
night	2	4.8
Police	1	4.62
Total	11	1.3

The Telegraph Word Sketch *rioter**

and/or	**freq.**	**score**
Looters	2	8.7
looter	8	7.74
fireman	1	7.68
Whitechapel	1	7.63
spectator	1	7.57
Right	1	7.54
surprise	1	7.25
average	1	6.95
rest	1	6.81
banker	1	6.72
failure	1	6.32
Jahan	1	5.98
report	1	5.12
centre	1	4.8
store	1	4.45
street	1	3.84
night	1	3.74
police	2	3.18
officer	1	3.11
Total	27	3.9

The Telegraph Word Sketch *looter**

object_of	freq.	score
chase	3	8.55
allow	4	8.19
lay	2	7.76
enrage	1	7.44
bar	1	7.34
relax	1	7.33
detain	1	7.32
convict	2	7.29
defy	1	7.26
shop	1	7.19
descend	1	7.11
ban	1	7.08
direct	1	6.97
catch	2	6.94
control	1	6.78
interview	1	6.66
pull	1	6.64
name	1	6.62
stop	2	6.51
report	1	6.28
let	1	6.17
drive	1	6.07
warn	1	5.91
seem	1	5.81
send	1	5.65
Total	44	4.5

modifies	freq.	score
chancers	1	10.25
JPs	1	9.19
Green	1	5.61
Police	1	4.64
time	1	4.11
rioter	1	3.9
Total	6	0.5

subject_of	freq.	score
form	3	7.91
carry	4	7.56
destroy	2	6.96
saunter	1	6.74
whip	1	6.71
plunder	1	6.63
illustrate	1	6.62
drag	1	6.51
gain	1	6.46
raid	1	6.39
react	1	6.39
rampage	1	6.33
smash	2	6.32
ransack	1	6.26
pull	1	6.19
steal	2	6.09
emerge	1	5.91
hand	1	5.77
drive	1	5.75
begin	1	5.45
start	1	5.29
attack	1	5.28
cause	1	5.19
break	1	5.01
follow	1	4.99
Total	61	5.2

adj_subject_of	freq.	score
busy	1	8.71
Total	1	2.8

modifier	freq.	score
suspected	3	8.96
juvenile	2	8.96
opportunistic	2	8.56
masked	2	8.39
shooter	1	7.99
classic	1	7.94
alive	1	7.83
JD	1	7.23
Wood	1	6.83
Sports	1	6.73
violent	1	5.87
Green	1	5.42
August	1	5.4
Manchester	1	5.12
young	1	4.12
riot	1	2.11
Total	19	2.1

and/or	freq.	score
arsonist	3	9.03
chancers	1	7.94
shooter	1	7.88
robber	1	7.78
vandal	1	7.68
JPs	1	7.66
daylight	1	7.5
move	1	7.06
rioter	8	6.84
Salford	1	6.78
Green	1	5.4
August	1	5.38
order	1	5.13
Police	1	4.53
youth	1	4.25
people	2	3.18
riot	1	2.11
Total	24	3.8

The Telegraph Word Sketch *police*

object_of	freq.	score
force	8	8.01
attack	9	7.79
accuse	5	7.11
hate	3	6.87
fear	3	6.79
lead	5	6.78
tell	7	6.78
confront	3	6.67
criticise	3	6.66
involve	4	6.38
call	4	6.35
blame	3	6.35
suppose	2	6.32
flood	2	6.29
challenge	2	6.18
like	2	6.15
feel	3	6.09
prevent	2	6.04
say	11	6.01
support	2	5.98
allow	2	5.96
think	3	5.94
cut	2	5.8
meet	2	5.78
send	2	5.7
Total	174	6.4

subject_of	freq.	score
shoot	9	7.28
lose	9	7.08
have	51	7.04
face	6	6.53
arrest	6	6.46
monitor	4	6.36
do	12	5.96
handle	3	5.94
need	4	5.88
fail	3	5.88
believe	3	5.62
stop	3	5.61
be	60	5.54
desert	2	5.46
become	3	5.44
clash	2	5.4
advise	2	5.38
adopt	2	5.38
make	5	5.35
push	2	5.33
force	2	5.26
consider	2	5.24
arrive	2	5.23
let	2	5.22
release	2	5.2
Total	246	7.1

modifies	freq.	score
officer	122	9.46
chief	28	8.55
station	24	8.12
car	24	7.87
force	19	7.72
power	11	7.0
number	12	6.93
presence	8	6.91
budget	8	6.87
commissioner	8	6.72
response	9	6.7
van	7	6.65
tactic	7	6.59
operation	6	6.43
authority	6	6.24
service	7	6.21
line	5	6.07
resource	4	5.91
shooting	4	5.74
brutality	3	5.58
watchdog	3	5.57
helicopter	3	5.55
dog	3	5.53
commander	3	5.52
cut	4	5.52
Total	463	6.7

and/or	freq.	score
politician	5	7.18
bailiff	2	6.96
government	7	6.77
rumour	2	6.68
fact	2	6.48
worker	3	6.46
service	3	5.93
council	2	5.81
community	4	5.72
night	4	5.54
MP	2	5.46
youth	2	4.97
rioter	2	4.62
yesterday	2	4.59
shop	2	4.58
court	2	4.51
people	2	3.11
Total	90	5.5

adj_subject_of	freq.	score
chief	5	8.87
Total	14	5.4

modifier	freq.	score
riot	28	6.83
mounted	2	6.73
Strathclyde	2	6.63
armed	2	6.62
extra	2	6.52
enough	2	6.31
senior	2	6.23
Manchester	3	6.1
British	2	5.98
night	4	5.49
Total	79	4.1

The Times Word Sketch *rioter**

object_of	freq.	score
convict	7	8.52
disperse	4	8.19
blame	3	6.93
name	2	6.93
allow	2	6.64
identify	2	6.63
catch	2	6.47
group	1	6.4
castigate	1	6.4
swamp	1	6.36
confuse	1	6.33
dump	1	6.33
mobilise	1	6.3
hunt	1	6.28
deter	1	6.27
process	1	6.26
assist	1	6.23
spot	1	6.22
provoke	1	6.17
punish	1	6.12
dismiss	1	6.01
lay	1	6.01
strike	1	5.96
sentence	1	5.83
draw	1	5.74
Total	60	4.9

subject_of	freq.	score
conceal	3	7.25
pose	3	7.11
throw	4	6.97
gain	2	6.57
lay	2	6.46
grow	2	6.21
loot	3	6.08
attack	2	5.82
petrify	1	5.71
prowl	1	5.71
chant	1	5.69
undertake	1	5.67
appear	2	5.64
pursue	1	5.62
disperse	1	5.58
fear	1	5.5
jump	1	5.49
run	2	5.49
torch	1	5.44
point	1	5.4
confront	1	5.36
force	1	5.26
wear	1	5.12
burn	1	5.08
move	1	5.07
Total	77	5.6

modifier	freq.	score
Convicted	1	7.12
Posh	1	7.12
fast-moving	1	7.04
hardcore	1	7.02
typical	1	7.0
surprising	1	6.87
armed	1	6.83
feral	1	6.68
Toxteth	1	6.61
urban	1	6.55
Riots	1	6.35
young	4	6.04
control	1	5.74
fear	1	5.73
mob	1	5.69
UK	1	5.55
Road	1	5.2
August	1	5.2
many	1	4.46
London	1	2.74
Total	21	2.3

modifies	freq.	score
lawyer	1	6.86
bus	1	6.72
power	1	5.25
looter	1	4.86
Total	4	-0.1

adj_subject_of	freq.	score
inarticulate	1	9.48
intent	1	9.36
content	1	9.19
rare	1	8.73
young	1	4.19
Total	5	4.8

and/or	freq.	score
looter	11	8.2
missile	2	7.99
Toxteth	1	7.09
citizen	1	6.76
lawyer	1	6.43
fear	1	5.97
disturbance	1	5.42
Road	1	5.37
violence	1	3.99
family	1	3.74
man	1	3.48
police	1	2.18
Total	22	3.6

The Times Word Sketch *looter**

object_of	freq.	score
defy	2	8.26
flush	1	7.48
cut	3	7.44
intercept	1	7.41
split	1	7.29
deter	1	7.23
help	4	7.15
deprive	1	7.11
chase	1	6.97
film	1	6.95
suspect	1	6.94
see	6	6.56
sentence	1	6.46
convict	1	6.29
set	3	6.29
show	2	5.93
join	1	5.82
send	1	5.65
hold	1	5.51
involve	1	5.08
give	1	4.43
make	1	3.59
be	5	2.0
Total	40	4.4

subject_of	freq.	score
empty	3	8.18
deserve	3	8.08
drive	4	7.75
ransack	2	7.26
carry	3	7.15
remapped	1	6.75
steal	3	6.68
plunder	1	6.63
storm	1	6.48
raid	1	6.39
target	1	5.96
use	3	5.9
start	1	5.29
break	1	5.01
show	1	4.77
take	2	4.48
have	5	3.83
be	11	3.13
Total	41	4.7

modifier	freq.	score
suspected	5	9.69
robber	1	7.88
stupid	1	7.28
alleged	1	7.27
shopping	1	7.07
guilty	1	6.05
other	2	5.59
many	1	4.58
Tottenham	1	4.32
rioter	1	3.84
Total	15	1.8

modifies	freq.	score
Norfolk	1	10.05
Qudoos	1	9.57
thug	1	5.87
time	3	5.7
Total	6	0.5

and/or	freq.	score
smirk	1	7.94
wrecker	1	7.93
hoodlum	1	7.91
Norfolk	1	7.9
Qudoos	1	7.78
robber	1	7.78
arsonist	1	7.45
rioter	11	7.29
thug	1	5.62
Tottenham	1	4.32
Total	20	3.5

The Times Word Sketch *offender**

object_of	freq.	score
identify	3	7.99
hunt	1	7.78
jail	3	7.75
sentence	2	7.74
pursue	1	7.69
punish	1	7.36
create	2	7.2
require	1	6.87
suggest	1	6.25
involve	2	6.18
bring	1	5.72
hold	1	5.65
get	1	3.67
take	1	3.57
Total	21	3.4

subject_of	freq.	score
escape	1	7.25
include	2	6.31
pay	1	5.92
take	5	5.91
go	1	3.54
be	8	2.68
have	2	2.53
Total	19	3.6

adj_subject_of	freq.	score
unemployed	1	8.33
Total	1	2.9

modifier	freq.	score
alleged	3	8.5
elusive	1	7.48
low-level	1	7.45
track	1	7.29
young	9	7.25
individual	1	6.92
male	1	6.92
different	2	6.65
CCTV	1	6.09
other	2	5.53
child	1	4.01
Total	21	2.3

modifies	freq.	score
institution	7	9.81
meeting	1	6.59
fear	1	6.26
Total	9	1.1

and/or	freq.	score
check	1	9.02
attention	1	7.57
CCTV	1	6.64
case	2	5.99
child	1	4.12
people	1	2.2
Total	7	2.0

The Times Word Sketch *young*

adj_subject	freq.	score
street	1	3.91
rioter	1	3.91
Total	2	3.6

modifier	freq.	score
as	5	8.13
mainly	1	7.99
so	2	6.43
very	1	5.63
just	1	4.85
Total	10	1.2

modifies	freq.	score
man	65	9.0
people	101	8.61
offender	9	7.22
institution	7	7.19
person	7	7.07
member	7	6.42
guy	4	6.41
child	8	6.35
woman	5	6.25
son	5	6.19
proprietor	3	6.17
journalist	3	6.01
girl	3	5.63
adult	2	5.39
brother	2	5.22
rate	2	5.22
rioter	4	5.22
thug	2	5.11
mother	2	4.89
Jelani	1	4.59
urbanite	1	4.59
newlywed	1	4.59
adorer	1	4.59
Pakistani	1	4.58
dancer	1	4.57
Total	266	5.9

and/or	freq.	score
black	6	7.78
vulnerable	2	7.76
decent	2	7.6
Many	2	7.42
single	2	7.08
semi-professional	1	7.07
underprivileged	1	7.05
dental	1	7.05
honourable	1	7.04
promising	1	6.99
intelligent	1	6.93
talented	1	6.91
physical	1	6.91
white	2	6.86
very	1	6.78
male	1	6.62
unemployed	1	6.59
violent	2	6.59
other	4	6.47
Asian	1	6.46
poor	1	6.08
British	1	5.62
many	1	4.46
Total	36	4.4

The Times Word Sketch *police*

object_of	freq.	score
force	4	7.01
help	6	7.0
criticise	3	6.66
mean	3	6.49
lambaste	2	6.37
call	4	6.35
draft	2	6.3
dismiss	2	6.17
let	2	5.95
give	3	5.53
need	2	5.42
want	2	5.4
involve	2	5.38
show	2	5.28
see	3	5.19
say	3	4.13
be	15	3.56
do	2	3.54
have	2	2.45
Total	98	5.5

subject_of	freq.	score
stand	9	7.28
stop	6	6.61
arrive	5	6.56
shoot	5	6.43
have	26	6.07
estimate	3	5.99
arrest	4	5.87
prevent	3	5.87
suffer	3	5.84
fire	3	5.82
try	3	5.58
use	4	5.54
need	3	5.46
surrender	2	5.45
secure	2	5.43
suspect	2	5.39
advise	2	5.38
sweep	2	5.36
publish	2	5.32
deny	2	5.31
be	51	5.3
fail	2	5.29
report	2	5.25
say	7	5.19
do	7	5.18
Total	185	6.7

adj_subject_of	freq.	score
chief	2	7.54
Total	5	3.9

modifier	freq.	score
Metropolitan	8	8.15
Los	4	7.62
Angeles	4	7.52
armed	3	7.2
Uniformed	2	6.74
mounted	2	6.73
Italian	2	6.68
riot	21	6.41
thousand	2	6.08
crime	3	5.84
worker	2	5.74
politician	2	5.73
Manchester	2	5.51
more	3	5.45
yesterday	2	4.53
Total	72	4.0

The Times Word Sketch *police*

modifies	**freq.**	**score**
officer	59	8.42
station	24	8.12
chief	18	7.92
shooting	12	7.33
force	14	7.28
car	14	7.09
source	9	6.98
presence	7	6.72
operation	6	6.43
harassment	5	6.31
watchdog	5	6.31
helicopter	5	6.29
budget	5	6.19
number	7	6.15
line	5	6.07
service	6	5.98
authority	5	5.98
resource	4	5.91
power	5	5.86
van	4	5.85
callouts	3	5.62
discretion	3	5.61
figure	4	5.59
reform	3	5.45
scheme	3	5.38
Total	326	6.2

and/or	**freq.**	**score**
agency	3	7.25
public	4	7.21
politician	5	7.18
view	3	6.7
service	5	6.66
authority	3	6.47
government	5	6.28
commissioner	2	6.05
crime	3	5.93
worker	2	5.87
message	2	5.61
fire	2	5.54
group	2	5.33
community	2	4.72
shop	2	4.58
officer	2	3.97
Total	82	5.4

The Guardian Word Sketch *rioter**

object_of	freq.	score
interview	9	9.12
convict	7	8.52
ban	3	7.77
punish	3	7.7
excuse	2	7.27
persuade	2	7.25
disperse	2	7.19
suggest	3	7.13
evict	2	7.04
arm	2	7.02
condemn	2	7.01
describe	3	6.97
confront	2	6.86
stop	3	6.73
turn	3	6.57
arrest	3	6.43
call	3	6.35
send	2	6.25
say	7	5.46
find	2	5.46
see	3	5.42
tell	2	5.28
do	2	3.65
Total	121	5.9

subject_of	freq.	score
express	3	6.94
attack	4	6.82
identify	3	6.78
concede	2	6.69
dress	2	6.58
cite	2	6.56
call	4	6.51
hurl	2	6.45
smash	3	6.43
start	3	6.41
use	5	6.38
open	2	6.29
continue	2	6.28
target	2	6.28
break	3	6.2
reveal	2	6.16
throw	2	5.97
talk	2	5.92
speak	2	5.91
believe	2	5.84
come	4	5.79
try	2	5.77
have	18	5.64
go	5	5.62
think	2	5.51
Total	181	6.8

adj_subject_of	freq.	score
young	3	5.77
Total	13	6.2

modifier	freq.	score
suspected	6	9.29
Many	4	8.44
alleged	3	8.23
would-be	2	7.99
young	11	7.5
point	4	7.42
most	2	6.88
black	2	6.21
many	3	6.05
Total	66	3.9

modifies	freq.	score
point	2	6.83
yesterday	2	4.86
Total	17	2.0

and/or	freq.	score
looter	15	8.65
point	2	6.61
right	2	6.36
police	4	4.18
Total	47	4.7

The Guardian Word Sketch *police*

object_of	freq.	score
hate	8	8.28
attack	10	7.95
blame	8	7.76
confront	6	7.67
injure	6	7.65
give	13	7.65
contact	5	7.59
struggle	5	7.48
fuck	4	7.34
fight	5	7.32
warn	5	7.15
believe	5	6.97
allow	4	6.96
praise	3	6.79
call	5	6.68
see	8	6.61
support	3	6.57
help	4	6.42
join	3	6.37
think	4	6.35
send	3	6.29
say	13	6.25
feel	3	6.09
lead	3	6.05
tell	4	5.98
Total	292	7.1

subject_of	freq.	score
shoot	19	8.36
need	14	7.69
treat	10	7.6
have	69	7.48
stop	10	7.34
say	31	7.33
kill	8	7.15
do	23	6.9
arrive	6	6.82
come	11	6.8
search	5	6.68
be	132	6.68
use	8	6.54
make	11	6.49
harass	4	6.45
stand	5	6.43
approach	4	6.39
confirm	4	6.32
face	5	6.27
spark	4	6.26
lose	5	6.23
release	4	6.2
arrest	5	6.2
believe	4	6.04
cordon	3	6.03
Total	537	8.2

modifier	freq.	score
Metropolitan	73	11.34
Midlands	13	9.13
West	12	8.83
Greater	9	8.78
Manchester	13	8.21
armed	6	8.2
Strathclyde	5	7.96
Met	9	7.95
local	8	7.59
Merseyside	3	7.21
great	4	7.01
riot	28	6.83
senior	3	6.81
British	3	6.57
resident	3	6.48
more	6	6.45
many	4	6.13
Tottenham	3	5.53
London	3	4.22
Total	265	5.9

adj_subject_of	freq.	score
slow	3	9.21
able	3	8.25
Total	33	6.7

The Guardian Word Sketch *police*

modifies	**freq.**	**score**
officer	139	9.65
station	68	9.63
car	61	9.21
commissioner	26	8.42
force	25	8.12
number	27	8.1
chief	16	7.75
tactic	15	7.69
authority	16	7.66
van	14	7.65
response	16	7.53
shooting	13	7.44
service	16	7.4
budget	10	7.19
operation	10	7.17
brutality	9	7.17
raid	9	7.09
presence	8	6.91
power	10	6.86
line	8	6.75
cell	7	6.73
helicopter	6	6.55
harassment	5	6.31
resource	5	6.23
investigation	5	6.13
Total	758	7.4

and/or	**freq.**	**score**
IPCC	9	8.78
community	20	8.04
judiciary	3	7.47
politician	6	7.44
Kavanagh	3	7.32
arrest	4	7.18
pm	3	7.0
government	8	6.96
Office	3	6.93
service	6	6.93
authority	4	6.89
resident	3	6.63
parent	3	6.17
group	3	5.92
rioter	4	5.62
people	9	5.28
Total	199	6.7

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