

# Trayvon Martin in the International Press

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## Abstract

**J**ust as international coverage of the Emmett Till case marshaled domestic support for the civil rights movement, international coverage of the Trayvon Martin murder focused international attention on the disgraceful mishandling of the Martin's murder case, aligning itself with domestic clamor for the prosecution of his killer.

This paper examines some of the international discourse generated around the Martin affair, and argues that such discourse complimented domestic discourse regarding the murder, transforming the murder of yet another black youth into an international referendum on the functioning of the American criminal justice system and the myth of the American 'post racial' society.

The authors examine select international press coverage leading up to the killer's indictment, asking the following question: What perspectives did the international and domestic press take? What issues were foregrounded? Finally, what role did social media play in empowering social activism around the case?

## Introduction

Activist groups have frequently sought to lodge appeals against social inequalities and human rights violation in the court of international public opinion. For example, racial apartheid practices in South Africa became untenable in the light of the international public condemnation generated by social activists. The trade by the diamond cartel, DeBeers, in blood diamonds mined by neo-slaves in West and Central Africa came under intense scrutiny and condemnation, once exposed to the glaring light of the international media, causing the cartel to take positive steps towards ending its direct involvement in such transactions.

Closer to home, the role and influence of the press carries equal weight. Press coverage of the Black Panthers long battle to have U.S. genocidal practices against African Americans tried before the International Court in The Hague,<sup>1</sup> attracted the attention of the U.S. government and the FBI while bolstering domestic and international support for their cause (O'Reilly, 1979). Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize and favorable international press coverage of this event was a capstone on the legitimacy of the U.S. Civil Rights movement and hastened the U.S. government's guarantee of the rights of all of its citizens by passing the Civil Rights Act.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the brutal murder of Emmett Till did not receive sustained attention from the U.S. criminal justice system until it gained international attention in the world press (Nelson,

2003). In these cases and others, it is clear that international opinion influenced the actions of U.S. leaders and institutions, elevating consciousness as well as empowering the legitimate claims of the underdogs it supported.

This paper examines how the Trayvon Martin murder was framed by the international press and social media, comparing international media coverage of these events with pro-Martin domestic media coverage. Using the technique of textual analysis, the paper finds that international media coverage was highly critical of the handling of the murder investigation by U.S. police authorities and the U.S. judicial system, and focused international attention on disparities in the administration of justice for black people in America. The paper also references the role that international social media like MoveOn.org, played in galvanizing widespread pro-Martin public support. It concludes that united local, domestic and international media pressure supported national demands to bring Trayvon's killer to justice and perhaps ultimately persuaded a politically savvy U.S. president to declare, "If I had a son, he would look like Trayvon Martin," precipitating a federal investigation that pressured local authorities to arrest and indict his killer.

## Method

For this study, a sample of six newspapers was selected using two online databases: LexisNexis and ProQuest Ethnic NewsWatch. All articles collected fell within the time interval February 26, 2012 to April 11, 2012, to coincide with the day of Trayvon Martin's shooting death, and George Zimmerman's eventual indictment.

*USA Today* was selected because it is the highest circulation general information newspaper in the United States. *The New York Times* was selected because it has traditionally set the agenda for other news organizations, determining what issues and events warrant coverage (Chomsky, 1997). . A search through LexisNexis using the search term 'Trayvon Martin' yielded forty-one news items for *USA Today* and 113 news items for *The New York Times*.

While *USA Today* and *The New York Times* were chosen for their mainstream positioning, the black press was also examined because of its greater focus on issues affecting black populations. Using ProQuest Ethnic NewsWatch and the same search term, thirty-nine news items were found in *The Philadelphia Tribune* and *Washington Informer*, the two black newspapers with the highest circulation, according to the Pew Research Center.<sup>3</sup>

High-circulation newspapers from France (*Le Monde*), the United Kingdom (*The Guardian* and *The Sun*), Peru (*La República* and *El Comercio*), and Cuba (*Granma*) were chosen to represent international press opinion. In addition, *Le Monde* was selected because, like *The New York Times*, it reflects French elite opinion and perspective. With the exception of *Granma* and *La República*, all articles were located using the LexisNexis database. A total of twelve news items were collected from *Le Monde*, thirteen from *The Guardian*, fifteen from the *The Sun*, and six from *El Comercio*. Ten items were collected from the web archive for *La República* and six items were collected from the web archive for *Granma*.

A thematic textual analysis was performed on all news items. Newspaper articles are cultural products that provide a mediated site for construction of realities and narratives.<sup>4</sup> Textual

analysis requires in-depth analysis, past the manifest content or what is literally written, to find latent meaning and come to an understanding of the ideologies being negotiated in the text.<sup>5</sup>

The individual articles served as the unit of analysis. Each text was closely read with attention to contextual usage of key words and phrases.<sup>6</sup> For each text, as relevant examples from a text were collected, they were categorized. Repetition of specific ideas throughout units of text would indicate the presence of a theme. The constant comparative method which involved comparing and contrasting recurrent ideas within and across units of analyses aided in the generation of specific themes<sup>7</sup>.

## **Findings**

The following common themes emerged in the coverage of the shooting.

### **Characterization Of George Zimmerman**

Zimmerman's racial identity or ethnic identity is always mentioned in the U.S. mainstream press, the black press and the mainstream international press. However, interestingly, the Cuban newspaper *Granma* describes Zimmerman as white, *but makes no mention of his Hispanic background.*

Zimmerman, who is Latino, called the emergency services because he thought Martin, 17, looked "suspicious" and then, against the advice of the dispatcher, followed him (Younge, "Comment: This was a killing too far: Outrage at the death of Trayvon Martin is finally lifting the lid on America's racist underbelly," *The Guardian*, 3/22/2012).

The death of a young black man, killed by a white vigilante while walking unarmed in Florida causes growing indignation ("Indignation grows in the United States over the murder of an innocent black youth," *Granma*, 3/23/2012).<sup>8</sup>

The victim was black and unarmed, the shooter is the son of a white American man and Peruvian woman (Bernard, "The murder that awakens the demons of America," *Le Monde*, 3/31/2012).<sup>9</sup>

One other point: Trayvon is black. Zimmerman is not (Blow, "The curious case of Trayvon Martin," *The New York Times*, 3/17/2012).

### **Characterization Of Trayvon Martin**

Aside from race and the fact that Martin was unarmed, carrying just a bag of Skittles and Arizona iced tea, international news coverage focused on Martin's physical size, emphasizing his youth and the idea that he was defenseless.

This case has caused a massive outcry in America and, for a while, it looked as if the rightwing Commentariat was going to struggle to find much to say against a dead child. In the past week, that has changed (Freeman, "G2: Lost in Showbiz: In America, TV pundits are the middle-aged and male equivalent of Kim Kardashian" *The Guardian*, 3/30/2012).

Many are angry that a boy can be shot dead while his killer walks free (Samson, “Why black America is screaming ‘I am Trayvon Martin’,” *The Sun*, 4/10/2012).

The arrest order was approved after the death of young Trayvon Martin which occurred in a suburb of Orlando on February 26th (Chávez, “The slaying of a black youth unleashes controversy in the United States,” *El Comercio*, 3/24/2012).<sup>10</sup>

### **Credibility Of Self-Defense Claim: Did Size Matter?**

Both the U.S. mainstream press and the black press used Zimmerman’s physical size (he was about 100 pounds heavier than his victim) to question the credibility of his self-defense claim: the international press, with the exception of *The Guardian*, did not. The international press focused more on Zimmerman’s refusal to follow orders and the fact that cries for help heard on 911 calls ended after an audible gunshot.

He reported the suspicious presence of the adolescent to the emergency line, 911. Although the police ordered him not to follow the young man, Zimmerman did not obey the recommendation, he confronted Martin and shot him point-blank in the chest (Chávez, “The slaying of a black youth unleashes controversy in the United States,” *El Comercio*, 3/24/2012).<sup>11</sup>

[The 911 calls] show that the police officer on duty asked that the watchman not follow the young man: ‘Are you following him?’ OK, We don’t need you to do that.’ Also heard is a cry for help ending with a gunshot. The parents of the victim are sure they recognize the voice... (Bernard, “The murder that awakens the demons of America,” *Le Monde*, 3/31/2012).<sup>12</sup>

Zimmerman weighs 250lbs and had a 9mm handgun; Martin weighed 140lbs and had a packet of Skittles and a can of iced tea (Younge, “Comment: This was a killing too far: Outrage at the death of Trayvon Martin is finally lifting the lid on America's racist underbelly,” *The Guardian*, 3/22/2012).

Hoodie-wearing Trayvon was on his way back from the local store on February 26 - carrying only a bag of Skittles and a can of iced tea he had just bought - when he caught the eye of Hispanic local neighborhood watch chief George Zimmerman... The operator asked Zimmerman if he was following him and the neighborhood watch captain replied: “Yeah.” The operator told him: “We don't need you to do that.” Zimmerman said, “OK,” [and] then ended the four-minute call... then suddenly - and chillingly - a loud gunshot can be heard and the screams immediately stopped. This was later discovered to be the moment Zimmerman shot Trayvon dead with a single bullet to the chest (Samson, “Why black America is screaming ‘I am Trayvon Martin’,” *The Sun*, 4/10/2012).

### **Credibility Of Self-Defense Claim: Prior Offenses And Personality**

In judging the credibility of Zimmerman’s self-defense claim, all publications compared Martin’s and Zimmerman’s history of prior violent incidents and personalities. Zimmerman is characterized as a man with a propensity for violence. *The New York Times* paints the portrait of a man paranoid of his surroundings, and *The Philadelphia Tribune* press takes this a step further

by directly connecting his paranoia to suspicions of black males. The international press paints Zimmerman's as aggressive and criminal. In addition, *La República*, points to not only his aggressive past, but also a surveillance video taken within the police station, in raising questions about the credibility of Zimmerman's self-defense claim.

Zimmerman, 28 - allegedly fired from a security guard job in 2005 for being "too aggressive" - was released by police that same night after questioning and has still not been charged with a crime (Samson, "Why black America is screaming 'I am Trayvon Martin'," *The Sun*, 4/10/2012).

Protestors of all races have taken to the streets to demand justice for Trayvon - a keen athlete with no criminal record (Samson, "Why black America is screaming 'I am Trayvon Martin'," *The Sun*, 4/10/2012).

Zimmerman, who is studying criminal justice, was arrested once in 2005 on charges of attacking a police officer and resisting arrest; the case was dropped. Trayvon had no criminal record. He was suspended from his Miami high school for 10 days in February, which is why he was visiting his father (McVeigh, "Outcry over Florida's neighborhood watch killing: Self-defense law cited after unarmed youth shot dead. Phone call gives police first witness account," *The Guardian*, 3/21/2012).

The publication of a video in which George Zimmerman appears to be handcuffed by the police after killing Trayvon Martin by gunshot, an unarmed black adolescent in the U.S., and, apparently, having not suffered any serious hit, brings doubt to his version of being attacked by the minor and having to take out his weapon (Video casts doubt on George Zimmerman's story and his reason for shooting Trayvon Martin, *La República*, 3/31/2012).

### **The U.S. Criminal Justice System**

All the newspapers in our sample criticize the criminalization of Martin. In *The New York Times* as well as *The Philadelphia Tribune*, the differential treatment given to Martin and Zimmerman were viewed as criminalization of the victim: while Martin's body was tested for drugs and alcohol, Zimmerman was not tested at all. The black press insinuates that this was related to race. While *The New York Times* completely denounced attempts to criminalize Trayvon for possession of marijuana prior to his murder, *Le Monde* used this knowledge to highlight differential treatment of black males in America.

*USA Today* censured the handling of the police investigation. However, while *USA Today* alluded to the idea that race may have prompted the mishandling of the initial police investigation, *The Philadelphia Tribune* highlighted the differential treatment blacks receive from the U.S. criminal justice system. In contrast, coverage from *Granma* took on a neutral tone. *Le Monde* questioned the thoroughness of the police investigation pointing to key missteps in the initial investigation. Finally, *The Guardian* argued that racism is a part of the U.S. criminal justice system.

Both systemic and systematic, the racism these incidents and statistics reveal is embedded within the judicial system itself, rendering it part of the problem rather than

the solution. This goes beyond the parental to the political. For it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the state, as currently imagined and experienced, is simply not set up with the purpose of protecting the rights of black people - indeed quite the opposite. It seems to function with the specific intent of violating their rights (Younge, "Comment: Mamie Till's warning still holds true in a racist world: On both sides of the Atlantic, black parents are forced to weigh children's self-esteem against their safety," *The Guardian*, 4/9/2012).

This incident involves many legal questions and the aggressor has not been arrested by the police although Governor Rick Scott has asked that a transparent trial take into account [Zimmerman's] allegations of [his shooting Trayvon Martin] being an act of self defense ("Public demonstrations against racism grow in the United States," *Granma*, 3/26/2012).<sup>13</sup>

George Zimmerman told the police that the boy punched him in the nose and banged his head on the sidewalk. But the police did not call a doctor or performed any toxicology exams. They failed to question the key witness- Trayvon Martin's girlfriend with whom he was having a conversation on his cellphone during the drama (Bernard, "The death that awakens the demons of America," *Le Monde*, 3/31/2012).<sup>14</sup>

### **Characterization Of The Stand Your Ground Law And Gun Control Laws**

Domestic and international press coverage censured the Stand Your Ground law and its application. While both the U.S. mainstream press and black press criticize the law directly, the black press questions the ease with which individuals can obtain gun permits and take the law into their own hands. The international coverage asserted that this law is partly responsible for Zimmerman not being brought to justice.

Add to this lax gun laws, entrenched segregation, deep economic inequalities and a statute that endorses vigilantism, and a murder of this kind is inevitable (Younge, "Comment: This was a killing too far: Outrage at the death of Trayvon Martin is finally lifting the lid on America's racist underbelly," *The Guardian*, 3/22/2012).

"Stand Your Ground": It's thanks to this law that the murderer of a Young Black male in Florida was not worried about justice (Bernard, "In the land of justifiable homicides," *Le Monde*, 4/6/2012).<sup>15</sup>

### **Criticism Of Gun Culture**

*The New York Times*, *The Philadelphia Tribune*, and *Le Monde* criticized pro-gun culture, the ubiquity of guns, and the gun lobby for their role in perpetuating uncontrolled gun violence. *Le Monde* went as far as calling the U.S. "*pays des homicide justifiable*," translated, "the land of justifiable homicide" (*Le Monde*, 4/6/2012). *The Sun* compared gun violence fatalities in Ireland to gun violence in the U.S. *The Guardian* also used statistics to highlight the prevalence of gun violence in the U.S.

Eight kids under the age of 19 are killed by guns in America every day (Younge, “Comment: This was a killing too far: Outrage at the death of Trayvon Martin is finally lifting the lid on America's racist underbelly,” *The Guardian*, 3/22/2012).

In 2010 there were nearly 8,775 murders with guns in the country, compared with 23 in Ireland (Samson, “Why black America is screaming ‘I am Trayvon Martin’,” *The Sun*, 4/10/2012).

The affair reminds us that Florida, a place where 6 million of its 19 million inhabitants is a gun owner, is not only the tropical paradise of Disney but also the American state where having firearms is commonplace. You will hear some anti-violence activists call ‘the Sunshine State’ (its usual nickname) the ‘Gunshine State’ (Bernard, “In the land of justifiable homicides,” *Le Monde*, 4/6/2012).<sup>16</sup>

### **U.S. Race Relations**

Discourse surrounding U.S. race relations in the mainstream U.S. press repudiated the idea that race relations are perfect. The black and international press called attention to the fallacy of thinking that President Barack Obama’s election is indicative of a post-racial America, rejecting the idea of Martin’s murder being an anomaly.

The second world war had a civilizing influence on Buford Posey, a white man raised in the Deep South during the Depression. “When I was coming up in Mississippi I never knew it was against the law to kill a black man,” he says. “I learned that when I went in the army. I was 17 years old. When they told me I thought they were joking.” Some 70 years later it's clear not everybody got that memo. Three weeks ago in Sanford, Florida, a neighborhood watch captain, George Zimmerman, shot dead an unarmed black teen, Trayvon Martin, as he walked home from the store (Younge, “Comment: This was a killing too far: Outrage at the death of Trayvon Martin is finally lifting the lid on America's racist underbelly,” *The Guardian*, 3/22/2012).

This affair, by bursting the illusion that questions of race have passed with the election of Barack Obama, has put certain themes – discrimination, attitudes of police and justice with respect to black- back on the table, which the president should put first (“The death of Trayvon Martin mobilizes black Americans in the middle of the [presidential] campaign,” *Le Monde*, 4/3/2012).<sup>17</sup>

### **Treatment Of Black Males In The United States**

*USA Today*, *The Washington Informer*, and *Le Monde* reported on the differential treatment of black males in the U.S. While *USA Today* asserted that there has been progress made on this front, *Le Monde* indicates that mistreatment of young black males is a part of the U.S. social system.

Zimmerman’s assumptions on seeing Martin may have been reprehensible but they were not illogical. Black men in America are more likely to be stopped, searched, arrested, convicted and executed than any other group. With almost one in ten black men behind

bars there are more of them in prison, on probation or on parole today than were enslaved in 1850. To assume that when you see a black man you see a criminal is rooted in the fact that black men have been systematically criminalized. That excuses nothing but explains a great deal (Younge, "Comment: This was a killing too far: Outrage at the death of Trayvon Martin is finally lifting the lid on America's racist underbelly," *The Guardian*, 3/22/2012).

Trayvon was not the composite sketch of an angry rapper. He had dreams of becoming an airplane pilot. His mom took him skiing...the drama has revived old images. Like in the time of Emmett Till, in some places, it is still dangerous to be a black teenager (Lesnes, "The burden of black youths," *Le Monde*, 3/31/2012).<sup>18</sup>

### **Parallels To Other Race-Related Crimes**

Coverage of Trayvon Martin's shooting death has included parallels of the crime to past crimes perpetrated against Blacks. While the *USA Today* focused on the fact that police do not always investigate those crimes, *the Washington Informer* and *The Sun* position the police as the criminals and the *The Washington Informer* positions Trayvon's murder as a normal part of continued violence against young black men.

The 911 recording of Zimmerman pursuing Trayvon has been played on repeat on news channels, just like the shocking video of Rodney King being beaten by LA police officers was in 1991 (Samson, "Why black America is screaming 'I am Trayvon Martin'," *The Sun*, 4/10/2012).

In 1955 Mamie Till sent her 14-year-old son, Emmett, from Chicago to rural Mississippi to spend his summer holiday with family. As she packed him off she gave him some advice about how a black youth should conduct himself in the pre-civil rights south. "If you have to get on your knees and bow when a white person goes past," she told him. "Do it willingly." While in the small town of Money, in the delta region, he either said "Bye, baby" or wolf-whistled at a white woman in a grocery store. Three days later his body was fished out of the Tallahatchie River with a bullet in his skull, an eye gouged out and his forehead crushed on one side... More than half a century later, Mamie Till's advice still stings with the brutal honest of a mother's love (Younge, "Comment: Mamie Till's warning still holds true in a racist world: On both sides of the Atlantic, black parents are forced to weigh children's self-esteem against their safety," *The Guardian*, 4/9/2012).

In 1955, Emmett Till, a young black 14-year old originally from Chicago, was killed by two white men while visiting cousins in Mississippi. He bragged about having white friends, which was unimaginable in the South, and addressed a grocer with some familiarity. Her husband and his accomplices were acquitted in a denial of justice which intensified the civil rights movement ... The drama has revived old images. Like in the time of Emmett Till, in some places, it is still dangerous to be a black teenager (Lesnes, "The burden of black youths," *Le Monde*, 3/31/2012).<sup>19</sup>



## **The Role Of Social Protest**

According to the press, social protest played a large role in propelling national attention for the Trayvon Martin case.

The Martin case released a wave of mobilization from the African American community throughout all of California, New York, and Florida, in addition of bringing up debate on the law known as “shoot first,” which has already provoked other lethal reactions from citizens (“Public demonstrations against racism grow in the United States,” *Granma*, 3/26/2012).<sup>20</sup>

Thanks to the escalating outrage at Martin's death an investigation has now been launched by the U.S. department of justice, and the state attorney's office will be sending it to a grand jury. It took three weeks, outrage and the mobilization of thousands of people to make that happen. Apparently the facts alone did not warrant further inquiry (Younge, “Comment: This was a killing too far: Outrage at the death of Trayvon Martin is finally lifting the lid on America's racist underbelly,” *The Guardian*, 3/22/2012).

But police responding to the shooting of unarmed Trayvon Martin, 17, six weeks ago were unaware that the case would cause an earthquake of controversy across the country...Protestors of all races have taken to the streets to demand justice for Trayvon - a keen athlete with no criminal record (Samson, “Why black America is screaming ‘I am Trayvon Martin’,” *The Sun*, 4/10/2012)

## **Role Of Social Media And Internet Activism**

The media and communication strategists are increasingly turning their attention to the role of social media activism in supporting social action. As Crouch (2013) points out:

By using social media technologies, grassroots groups can organize incredibly fast, coordinate messages across state, provincial and national boundaries and generate mass awareness far cheaper than ever before.

*USA Today* and *The Washington Informer* asserted that Facebook and Move.org played an important role in spurring public protest and that social media provided people with a platform to participate in the discourse surrounding Trayvon Martin's shooting death. Even *Granma* described the signing of online petitions as social activism.

More than a million people, at a rate of 50,000 signatures per hour, already supported a petition asking for criminal charges against [Zimmerman] according to Change.org (“Indignation grows in the United States over the slaying of an innocent black youth,” *Granma*, 3/23/2012).<sup>21</sup>

It was widely reported that a petition on MoveOn.org calling for justice for Martin garnered more than two million signatures, nationally and internationally, the highest of any petition in MoveOn.org's history. Change.org, another website supporting social activism garnered similar results:

Faced with a petition on the Change.org website signed by almost 500,000 people, the state authorities intervened yesterday, announcing that a grand jury would hear evidence next month (McVeigh, “Outcry over Florida's neighborhood watch killing: Self-defense law cited after unarmed youth shot dead.” *The Guardian*, 3/21/2012).

## **Discussion And Conclusion**

The framing of the Trayvon Martin murder investigation in the international press focused attention on the imperfections and inequities in the U.S. judicial system and the unequal treatment meted out to African Americans in the land of the free and the home of the brave. It revived scrutiny of American race relations at a time when the ascension of Barack Obama to the U.S. presidency was allowing many in the U.S. media to frame the Martin killing as an anomaly in the context of a post-racial America.

The international press reaffirmed the persistence of racism in the U.S. criminal justice system, and mirrored the U.S. press, critically questioning whether the U.S. criminal justice system was functioning in an equitable manner for all its citizens, regardless of color. For the most part, the framing of the U.S. criminal justice system was negative, presenting an unfavorable view of race relations in the United States. Just as coverage of both the election and the re-election of President Barack Obama allowed for the re-affirmation the ‘American Dream’ master narrative, international press coverage of the Trayvon Martin incident questioned this notion, encouraging critical international postures toward American society. The manner in which the Trayvon Martin case was reported internationally was in fact an international referendum on racial equity in our society and its judicial system, in which the U.S. was largely shamed and found wanting in the court of international public opinion.

The fate of social justice movements is inextricably linked to public opinion expressed in the domestic and international press, and in social media. Such justice movements are becoming increasingly adept at generating a climate of public opinion that supports human rights and justice, both at home and abroad.

Grassroots movements now have at their command new communications tools which can be effectively employed internationally to help wage the struggle for social justice. It is their challenge and duty to continue to master them.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Further details regarding the history and actions of the Black Panther Party can be found [www.blackpanther.org](http://www.blackpanther.org).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. King discusses receipt of the prize as a sign that 'world public opinion' sided with "those struggling for freedom and equality," (New York Times. "Martin Luther King Wins The Nobel Prize for Peace", *The New York Times*, 10/14/1964).

<sup>3</sup> The Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism publishes an annual report titled "The State of the News Media" reviewing how news media is faring given a changing context. Their latest report published in 2011 features a chapter on African American news media.

<sup>4</sup> Fursich (2009) work highlights the utility of using textual analysis in media studies. Textual analysis of media texts allows researchers to understand the discursive role a particular text is playing.

<sup>5</sup> Fursich (2009) asserts that media texts are sites for the negotiation of ideologies. Textual analysis has the potential to reveal that hegemonic or resistive ideologies are being produced within a given text.

<sup>6</sup> Ryan & Bernard (2003) discuss the advantages of using word lists and key words when uncovering themes.

<sup>7</sup> Glaser (1965) explains that when analyzing data using the constant comparative method it is important to compare each coded "incident" to previously coded "incidents" which fit into the same category.

<sup>8</sup> Translated from Granma. (2012, March 23). Crece indignación en EE.UU. por homicidio impune de joven negro. *Granma Internacional*. Retrieved from <http://www.granma.cu/espanol/internacional/23marzo-crece.html>

<sup>9</sup> Translated from Bernard, P. (2012, March 31). Le meurtre qui réveille les démons de l'Amérique. *Le Monde*, pp. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Translated from Chavez, Juan Carlos. (2012, March 24). La muerte de un adolescente negro desata polémica en Estados Unidos. *El Comercio*.

<sup>11</sup> Translated from Chavez, Juan Carlos. (2012, March 24). La muerte de un adolescente negro desata polémica en Estados Unidos. *El Comercio*.

<sup>12</sup> Translated from Bernard, P. (2012, March 31). Le meurtre qui réveille les démons de l'Amérique. *Le Monde*, pp. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Translated from Granma. (2012, March 26). Movilizaciones públicas contra el racismo se multiplican en EE.UU. *Granma Internacional*. Retrieved from <http://www.granma.cu/espanol/internacional/26mar-Movilizaciones.html>

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- <sup>14</sup> Translated from Bernard, P. (2012, March 31). Le meurtre qui réveille les démons de l'Amérique. *Le Monde*, pp. 5.
- <sup>15</sup> Translated from Bernard, P. (2012, April 6). Au pays des homicides justifiables. *Le Monde*, pp. 21.
- <sup>16</sup> Translated from Bernard, P. (2012, April 6). Au pays des homicides justifiables. *Le Monde*, pp. 21.
- <sup>17</sup> Translated from Le Monde. (2012, April 3). Le meurtre de Trayvon Martin mobilise l'Amérique noire en pleine champagne. *Le Monde*, pp. 9.
- <sup>18</sup> Translated from Lesnes, C. (2012, March 31). " Le fardeau des jeunes Noirs ". *Le Monde*, pp. 5.
- <sup>19</sup> Translated from Lesnes, C. (2012, March 31). "Le fardeau des jeunes Noirs". *Le Monde*, pp. 5.
- <sup>20</sup> Translated from Granma. (2012, March 26). Movilizaciones públicas contra el racismo se multiplican en EE.UU. Granma Internacional. Retrieved from <http://www.granma.cu/espanol/internacional/26mar-Movilizaciones.html>
- <sup>21</sup> Translated from Granma. (2012, March 23). Crece indignación en EE.UU. por homicidio impune de joven negro. Granma Internacional. Retrieved from <http://www.granma.cu/espanol/internacional/23marzo-crece.html>