

Discourses in the News

The Case of Occupy Wall Street in the *New York Times* and the *New York Post*

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Abstract

This paper adopts a critical discourse analysis approach in order to identify and contrast the representation of the Occupy Wall Street movement in the *New York Post* and the *New York Times*. Occupy Wall Street was a protest movement against greed and financial and social inequality that started in Zuccotti Park in New York City in 2011. News media and its institutional media discourse have a power to influence people in terms of what they talk about and how they talk about it. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to make it transparent on a linguistic level that newspapers have an ability to create different discursive realities of the Occupy Wall Street movement through their language use. This is done by analysing news articles written on the same dates about the Occupy Wall Street protest in the *New York Times* and the *New York Post* using the tools global coherence, transitivity, and lexical categorisation. Results showed that in the articles in the *New York Post* the city represents the in-group, 'us', while the protesters represent the out-group, 'them'. The repression of 'them', the protesters, is desired by the city that represents 'us'. In the articles in the *New York Times*, on the other hand, the group of protesters is the in-group that is polarised with the police. Both the *New York Times* and the *New York Post* produce discourses where the protesters are incapable of achieving any real political or social change.

Keywords

Occupy Wall Street, news discourse, the *New York Times*, the *New York Post*, critical discourse analysis (CDA), transitivity, ideology, representation.

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1. Introduction

Mass media serves an important function in society in terms of conveying news to the public. Public knowledge about the world and events in the world, especially events that people do not have a personal connection with, is largely shaped by what is reported by mass media (van Dijk, 1991a, p. 110). It is important to note that news as presented in media is not a natural occurrence, it is a construct influenced by criteria of newsworthiness framed by state and economic domains (Allan, 2004, p. 3; Fowler, 1994, p. 13). News is created through a selective process by journalists and editors. News media has a power to set the agenda of what is newsworthy and, consequently, it has a power to decide which events and which aspects of events are worth knowing about (Allan, 2004, p. 3, 77). That is to say that news media and its institutional media discourse have a power to influence people in terms of what they talk about and how they talk about it. Discourse, as used in this study, is defined as a piece of text consisting of statements and ideological structures; it has coherence and meaning, and is a way of constituting knowledge (Hall, 1997; Bazzi, 2009).

Social reality is not separate from a linguistic reality in that language both constitutes and reflects social reality (Bell, 1997, p. 249). It is also important to note that language is imprinted with meaning in the production stage, the encoding, as well as in the reception stage, the decoding; that means that both the journalists and the readers contribute to the meanings of news discourses (Allan, 2004, p. 107; van Dijk, 1991a, p. 116–117).

In this study, the discourses under examination are those in news articles about Occupy Wall Street in the *New York Times* and the *New York Post*. The different discourses about Occupy Wall Street are established through the analysis of textual features.

Occupy Wall Street was a movement against greed and financial and social inequality that started in Zuccotti Park in New York City on September 17th and then inspired similar protests in several locations all over the world. The protesters set up camp in Zuccotti Park and stayed for 60 days before they were evicted from the premises. The protest was born out of high unemployment rates and the increased wealth concentration for the top income earners, as well as being inspired by other simultaneous global revolutions (Davenport, 2011). The movement was officially leaderless but had people who functioned as connectors who kept the movement going and spread their ideas through different social groups (Davenport, 2011, p. 88–89).

1.1 Scope of the study

The main aim of this study is to make it transparent on a linguistic level that newspapers have an ability to create different discursive realities of the Occupy Wall Street movement through their language use. In order to achieve the purpose of making this ability transparent, a critical discourse analysis of the news articles is performed. More specifically, the analysis will focus on textual features in news articles from the *New York Times* and the *New York Post* in order to examine the power relations and

ideologies that are represented in the news discourses. The research questions used to help achieve the purpose are:

- What is the global coherence in the news articles about Occupy Wall Street?
- How are the main participants in the news articles named and what attributes are ascribed to them?
- What choices are made in transitivity in terms of what type of processes the main participants are involved in?
- What discourses about Occupy Wall Street can be found in the *New York Times* and the *New York Post*?

1.2 Background on the newspapers

The *New York Times* and the *New York Post* are both widely circulated daily newspapers based in New York City. The *New York Times* is owned by The New York Times Company while the *New York Post* is owned by News Corporation. The *New York Times* reaches a larger audience with an average daily circulation of 1,613,865 compared to the *New York Post*'s circulation of 522,868 (Alliance for Audited Media, 2012).

The *New York Times* is a broadsheet while the *New York Post* is a tabloid. The differences between tabloids and broadsheets occur in both format and writing style. Tabloids are smaller and narrower than broadsheets and tend to have shorter articles with more hyperbolic language than broadsheets which tend to have more in-depth coverage and a more sober tone than tabloids (Gripsrud, 2008, p. 37–41). In terms of content, tabloids tend to focus more on personalisation, celebrity, and scandal and have a higher tendency than broadsheets to sensationalise news and present it in a populist form (Jäger, 2001, p. 49; Gripsrud, 2008, p. 41). Broadsheets have a greater focus on government and politics and tend to include more background and explanation in their coverage (Gripsrud, 2008, p. 41).

2. Theoretical framework

The main theoretical frames at work in this essay are presented in this section. First, an overview of critical discourse theory is presented in order to define the discipline in which this paper is written. A definition of ideology as used in this study follows. After that, a section on the newspaper genre is presented. Theories, pertaining to this study, on the ways in which events and participants are represented in discourse conclude this section.

2.1 Critical discourse theory

Critical discourse theory concerns language as a social practice and meaning production above the sentence level, and it looks at language use in context (Wodak, 2001, p. 1–2). Central questions in critical discourse theory concern the production of knowledge,

what knowledge is, and how it is passed on (Jäger, 2001, p. 32–33). What makes critical discourse theory critical is the fact that it is used to investigate transparent and hidden ideologies and power relations in language (Wodak, 2001, p. 2–3). Critical discourse analysis, then, concerns “the analysis of the production of reality which is performed by discourse – conveyed by active people” (Jäger, 2001, p. 36). This paper is written in the critical genre as it intends to uncover ideology and different constructions of reality in the institutional discourse in newspapers. Critical discourse approaches have been used for the purpose of exposing ideology and representation in newspapers by Wang (2009) who studied the representation of female and male artists in tabloids, Polovina-Vukovic (2004) who investigated the representation of participants in news articles about the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, and van Dijk (1991b) who investigated racism in the press.

2.2 Ideology

Ideology, as used in this study, is related to the meanings and world views reflected in the expression of ideas and beliefs, as well as the rhetorical purpose of the expressed ideas and beliefs (Verschueren, 2012, p. 7). Ideology can to varying degrees be implicit or overt and it balances between being descriptive and prescriptive (Verschueren, 2012, p. 8). The prescriptive power of ideology lies in its normative function; it is seen as being commonsensical and enforces a particular view of society (Verschueren, 2012, p. 8). Ideology is manifest in discourse, and therefore language can be used as a significant tool of social control (Fairclough, 1989, p. 2–3). In regards to newspapers, the ideological patterns in the discourse will provide readers with a specific frame of interpretation for the reported event and enforce a specific view of society and societal events. Fowler (1991, p. 68) shows that grammatical devices help establish and naturalise ideology and power hierarchies in discourse. He suggests that linguistic tools based on Halliday’s functional grammar be used to uncover ideologies and power relations in news articles.

2.3 Language and news

A genre encompasses specific types of texts with predetermined features, structures, and often shared purposes (Paltridge, 2006, p. 84). ‘Hard’ news articles represent a specific genre of texts that is contrasted to other news genres which foreground matters of opinion, such as editorials and opinion articles. ‘Hard’ news articles provide hierarchical narratives for events in the social world based on notions of newsworthiness where the key ‘facts’ appear in the headline and lead paragraph of the article (Allan, 2004, p. 82–83).

Media institutions often claim objectivity and transparency in their reporting by purporting that they simply provide space for public debate and report on state of affairs without invested interest (Wodak, 2001, p. 6). Jäger (2004, p. 50) argues that claims of objectivity and independency made by newspapers should always be distrusted. In this essay, I take the line that no language use or discourse is free from ideology, discourse is shaped by ideology, and ideology is conversely shaped in discourse.

It is possible to talk about a uniform media discourse since much content is similar and reused between media outlets that also share the same economic and societal purposes, but the ideological perspectives that are taken by different writers in news articles can achieve different meanings and create divergent discourses (Jäger, 2001, p. 49). Different opinions by writers of news articles can be signalled by the stylistic choices that are made concerning variation in word-choices and syntactic patterns (van Dijk, 1991b, p. 209). The fact that different choices in style can be made means that the choice made by a writer can carry differing social implications from other available choices (Bell, 1997, p. 240). In newspaper writing, the individual styles of reporters are often subordinated or merged with a shared institutional style of the newspaper whose character is designed to meet the expectations of a perceived target audience (Bell, 1997, p. 243).

2.4 Representation in discourse

As established in the introduction, discourse is a way of constituting knowledge and it limits the ways in which we talk about topics. This means that the statements made in news articles give us a particular kind of knowledge about the topic and the participants represented in the text. Any representation of an event in a news text implies representation from an ideological standpoint (Fowler, 1991, p. 66). Ideology and attitudes in discourses can be detected by the different ways subjects and participants are shaped by the texts (Hall, 1997, p. 45). Participants in news articles personify the discourse and the attributes ascribed to them reflect the knowledge produced by the discourse (Fairclough, 1989, p. 52; Hall, 1997, p. 45). The ways in which protest movements have been represented in newspapers have been studied by Stamou (2001) and Hackett and Zhao (1994); both studies found that protests are portrayed in a negative light with a focus on violence, disturbance, and marginal oddity.

Categorising participants by vocabulary in news articles can carry with it strong judgment of them, and it plays an important part in conveying an ideological message to readers (Fowler 1991, p. 84). Both tabloids and broadsheets often incorporate categorisation in their reporting, but representing people as pluralised groups and placing values on these perceived ‘groups’ of people, such as, *foreigners*, *homosexuals*, *blacks*, or *demonstrators* or referring to groups of people using non-human attributes such as *packs* or *monsters* in order to dehumanise them is especially common in tabloids (Fowler 1991, p. 111–129).

3. Material and method

The *New York Times* and the *New York Post* were chosen because they are rival newspapers based in New York City, and they published extensively on the protest in Zuccotti Park. The news articles about Occupy Wall Street were retrieved using LexisNexis. A search with the subject index “Occupy Wall Street” in the *New York Times*, between the dates September 17th 2011 (the day after the protest started) and

November 16th 2011(the day after the protesters were evicted from Zucotti Park), gathers 573 hits on LexisNexis, 248 of them in the actual printed newspaper, not on their blogs. The same search gathers 202 hits in the *New York Post*. All magazine articles, duplicates, opinion pieces, analyses, editorials, reviews, reader comments, quotes of the day, and stories about other phenomena where the Occupy movement is just referenced briefly were not considered for the analysis as only news articles specifically about Occupy Wall Street are relevant for the scope of this study. 51 news articles remained in the *New York Times* while there were 68 in the *New York Post*. One article per week, written on the same date and on an as similar event as possible, was chosen from both newspapers. In total there are 16 articles examined in this study. No front pages are analysed, only full news articles inside the newspapers. The total word count of the 8 articles in the *New York Times* is 6867, while the word count in the *New York Post* is 4980.

The 16 news articles in this study are analysed using the linguistic tools of global coherence, transitivity, and lexical categorisation.

Global coherence concerns the semantic unity of a text, or to put it simply, the themes of a text (van Dijk, 1991a, p. 113). Themes, or to use the technical term, *macro-propositions*, can be used to summarise a text conceptually and indicate its most central information. Macro-propositions are the most important propositions or sequences of propositions that can be used to summarise a text and they are derived by macro-rules of abstraction which reduce complex information (van Dijk, 1991a, p. 113). The hierarchical ordering of experience can have ideological implications as it shows what is taken to be the most important aspects of an event (van Dijk, 1991a, p. 115). In news articles the themes are normally summarised in the headline and the lead paragraph (van Dijk, 1991a, p. 113). In the analysis, the themes of each article are analysed and summarising macro-propositions are produced and presented as lists. In order to contrast the global coherence of the *New York Times* with that of the *New York Post*, the macro-propositions from their articles that are published on the same dates are presented alongside each other. The analysis of global coherence shows what the newspapers write about and do not write about.

According to Halliday (2004, p. 170), transitivity is the system by which world experience gets represented in language by different types of processes. The three main types of processes that Halliday (2004, p. 171) found are *material processes*, *mental processes*, and *relational processes*. Material processes are connected to outer experience, things that happen out in the world. Mental processes are connected to inner experience of perception, such as, thinking and feeling. Relational processes are connected to identification and characterisation. Each process type is connected to the system of agency. Agency determines which role participants play in a process. In a material process an *actor* is responsible for an action which can be directed at a *goal* and the representation can be either in the *operative* (active) or *receptive* (passive) voice (Halliday, 2004, p. 179–182). The operative voice puts a clear focus and responsibility on the part of the actor while the receptive voice leaves responsibility for the action unspecified or backgrounded (Fowler, 1991, p. 78). A mental process has a participant who is responsible for the process of sensing, a *senser*, and a *phenomenon* that is being

sensed, thought, felt, or wanted (Halliday, 2004, p. 201–203). Relational processes represent static relations between two entities, two *be-ers*, and they are most frequently realised by the verbs *be* or *have* (Halliday, 2004, p. 211–214). A relational process can be attributive or identifying and it establishes class-membership and identity by semantically relating two entities to each other (Halliday, 2004, p. 214). A sub-process that will be prevalent in news articles is the *verbal process*, which introduces a clause of something that is being said by a *sayer* (Halliday, 2004, p. 171). The verbal processes will, however, not be analysed here as there is not enough room for a speech act analysis within the scope of this study. The transitivity analysis in this essay will focus on human participants and answering the question: who did what to whom, in order to see how the newspapers identify events and power relations in causation. Material and mental processes from both newspapers are accounted for and presented in tables. The transitivity analysis, then, helps identify commonsensical beliefs present in discourse in regards to what is perceived to have happened, and who is thought to be responsible for the action.

Lexical categorisation is a way of managing phenomena and people by creating membership categories for them which can then be connected to certain features or negative or positive evaluations (Fowler, 1991, p. 92–93). The categorisations and the values ascribed to categories of participants in a text can be seen in the use of overlexicalisation, meaning the excessive use of epithets in connection to a category of participants, and in the attributes and derogatory or positive evaluations ascribed to a group of participants (Bazzi, 2009, p. 91). In this essay, the focus of the lexical analysis is on how human participants are named and categorised in groups and which modifying attributes, if any, are attached to the naming of participants. The lexical words used as names for groups of people, such as protesters and police, are presented in tables. The modifying attributes, such as filthy or rowdy, that the newspapers consider relevant enough to include in their reporting when identifying participants will help identify the articles' discourse position. Van Dijk (1998, p. 31–32) argues that ideology usually is not visible in a single lexical item, but when lexical items are viewed in context with other lexical items and propositional clauses, ideology becomes apparent. Hence, the lexical analysis of categorisation in connection with transitivity analysis and global coherence provide a good basis for analysing news discourse.

4. Analysis and Results

The analysis of the articles starts on a macrolevel perspective, the study of whole texts, – global coherence – and is followed by a microlevel perspective, the study of parts of texts, – transitivity and lexical categorisation. Textual evidence is given in addition to explanations of what is found.

4.1 Global coherence

Global coherence concerns the themes of a text (van Dijk, 1991a, p. 113). Macro-propositions that summarise the themes of each article have been produced and listed, and observations on relevant sub-themes and absent topics are discussed. In order to contrast themes of the newspapers, lists of summarising macro-propositions from articles from both newspapers written on similar topics and published on the same dates are presented under the headline of each corresponding article.

The news articles published on October 2, 2011 have the following global coherence:

<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The New York Post</i>
<p>More Than 700 Arrested as Protesters Try to Cross Brooklyn Bridge</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The police arrested more than 700 demonstrators. • Protesters said the police seemed to guide them to the roadway. • 1,500 marchers reached the foot of the bridge. • Police trapped the marchers and began making arrests. 	<p>TAKE IT TO THE BRIDGE 700 busted as Wall St. foes clog B'klyn Bridge PROTESTERS MAKE APPLE JAM</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protesters were arrested after swarming the Brooklyn Bridge. • Up to 100 cars were left stranded. • Those who stayed on the walkway were not arrested. • Congressman Rangel tried to support the protesters.

Both newspapers describe the same event with similar themes, the *New York Post* includes themes of the protesters causing a traffic jam and a congressman lending his support which are absent in the *New York Times*. The article in the *New York Post* puts extra focus on the protesters as causers of problems for the city by highlighting the traffic jam in the headline and in the lead paragraph.

The news articles published on October 3, 2011 have the following global coherence:

<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The New York Post</i>
<p>Police, Too, Release Videos Of Brooklyn Bridge Arrests</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protesters have released videos of unsympathetic actions from police. • Police releases contrasting video to support their own claims. • 700 protesters were arrested. • They claimed police had not issued proper warnings. 	<p>Cops' rally cry: We warned 'em! Vids show officers' bridge-bust alerts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cops said they warned protesters not to cross the roadway. • They release videos to prove it. • More than 700 of an estimated 3,000 demonstrators were arrested. • Transport Workers Union expresses their support for the protesters.

Both articles deal with the release of videos showing the police's side of the story in the mass arrests on the Brooklyn Bridge. The themes are very similar but the *New York Post* does not include the theme of protesters releasing videos showing police arresting them and using pepper spray against them. Unlike the *New York Post*, the *New York*

Times allows room for the protesters side of the story when they report that they think that they were not given proper warnings.

The news articles published on October 14, 2011 have the following global coherence:

<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The New York Post</i>
<p>Tidying Up, Pre-emptively, But Showdown May Loom</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protesters try to clean up the park to appease the owners. • The park’s owner plans to clean the park and enforce stricter rules. • Protesters vowed to stand their ground against an eviction. • The owners of the park say protesters are disturbing the neighbourhood. 	<p>HELL, NO, WE WON'T GO! Zuccotti hordes defiant</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police have demanded that the protesters vacate the park. • The park needs to be cleaned. • Protesters will not let the park be foreclosed. • Protesters were busted when refusing to leave a court room. • The rules will be more restricted inside the park.

Both newspapers reproduce a notion of an unavoidable confrontation between protesters and police. The *New York Times* highlight the protesters’ efforts to clean up in the headline and lead paragraph, while the *New York Post* instead focuses on the protesters’ vow to defy police orders to evacuate the park. The *New York Post* also includes the unrelated theme of protesters being arrested in a court room earlier, which adds to the representation of the protesters as troublemakers.

The news articles published on October 19, 2011 have the following global coherence:

<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The New York Post</i>
<p>Commander Faces Penalty Over Use of Pepper Spray</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A police commander pepper sprayed protesters. • Investigators found that he used it outside departmental guidelines. • He could lose 10 vacation days. • Protesters marched for the dropping of criminal charges against other protesters. 	<p>Pepper cop stung with loss of days</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A cop has been docked 10 vacation days. • He pepper sprayed a young teacher’s aide. • Meanwhile, neighbors are fed up with protesters. • OWS members protested outside a Gov. Coumo event.

Both articles are short and foreground the same themes of a police commander’s use of pepper spray and the subsequent internal punishment, as well as the protesters’ continued protesting outside different locations. The *New York Post* arbitrarily adds a theme of protesters being a disturbance to neighbours, since this theme does not relate to the rest of the article which only deals with the offending police officer, the addition points to an ideology wherein protesters are problematic for the city.

The news articles published on October 27, 2011 have the following global coherence:

<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The New York Post</i>
<p>An Occupy Wall Street March To Support Those in Oakland</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protesters in New York marched to support those in Oakland. • Riot police attacked protesters in Oakland. • Police pursued the marchers. • The marchers returned. 	<p>EXCLUSIVE: ZUCCOTTI A HELL'S KITCHEN Cooks revolt vs. food freeloaders</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The volunteer kitchen staff launched a counterrevolution against freeloaders. • The staff is exhausted and overworked • Demonstrators violently clashed with cops. • Demonstrators were angry over the violence in Oakland. • Security has deteriorated inside the park.

These articles foreground different themes, the *New York Times* focuses on a march in support of the protesters in Oakland, a theme that also occurs briefly in the *New York Post*, while the *New York Post* focuses on a struggle between the volunteer kitchen staff in Zuccotti Park and homeless people and criminals who look for free food, a theme completely absent from the *New York Times*. The *New York Times* highlights the solidarity within the protest movement while the *New York Post* highlights the conflicts within the encampment. Violence is also attributed to the protesters in the article in the *New York Post* while the violence of the police is a theme in the *New York Times*.

The news articles published on November 3, 2011 have the following global coherence:

<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The New York Post</i>
<p>Mayor Says Protest Hurts Life in Area Around Park</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The mayor had become concerned about the effect of the protest on the neighborhood. • The police removed barricades. • City officials praised the decision to increase quality of life in neighborhood. • Also, a man was charged with sexual abuse of a protester. 	<p>OTHER 99% FIRES BACK Raging shop owners claim OWS scares away customers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Outraged business owners express frustration with the protest. • Businesses are losing customers. • Residents complain that the neighbourhood has become unliveable. • The mayor warns protesters. • Business owners are excited that barricades are removed.

Both articles deal with the impact of the protest on the neighbourhood, the *New York Times* focuses on the mayor's view while the *New York Post* focuses on affected business owners. At the end of the article which had only been concerned with the life in the area around the park, the *New York Times* uses the word *also* to arbitrarily introduce a theme of a protester being sexually assaulted, adding to their representation of the protesters as victims.

The news articles published on November 9, 2011 have the following global coherence:

<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The New York Post</i>
<p>At Scene of Wall St. Protest, Rising Concerns About Crime</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The arrest of a man sexually assaulting a protester raises discussion on crime in the park. • Police statistics show conflicting and unspecific results. • Protesters have had to police the park themselves. • The park has divided into neighbourhoods. 	<p>Thief nailed at Zuccotti</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A raging lunatic was body-slammed in Zuccotti Park. • He tried to steal from a 9/11 first responders collection. • The bad vibes came in contrast to a performance by Woodstock rockers.

The *New York Times* has a more detailed account of crimes in connection with the protest as well as an account of tensions within the park. The *New York Post* just focuses on a single event in which a thief is apprehended by protesters and then police. This type of sensationalised personalised theme is a typical feature of tabloid writing (cf. Jäger, 2001, p. 49).

The news articles published on November 16, 2011 have the following global coherence:

<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The New York Post</i>
<p>City Reopens Park After Protesters Are Evicted</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New York City reopened Zuccotti Park. • Protesters were evicted. • The police let protesters back in again. • Protesters carrying backpacks were turned away. • Protesters had been arrested. • Passers-by are pleased by the empty park. • Protesters try to reclaim spaces. 	<p>CITY BASKING IN EVICT-ORY! * Ousted horde loses court challenge * 220 arrested amid weapons & filth * Judge reopens park but bans tents</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zuccotti Park loses a court ruling and is closed down. • Protesters are kicked out of Zuccotti Park. • The city celebrates. • Protesters can re-enter the park, with restrictions. • Sanitation workers cleaned the park. • Protesters had been arrested. • The setback emboldens protesters.

These articles were published after the eviction of the protesters and the subsequent restricted reopening of the park. The *New York Times* highlights the reopening of the park in its headline and lead paragraph while the *New York Post* highlights the initial closing of the park, indicating that the article in the *New York Times* might sympathise with the protesters while the *New York Post* do not. The article in the *New York Post*

focuses on celebration and calls the eviction a victory for the city, a theme that is absent in the *New York Times*. The headline of the article in the *New York Post* implies that the collective city of New York is celebrating the eviction of the protesters as a victory. This helps reproduce the protesters as a powerful out-group whose repression is desired by ‘us’, the city.

Neither of the newspapers focuses on the protesters’ cause in their articles. However, the protesters’ cause is spelt out more often in the articles in the *New York Post* compared to the *New York Times*, as seen in examples (1) – (3):

- (1) Zuccotti Park in Lower Manhattan -- headquarters of the past two weeks of a protest movement against what demonstrators call inequities in the economic system
- (2) the marchers, protesting greed and social injustice
- (3) an inflamed day of demonstrations against high unemployment, bank bailouts and financial pain for the masses

In the eight articles analysed in the *New York Times* the protesters’ cause is only spelled out twice when it is noted that they are *protesting what they see as injustice in the financial system* and *they wanted the governor to support retention of the so-called millionaire tax*.

Looking at all the articles in both newspapers, there are four main groups of reoccurring participants that can be identified in the discourses about the Occupy Wall Street protest: the protesters, the police, city officials, and residents and business owners in the area around Zuccotti Park. These four groups of participants are interesting regarding representation of ideology and power hierarchies in the articles and will therefore be studied closer in sections 4.2 and 4.3.

4.2 Transitivity analysis

A transitivity analysis is performed on all of the 16 articles. The processes in which the four main groups of participants take part and the roles they are assigned in those processes are listed and discussed below.

4.2.1 Material processes in the *New York Times*

Table 1 shows material processes, that are important for the analysis of ideology and representation, in the *New York Times* in which the protesters, as a group or as individuals, are the foregrounded actors. The full table of material processes in the *New York Times* is not presented due to its size, but it can be found in Appendix A.

Table 1. Material processes in the *New York Times* in which the protesters are actors.

The protesters:	
(1) crowded inside	(9) have had to police the park themselves
(2) began walking up the road	(10) scrubbed walkways clean
(3) scurried around	(11) hauled off debris
(4) went on a winding march	(12) were trying to persuade the park's owner
(5) returned to Zuccotti Park	(13) tried to keep the energy up
(6) have encircled troublemakers	(14) tried to push through a line of officers
(7) ushered them to the edge of the park	(15) initially resisted
(8) taped off sections of the park	(16) defied police orders

Writers of the news articles in the *New York Times* assign responsibility for 55 material processes to the protesters. However, the material processes in which the protesters are actors do not tend to have any human goals. Processes where their movements are described are the most common types of processes in which the protesters are actors in the news articles in the *New York Times*, see examples (1) – (5) in table 1. This produces a discourse wherein the protesters are not represented as actors who wield influencing power over other participants (cf. Fowler, 1991, p. 98). Although, in two cases, examples (6) and (7) in table 1, the protesters are affecting troublemakers, that is, people who are disrupting the protest and starting fights within the park. The processes of cleaning and policing the park are also processes in which the protesters are active, see examples (8) – (11) in table 1, which shows that the news articles in the *New York Times* represent the protesters as bearing responsible for the park and a lot of actions within the park. The protesters are also described as *trying* to do things in three instances, examples (12) – (14) in table 1, which indicates that the actors lack a certain capability and power to realise all their goals. In examples (15) and (16) in table 1, the protesters are resisting or acting in defiance of police orders indicating that there is a contention between the two groups in the articles.

The protesters are the foregrounded goal in 10 receptive material processes in the *New York Times*, see table 2.

Table 2. Receptive material processes in the *New York Times* in which the protesters are goals.

The protesters:
(1) were met by a few police supervisors
(2) were allowed to walk back down to Manhattan
(3) were eventually arrested
(4) were arrested
(5) was struck in the head by a projectile
(6) were turned away
(7) were held on charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest
(8) were led out without incident

Example (4) in table 2, where the protesters are being arrested, occurred three times, what is implied in that construction is that it is the police who are responsible for the action. In fact, it is the police that are implicit actors in all of the receptive processes in examples (2) – (8) in table 2 where the protesters are goals. The writers of the news articles about Occupy Wall Street in the *New York Times* choose to foreground the goal, the protesters, instead of the actor responsible for the action in these cases, making the victimisation more prevalent than the role of the actors. Ideologically, this could indicate that the sympathy lies with the protesters who are being treated harshly by the police according to the articles.

Table 3 shows material processes in the *New York Times*, that are important for the analysis of ideology and representation, in which the police, as a group or as individuals, are actors. The full table of all processes in which the police are the foregrounded actors is attached in Appendix A.

Table 3. Material processes in the *New York Times* in which the police are actors.

The police:	
(1) arrested more than 700 demonstrators	(7) handcuffed them [the protesters]
(2) began making arrests	(8) raided the main encampment
(3) removed the protesters	(9) closed the park
(4) cut the marchers off	(10) opened the gates
(5) surrounded them [the marchers]	(11) let in a single-file line of people
(6) pulled them [the protesters] out one by one	(12) removed barricades

The police are assigned responsibility for 29 material processes in the articles in the *New York Post*. As seen in examples (1) – (7) in table 3, in the news articles in the *New York Times* the police are often actors in material processes where they are doing something to the protesters who are the goal of the police’s actions. Examples (4) – (8) in table 3 have particularly forceful action verbs attached to the police, indicating a focus on harsh treatment of the protesters by police. As seen in examples (9) – (12), the police are also enforcing the closing and reopening of the park, decisions made by city officials, see table 4.

City officials are mostly involved in verbal processes of expressing or defending decisions affecting the protest movement, such as whether or not the protesters should be allowed in the park or what should be allowed to do in the park. The five material processes that city officials are involved in can be seen in table 4.

Table 4. Material processes in the *New York Times* in which city officials are actors.

City officials:
(1) reopens park
(2) reopened the park
(3) handed down his decision
(4) sent out a message on Twitter
(5) has sounded increasingly exasperated

All of the processes in examples (1) – (5) in table 4, in which city officials are actors, concern their decision making on matters of the closing and opening of Zuccotti Park where the protesters are camped.

The category of residents and local business owners are not as prevalent in the news articles as the previous groups of participants. All three processes where local residents are actors can be seen in table 5.

Table 5. Material processes in the *New York Times* in which local residents are actors.

Residents:

- (1) gave police officers guarding Zuccotti Park a thumbs-up sign
- (2) flashed them [the police] a huge grin
- (3) stopped in her tracks

As seen in table 5, only three locals who are passing by Zuccotti Park are actors in material processes, all of which involved them praising the police for evicting the protesters. Example (3) in table 5 is a material process that occurs just before the woman is the sayer in a verbal process, expressing support for the police in their eviction of protesters. The few verbal processes attributed to local residents and business owners also serve the function of offering support for the eviction of protesters who are characterised as a disturbance for the local residents and business owners.

In the cases where the protesters are in the role of actor in the *New York Times*, there are mostly no affected participants. The protesters on the other hand are often the goal, the affected participants, of the processes in which the police are the actors. City officials also hold power over the protesters according to the *New York Times*. At no point in the *New York Times* are the protesters actors in a process where they are affecting politicians, bankers, or city officials. In fact, their message is never mentioned in a process where others are influenced by it or act on it. The protesters do, however, have a small effect, one of annoyance, on local residents and business owners who almost exclusively occur in the news stories to express how the protesters are disturbing them and hurting their businesses. The writers' choices in transitivity show that the discourse in the *New York Times* rests on the ideological assumptions that the protesters are inherently powerless while the police and city officials are inherently powerful.

4.2.2 Mental processes in the *New York Times*

There are not nearly as many mental processes in the news articles as there are material processes. This could be attributed to the fact that it might be more difficult to claim objectivity when attributing mental processes to participants in news stories than material processes, which are more easily observable. Table 6 shows all the mental processes in which the protesters and the city officials are sensors in the *New York Times*. The police and local residents or business owners are not involved in any mental processes.

Table 6. Mental processes in the *New York Times*

The protesters:	City officials:
(1) saw the cleanup as tantamount to an eviction notice	(5) had struggled with how to respond
(2) held out hope	
(3) are still concerned	
(4) decided to march	

The fact that the *New York Times* never ascribe a mental process to the police, except inside a direct verbal quote from them, but do so with the protesters shows that they are more willing to project feelings and thought processes on the protesters than other groups of participants. This could be an indication that the protesters are seen as the in-group whose feelings and experiences are perceived to be known by the writer.

4.2.3 Material processes in the *New York Post*

Table 7 shows material processes in the *New York Post*, that are important for the analysis of ideology and representation, in which the protesters, as a group or as individuals, are the foregrounded actors. The full table, including all material processes in the *New York Post* which have the protesters as foregrounded actors, can be found in Appendix B.

Table 7. Material processes in the *New York Post* in which the protesters are actors.

The protesters:	
(1) stormed from the park to Reade Street and Broadway	(9) returned to Zuccotti
(2) shut down the city’s busy port	(10) will serve only brown rice and other spartan grub
(3) make apple jam	(11) will also provide directions to local soup kitchens
(4) used wire cutters to break into a private space	(12) moved in to the trouble-prone southwest section of Zuccotti Park
(5) lost a judge’s ruling	(13) took other steps to police the squatters
(6) loses court challenge	(14) launched a “counter” revolution
(7) bottlenecked at the entrance	
(8) occupied the bridge	

In examples (1) and (2) in table 7, the protesters are attached to forceful action verbs (the shutting down of the port happened in Oakland). The forceful actions give the impression that the protesters carry power in their actions. As seen by examples (2) – (6) in table 7, the writers of the news articles about Occupy Wall Street in the *New York Post*, assign the protesters as actors in negative processes. Example (3) in table 7 is a pun which implies that protesters who were marching on Brooklyn Bridge were jamming traffic in New York City, the big apple. Examples (2) – (4) in table 7 are processes in which the protesters’ actions have negative consequences for others, while examples (5) and (6) carry negative implications for the protesters themselves. Like in the *New York Times*, there are also a few processes focusing on the movements of the protesters in the *New York Post*, see examples (7) – (9).

The protesters are assigned the role of actors in two future processes in the *New York Post*, see examples (10) and (11). These processes describe what the protesters responsible for the food supplies in the park will do in the future to stave of people who are not involved with the cause from eating their food. In the news articles in the *New York Post* there is a focus on a perceived division within Zuccotti Park between *legitimate protesters* and *criminals and homeless people* and this theme can be seen in the processes in examples (12) – (14) where the protesters are described as moving in on, policing, and launching a counter revolution against the *criminals and homeless people*.

The protesters are the foregrounded goal in 16 receptive processes in the *New York Post*; these processes can be seen in table 8.

Table 8. Receptive material processes in the *New York Post* in which the protesters are goals.

The protesters:	
(1) were arrested	(7) were freed
(2) were busted	(8) will be arraigned
(3) were processed	(9) were turned away
(4) were slowly processed	(10) were promptly kicked out
(5) were issued summonses and desk appearance tickets	(11) were allowed back in
(6) were released	(12) are not permitted to lie down on benches, the ground or walkways

The process of protesters being or getting arrested occurs 4 times and the process of them being busted occurs twice. There are no explicit actors in these processes that highlight the fate of the protesters over the responsibilities of the actors. Examples (1) – (7) in table 8 are processes in which the protesters are arrested by the implied police and then processed by the implied legal system and then released. In examples (9) – (11) in table 8 the protesters are the goals in processes where the police are implied actors who are restricting their movements. Example (12) in table 8 also shows that the protesters' actions are implicitly restricted by law officials as well.

Table 9 shows all seven material processes in the *New York Post* in which the police, as a group or as individuals, are the foregrounded actors.

Table 9. Material processes in the *New York Post* in which the police are actors.

The police:	
(1) hauled away hundreds of protesters	(5) escorted him [an alleged thief] several blocks away
(2) made at least 10 arrests	(6) did not arrest him [an alleged thief]
(3) tried to force them [the protesters] back to the sidewalks	(7) released videotapes
(4) searched the belongings for contraband	

The police are not actors in many material processes in the *New York Post*; instead the main focus is on the protesters as actors. The police are, however, involved in four processes where they have the authority to arrest, search, and force the protesters, as seen by examples (1) – (4) in table 9, which establishes that they hold a power to control the protesters (cf. Fowler, 1991, p. 98). As seen by examples (5) and (6) in table

9, the police also hold an implied and overt power over an alleged thief bothering the protesters, they only escort him away but it is implied that they could arrest him if they wanted to. As seen by example (3), the police are assigned the role of actor in a process of trying in the *New York Post*, which implies a certain weakness in their attempts to control the protesters. The police are only active in these 7 processes while the protesters are foregrounded as goals in 12 processes where the police are backgrounded actors, indicating an ideology in the articles where the responsibility of the police is not as important as the responsibility of the protesters.

All material processes in which city officials are actors in the *New York Post* can be seen in table 10.

Table 10. Material processes in the *New York Post* in which city officials are actors.

City officials:
(1) tried to lend his support
(2) visited Zuccotti Park
(3) finally took action to reopen the Financial District streets
(4) reopens park
(5) ruled that the protesters can re-enter the park

In examples (1) and (2) in table 10 Congressman Rangel and Councilman Williams are the respective actors in processes where they do not exercise power. Examples (3) – (5) in table 10 concern rulings made by city officials on the park and barricaded streets and those examples foreground the legislative power that city officials hold over the protesters.

As seen in table 11, local residents and business owners are only actors in one material process in the *New York Post*, but they are sayers in several verbal processes as well as sensors in nine mental processes.

Table 11. Material processes in the *New York Post* in which local residents and business owners are actors.

Residents and business owners:
(1) have flocked to a series of Community Board 1 meetings

Example (1) in table 11 is an action by local residents which follows after several paragraphs of verbal processes describing how residents and business owners feel anger and dissatisfaction with the protesters’ presence in the neighbourhood. This produces a discourse in which the local residents and business owners are represented as victims of the protesters’ actions and mere presence.

The writers of the news articles in the *New York Post* omits the police when they are the implied actors in 12 material processes while they only assign the police as overt actors in 7 material processes. This produces discourses which background the responsibilities and actions of the police. In contrast to the *New York Times*, the protesters are at times assigned to the role of quite forceful actors in the *New York Post* and they are assigned to the role of victims of police and city officials to a lesser extent in the *New York Post*.

4.2.4 Mental processes in the *New York Post*

Table 12 shows all the mental processes in which the protesters and the local residents and business owners are sensors in the *New York Post*. The police and city officials are not sensors in any mental processes in the *New York Post*.

Table 12. Mental processes in the *New York Post*

The protesters:	Residents and business owners:
(1) got their first taste of the revolt within the revolt	(2) was livid
	(3) are fed up [with the protesters]
	(4) want to be heard
	(5) are tired of being threatened by thuggish protesters
	(6) plans to meet
	(7) saw a ray of hope
	(8) was excited to see the barriers removed
	(9) rejoiced at the mass eviction

Except for one instance with the protesters, example (1) in table 12, the *New York Post* only assigns the role of sensor in mental processes to residents, shop owners and the collective city, which indicates that they can be seen as an in-group whose feelings and experiences are thought to be known by the writers of the articles.

The mental processes ascribed to the local residents and business owners show that the protesters are causing them grief and disturbance, see examples (2) – (5) in table 12. Examples (7) – (9) are processes that assign hopeful and excited emotions to local residents and merchants in connection with the eviction of the protesters from Zuccotti Park. *Rejoice* is an especially powerful word for the writers to place on residents and business owners. These processes highlight the construction in the *New York Post* of the protesters as a group who are affecting the in-group, the locals, in a very negative manner.

4.3 Lexical categorisation

The focus in the lexical analysis is on how the four recurring groups of participants, protesters, police, city officials, and residents and business owners, are named and categorised in groups and which modifying attributes, if any, are attached to the groups.

City officials and residents and business owners are mostly named as individuals or precisely as *city officials*, *residents* and *business owners* in both newspapers and therefore they will not be focused upon in this section.

4.3.1 Lexical categorisation of protesters

In table 13, a list of all the lexical words used by the newspapers to name the protesters is presented along with the number of times each lexical item is used in each newspaper. Reported first names and surnames of individual participants as well as pronouns are not accounted for, as they do not pertain to the aim of the study, only lexical words used to name groups of participants are listed.

Table 13. Naming of protesters in the *New York Times* and the *New York Post*

The New York Times		The New York Post	
protesters	87	protesters	44
people	22	demonstrators	16
demonstrators	15	people	8
group	9	crowd	7
crowd(s)	6	group	3
marchers	6	organizers	3
anarchists	2	Assembly	2
drummers	2	horde(s)	2
organizers	2	masses	2
Americans	1	marchers	2
activists	1	mob	2
clients	1	squatters	2
individuals	1	bunch	1
members	1	community	1
occupants	1	drum circle	1
political science grads	1	foes	1
supporters	1	hippies	1
the 99 percent	1	inhabitants	1
volunteers	1	members	1
women	1	occupiers	1
		throng	1

As seen in table 13, the top five words used to identify protesters are shared by the *New York Post* and the *New York Times*, but beyond that the *New York Post* uses a few more negative words to describe the protesters than the *New York Times*.

The use of *anarchists* in the *New York Times* is used in reported speech where the *anarchists* and *people with drug problems* are being contrasted with *normal Americans* and *political science grads* in the protest movement, thus creating smaller groups within the group of protesters. *Organizers* and *drummers* are also sub-groups of protesters that are distinguished in *The New York Times*, who also specify the protesters in terms of there being *female protesters* and *transgender protesters*.

Almost all modifying words and phrases that are added to the names of protesters in the *New York Times* and many in the *New York Post* are counting words, specifying a number of protesters, as in, *700 demonstrators* or *hundreds of protesters*. The *New York Times* also use clothing to identify protesters twice, *two protesters dressed in black* and *young people in knit hats and jeans*. One instance of attribution in the *New York Times*

highlights victimisation of protesters, namely the use of *penned-in women*, who are described as being pepper sprayed by the police.

The words *mob*, *masses*, *hordes*, *foes* and *throng* categorises the protesters as more menacing in the discourse in the *New York Post* compared to that in the *New York Times*. Most modifying phrases used in the naming of protesters in the *New York Post* have negative connotations, making the protesters seem to be in bad condition or as being threatening, as seen in examples (1) – (8):

- (1) the dreaded drum circle
- (2) the ragtag mob
- (3) the haggard masses
- (4) thuggish protesters
- (5) the motley masses
- (6) rowdy demonstrators
- (7) the loud, angry crowd
- (8) goddamned hippies

The word *motley* in example (5) takes on a negative connotation in this context as it is followed by the description that their *unruly antics were making life miserable for the people who live and work in the neighborhood*.

The occupation in itself is also named as being *out-of-control* twice in the *New York Post*.

The protesters' negative properties are being emphasised in the *New York Post*. The protesters are being discriminated by negative overlexicalisation and treated as a collective group with shared negative attributes (cf. Bazzi, 2009, p. 91). These negative word choices serve the function of discrediting the protesters and it indicates the ideological perspective from which the writers of the articles in the *New York Post* view the protesters.

The overlexicalisation of protesters in terms of negative words in the *New York Post* clearly shows that the protesters are constructed as the out-group by the writers of the news articles in the *New York Post*. The protesters' categorisation as the out-group in the *New York Post* can also be seen in the polarisation between them and the city (9), the police (10), the residents and business owners (11):

- (9) City basking in evictory
- (10) setting the stage for a massive confrontation between cops and demonstrators vowing to defy the order.
- (11) The cries of starving business owners follow pleas from local residents, who say the park occupiers have made their neighborhood unlivable - by urinating and defecating in the streets, and leaving mounds of rotting garbage.
- (12)The protesters have had their say - and now hard-working New Yorkers want to be heard.

(13) One irate driver, a Ground Zero construction worker, was livid. "I work my ass off all day, and these goddamned hippies close down the Brooklyn Bridge so I can't get home?" he said. "This ain't right!"

As seen in examples (12) and (13) from the *New York Post*, the protesters are also contrasted with hard-working New Yorkers, the implication being that the protesters are not hard-working.

The protesters are also implicitly named in the newspapers by the abstract concept of the movement, when the Occupy Wall Street movement or the camp is mentioned it can be seen as functioning as an inclusive metonym for the actual protesters. In one instance in the *New York Post* where the camp in Zuccotti Park functions as a metonym for the protesters it is evaluated as being *squalid*. The protesters' camp is frequently associated with filth in the *New York Post* as seen in examples (14) – (16). This attribution does not take place in the *New York Times*.

(14) 220 arrested amid weapons & filth

(15) the crusty camp

(16) filthy encampment in Zuccotti Park

4.3.1 Lexical categorisation of police

In table 14, a list of all the lexical words used by the newspapers to name the police is presented along with the number of times each lexical item is used in each newspaper.

Table 14. Naming of police in the *New York Times* and the *New York Post*

The <i>New York Times</i>		The <i>New York Post</i>	
police	44	cops	17
officers	12	police	5
(New York police) department	8	NYPD	4
police officers	6	department	2
(police) commanders	2	officers	1
white shirts	2	police brass	1
cops	1	police captains	1
investigators	1		
law enforcement officers	1		
N.Y.P.D	1		
police supervisors	1		

The two informal terms, *cops* and *white shirts*, in the *New York Times* are used in reported speech from protesters. The *New York Times* favours the term *police* while the informal term *cops* is favoured in the *New York Post* which can be explained by them using a style that meets their respective institutional standards (cf. Bell, 1997, p. 243).

In the *New York Post*, *police* are only modified twice in terms of numbers and they are also once specified as being *police on scooters*. In the *New York Times*, however, the police are connected to several modifying phrases in terms of numbers, often to phrases specifying large amounts of police officers, for example, *dozens of officers*, *hundreds of*

police officers, and *a gantlet of officers*. The police are also specified in terms of apparel and sub-groups in the *New York Times*, such as, *officers in helmets*, *uniformed officers*, *plainclothes officers*, *officers with special training*, and *riot police*. These modifying phrases highlight a focus on the police as being a powerful threat to the protesters in the discourses in the *New York Times*, especially when connected to the material processes in which the protesters are goals affected by actions of the police.

5. Discussion

This paper examined the representation of the Occupy Wall Street protest in the *New York Times* and the *New York Post* in order to make newspapers' ability to create different discursive realities of an event through their language use transparent on a linguistic level. The analysis shows that even though the two newspapers often write about similar themes, the language choices made and the implications of power and responsibility are different, thus creating different realities when it comes to the representation of groups of participants involved in the protest (cf. Bell, 1997:240). The differing ideologies of the newspapers can be seen in their respective representation of groups of participants in the articles (cf. Fairclough, 1989, p. 52).

The hard news in the *New York Times* is not objective but rather influenced by their ideological stance concerning the protesters as victims without power to influence policy or the economy. Likewise, the hard news in the *New York Post* reflect their ideological stance concerning the protesters as a menace and disturbance whose repression is desired by the city.

The contributions made by the *New York Times* to the understanding of the Occupy Wall Street protest create sympathy towards the protesters who are often affected by the police. The police are represented as having the power to achieve their aims of controlling the protesters. Even though the writers of the articles in the *New York Times* are often critical of the treatment of the protesters and appear sympathetic to their needs, they reproduce the protesters as inherently powerless by not foregrounding their cause or showing them affecting politicians or bankers, instead the police and politicians become the only participants who hold any real power to achieve political and social change. Thereby, the ideological worldview that they implicitly reinforce is one where that power relation is inherently natural.

The *New York Post*'s representation of the protestors might incline readers to adopt a negative view of the movement, which is in line with the findings of Stamou (2001) and Hackett and Zhao (1994) regarding newspapers' representation of protests. The discourse in the *New York Post* builds on the ideological assumption that there is a disconnect between the collective city of New York and the protesters. In the discourse, the city represents the in-group, 'us', while the protesters represent the out-group, 'them'. The repression of 'them', the protesters, is desired by the city which represents 'us'.

The protesters who are mostly affected and powerless in the *New York Times* become more menacing and more of a disturbance in the *New York Post*. The small sub-theme of protesters being an annoyance to local residents and businesses present in the *New York Times* is heightened immensely in the *New York Post*.

The underlying ideology in the *New York Times* sees the polarisation of the group of protesters with that of the police as natural while the *New York Post* naturally polarises the city of New York with the protesters. The in-groups are different in the two papers which can be seen in the fact that the negative actions of the protesters are emphasised more in the *New York Post* while the aggressive actions of the police are emphasised to a higher degree in the *New York Times* than in the *New York Post*. A further indication of the creation of different 'us' versus 'them' themes in the two newspapers are the mental processes which are ascribed to groups whose feelings could be perceived to be known and recognised by the writers; they are ascribed to protesters in the *New York Times* while the *New York Post* ascribes them to residents and business owners.

Both the *New York Times* and the *New York Post* produce discourses where the protesters are incapable of achieving any real change politically or socially. At no point are the protesters described as having an impact on the politicians or bankers that they are protesting, no policies are described as changing or even being debated. Instead, the discourses in the newspapers are mainly limited to the polarisation of groups that are seen as having different goals and different means to achieve their goals. The underlying ideology of the discourses in both newspapers includes the assumption that the protesters' message will have no real influence on the world. Although it is not fully possible for this study to gauge what influence these news discourses might have on readers, it could be said that they are contributing to a public opinion of protesting as a futile effort since the protesters are portrayed as powerless in achieving change. It is, however, important to note that the meanings of these news discourses are dependent on the readers bringing in the right assumptions and cultural context in their interpretations of them, so it is possible that readers interpret discourses differently (van Dijk, 1991a, p. 116–117).

A limitation with this study is that it was not able to encompass all aspects of news articles that are relevant for the ideological reproduction of reality in discourse. In terms of ideology and reproduction of power in discourse, there are other aspects of news articles that are worth investigating, such as, speech acts, who gets to speak and what do they say, as well as explanations and justifications of actions, when are they present and what do they say. Due to time and space restrictions, the study also did not look at all the articles written about Occupy Wall Street in the *New York Post* and the *New York Times*, had opinion pieces been included the overall ideology of the newspapers may have been more overt.

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Appendix A

All material processes in the *New York Times* in which the protesters are actors.

The protesters:
had stayed on the sidewalks
stuck to the generally agreed-upon route
headed up onto the wooden walkway
began walking up the road
have recorded and released several videos
began marching across the bridge
have been based at Zuccotti Park
scurried around
were trying to persuade the park's owner
taped off sections of the park
hauled off debris
scrubbed walkways clean
was putting abandoned clothing into clear plastic bags
heeded the call
met with prosecutors
marched to the offices of the Manhattan district attorney
marched to Skylight Studios
marched
left the Occupy Wall Street base
went on a winding march
poured into the streets
began a frantic cat-and-mouse game
walked quickly
sometimes ran through the streets
carried an orange net
was listed in critical condition
returned to Zuccotti Park
have had to police the park themselves
have maintained a de facto security team
patrol the park
use a technique they call de-escalation
have encircled troublemakers
ushered them [the troublemakers] to the edge of the park
stepped forward
have set up a large women's-only tent
crowded inside
broke into small discussion groups
tried to keep the energy up
made arrangements
remained at the park
initially resisted

tried to push through a line of officers
returned
regrouped
swapped stories of their confrontations with the police
climbed to the top of the plywood fence
held a general-assembly-style discussion
appeared with bolt cutters
quickly made an opening in the fence
linked arms
rallied around an area known as the kitchen
began putting up makeshift barricades
left the park
locked arms
defied police orders

All material processes in the *New York Times* in which the police are actors.

The police:

arrested more than 700 demonstrators
cut the marchers off
surrounded them [the marchers]
began making arrests
release videos of Brooklyn Bridge arrests
has staked out ground in that battle
routinely videotape protests
have largely left the Zuccotti Park protests untouched
faces penalty over use of pepper spray
opened an investigation
are investigating
removed barricades
compiles numbers by precinct
have remained on the perimeter of the park
have entered the park
opened the gates
let in a single-file line of people
removed the protesters
removed their [the protesters] tents, tarps and belongings
closed the park
cleared a lot
raided the main encampment
sped down Varick Street
closed in on those [the protesters] who remained
pulled them [the protesters] out one by one
handcuffed them [the protesters]
set up a battery of klieg lights
aimed them [the klieg lights] into the park
walked down Liberty Street

Appendix B

All material processes in the *New York Post* in which the protesters are actors.

The protesters:

make apple jam
made their way through the rain
bottlenecked at the entrance
occupied the bridge
came to his [congressman Rangel] rescue
dug in their heels
complied
fell to the ground
met with prosecutors
protested
revolt
launched a “counter” revolution
will serve only brown rice and other spartan grub
will also provide directions to local soup kitchens
stormed from the park to Reade Street and Broadway
returned to Zuccotti
took other steps to police the squatters
moved in to the trouble-prone southwest section of Zuccotti Park
shut down the city’s busy port
suffers from serious ailments
loses court challenge
lost a judge’s ruling
used wire cutters to break into a private space
whipped up a welcome-home meal

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