

The representation of non-protesters in a student and teacher protest: a Critical Discourse Analysis of news reporting in a Greek newspaper



Discourse & Society
 Copyright © 2001
 SAGE Publications
 (London,
 Thousand Oaks, CA
 and New Delhi)
 Vol 12(5): 653–680
 [0957-9265
 (200109) 12:5;
 653–680; 019019]

ANASTASIA G. STAMOU
 ARISTOTLE UNIVERSITY OF THESSALONIKI

ABSTRACT. This article examines a rather neglected aspect of the protest script, the news representation of drivers, pedestrians, parents of protesters and other actors – defined here as ‘non-protesters’ – in a student and teacher protest that took place in Greece. The significance of *non-protesters* is that they may have a considerable impact on people who read about the protest and therefore the readers’ reception of that particular protest. In addition, because of the frequent interaction of most non-protesters with protesters *themselves*, the former contribute to the depiction of the latter. Adhering to the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) paradigm, the analysis of the data indicates that the way non-protesters are portrayed might make readers adopt a negative stance towards the protest, and that protesters’ representation is in line with the dominant discourse of protest. In conclusion, the stigmatization of protesters is likely to be more effective when actors who may significantly influence readers are also involved in the process. Although the major part of the analysis is carried out by drawing upon two well-established tools in the area of CDA (transitivity and ergativity), the article also addresses methodological issues, such as compiling a *causation scale* and considering *justification* as a mitigating device of negative actions.

KEY WORDS: *causation scale, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), dominant discourse of protest, ergativity, justification, news, non-protesters, protest (script), representation, transitivity*

1. Introduction

Research on the media coverage of various events is conducted on the assumption that news media do not mirror the real world, but they construct versions of reality, since news production inevitably involves processes of selection and transformation. Similar studies regarding protest have also been carried out. Specifically, it has been found that the news coverage of protest gravitates towards

the actions and not the causes of protest and is focused on any violent and unusual incidents which have taken place, such as a confrontation with the authorities, or the extreme appearance of the protesters (McLeod and Hertog, 1992; Murdock, 1973). Moreover, there is not only a specific topicalization of protest, but also a stereotypical treatment of its subjects. Hence, previous research has shown that protesters are represented as the major source of violent events and as being generally aggressive in nature (Fowler, 1991; Hackett and Zhao, 1994; Trew, 1979a). Police, on the other hand, are mostly depicted as victims of such acts (Fowler, 1991; Hackett and Zhao, 1994; Trew, 1979a) or, when they resort to violence, their acts tend to be mitigated (Fang, 1994). It has also been found that protesters are ascribed other negative attributes other than violence: for example, immaturity, sentimentality, misinformation, disorganization or self-interest (Hackett and Zhao, 1994; Lee and Craig, 1992). Finally, studies comparing different newspapers (Fowler, 1991; Murdock, 1973) have found a more or less consistent news treatment of protest. Hence, there must be a 'stereotypical, naturalised and dominant discourse' of protest (Brookes, 1995: 464).

There are many consequences of such news reporting. First, stress of news coverage on protest actions obscures the causes of the event, and thus protest seems transitory and ephemeral (Murdock, 1973). Second, when protest is portrayed as an event characterized by violent and/or extraordinary happenings, it is appropriated as a spectacle instead of a serious political action (Murdock, 1973). Moreover, the association of protesters with violence – the activation of 'the Enemy Within' frame – and/or with extreme behaviour, immaturity or spontaneity – the application of 'the Marginal Oddity' frame – leads to their stigmatization and their representation as 'the Deviant Other' (Hackett and Zhao, 1994).

The existence of such discourse of protest can be partly explained by journalistic practicalities, such as the criteria of newsworthiness (Galtung and Ruge, 1973), the operation of newspapers on a 24-hour cycle (Murdock, 1973) and the overall nature of journalistic sources (Whitaker, 1981) which disseminate official versions of reality. Thus, in a representation of the world supporting the status quo, protest (as any other action challenging the existing order) is depicted as deviant and as a threat to social consensus (Hall, 1973; Hall et al., 1978; Hartley, 1982). In addition to being easily accessible to news media, established accounts of the world are also convenient. Being an industry, news media tend to be congruent with the interests of a capitalist society (Fowler, 1991).

Taking into consideration the findings of the literature on protest and their causes and results described earlier, this article analyses the representation of a student and teacher protest in a Greek newspaper. However, the aim is to study a perhaps less obvious aspect of the protest script, *non-protesters*. 'Non-protesters' is an umbrella term used for all actors of this news event who do not belong to the main protagonists of the protest (protesters and the government) and who do not relate to politics (protesters' unions, politicians) or to the authorities (prosecutor, the police). Thus, non-protesters consist of drivers, pedestrians, journalists, court employees, parents of protesting students and hooligans.¹

Non-protesters are a rather neglected, but perhaps not negligible, aspect of the protest script because of the significant effect that most of them may have on readers, and therefore probably on readers' stance towards the protest. For instance, readers may identify with drivers or pedestrians and project themselves into the situation. Thus, the way these actors are represented may have a significant impact on how the protest is received and absorbed. In addition, non-protesters have much to offer regarding the representation of *protesters themselves*. It was observed that most non-protesters are depicted as interacting extensively with protesters; therefore, studying non-protesters also enables us to test the existence of the established discourse of protest within the Greek context. Consequently, issues such as the portrayal of 'controversial' actions in a way that foregrounds or mitigates them, the representation of violence as being an inherent characteristic of its perpetrator, and the subsequent division of news actors into Us and Them, are matters to be tested and discussed.² Moreover, the study of the representation of *different* actors gives comparable results and helps us to draw safer conclusions from differences and/or resemblances in the depiction of actors. Finally, it should be noted that the object of this article is the study of the reality constructed by a newspaper, and its function, its consequences and its position within the framework of the established and stereotypical discourse of protest. However, it should be noted that the investigation of whether and to what extent *this* reality diverges from or converges with the real world is beyond the scope of this article.

2. *Background of the study*

The protest under analysis took place in Greece during winter 1998–9; participants were high-school and university students, as well as teachers, reacting against an education reform bill. Although frictions and conflicts in the domain of Greek education are not a novelty, this specific protest was one of the strongest and most protracted.

Education has been one of the most turbulent domains of Greek public life. Teachers' strikes, student sit-ins at universities and pupil occupation of schools have a long tradition in Greek society.³ Teacher and student protests arise because they both experience many problems: the former earn very low salaries, and the latter must undergo a very strict examination procedure for university entry. Moreover, because of the lack of motives given to teachers and poorly equipped schools, pupils often resort to extra tutoring in private schools; yet, when they finally graduate from university, they may remain unemployed for many years. In spite of this unhealthy state of the Greek educational system, there is an increased demand for education as it is thought by many Greeks to offer social mobility (Frangoudaki, 1985; Tsoukalas, 1977). Such a belief may originate – at least partly – from recent experience in Greece: during the 19th and first half of the 20th century, education was the only means by which people in metropolitan Greece could avoid being farmers and could go to Greek communities abroad to become white-collar employees (Tsoukalas, 1977).

The protest of 1998–9 was exceptional because the education reform bill added uncertainty to an already disappointed educational world. Thus, the reform bill proposed a change in the hiring procedure of teachers, who would now have to sit exams instead of being registered on a list and would also have to undergo annual performance reviews. In addition, under the terms of the reform bill, university entry exams previously taken at the end of the final school year would be abolished, with the selection procedure extended to the last two years of high school. The reform bill also proposed measures, such as the upgrading of institutions of technical education, which would contribute to the downgrading of university degrees, while at the same time limiting access to postgraduate studies.⁴

In addition to all this, the protest erupted at a very difficult moment for the government when, due to the continuation of the protest after the Christmas break, the government could not present the event as a 'normal' occurrence.⁵ Instead, it was forced to admit some of the weaknesses of the education bill and finally to modify, at least slightly, the proposed reform.

3. Method

3.1 THE DATA

The data consist of newspaper texts: they belong to the genre of 'news' and not to that of 'opinion' and constitute 'hard' rather than 'soft news' (Bell, 1991). Although there is no firm line between the two, hard news or news stories chronicle the significant events that happened in the world since the last edition of the newspaper, while soft news or feature stories profile people making the news or show the entertaining and emotional value of the event which became news (Itule and Anderson, 1994; Stovall, 1994).

The corpus of evidence studied does not contain headlines and is confined to linguistic material. This is because, despite the fact that headlines have a very important cognitive and ideological function, by expressing the main topic(s) of the news story (Van Dijk, 1988a, 1991), they constitute a separate genre of news because they are not written by the authors of news stories, but by subeditors (Bell, 1991) expressing the 'public idiom' (Hall et al., 1978) of newspapers. These data therefore represent a homogenized corpus, which permits the comparative study of the representation of different news actors without the interference of genre, but only that of ideology, in any differences observed in relation to style. The examination of feature stories, editorials and headlines would also be of great value, since their complementary study could confirm or contest the present findings. However, such an examination would be a separate project outside the scope of this study.

The data are drawn from *Athens News*, a Greek English-language newspaper, which is published every day except Monday. It was decided to focus on a newspaper written in English, because this means it is accessible to foreigners visiting or staying in Greece, and therefore contributes – or at least may think that it

contributes – to the shaping of the country's image abroad.⁶ Although written in English, most of the *Athens News* journalists are Greek, while its close collaboration with the Greek dailies *Ta Nea* and *To Vima* (*Athens News*, 2001), all of which belong to the same publishing company, makes it a Greek newspaper with a specific political orientation in Greek society. It is considered to favour the Greek socialist party, which was in office at the time. As a result, it is expected that the representation of non-protesters will support the status quo and that the depiction of protesters will be in line with the dominant discourse of protest.

The protest under analysis had significant news coverage in *Athens News*. Specifically, 59 news stories referring to the event were published, with the first appearing on 12 November 1998 and the last one on 17 March 1999. The data consist of 30 news stories, representing 57.7 percent (30 out of 52) of the news coverage of the event, and having a constant presence throughout the months of news coverage.⁷ Therefore, non-protesters do not constitute 'isolated cases' and are not just peripheral news actors, since they had an important and consistent presence at the event.

3.2 THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The present study belongs to the theoretical approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993, 1996), which is rooted in Critical Linguistics (Fowler et al., 1979; Hodge and Kress, 1993), a branch of discourse analysis developed in the 1970s at the University of East Anglia. Influenced by the social thought of Gramsci, Althusser, Habermas, Foucault, Pecheux and others, CDA sees language – all semiosis – as discourse, that is, as a form of social practice. Consequently, it focuses on the role of discourse in producing and reproducing social reality, in enforcing and transforming social identities and relationships, and therefore it studies how discourse contributes to social continuity and social change. In order to uncover the way discourse operates in society, CDA proceeds to a systematic textual analysis, since texts constitute the medium through which discourse is enacted (Kress, 1989). This analysis is completed by the examination of the processes of text production and consumption, as well as by the study of how such processes are dictated by social, political and institutional conditions.

The major analytical framework used by CDA for the study of linguistic texts is the Systemic-Functional Grammar of Halliday (1994). Hallidayan linguistics constitutes a lexico-grammatical theory which does not consider language to be a self-contained system, independent of the context in which it is used, but instead tries to explain why language is the way it is. Halliday regards language as a network of options from which language users make selections that are ideologically significant. Thus, meaning is generated from the choices made, or not made, by text producers. Finally, language is construed as being multifunctional, as performing simultaneously an 'ideational', 'interpersonal' and 'textual meta-function' (Halliday, 1996). However, CDA has extended its toolkit (see Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996), and now also draws upon other linguistic

traditions, such as pragmatics, semantics and discourse analysis. This last tradition, in particular, can give insights into the macrostructural analysis of texts, since Systemic-Functional Grammar mainly focuses on the realization of meaning at the clausal rather than the textual level.

This article presents an analysis at the microlevel, since the object of the study imposes an analysis of *parts* rather than of whole texts. Specifically, the analysis draws upon two well-established tools in CDA which are relevant to the purposes of the analysis, those of *transitivity* and *ergativity*. Furthermore, *justification* of controversial actions, which enables their mitigation, is examined. However, before undertaking microstructural analysis, there is some consideration of a component at the macrolevel, that is, of *topics*, which gives a broader picture of the news actors under analysis.

4. Analysis of the data

4.1 TOPICAL ANALYSIS

Topics are theoretically defined as 'semantic macrostructures' (Van Dijk, 1980) since they constitute the global meaning structures of whole parts of a text or of entire texts. Like meanings at the microlevel, topics are determined by means of propositions, or rather in terms of *sets* of propositions called 'macropropositions' (Van Dijk, 1988a, 1991). These macropropositions are derived from the propositions of the sentences of a text plus the application of some 'macrorules' (Van Dijk, 1988a, 1991) which summarize parts or whole texts. Therefore, the study of topics can 'answer the simple question "What does the Press write, or not write"' (Van Dijk, 1991: 71) about non-protesters, revealing the way these news actors relate to the protest, the effect they can have on the reader, and the circumstances under which they interact with protesters.

First, parents of protesting students are among the most frequent non-protesters, appearing in 46.7 percent (14 out of 30) of the data. Parents of students are topicalized mostly as people 'reacting against the protest' (82.3%, 14 out of 17), but also as people 'protesting against the education bill' (17.7%, 3 out of 17).⁸ Therefore, it appears that parents are linked to two different and even *contradictory* topics. However, it seems that these topics depend on the 'alliances', or on the 'associations' in Van Leeuwen's (1996) terms, that are formed by the news actor each time. Specifically, when parents are associated with the protesters, they participate in their protest actions. Conversely, when parents are alone or are associated with non-protesting students and teachers, or with officials, they are opposed to the protest. Thus, it is inferred that 'associations are formed and unformed ("dissociation") as the text proceeds' (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 51). In our case, it appears that parents are divided into two groups: one that adheres to the protest movement, and one that has a negative stance towards the protest. For practical reasons, the former shapes a group called 'parents with protesters' while the latter is defined simply as 'parents'. Many readers relate closely to parents because they may identify with them, being themselves parents and having their

children protesting in the streets. Certainly, the identification is looser in the case of foreign readers, but parents' representation can still influence readers' perceptions of the protest, since parents are usually thought to love their children and to act in their best interest. In any case, since the two categories of parents have a contrasting attitude towards the protest, the group being approved of by the newspaper, represented as Us, may influence readers to adopt a similar stance. In contrast, actors depicted as Them usually discourage adherence, because potential converts are afraid of being isolated as well (McLeod and Hertog, 1992).

Second, drivers and passers-by are grouped together because they are topicalized in the same way. Like parents, they appear frequently in the data (40%, 12 out of 30). Drivers and pedestrians are linked to the topic of 'encounter with a roadblock while commuting' (64.7%, 11 out of 17) and to that of 'encounter with a demonstration while commuting' (35.3%, 6 out of 17). As previously mentioned, the relationship of readers to these two actors is very tight, since most consumers of the news stories analysed may have encountered some roadblock or demonstration on their way to work or on their return home. The following extract drawn from a feature story is revealing in respect of the identification established by the newspaper between readers and drivers/pedestrians:

(1) Taking a spin around Athens? A local radio station suggests you take a supply of water, dried food, a good map and a mobile telephone – all the essentials of the street protest survival kit . . . An Athens radio station, Flash, outlined items no driver should be without as they run the gauntlet . . . Other radio commentators suggested bizarre methods of escaping the blockages: chew on soap, froth at the mouth, pretend to have convulsions and step on the gas. (22 January 1999)

Third, journalists and court employees form another category of non-protesters because of their similar status at the event. They constitute the less frequent non-protesters, appearing in only 13.3 percent (4 out of 30) of the news stories under analysis. Both news actors are linked to the global topic of 'encounter with some protest action while working' (100%, 9 out of 9). Specifically, journalists and their crews are topicalized as people 'covering the protest actions', whereas court employees are thematized as people 'running across a demonstration taking place outside court buildings'.⁹ Many readers are also closely connected to these non-protesters because they can identify with them in their capacity as working people. In the case of journalists, there is an additional kind of relationship involved. Specifically, journalists are regarded as citizens' representatives, mediating 'between institutions and the individual, between the spheres of the public and the private' (Hall, 1973: 149).

Finally, hooligans also appear frequently in the data (50%, 15 out of 30). They are mostly linked to the topic of 'intrusion on demonstration' (60%, 9 out of 15), and less frequently to that of 'intrusion on occupied schools' (20%, 3 out of 15) or to that of 'prosecution' (20%, 3 out of 15). Thus, it seems that hooligans are associated with lawless and violent activities and that they relate to protest actions which enable them to carry out their destructive work more easily.

Obviously, hooligans do not have as much of a direct effect on readers as the other non-protesters, but they can certainly influence their attitude towards the protest by stigmatizing protesters' actions, depending on how their violence is represented.

As a result, the analysis of the way non-protesters are topicalized shows that most non-protesters may affect readers in various ways. However, it is also shown that all of them – except for parents (parents with protesters excluded), who are linked to young protesters because of kinship – interact with protesters in the context of *protest actions* (demonstrations, roadblocks and school occupations). In the case of parents with protesters, there is no interaction but rather *association* with protesters.

4.2 TRANSITIVITY AND ERGATIVITY

4.2.1 The analytical tools of transitivity and ergativity According to Halliday (1994), transitivity and ergativity are both descriptive tools which offer a systematic interpretation of the representational structure of a clause, since they analyse experience in respect of 'processes', 'participants' and 'circumstances' linked to them. Each tool gives a different account of the representational status of clauses, attributing different functions – and thus different labels – to processes and participants. In contrast, circumstances are treated the same, determining the conditions (time, place, manner and so on) under which processes take place. Thus, transitivity and ergativity enable the study of the way non-protesters are depicted and how their interaction with protesters is portrayed.

Specifically, transitivity determines the *nature* of processes. Thus, Halliday (1994) distinguishes among processes of 'doing' ('material'), processes of 'sensing' ('mental') and processes of 'being' ('relational'). Moreover, except for these 'prototypical' processes, there are processes of 'behaving' ('behavioural'), that are on the borderline between material and mental ones; processes of 'saying' ('verbal'), that are located between mental and relational ones; and processes of 'existing' ('existential'), that are found on the boundaries between material and relational ones. Participants have different names in terms of the process type with which they are associated. For instance, material processes have an 'Actor' (and a 'Goal'), while mental processes have a 'Senser' and a 'Phenomenon'.¹⁰ However, participants of transitivity are not considered in this article.

Ergativity, on the other hand, offers a more abstract consideration of the clause because it examines it in terms of causation. Specifically, Halliday (1994) makes a distinction between processes which are brought about *internally* (self-engendered) and processes which are brought about *externally* (by some other entity). The former are called 'middle' and the latter are defined as 'effective'. The major participants distinguished are those of 'Medium' and 'Agent'. A middle process involves only the former, whereas an effective one involves both participants. Furthermore, there are some participants not linked directly to causation – 'Range' and 'Beneficiary' – which may feature in both process types. However, Hodge and Kress (1993) distinguish between an 'actional' and a 'relational

model'. The former comprises material, mental, verbal and behavioural processes, and the latter concerns relational and existential processes. Furthermore, processes are treated in a different way in ergativity. Specifically, Hodge and Kress apply ergativity *only* to the actional model, whereas Halliday includes relational and existential processes which are regarded – except for some exceptional cases – as being middle. Hodge and Kress use the terms 'transactive' and 'non-transactive' instead of effective and middle processes respectively, while they replace Medium and Agent with the respective terms of 'Affected' and 'Actor'. In addition, they distinguish between cases in which participants of non-transactive processes are active (e.g. 'Bill ran') and instances where they have a passive role in the process (e.g. 'Bill fell').

The ergativity analysis in this study adopts a terminology drawing upon both Halliday, and Hodge and Kress, and some new labels are introduced, when needed. Processes are termed *transactive*, *non-transactive* and *transitive*. This last category concerns a subtype of active non-transactive processes, which have some 'indirect' affected party in the form of a circumstance of place. Transitive processes have the following configuration in the data: A throws B at C, where C stands for the affected party. Transactive processes involve an *Agent* and an *Affected* party, non-transactive ones have either *Actors* (active ones) or *Involved* parties (passive ones), whereas transitive processes comprise an *Actor C*,¹¹ a *Range* (standing for B at the example of the transitive process) and a *Circumstance*.¹² Finally, it should be pointed out that labels are only borrowed from Hodge and Kress when they are thought to be more appropriate and convenient. However, their content – except for the distinction made between an active and passive non-transactive process – remains strictly Hallidayan.¹³

4.2.2 The general representational picture of non-protesters After the outline of the descriptive tools on which the analysis of the portrayal of non-protesters is based, this section sketches their general representational image as constructed by *Athens News*. Hence, this part of the analysis aims to investigate the number and nature of processes (negative/non-negative, violent/non-violent) in which each news actor participates, the 'general' roles ascribed to them (active/passive), and finally who and/or what causes the negative acts directed towards non-protesters and who and/or what constitutes the recipient of non-protesters' controversial actions. Thus, there is a special focus on the representation of *negative actions* because they have important ideological implications and constitute a central issue in the literature on protest.

Although it was indicated in the section of topical analysis that parents (parents with protesters included), hooligans and drivers/passers-by appear in almost the same number of news stories, hooligans participate in many more processes than all other actors (50.6%, 119 out of 235).¹⁴ In contrast, drivers/passers-by are linked to 21.7 percent (51 out of 235) of the processes of the data, parents participate in 17.9 percent (42 out of 235) of the processes, journalists/court employees are associated with 8.1 percent (19 out of 235) of the processes, while

parents with protesters are linked to only 6.4 percent (15 out of 235) of the processes.

Additionally, the results given in Table 1 regarding the roles attributed to non-protesters in the processes in which they participate, demonstrate that non-protesters can be divided into two categories: the first category comprises hooligans, parents and parents with protesters, who are mainly represented as active and dynamic forces; and the second category includes drivers/pedestrians and journalists/ court employees, who are mostly allocated a passive role. It should be noted that 'active' and 'passive' roles do not relate to active and passive syntax, but they correspond to the 'activation' and 'passivation' described by Van Leeuwen (1996). For the purposes of this analysis, news actors are regarded as being activated when they are depicted in ergative terms as *Agent* (extract 2), *Actor* (extract 3), *Actor C* (extract 4) or *Causer* (extract 5), whereas they are regarded as being passivated when they are represented as *Affected* (extract 6), *Victim* (extract 7), *Circumstance* (extract 8) or *Involved* (extract 9):

(2) The event was marred by an attack *by unidentified youths* on journalists and camera crews . . . (12 January 1999)¹⁵

(3) Such hopes were also undoubtedly voiced by *many motorists* yesterday . . . (23 December 1998)

(4) *The vandals* set fires in various areas around the facility . . . (2 December 1998)

(5) Two members of the riot squad were set afire when a rain of at least 10 Molotov cocktails fell on MAT police officers blocking access to the education ministry on Mitropoleos Street. (16 January 1998)

(6) . . . after students refused to allow *a delegation of teachers and parents* inside, and the incident was repeated at another school in Iraklio, Crete. (5 January 1999)

(7) Riot police in front of parliament also used teargas to break up stone-throwing youths . . . (16 January 1999)

(8) . . . the Euclid school staged a two-hour roadblock on central Alexander Papanastasiou Street, where students flung *eggs at television camera crews*. (20 January 1999)

(9) The remaining 14 youths were separately charged with disturbing the peace . . . where *they* received trial dates. (23 January 1999)

Causer and *Victim* are two new terms introduced here to define the initiator of a passive, non-transactive process ('fell', extract 5) and the recipient of an active, non-transactive process ('used', extract 7), respectively. In both (5) and (7), the two participants (hooligans) are suppressed. Specifically, 'fell' is represented as being self-caused, while 'used' is active, *non-transactive* but looks as if it is transactive. Thus, 'used' is a 'pseudo-transactive' (Hodge and Kress, 1993) or a 'pseudo-effective' process (Davidse, 1992), since 'teargas' functions as *Range*, whereas the real affected part is missing.

As far as the distribution of negative acts is concerned (Table 2), hooligans – as

TABLE 1. *The roles ascribed to non-protesters (%)*

	<i>Hooligans</i>	<i>Drivers/ pedestrians</i>	<i>Journalists/ court employees</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Parents with protesters</i>
Active role	87 (73.1)	20 (38.5)	1 (5.3)	31 (72.1)	14 (93.3)
Passive role	32 (26.9)	32 (61.5)	18 (94.7)	12 (27.9)	1 (6.7)
Total	119 (100)	52 ^a (100)	19 (100)	43 (100)	15 (100)

^aThere are some differences in the total of the processes in which non-protesters participate because of non-transactive reciprocal processes [e.g. 'There were more *arguments* between angry parents and protesting students . . .' (14 January 1999)], that fall under *both* categories of roles. Specifically, a non-transactive reciprocal process denotes that the act is *actually* mutual, that is, that it involves 'two people or two groups of people doing the same thing to each other' (*Collins Cobuild English Grammar*, 1990: 157). In contrast, there are cases of reciprocal processes in which the two people are separated and the process is transactive, with one actor being the Agent, and the other one the Affected: e.g. ' . . . a band of hooded youths . . . hurled a firebomb . . . before *scuffling* with riot police . . .' (22 January 1999).

topical analysis also showed – are associated with many controversial actions. Specifically, they are depicted as causing – but not as receiving – many negative acts. In contrast, both parents and parents with protesters are neither responsible for, nor are they recipients of (m)any negative actions, but they are mostly portrayed as performing 'positive' or 'neutral' acts (extracts 10, 11). Drivers/passers-by have the same large amount of negative acts in *both* active and passive role, whereas journalists/court employees are represented as receiving many negative acts, while the single process initiated by them is also negative.

Negative acts are almost always violent (extracts 12, 13). Very few non-violent negative acts are only targeted at drivers/pedestrians (11.1%, 2 out of 18) and are initiated by hooligans (4.5%, 3 out of 67). Moreover, the single and negative act initiated by journalists/court employees is also non-violent. The non-violence

TABLE 2. *Negative processes per role and news actor (%)*

	<i>Hooligans</i>	<i>Drivers/ pedestrians</i>	<i>Journalists/ court employees</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Parents with protesters</i>
Active role	67 (77)	11 (55)	1 (100)	11 (35.5)	5 (35.7)
Total ₁ ^a	87 (100)	20 (100)	1 (100)	31 (100)	14 (100)
Passive role	10 (31.3)	18 (56.3)	14 (77.8)	3 (25)	
Total ₂ ^a	32 (100)	32 (100)	18 (100)	12 (100)	

^aTotal₁ and Total₂ concern the totals of the processes in which non-protesters are attributed an active and passive role, respectively.

caused by journalists/court employees and directed towards drivers/passers-by involves the throwing of 'harmless' objects, such as water, eggs and yogurt (extracts 14, 15), while that of hooligans exclusively involves drug use (extract 16). Sometimes the boundaries between violence and non-violence are not clear, in which case non-violent acts are also lexicalized as being violent (extract 17). However, in this analysis, such cases are included as violent acts:

(10) In Athens, where similar rumours are circulating, parent associations of five schools in Agios Dimitrios, southeast Athens, *are collecting* signatures to pressure their children into calling an end to the sit-ins. (18 December 1998)

(11) The air resounded to the *chanted* slogan 'It will not pass! It will not pass!', a reference to the hotly opposed 25/25 Law providing for the controversial reforms . . . (27 November 1998)

(12) In the Athens district of Nea Smyrni, teachers and parents locked themselves inside a senior high school to ensure that students who wanted to resume classes could do so, but *were* subsequently *besieged* by a host of demonstrators . . . (13 January 1999)

(13) Meanwhile, at an occupied school in the southern district of Voula, a student was *injured* when a parent, in an effort to break the sit-in, *broke* the student's wrist with a baseball bat instead. (21 January 1999)

(14) Court employees *emptied glasses of water* on them, and the demonstrators tried to break down the main door in response. (16 January 1999)

(15) *Eggs and yogurt* made up the recipe of Peristeri students protesting education reforms yesterday and it was also borrowed by Thessaloniki protesters who *egged* complaining motorists stuck in a two-hour roadblock on the city's central Vasilissis Olgas thoroughfare. (12 December 1998)

(16) Officials discovered *used needles* and other evidence of *drug use* in classrooms and other areas in and around the school premises. (5 January 1999)

(17) In a few cases, motorists who threatened students were chased back into their cars or *pelted with eggs and yogurt* . . . (15 January 1999)

Finally, the study of recipients of non-protesters' negative acts (Table 3) indicates that, except for hooligans' violence, which is targeted mostly at objects, all other non-protesters' negative acts are directed mainly or exclusively at people. As far as animates are concerned, hooligans negatively affect mostly police (58.3%, 7 out of 12) and some journalists/court employees (25%, 3 out of 12), while protesters constitute the main targets of the violence of drivers/pedestrians (77.8%, 7 out of 9), parents (85.7%, 6 out of 7) and journalists/court employees (100%, 1 out of 1). Parents with protesters' violence is directed towards journalists/court employees being alone (66.7%, 2 out of 3), or in association with drivers/passers-by (33.3%, 1 out of 3).

Additionally, all entities initiating negative acts to non-protesters (Table 3) involve animation and the people who induce violent acts towards non-protesters are generally the same people who are targeted violently by them. Specifically,

TABLE 3. *Recipients and initiators of negative processes (%)*

	<i>Animate</i> ^a	<i>Material</i> ^a	<i>Spatial</i> ^a	<i>Total</i>
<i>Recipients</i>				
Hooligans	12 (22.2)	33 (61.1)	9 (16.7)	54 ^b (100)
Drivers/pedestrians	9 (100)			9 (100)
Journalists/court employees	1 (100)			1 (100)
Parents	7 (77.8)	2 (22.2)		9 (100)
Parents with protesters	3 (60)		2 (40)	5 (100)
<i>Initiators</i>				
Hooligans	10 (100)			10 (100)
Drivers/pedestrians	18 (100)			18 (100)
Journalists/court employees	14 (100)			14 (100)
Parents	3 (100)			3 (100)

^a The categories of recipients and initiators defined as *Animate*, *Material* and *Spatial* concern entities denoting people, objects and buildings, respectively.

^b In *Total* only processes which allow retrieval of initiators and recipients are included. In contrast, there are a few cases where they are obscure, as demonstrated in the following example, in which the Victim is unidentifiable: 'But it was masked anarchist youth *throwing Molotov cocktails and stones* in a string of violent episodes from Stadiou to parliament . . . who managed to capture the media limelight . . .' (16 January 1999).

hooligans receive negative actions mainly from police (90%, 9 out of 10), whereas drivers/passers-by, parents and journalists/court employees are mostly affected by protesters (88.9%, 16 out of 18; 100%, 3 out of 3; and 64.3, 9 out of 14, respectively). As demonstrated in the examination of recipients of non-protesters' negative actions, journalists/court employees are also on the receiving end of some violence from hooligans (21.4%, 3 out of 14).

In conclusion, the study of the nature of acts with which non-protesters are associated and the roles attributed to them enables us to extract some preliminary conclusions regarding the representation of non-protesters in *Athens News*. The way non-protesters are depicted probably leads readers to adopt a hostile stance towards the protest. Specifically, the portrayal of drivers/pedestrians and journalists/court employees as being mainly victims of protesters' violence might make readers negatively disposed towards the protest. Moreover, by being represented as initiating many negative acts, hooligans have a typical 'negative other-presentation' (Martín Rojo and Van Dijk, 1997) and thus they may stigmatize the protest. Nevertheless, parents and parents with protesters need further analysis; they constitute a rather contradictory case, since *both* categories of parents are represented as being Us, and thus readers can be influenced by both categories. They are both depicted as belonging to Us since they are responsible for many non-negative acts. Thus, as Martín Rojo and Van Dijk (1997) note: 'the logic of intergroup polarisation that governs this discourse about Us and Them, not only

requires emphasis on the alleged negative properties of the Others, but also stresses that We are essentially good' (p. 539).

As expected, the way news actors (with the exception of parents with protesters) are represented and dichotomized corresponds to the dominant discourse of protest. Therefore, on the one hand, there are protesters and hooligans, who belong to Them, since they are portrayed as causing much of the violence, whereas, on the other hand, there are police, drivers/pedestrians, journalists/court employees and parents, who are part of Us, by being represented mostly as recipients of violence, and/or as initiating non-negative acts.

Finally, it is inferred that the relationship between protesters and most non-protesters, and that between police and hooligans is *inter*-active, since both parts negatively affect each other. More importantly, however, it is shown that protesters play an important role when examining most non-protesters, as the depiction of most violent actions initiated by or directed to drivers/pedestrians, parents, and journalists/court employees forms part of the representation of protesters.

The analysis now focuses on the portrayal of *all controversial actions* initiated by news actors in order to (dis)confirm these preliminary assumptions and clarify the status of parents and parents with protesters.

4.2.3 Transitivity analysis Transitivity analysis of news actors' negative acts further explores the nature of their violence and any differences between actors. Results given in Table 4 demonstrate that *all* news actors are represented as performing and receiving mainly violent processes of doing:

(18) In the inner-city Athens suburb of Ambelokipi, demonstrating students *broke into* the 3rd Senior High School – where a pupil fractured his leg on Wednesday – and *disrupted* a general assembly which had been called by teachers, parents and students to determine the school's stance on the education reform protests. (15 January 1999)

Furthermore, the representation of hooligans in both active and passive roles, the depiction of drivers/pedestrians in passive roles and the portrayal of journalists/court employees in active roles *exclusively* involves material processes, while the representation of the remaining actors and roles also involves some verbal (extract 19) or mental processes (extract 20):

(19) . . . teachers and parents were to be found feverishly *arguing* with students occupying school buildings . . . (13 January 1999)

(20) The demonstrators threw Molotov cocktails, eggs, stones and coins at the building . . . *terrifying* court employees . . . (16 January 1999)

It is worth noting here that all processes of the data constitute *real* actions: that is, they technically belong to the actional model.

As a result, the consideration of transitivity indicates that the violence of news actors is depicted as being mostly *physical*, belonging to the world of our 'outer experience' (Halliday, 1994). This analysis also demonstrates that transitivity cuts through any dichotomy of Us versus Them.

TABLE 4. *Transitivity analysis of negative processes (%)*

	<i>Material</i>	<i>Verbal</i>	<i>Mental</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Active role</i>				
Hooligans	67 (100)			67 (100)
Drivers/pedestrians	9 (81.8)	2 (18.2)		11 (100)
Journalists/court employees	1 (100)			1 (100)
Parents	9 (81.8)	2 (18.2)		11 (100)
Parents with protesters	4 (80)		1 (20)	5 (100)
<i>Passive role</i>				
Hooligans	10 (100)			10 (100)
Drivers/pedestrians	18 (100)			18 (100)
Journalists/court employees	13 (92.9)		1 (7.1)	14 (100)
Parents	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)		3 (100)

4.2.4 Ergativity analysis – causation scale The examination of ergativity, that is ‘at the heart of the expression of ideology’ (Trew, 1979a: 123), and the consideration of the syntactic configurations used have been the object of many studies (Fang, 1994; Hackett and Zhao, 1994; Martín Rojo, 1995; Nir and Roeh, 1992; Trew, 1979a, 1979b; Van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b, 1991) looking into the representation of Us and Them in the press. These studies have shown that the choice of transactive verbs in active voice, which put the perpetrator of the process in the foreground (Fowler, 1991; Hodge and Kress, 1993), is adopted for the representation of negative actions of Them. In contrast, non-transactive verbs, nominalizations and transactive verbs in passive voice, which de-emphasize the initiator of an act (Fowler, 1991; Hodge and Kress, 1993), are selected for the depiction of negative actions of Us.

Consequently, the study of these choices made by *Athens News* regarding the violence of news actors can reinforce or weaken our preliminary assumptions about the Us versus Them mentality, and can thus foster or discourage readers’ potential negative attitudes towards the protest. Therefore, in an example where protesters’ and hooligans’ violence is emphasized, the victimization of drivers/pedestrians and journalists/court employees and the stigmatization of protest actions should be greater. However, in order for protesters and hooligans to be part of Them, non-protesters and police would have to be represented as Us in similar cases. As explained by Martín Rojo (1995), an actor is part of Them rather than Us, or vice versa, because *our* ‘identity is . . . relative, since it is constructed by means of contrasts with an external otherness’ (p. 52). Furthermore, the status of parents and parents with protesters may be clarified, guiding readers’ stance towards the protest in a specific direction. Such an analysis also enables us to test the foregrounding and mitigation of controversial actions as constitutive parts of the established discourse of protest.

Apart from the selections examined in earlier studies, some further, more *subtle*

distinctions are now made. First, not *all* non-transactive processes obscure the performer of an action, since there is also the case of *active* ones. Second, an Agentless passive syntactical configuration may sometimes *imply* the initiator of the action, as in (21), where a temporal clause is directly linked to the violent action of 'hurt':

(21) . . . state television reporter Angela Karagiorgou was hurt *when* a driver panicked and tried to reverse her vehicle . . . (15 January 1999)

Moreover, nominal configuration does not always equal deletion of the perpetrator, but it may involve mentioning agency by means of pre- or post-modifiers (Van Leeuwen, 1996), or implication of the performer, similar to an Agentless passive. Finally, when considering verbalized and non-verbalized processes (nouns or participles) which carry the same information about allocation of agency, a non-verbalized process is considered to have a more mitigating effect on attribution of perpetrator than a verbalized one. Verbs 'activate' actions, representing them as dynamic processes, whereas nouns and participles 'de-activate' acts, depicting them as though they were things ('objectivation') or qualities ('descriptivization'), respectively (Van Leeuwen, 1995).

A *causation scale* is now applied (Table 5), taking all these factors into consideration. This causation scale has been constructed in terms of how much the performer of an action is foregrounded. It consists of *five* different levels in respect of the effect that configurations have on the attribution of agency: (1) foregrounding; (2) backgrounding; (3) implication; (4) deletion of perpetrator; and finally (5) no causation.

The results of Table 5 do not support the findings of the literature: the violence of all actors belonging to 'Us' (drivers/pedestrians and journalists/court employees in active roles, hooligans in passive roles) is mainly emphasized, whereas the negative actions of 'Them' (drivers/pedestrians and journalists/court employees in passive roles, hooligans in active role) are represented in a less consistent way – with the exception of hooligans, whose violence is mainly foregrounded. Thus, in the case of protesters' violence towards drivers/pedestrians and journalists/court employees, half of the processes are represented in a way that stresses agency, while the other half is depicted by using configurations which allow implication and deletion of agency. In addition, the violence of parents, who (along with parents with protesters) do not belong – for the moment – either to 'Us' or 'Them', is mainly foregrounded, whereas the violence received from protesters is equally foregrounded, backgrounded and deleted. The violence of parents with protesters is all foregrounded.

Where foregrounding of agency is concerned, the most widely used configuration for all actors – except for journalists/court employees – is that of a *transactive verb in active voice* (extracts 22, 23). Additionally, for most actors, backgrounding of perpetrator is mainly expressed by means of a transactive verb in passive voice with Agent (extract 24, 'chased'); implication of performer is mainly expressed by means of a transactive verb with Agentless passive and

Agent implication (extract 24, 'besieged') or by using a transactive noun/participle with Agent implication (extract 25). Deletion of agency is mostly made by using a transactive verb with Agentless passive (extract 26) or an active, non-transactive noun with Actor deletion (extract 27); the expression of no causation is realized only by using a passive, non-transactive verb (extract 28). It is therefore demonstrated that verbal configuration is mostly preferred to a nominal or participial one, whereas there is no preferred configuration in terms of 'Us' and 'Them':

(22) At Athens' Ionidio school a parent *slapped* students who kept her from entering the building . . . (12 January 1999)

(23) There, riot police managed to *encircle* a group of masked youths who threw Molotov cocktails at two stationed cars. (16 January 1999)

(24) A pedestrian attempted to free the road to enable drivers to pass, and ended up *being chased* into a nearby building *by the demonstrators*, where he *was besieged* until the police finally arrived to free him. (21 January 1999)

(25) There were also *scuffles* with police and MAT riot police units *as some extremist elements* within the largely peaceful, if boisterous, crowd *threw eggs filled with ink, lighters, fruit, coins and other objects*. (4 December 1998)

(26) Books *were burnt* and countless chairs and desks *destroyed*. The school's chemistry lab *was totally ruined* while in the washrooms, floor tiles, sinks and toilets *were smashed*. Windows and doors *were also broken*. (5 January 1999)

(27) . . . and engaged in protracted skirmishes with riot police, hurling firebombs and stones that were answered with a *barrage* of teargas. (29 January 1999)¹⁶

(28) Earlier, an elderly pensioner *suffered* a head injury and was taken to hospital . . . (16 January 1999)

In conclusion, the present analysis does not support the evidence that actors are dichotomized into Us and Them, and it is not congruent with the findings of the literature. In contrast, the application of the causation scale demonstrates that the violence of *all* actors is mainly stressed, with the exception of protesters whose representation does not follow any consistent pattern. These results may indicate that language is not always manipulated in the same way for the transmission of a certain message. Instead, as Brookes (1995) observes:

Where challenged, the discourse's ideological work in maintaining unequal relations of power becomes more effectively disguised. Discourses that come to be recognised as racist will ultimately disguise and present their ideologies in new forms, generating old meanings in new disguises which conceal the exercise of power and thus make it more acceptable. (p. 464)

The analysis now focuses on other, probably 'less challenged', devices that might be used for the portrayal of the violence of Us and Them.

TABLE 5. *Causation scale of negative processes (%)*

	<i>Hooligans</i>	<i>Drivers/ pedestrians</i>	<i>Journalists/court employees</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Parents with protesters</i>
<i>Active role</i>					
<i>Foregrounding</i>					
1. Transactive verb in active voice ^{a,b}	20	5		4	4
1. Transactive verb ^c	1			3	
2. Transitive verb in active voice ^b	7	1	1		1
3. Active, non-transactive verb in active voice ^b	8			1	
3. Active, non-transactive verb ^c		1			
	(53.6)	(63.6)	(100)	(72.7)	(100)
<i>Backgrounding</i>					
1. Transactive verb in passive voice with Agent	1	1			
2. Transactive noun with Agent reference	1				
3. Active, non-transactive participle with Actor reference	3				
	(7.5)	(9.1)			
<i>Implication</i>					
1. Transactive verb with Agentless passive and Agent implication		2		1	
2. Transactive noun with Agent implication	3				
3. Active, non-transactive noun with Actor implication	4				
	(10.5)	(18.2)		(9.1)	
<i>Deletion</i>					
1. Transactive verb with Agentless passive	11				
2. Transactive noun/participle with Agent deletion	7			1	
3. Active, non-transactive noun with Actor deletion		1		1	
	(26.9)	(9.1)		(18.2)	
<i>No causation</i>					
1. Passive, non-transactive verb ^c	1				
	(1.5)				
Total ₁ ^d	67 (100)	11 (100)	1 (100)	11 (100)	5 (100)

Passive role

Foregrounding

1. Transactive verb in active voice ^b	7	4	6	1
1. Transactive verb ^c		2		
2. Transitive verb in active voice ^b		1	1	
3. Active, non-transactive verb in active voice ^b	1	1		
	(80)	(44.4)	(50)	(33.3)

Backgrounding

1. Transactive verb in passive voice with Agent		2		1
2. Transactive noun with Agent reference			1	
		(11.1)	(7.1)	(33.3)

Implication

1. Transactive verb with Agentless passive and Agent implication		2	1	
2. Transactive noun/participle with Agent implication	1	2	1	
	(10)	(22.2)	(14.2)	

Deletion

1. Transactive verb with Agentless passive		2	3	
2. Transactive noun with Agent deletion			1	
3. Active, non-transactive noun with Actor deletion	1	1		1
	(10)	(16.7)	(28.7)	(33.4)

No causation

1. Passive, non-transactive verb ^c		1		
		(5.6)		

Total ₂ ^d	10 (100)	18 (100)	14 (100)	3 (100)
---------------------------------	----------	----------	----------	---------

^aThe configurations used within each level of the scale are put in respect of how clearly they allow agency allocation and are numbered accordingly.

^bConfigurations which allow the selection between active/passive syntax on the part of language user (e.g. disrupt).

^cConfigurations which are necessarily in active voice (e.g. intrude).

^dTotal₁ and Total₂ concern the totals of the processes in which non-protesters are ascribed an active and passive role, respectively.

4.3 EXPLANATION, JUSTIFICATION AND LEGITIMATION

4.3.1 *Explanation and justification* Foregrounding and mitigation of violence – or of any negative action – are also made by presenting the act as being justified or not. Specifically, in his study of the representation of racism in the British press, Van Dijk (1991) found that negative acts initiated by police were often mitigated by being excused, whereas such acts induced by minorities tended to be depicted in a vacuum. More recently, Martín Rojo and Van Dijk (1997) reached similar conclusions regarding the depiction of immigrants' and government's negative actions in Spanish political discourse. I now investigate whether justification of violence *exists* in the data in this study and whether – as initially assumed – it produces a dichotomizing picture of Us and Them.

However, before proceeding to the analysis, a distinction must be drawn between *explanation* and *justification*, both of which are defined in a technical sense. Thus, an act is regarded as being explained when some reason is given for its occurrence, whereas it is regarded as being justified when the interpretation more or less excuses the act. Only actions that are both explained and justified are, eventually, mitigated.

The results given in Table 6 are revealing. First, all categories of news actors and roles expected to belong to Us (drivers/pedestrians and journalists/court employees in active role, hooligans in passive role) have most of their violent acts explained. Conversely, the violence of 'Them' (drivers/pedestrians and journalists/court employees in passive role, hooligans in active role) is significantly less explained, especially in the case of hooligans. On the other hand, all parents' violence is explained, whereas there is no explanation for most violence they receive from protesters. Finally, parents with protesters' negative actions are mostly explained.

Although all negative actions initiated by 'Us', parents, and hooligans are explained *and* justified (Table 6), some of the violence caused by protesters (including that directed towards parents) and by parents with protesters is *only* explained. Specifically, violence is justified when it is construed as an outcome of an emotional state (extract 29, for 'challenged'), as a response to (extract 30, for 'pursued' and for 'dispersed'), or as a consequence of some previous negative act (extract 31, for 'minor injuries'), or as a means of achieving something (extract 32, for 'heated clashes'). Conversely, negative acts are only explained when they are represented as a response to some preceding harmless act (extract 33, for 'throwing' and extract 34, for 'attacked'):

(29) Once again, motorists *lost their temper*, challenged the demonstrators, but were largely ignored. (15 January 1999)

(30) They were aided by colleagues who, *amid a hail of stones*, pursued the youths on to nearby Amalias Avenue and dispersed teargas. (16 January 1999)

(31) . . . with one Antenna television cameraman taken to hospital with minor injuries *after he was beaten and his camera destroyed*. (12 January 1999)

(32) Instead, it was parents *who took up the fight to get students back to school* in heated clashes with students – and in some cases teachers – at many schools around the country. (12 January 1999)

(33) His fellow students blocked neighbouring Tsocha Street and started throwing yogurt cartoons at motorists *when the latter told them to clear the road*. (14 January 1999)

(34) . . . where some 4000 pupils, parents, teachers and university students marched on the main court building . . . and attacked journalists and *protesting* motorists . . . (16 January 1999)

By looking at the processes which are mitigated (Table 6), i.e. both explained and justified, it is evident that news actors are divided into Us and Them, as inferred at the beginning of this study. Most of the violence of news actors expected to belong to Us is mitigated, whereas very few negative actions of ‘Them’ are de-emphasized. Furthermore, all violence initiated by parents is mitigated, while none of the negative acts targeted at them is de-emphasized. Finally, the violence of parents with protesters is mostly foregrounded.

Apart from dividing news actors into Us and Them, the consideration of explanation and justification highlights the differences between the two categories of Them and clarifies the status of both parents and parents with protesters. Although protesters and hooligans are both represented as being deviant (since

TABLE 6. *Explanation, justification and mitigation of negative processes (%)*

	<i>Hooligans</i>	<i>Drivers/ pedestrians</i>	<i>Journalists/ court employees</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Parents with protesters</i>
<i>Active role</i>					
Explanation	6 (9)	10 (90.9)	1 (100)	11 (100)	4 (80)
Total ₁ ^a	67 (100)	11 (100)	1 (100)	11 (100)	5 (100)
Justification	6 (100)	10 (100)	1 (100)	11 (100)	1 (25)
Total ₂ ^a	6 (100)	10 (100)	1 (100)	11 (100)	4 (100)
Mitigation	6 (9)	10 (90.9)	1 (100)	11 (100)	1 (20)
Total ₃ ^a	67 (100)	11 (100)	1 (100)	11 (100)	5 (100)
<i>Passive role</i>					
Explanation	9 (90)	12 (66.7)	7 (50)	1 (33.3)	
Total ₄ ^a	10 (100)	18 (100)	14 (100)	3 (100)	
Justification	9 (100)	4 (33.3)	6 (85.7)	0 (0)	
Total ₅ ^a	9 (100)	12 (100)	7 (100)	1 (100)	
Mitigation	9 (90)	4 (22.2)	6 (42.8)	0 (0)	
Total ₆ ^a	10 (100)	18 (100)	14 (100)	3 (100)	

^aTotal₁ and Total₃ as well as Total₄ and Total₆ concern the totals of all processes in which non-protesters are attributed an active and passive role respectively. Conversely, Total₂ and Total₅ involve the totals of explained processes representing non-protesters in active and passive role respectively.

their violence is mainly unjustified and therefore accentuated), explanation and justification do not function in the same way. Thus, despite the fact that the violent actions of protesters are more frequently interpreted than those of hooligans, some of the explained violence of protesters remains without justification, whereas excuses are given for all the explained violence of hooligans. While inadequate explanation ridicules protesters and makes their negative acts seem absurd (extracts 33 and 34), hooligans' violence is depicted as understandable and expectable because of their categorization. Specifically, they are defined extensively in terms of their violence, e.g. 'vandals', 'troublemakers', 'thugs' and 'agitators'. Therefore, as Trew (1979a) notes: 'events presented as the actions of "yobs", "thugs" and "hooligans" need no explanation – they were done because of the nature of the people who did them' (p.135). Consequently, hooligans constitute a fixed stigmatized group since their categorization portrays them as being 'alien, aggressive and violent in nature' (p. 143). In contrast, protesters are a group in process of marginalization since their violence, far from being part of their very existence, is sometimes depicted as being irrational.

This section of the analysis also elucidates the case of parents and parents with protesters. Parents have a typical 'positive self-presentation' (Martín Rojo and Van Dijk, 1997) by being portrayed as performing many non-negative acts and a few negative acts which are all mitigated; however, all violent acts targeted at them by protesters are emphasized. Although parents with protesters are represented as initiating mostly non-negative acts, this is the only thing they share with parents. In other ways, they mostly resemble the other part of the association. Hence, similar to protesters, they violently affect journalists/court employees and drivers/pedestrians; explanations are given – as in the case of protesters – which accentuate the irrationality of their violence, rather than justify and thus de-emphasize their controversial acts. *Athens News* is shown to approve of parents and marginalize parents with protesters, thereby influencing its readers to adopt a negative attitude towards the protest.

4.3.2 Justification and legitimation Justification of a controversial act is not equated with legitimation. Justification has the same effect as the use of an Agentless passive: it simply moderates the act. According to Martín Rojo and Van Dijk (1997), the function of legitimation is to reinterpret negative actions as being acceptable within social consensus. Moreover, they argue that legitimating discourse concerns *Us*, since for the preserving the property of *Us*, *Our* negative acts must be approved of. In the same article, Martín Rojo and Van Rijk show that the integration of negative acts within the normative order of society may be made by means of several devices, such as by presenting the actions in question as being legal, or as being necessary due to 'special conditions'.

Although an analysis of legitimation is beyond the scope of this article, it is interesting to illustrate how justification can contribute to the legitimating process. Thus, the action in (29) is legitimated, because the exasperation of drivers, presented as the cause of their violence, is depicted as being fair. Specifically,

the headline of the news story (15 January 1999, extract 35) from which (29) is drawn, attributes clear responsibility for drivers' exasperation to roadblocks, with the use of a transactive process in which roadblocks function as Agents and drivers as Affected. Moreover, the lead (extract 36) prepares readers for how roadblocks could actually irritate drivers, by referring to the negative actions of protesters towards drivers:

(35) Student roadblocks cut off main links, exasperate drivers.

(36) Eggs and yogurt filled the air yesterday as students again blocked roads in central Athens, pelting *protesting* drivers with farm produce.

Finally, the sentence (extract 37) preceding (29) exposes in detail the situation over which drivers 'lost their temper':

(37) On Alexandras Avenue, students played havoc with the nerves of drivers and bystanders by shutting off the flow of traffic then proceeding to kick a football around.

Interestingly, in (37), roadblocks are deprived of their protesting character, while the football game is presented as the sole reason for which protesters impede traffic. It follows that it is completely normal for drivers to be exasperated and to resort to a violent act under these circumstances.

Justification may intervene in the process of legitimation in several ways. For instance, the explanation (in italics) provided in (36) does not justify the throwing of eggs and yogurt but – as previously pointed out – by representing the act as being absurd, it makes the legitimation of the drivers' act more persuasive. Conversely, negative actions are better legitimated when they are justified, and thus de-emphasized.

5. Conclusions

This article has examined the depiction of non-protesters in *Athens News* in the light of the significant impact that most of these depictions may have on their readers and thus on their reception of the protest. Owing to the close relationship of most non-protesters with protesters, the investigation of the former also shed some light on the representation of the latter, and enabled the testing of the reproduction of the stereotypical discourse of protest within the Greek context. Although hooligans were the only non-protesters not having any explicit influence on readers, their representation supports the effect that the other actors may have on the readership. Furthermore, despite the fact that hooligans, in contrast to the other non-protesters, did not establish any direct relationship with protesters, the comparative study of the two actors belonging to Them brought out their differences.

On the whole, the representation of non-protesters and protesters was found to support the status quo, as expected of a newspaper such as *Athens News*. It is likely that the way non-protesters were represented would make readers adopt a

negative attitude towards the protest. Thus, the depiction of drivers/pedestrians and journalists/court employees (with whom most readers would identify) as victims of protesters' violence and the foregrounding of the violence itself would breed hostile feelings towards both protest and protesters. The representation of parents (opposed to the protest) as initiating many non-negative acts and thus being part of Us would also motivate readers to adopt a negative stance towards the protest, since parents are actors who trigger off feelings of identification and are of special significance for readers. Finally, the portrayal of hooligans as initiating a lot of violence, which was also emphasized, would stigmatize the demonstrations and school occupations; this would also have a negative impact on readers.

From the portrayal of news actors, many elements of the established discourse of protest emerged at the same time. The protest was topicalized with many violent incidents since the interaction of protesters with non-protesters, and that of hooligans with police, mostly involved physical violence. Moreover, *Athens News* dichotomized news actors into Us and Them in the way dictated by the specific discourse of protest. Thus, Them (protesters, parents with protesters, hooligans) were portrayed as being the major initiators of such acts (except for parents with protesters) and their violence was emphasized. In contrast, Us (drivers/pedestrians, journalists/court employees, parents, police) were mostly represented as victims of that violence and/or as being responsible for many non-negative actions. Finally, mitigation was offered for the few violent acts perpetrated by Us.

This analysis has revealed some unexpected findings. The application of a causation scale, taking into account ergative and syntactical options, showed that the violence of all news actors, except for that of protesters, was mostly foregrounded with the use of transactive verbs in active voice. However, the violent acts of Us and Them were mitigated because they were almost always excused, while the violence of Them was accentuated because it was usually unjustified. Moreover, the protesters' violence was not depicted as an inherent characteristic, in disagreement with the dominant discourse of protest. Only hooligans were represented as being inherently violent. Consequently, protesters were differentiated from hooligans: protesters belong to Them, but are closer to Us compared with hooligans.

It should be pointed out that the study of non-protesters posed some limitations regarding the testing of the existence of the dominant discourse of protest in the Greek newspaper. The way most non-protesters were linked to the protest did not allow the examination of whether any emphasis was given to the actions rather than the causes of protests. Neither could this study test whether protesters were ascribed other negative attributes, which did not involve interaction with non-protesters (e.g. disorganization, spontaneity and so on), or whether they engaged in any extraordinary incidents in which non-protesters were not involved. Finally, all conclusions regarding the portrayal of protesters stemmed *exclusively* from their relationship to, and juxtaposition with, non-protesters.

In conclusion, the representation of protesters being in line with the stereo-

typical discourse of protest, and thus leading to their marginalization may eventually create bad feelings about the protest in the readers' minds. Such a negative attitude will probably be stronger when news actors who have the potential to considerably influence readers are involved. In this study, the representation of protesters as Them whose violence affected drivers/passers-by in whom Us, as readers, are included, makes Their rejection – and therefore readers' hostility towards the protest – more intense. Future research should probably pay more attention to the representation of such news actors as well as to the study of the impact that they *actually* have on their readers.

NOTES

1. The term 'hooligans' was conventionally adopted for referring to people intruding on demonstrations and school occupations. The arbitrary selection of this label among many others used by the newspaper was made because it was the first term encountered in the data.
2. The terms 'controversial' and 'negative' actions, that are used throughout the article, concern acts which are thought to violate social norms, values, or even laws, and thus pose a challenge to the assumed 'social consensus', stigmatizing their perpetrators.
3. Teachers have been on strike several times in the past, while their pupils were first involved in 1991 by occupying school buildings. This form of protest imitated university sit-ins, which have been practised for the last 25 years. However, after this first attempt, which managed to rock the conservative government at the time, every year pupils occupy schools for two or three weeks before the Christmas break. In fact, in the last few years roadblocks have also been set up – a form of protest used recently by farmers.
4. The status of institutions of technical education is considered to be equivalent to the former British Polytechnics.
5. Some of the problems faced by the government at the time were the exercise of an austere financial and economic policy due to the imminent entry of Greece into the European Economic Monetary Union, the oncoming elections and some dissenters within the socialist party (the party in office at the time).
6. News media report on the world in respect of the audience or the readership that they *assume* they address (Fowler, 1991). Hence, *Athens News* (2001) sees itself as a mediator between Greece and abroad.
7. The data consist of news stories including non-protesters in the first three months of news coverage of the event (from early November to late January). The protest finished at the end of January and any news stories afterwards referred only to the handling of the consequences of the protest (e.g. how to make up for lost tuition hours).
8. Usually, each news story including a news actor is associated with one global topic. Thus, the number of topics corresponds to the number of news stories in which every actor features. However, sometimes news actors appear more than once in a story; that is, they are linked to more than one news category, by appearing for instance in two different 'Main Events' (Van Dijk, 1988a, 1991) and are therefore associated with more than one topic (the same or different ones).
9. Such demonstrations occurred in January, when the government threatened protesters with prosecution.

10. All technical terms concerning participants have an initial capital letter to distinguish them from the common use of (news) actor.
11. In *Actor C*, *C* stands for *Circumstance*, in order to be distinguished from the Actor of non-transactive processes.
12. In transitive processes, *Circumstance* acquires the status of participant.
13. For instance, Hodge and Kress differ from Halliday in the way they treat mental processes in ergativity, but also as it was previously noted, in how they consider relations.
14. The total processes represent the total processes in which non-protesters participate. However, because of the fact that *two or more non-protesters* may participate in the *same process*, these processes are counted two or three times, for *all* non-protesters involved.
15. The roles of *Agent*, *Affected*, etc. are not exclusively for verbs, but are also used in the case of nouns (nominalizations, process nouns) and participles.
16. *Barrage* is a process noun that could be verbalized as *throw*. However, it is an active, non-transactive noun rather than a transitive one because there is no *Circumstance*.

REFERENCES

- Athens News* (2001) <http://athensnews.dolnet.gr>
- Bell, A. (1991) *The Language of News Media*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Brookes, J.H. (1995) '“Suit, Tie and a Touch of Juju” – the Ideological Construction of Africa: A Critical Discourse Analysis of News on Africa in the British Press', *Discourse & Society* 6(4): 461–94.
- Caldas-Coulthard, C.R. and Coulthard, M. (eds) (1996) *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Collins Cobuild English Grammar* (1990) Glasgow: Harper Collins and the University of Birmingham.
- Davidse, K. (1992) 'Transitivity/Ergativity: The Janus-Headed Grammar of Actions and Events', in M. Davies and L. Ravelli (eds) *Advances in Systemic Linguistics: Recent Theory and Practice*, pp. 105–35. London: Pinter.
- Fairclough, N. (1989) *Language and Power*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995) *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.
- Fang, J.Y. (1994) '“Riots” and Demonstrations in the Chinese Press: A Case Study of Language and Ideology', *Discourse & Society* 5(4): 463–81.
- Fowler, R. (1991) *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Fowler, R., Hodge, R., Kress, G. and Trew, T. (1979) *Language and Control*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Frangoudaki, A. (1985) *Kinoniologia tis Ekpedefsis: Theories gia tin Kinoniki Anisotita sto Scholio* (Sociology of Education: Theories about Social Inequality at School). Athina: Ekdotis Papazisi.
- Galtung, J. and Ruge, M. (1973) 'Structuring and Selecting News', in S. Cohen and J. Young (eds) *The Manufacture of News: Deviance, Social Problems and the Mass Media*, pp. 52–63. London: Constable.
- Hackett, R. and Zhao, Y. (1994) 'Challenging a Master Narrative: Peace Protest and Opinion/Editorial Discourse in the US Press during the Gulf War', *Discourse & Society* 5(4): 509–41.

- Hall, S. (1973) 'A World at One With Itself', in S. Cohen and J. Young (eds) *The Manufacture of News: Deviance: Social Problems and the Mass Media*, pp. 147–56. London: Constable.
- Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J. and Roberts, B. (1978) *Policing the Crisis: Mugging the State, and Law and Order*. London: Macmillan Education.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 2nd edn. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1996) 'Linguistic Function and Literary Style: An Inquiry into the Language of William Golding's *The Inheritors*', in J. Weber (ed.) *The Stylistics Reader: From Jakobson to the Present*, pp. 56–86. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hartley, J. (1982) *Understanding News*. London: Routledge.
- Hodge, R. and Kress, G. (1993) *Language as Ideology*, 2nd edn. London: Routledge.
- Itule, B. and Anderson, D. (1994) *News Writing and Reporting for Today's Media*, 3rd edn. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Kress, G. (1989) *Linguistic Processes in Sociocultural Practice*, 2nd edn. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- Lee, J. and Craig, R. (1992) 'News as an Ideological Framework: Comparing US Newspapers' Coverage of Labor Strikes in South Korea and Poland', *Discourse & Society* 3(3): 341–63.
- McLeod, D. and Hertog, J. (1992) 'The Manufacture of "Public Opinion" by Reporters: Informal Cues for Public Perceptions of Protest Groups', *Discourse & Society* 3(3): 259–75.
- Martín Rojo, L. (1995) 'Division and Rejection: From the Personification of the Gulf Conflict to the Demonization of Saddam Hussein', *Discourse & Society* 6(1): 49–80.
- Martín Rojo, L. and Van Dijk, T.A. (1997) '"There was a Problem and It Was Solved!": Legitimizing the Expulsion of "Illegal" Migrants in Spanish Parliamentary Discourse', *Discourse & Society* 8(4): 523–66.
- Murdock, G. (1973) 'Political Deviance: The Press Presentation of a Militant Mass Demonstration', in S. Cohen and J. Young (eds) *The Manufacture of News: Deviance, Social Problems and the Mass Media*, pp. 206–25. London: Constable.
- Nir, R. and Roeh, I. (1992) 'Intifada Coverage in the Israeli Press: Popular and Quality Papers Assume a Rhetoric of Conformity', *Discourse & Society* 3(1): 47–60.
- Stovall, G.J. (1994) *Writing for the Mass Media*, 3rd edn. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Trew, T. (1979a) '"What the Papers Say": Linguistic Variation and Ideological Difference', in R. Fowler, R. Hodge, G. Kress and T. Trew *Language and Control*, pp. 117–56. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Trew, T. (1979b) 'Theory and Ideology at Work', in R. Fowler, R. Hodge, G. Kress and T. Trew *Language and Control*, pp. 94–116. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Tsoukalas, K. (1977) *Eksartisi ke Anaparagogi: O Kinonikos Rolos ton Ekpedeftikon Michanision stin Ellada (1830–1929)* (Dependence and Reproduction: The Social Role of Educational Mechanisms in Greece [1830–1929]). Athina: Themelio.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1980) *Macrostructures: An Interdisciplinary Study of Global Structures in Discourse, Interaction, and Cognition*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1988a) *News as Discourse*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1988b) *News Analysis: Case Studies of International and National News in the Press*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1991) *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1993) 'Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis', *Discourse & Society* 4(2): 249–83.
- Van Dijk, T.A. (1996) 'Discourse, Power and Access', in C.R. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard (eds) *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*, pp. 84–104. London: Routledge.

- Van Leeuwen, T. (1995) 'Representing Social Action', *Discourse & Society* 6(1): 81–106.
- Van Leeuwen, T. (1996) 'The Representation of Social Actors', in C.R. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard (eds) *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*, pp. 32–70. London: Routledge.
- Whitaker, B. (1981) *News Limited: Why You Can't Read All About It*. London: Minority Press Group.



ANASTASIA G. STAMOU is currently undertaking doctoral research on the representation of environment in mass media and politics in the Department of Primary Education at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. This article is based on research for a dissertation she wrote while taking an MA course on Language in Society at the University of East Anglia. ADDRESS: c/o Stephanos Paraskevopoulos, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, School of Education, Department of Primary Education, 540 06, Thessaloniki, Greece. [email: agstamou@eled.auth.gr]