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Version: Accepted Version

Article:
Gregoriou, C and Paterson, LL (2017) “Reservoir of rage swamps Wall St”: The linguistic construction and evaluation of Occupy in international print media. Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict, 5 (1). pp. 57-80. ISSN: 2213-1272

https://doi.org/10.1075/jlac.5.1.03gre

This work was supported in part by the ESRC Centre for Corpus Approaches to Social Science [grant number ES/K002155/1]

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Paper Title: "Reservoir of rage swamps Wall St": The linguistic construction and evaluation of Occupy in international print media.

Abstract:

Originating on New York's Wall Street, the Occupy movement was "an international network of protests against social and economic inequality that began in [September] 2011 in response to the downturn of 2008" (Thorson et al. 2013, 427). Whilst there has been research on online activity in relation to Occupy, the scope of linguistic analysis to date has been somewhat narrow. Furthermore, the focus on new media has indirectly led to an absence of analysis of institutionally-endorsed traditional media texts. We adopt a mixed-method approach of corpus analysis and discourse analysis of national newspaper articles to answer questions such as 'Is Occupy associated with a semantic field of violence and aggression?' and 'Who is represented as having agency?' Our results indicate that, in our small corpus of media texts, Occupy and its supporters were predominantly portrayed negatively at the movement's height; even though protesters are reported to have been peaceful in their majority, the English-speaking media we analysed still aligns them with language suggestive of aggression, conflict and even violence.

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Keywords: Occupy movement, critical discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, newspapers, social media

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1. Introduction

Originating on New York's Wall Street, and influenced greatly by the Arab Spring, the Occupy movement was "an international network of protests against social and economic inequality that began in [September] 2011 in response to the downturn of 2008" (Thorson et al. 2013, 427). It was not until the start of 2012 that "most major full-time encampments had been permanently cleared", though post-occupation demonstrations and online activity carried on into 2012 (Thorson et al. 2013, 427). The movement objected to the present economic system where a tiny fraction of the population hold most of society's wealth (Writers for the 99%, 2011). Despite being leaderless, the movement's organisation proved successful (see Graeber 2013), with the internet proving "critical to Occupy's Inception, not only as a tool for organising and communicating internally, but also as a broadcast medium for public outreach" (Milberry 2014, 264). With the help of the net, the movement soon extended to over 100 cities in the US and more than 1500 cities worldwide (Chomsky 2012), with most local 'occupations' concerning themselves with issues such as "economic inequality, corporate greed, and the influence of corporations on government" (Catalano and Creswell 2013, 667).

Scholarly studies of this social movement are important given its contemporariness and size. Existing studies concerning Occupy tend to focus on participant interviews, observations and slogan analysis, as well as exploring the role that social media has played in global protest movements (Ganesh and Stohl 2013; Thorson et al 2013). The movement was a virtual and physical phenomenon (Milberry 2014, 256) and, along with Facebook and Twitter, blogs "were extensively used and many Occupy camps were extremely media savvy" (Pickerill and Krinsky

2012, 284). However, whilst acknowledging the importance of social media to Occupy, we shift the focus away somewhat from *individual* texts created by and for occupiers, towards an analysis of *institutional* texts about Occupy. We take 'institutional' to refer to texts endorsed by multinational companies, which may not be oriented to endorsing the arguments of the 99%.

Our analysis is linguistic in focus and sits within the sub-discipline of critical discourse analysis; as such, we have an explicit focus on "challenging some of the hidden and 'out of sight' social, cultural and political ideologies and values that underlie texts" (Paltridge 2012, 194). The language related to Occupy is worth exploring and can help to explain Occupy participants' rationale, whether self- or other-constructed. As Pickerill and Krinsky (2012, 281) argue, the use of what they call "powerful language" was "a tactical choice which framed the movement in a certain way, both positively and negatively", with the word 'occupy' itself alluding both to occupiers camping or holding a sit-in, and the need to reclaim space from corporate greed.[1] Our analysis combines the close reading associated with CDA with corpus analysis to investigate the language of aggression and conflict at the height of the Occupy movement. There is a large body of work showing the merits of combining corpus analysis with CDA (Orpin 2005; Baker 2012; Jeffries and Walker 2012) and Tabbert (2012, 131) recommends combining these two approaches "to reduce the researcher's bias in deciding what to focus on, thereby avoiding the subjectivity of which CDA is often accused". Our corpus-assisted discourse analysis focuses on how Occupy was portrayed in printed newspaper texts (which we compare to a small corpus of blog posts). The next section summarises relevant research on Occupy, the findings of which

[1] According to the same source, the use of the slogan 'We are the 99%', if exaggerating reality, linguistically created a sense of both inclusion and majority, and proved key to the success of the movement as a powerful emotional motivator.

influenced our research questions, corpus construction (section 3), analysis (section 4) and discussion.

2. Investigating Occupy

There is very little systematic analysis of how Occupy was reported in traditional print media. Even as circulation figures for print media decline, the potential influence of newspaper articles on wider public perceptions of Occupy should not be left without comment. Traditional media institutions have the capacity to reach massive audiences through print or online content (given the ubiquity of access to computers/smartphones in the western hemisphere). Therefore, the language they use to describe particular social and/or political groups has the potential to influence public opinion. Even allowing for resisting readers (i.e. ones who read 'against the grain' of a text, see Fetterley 1978) and not suggesting that newspaper texts are merely passively consumed by all, the presence of systematic and repeated linguistic characterisations of given groups has the ability to associate such groups with particular evaluations, which likely support the underlying ideological assumptions made by those controlling the mainstream press. In the case of Occupy, the 1% the movement placed itself in opposition to includes many media owners, and, as such, it would be against the (financial) interests of those controlling the mass media to represent Occupy positively.

Focusing particularly on media language in Canada, Gibbons (2013) analysed coverage of Occupy in Montreal in 2011. His study highlights several themes alluding to "delegitimation, isolation, segregation and marginalization, all of which are characteristics of language that

excludes" (Gibbons 2013, 65). Gibbons argues that the movement's media portrayal is consistent with what is known as the protest paradigm and its "angry mob" frame (see, for instance, McLeod 2007), in which erratic behaviour is emphasized, and a movement's underlying causes are downplayed and simplified. In Gibbon's study, the Occupy encampment is portrayed as a deviant, fringe, potentially dangerous, and criminal microsociety to be patiently tolerated by the rest of the population. Linguistically and microanalytically speaking, pronoun choice 'others' occupiers, excluding them from the inclusive 'we' of the media texts, while grammatical agency favours 'the city', making the occupiers bohemian-like passive thinkers and feelers, and not real-world actors (Gibbons 2013). Catalano and Creswell (2013) also considered language in their study of cognitive and narratological analysis related to Occupy. They focus on interviews of Occupy participants, closely exploring metaphors and metonymies in particular, and found the movement was portrayed as strong, dynamic and life-like, as a war or force against government, corporations, oppression and inequality, and as a community that needed to be perceived and felt, but also fed and awakened.

In an example showing clear links between texts produced for traditional news outlets and those produced by Occupy supporters, Gaby and Caren's (2012, 370) analysis of Occupy texts on Facebook includes one particular post that attracted a lot of online attention specifically because of the manipulation of language in traditional media. The post in question was a set of two images of an article from the *New York Times.* In the first image, the article's headline read "After allowing them onto the bridge, the police cut off and arrested dozens of Occupy Wall Street demonstrators", whilst a second image of the article, posted twenty minutes later, included the headline "In a tense showdown over the East River, police arrested hundreds of Occupy Wall

Street demonstrators after they marched onto the bridge" (2012, 370). The post attracted 1125 new users to comment on the headlines, which were tagged with the quotation "it only takes 20 minutes to shift the blame" (2012, 370).

Although not the primary focus of Gaby and Caren's research, this example illustrates just how important linguistic choice is when describing conflict. In the original headline, the police are constructed as being in control; they are Actors in the process of 'allowing' the demonstrators into a particular location. In contrast, the demonstrators have no grammatical agency; they are passive. In the second headline, not only has the number of supposed arrests been increased ten-fold, the demonstrators have more agency, which is portrayed as mass action through the use of the verb 'marched'. The use of the evaluative adjective 'tense' adds to this (negative) conceptualisation of events. Whilst the police are still Actors in the material process of 'arresting' people in the second headline, their use of these powers is constructed as a reaction to the agency of the demonstrators. This example illustrates how the positioning of social actors, alongside the choice of particular verbs and adjectives, can influence how an event is constructed in a (media) text. Similarly, our analysis (section 4) shows that agentless passives are used to obscure the actions of individuals and construct a dichotomy between the collectives of 'police' and 'occupiers'. Our analysis illuminates patterns in how institutional texts filter and encapsulate interpretations of Occupy through language. It is through such analysis that one can expose movement-related ideologies embedded within texts. In the example from Gaby and Caren (2012), the pro-Occupy Facebook users rejected the conceptualisation of events depicted in the headline and, more specifically, they rejected the language that was used to describe the event. Thus we can see a discrepancy between individually- and institutionally-constructed texts.

As the above discussion has shown, there is research concerning online activity in relation to Occupy, but the scope of linguistic analysis has been somewhat narrow. Furthermore, the focus on new media has indirectly led to an absence of qualitative/quantitative analysis of institutionally-endorsed traditional media texts. Our mixed-method approach of corpus and discourse analysis (section 3) addresses these concerns. Specifically, we address the following research questions (henceforth RQs):

1. Is Occupy associated with a semantic field of violence and aggression? If so, how?
2. What other political movements, and groups, is Occupy related to, and how?
3. How is Occupy evaluated or otherwise represented in institutional media texts?
4. Who is represented as having agency?

Like the analysis of Gaby and Caren's example from *The New York Times*, we analyse naming strategies and evaluation, agency (transitivity), the use of metaphor, and the presence/absence of a semantic field of aggression. Our focus on the latter arose out of close reading of the texts and preliminary frequency and keyword analysis which indicated that, despite Occupy being a peaceful protest, terms associated with aggression and violence occurred across our texts. Like Tabbert (2010, 142), who draws upon Becker's (1966, 8) claim that deviance is "created by society", we focus on how (members of) the Occupy movement are portrayed as deviant. Through evaluating the language used to refer to occupiers and the Occupy movement, we show that the movement is predominantly portrayed negatively in the institutional texts we analyse and illustrate some of the linguistic structures used to express this evaluation.

We also interrogate the extent to which the media were "largely dismissive" (Catalano and Creswell 2013, 667) of the movement; major newspapers and television commentators were said to have criticized the ineffective, vague, unfocused, and incoherent aspects of the actions (Britt and Gelsi 2011, cited in Ganesh and Stohl 2013, 426). This perhaps explains why existing scholarship has not predominantly focused on print media thus far. In fact, "[o]nly after Occupy became a social media sensation did the corporate news media pick up on it, after which it became a major news item" (Milberry 2014, 264). To investigate the representation of Occupy, we compare a small corpus of forty newspaper texts from the UK/Ireland, the USA, and Canada with a corpus of eighteen international blogs, the latter of which were collected in response to Costanza-Chock's (2012) finding that 19.1% of her 5000 participants claimed to have written a blog post about Occupy. Even though blogs are not our main focus, and are primarily used for comparison, they are worthy of investigation due to the importance of Occupy's online presence.

3. Methodology and corpus construction

Jeffries (2010) proposes a series of linguistic tools which enable a critical engagement with discourse. Inspired by Jeffries (2010), and Gregoriou and Troullinou's (2012, 21) study of how body scanners were portrayed in UK media texts, the present analysis explores such issues as the naming and describing of the main stakeholders, grammatical transitivity, and metaphoricity to interrogate the portrayal and evaluation of Occupy. In line with the method of corpus-based discourse analysis proposed by Baker and Levon (2015), one author adopted a discourse analysis approach to the data and the other used corpus linguistics techniques. Each of us worked separately on the data before our analyses were combined. Whilst Baker and Levon (2015) use a

subset of their corpus for manual analysis, we kept our corpus small (40 newspaper texts published in the national press and a separate set of 18 Occupy-related blog posts, all taken from the UK/Ireland, USA, and Canada) to facilitate a full manual qualitative analysis alongside the analysis performed using corpus software. As both researchers engaged with exactly the same data (rather than the discourse analyst taking a subset of a larger corpus) we are confident that our corpus and discourse-based findings are comparable in scope.

We follow Meschenmoser and Proll (2012, 178) in noting that "size is not the decisive parameter of corpus quality" and argue that small corpora can be advantageous for discourse-level analysis. However, we acknowledge that a small corpus such as ours will not include the potential range of variation that could occur in a larger corpus. Furthermore, we cannot make wide-ranging statistical claims about how Occupy was reported across all media texts in the UK/Ireland, US, and Canada. Our analysis provides evidence that particular linguistic features are used to evaluate and characterise Occupy/occupiers, but our list of features is not exhaustive. It does, however, provide a starting point for larger-scale linguistic analyses of texts concerning Occupy. Our choice to combine discourse analysis with corpus analysis of a small dataset relates to the analytical merits of triangulation (see Baker and Levon, 2015, 223-5). For example, utilising corpus methods allows us to show that certain linguistic features, such as water metaphors, and references to particular locations and/or social groups represent tendencies across the whole corpus, rather than elements which occur in only one or two texts. Looking at larger corpora may show different results, but not doing so does not diminish the validity of our analysis (i.e. bigger is not always better). Given the highly topical nature of the corpus, there is no reason to assume that other Occupy-centric media texts from the UK, US or Canada would be radically different

from the ones we have collected. Our method of sampling, detailed below, ensured that a range of political views occurred in our corpus and texts were selected from across the four months we chose to analyse. Furthermore, the corpus element of what follows is just one part of our analysis.

Mass media coverage of Occupy began in earnest in September 2011, with a focus on several key US cities (including Chicago and New York). To ensure our newspapers and blogs covered the timespan of the movement, we sampled texts published between the 1st September and the 31st December 2011, by which time most Occupy camps had been cleared. Whilst the texts used here represent a snapshot of media coverage of Occupy, there is sufficient data for us to be able to determine general trends in the way language was used in relation to the movement and its supporters. The newspaper articles were collected from Nexis UK, using the search term <'Occupy' major mentions AND 'Movement' major mentions>. For UK texts, the search returned 523 hits in national newspapers, but these included online texts and duplicates across linked publications, such as the *Independent* and its sister publication *i*-. In order to generate a more manageable sample for qualitative analysis, we deleted duplicates and restricted our analysis to texts which had appeared in print form (thus addressing the limited analysis of such texts in existing Occupy research). We also eliminated comment/editorial texts, as they were thought to represent stances that were more individual than institutional. Removal of such texts left 54 texts from UK national newspapers.

However, the *Guardian* and *Independent* were overrepresented in the 54 texts, which meant the corpus was not balanced by publication. To balance the corpus as far as possible, based on the

available data, and to maximise the number of different sources analysed, the 54 articles were divided by publication, grouping Sunday papers with their weekday counterparts. Data from each publication was systematically sampled, taking every n^{th} article (to a maximum of three articles per source), to create a corpus of 19 texts which covered the range of dates tested. Details of the newspaper corpus are given in Table 1. The political allegiance of the newspapers was determined based on which political party they endorsed in the 2010 UK general election (as this event was fairly close to Occupy's inception). As a result, there are more texts from Conservative-supporting sources (such as the *Express, The Times,* the *Daily* Mail, etc.) as there were more UK newspapers supporting this political party present in our original sample. Despite not controlling for word count, the resulting word counts for both left- and right-leaning texts are not vastly dissimilar (see Table 1); texts from left-leaning publications tended to be longer. As close as possible, similar processes were used to determine the political leanings of the US, Canadian and Irish texts, the addition of which took the total number of texts in the corpus to 40.

Table 1: Breakdown of Newspaper Corpus

UK and Ireland	Conservative	Labour	Liberal Democrats	Total
No of articles	11	2	6	19
No of words	4695	139	3975	8809
USA	Republican	Democratic	Liberal*	Total
No of articles	4	4	4	12
No of words	3476	3326	2176	8908
Canada	Conservative		Centre Liberal	Total
No of articles	4		5	9
No of words	1620		2981	4601
Totals				
No of articles	19	6	15	40
No of words	9791 (43.73%)	3465 (15.48%)	9132 (40.79%)	22388

*Did not endorse a presidential candidate

To collect the blogs, we used Google's advanced search function and searched for blog posts within our date range including 'Occupy' on sites registered as .co.uk, .ca, etc. We intended to

look at five blogs from each of our target countries but posts from Ireland were difficult to find using this search method. Potentially, this could mean that (individually-authored, independent) Occupy blogs are less frequent than previous studies have indicated, but researching this is beyond the scope of our paper. As with the newspaper texts, blogs from Ireland and the UK were pooled as there were no great political differences in the texts selected from the two countries. The blogs were sampled from across the date range and details of the corpus are given in Table 2. We did not stratify the blogs for political allegiance as the vast majority showed solidarity with Occupy. Furthermore, the blog corpus is much smaller than the newspaper corpus as its primary function was to facilitate comparison between institutional and individual texts, rather than to facilitate the analysis of blogs *per se*.

Table 2: Breakdown of Blog Corpus

UK and Ireland	Conservative
No of blog posts	8
No of words	7660
USA	
No of blog posts	5
No of words	5406
Canada	
No of blog posts	5
No of words	3840
Totals	
No of blog posts	18
No of words	16906

4. Analysis

In the following sections, we inspect keyword lists and analyse the overarching semantic fields present in the newspaper corpus (section 4.1), before exploring the media texts' evaluative

language use (section 4.2) and transitivity patterns (section 4.3), and comparing this to the language used by bloggers. The naming of social actors and their evaluation through attribution of agency are indicative of the stance taken towards particular individuals/groups/entities in discourse. A close look at the naming and describing of social actors (see Jeffries 2010), alongside an investigation of transitivity patterns of who is acting upon whom (as with the *New York Times* example) can illuminate how the media position and construct the actions of those supporting Occupy. Such an analysis is complemented by a close reading of metaphors (section 4.2) which indicates that two particular metaphors – OCCUPY IS AN ARMY and OCCUPIERS ARE LIQUID – are repeated across the data. The presence of such metaphors helps to justify our focus on the semantic field of aggression. Occupy consisted primarily of peaceful protests involving campsites erected in major cities. However, the evaluation of Occupy using lexical items such as 'reservoir of rage' and 'pieces of hate' work together to discursively construct negative images of the occupiers. In order to determine linguistic patterns across our data, we rely on quantification and keyword searches (section 4.1) conducted using WordSmith Tools (Scott 2012) to illustrate that the observed features occurred across a range of texts and indicate trends in how Occupy was discussed in our selection of newspapers.

4.1 Overarching Themes in the Corpora

Table 3 shows the top 25 keywords used in the newspapers for each country. Keywords are calculated by comparing the texts under analysis to a general reference corpus of the same language variety and are useful for highlighting which topics are overrepresented in a given corpus. We chose to look at only the top 25 keywords due to the small size of our corpus; we did

not want our results to be skewed by very small numbers of occurrences of a particular term (for example *twitter* is the number 39 keyword in the UK texts, with a keyness value of 44.96, but only occurred 3 times in one article). Six of the keywords (*movement, occupy, protest, protesters, protests, Zuccotti*) were common to texts from each country. The keyness of Zuccotti is indicative of the characterisation of Zuccotti Park in New York as the 'ground zero' of the Occupy movement – a phrase used in one of the US texts where the Occupy camp is represented as a tourist attraction 'just a few minutes' walk from the 9/11 memorial at the former World Trade Center'. The vast majority of the keywords perform the function of locating the Occupy movement in physical space and are fairly neutral in terms of their evaluation.

Table 3: Top 25 keywords in newspaper corpus split by country

	UK and Ireland*			USA			Canada		
	Token	Freq.	Keyness**	Token	Freq.	Keyness	Token	Freq.	Keyness
1	Protesters	73	931.44	Protesters	72	825.42	Occupy	46	559.38
2	Occupy	64	695.63	Occupy	59	670.29	Vancouver	33	435.19
3	Protest	41	311.19	Police	63	306.23	Protesters	29	358.60
4	Paul's	30	287.29	Not	36	275.97	Toronto	24	288.16
5	Wall	49	275.84	Zuccotti	12	256.20	Protest	20	150.41
6	Camp	33	239.02	Street	46	236.10	Not	19	145.92
7	Street	49	228.17	Movement	43	233.79	Park	22	135.30
8	Movement	43	219.17	Wall	40	190.45	Encampments	8	116.19
9	Police	50	199.72	Protests	22	184.52	Tents	12	117.52
10	London	51	186.94	City's	7	149.44	City	29	115.23
11	Cathedral	24	177.26	Arrested	19	118.53	Canada	18	112.78
12	Protests	19	154.48	It's	12	117.41	Movement	20	104.07
13	Demonstrators	17	151.12	Protest	17	112.05	Encampment	8	97.78
14	Zuccotti	8	147.81	Nation's	5	106.74	Mayor	15	97.15
15	St	32	139.27	York	34	96.58	Occupiers	7	93.08
16	York	38	137.76	Park	20	94.08	Tent	12	92.04
17	Tents	13	125.41	Don't	10	89.38	Vancouver's	4	90.56
18	Activists	15	122.40	Encampment	8	87.46	Beuhler	4	90.56
19	City	32	114.43	Movement's	4	85.40	City's	4	90.56
20	Obama	6	105.11	Encampments	6	78.83	Zuccotti	4	90.56
21	Greed	11	97.79	Arrests	10	78.29	Ford	9	73.83
22	Said	73	88.62	Bridge	15	74.86	Tweets	6	71.72
23	Length	19	87.10	We're	6	74.45	Protests	9	71.06
24	Financial	23	79.59	Plaza	9	74.02	Nenshi	3	67.92
25	Marched	10	74.77	Said	73	68.40	Plaza	7	63.07

*The UK/Ireland keywords were generated using the written section of the British National Corpus (BNC) – a standard reference corpus. US keywords were generated using the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). Canadian keywords were generated using the BNC and COCA, but there were no great differences in output. Values given here are based on the BNC.

** Scores calculated using Log-likelihood, minimum frequency 2, minimum occurrence in 5% of texts.

The US keywords do include terms relating to law enforcement (*arrest, arrested, police*) which implies references to crime and potentially violence. The verb *arrest* is one of the only verbs in the top 25 keywords for each country (others include *marched* and some occurrences of *protest*), which supports that argument that *arresting* was one of the primary actions that institutional texts associated with Occupy. Looking at the top 100 keywords in the whole corpus (including data from all countries compared with the BNC), *police* is the sixth-highest keyword (occurring 129 times with a keyness value of 525.09), whilst *arrested* is 28th (30 tokens and a value of 156.37) and *arrests* (19 tokens, 148.49) comes 30th. In contrast, *peaceful* is also a keyword, but occurs in 79th place (13 tokens, keyness 66.03). Thus, in response to RQ1 (Is Occupy associated with a semantic field of violence and aggression?), keyword analysis suggests that Occupy is not associated with violence explicitly, but references to police and arrests may be indicative of occupiers' implied deviance.

To investigate this further, concordance lines for *police**[2] were generated using WordSmith Tools (Scott 2012).[3] On occasions where (violent) conflict is reported – '37 people were arrested after a Police Community Support Officer was attacked' – occupiers were more likely to be represented as the perpetrators of violent action (with their agency either explicitly expressed or implied) than police officers were (see Table 4). In contrast, the police were more likely to be presented as victims of violence than occupiers. Nevertheless, police violence was reported. Nine out of thirty-one occasions where *police** co-occurred with terms associated with violence ('clash', 'assault', etc.), the police, or a single police officer, was represented as performing a

[2] The asterisk represents 'zero or more characters'. Thus a search for *Occup** will return hits for *Occupy, Occupiers, Occupied*, etc.
[3] Concordance lines present all tokens of a search term – in this case, all forms of *police* – within a context of ten words either side allowing the researcher to investigate patterns occurring across a corpus.

violent act: ‘A police commander was filmed pepper-spraying two female protesters’. However, six of these nine occurrences relate to this single incident where occupiers were pepper sprayed by the police. Contrastingly, the acts of aggression attributed to occupiers are much more varied: ‘demonstrators surrounded a police van and began pelting it with rocks before setting it on fire’, ‘The police said he [an occupier] had thrown a small battery at officers and taken a deputy inspector’s hat’.

Table 4: Characterising aggressors in concordance lines for *police**

	Perpetrators (%)	Victims (%)	Totals
Police	9 (29.03)	8 (25.81)	17
Police implied*	0	8 (25.81)	8
Occupiers	7 (22.58)	8 (25.81)	15
Occupiers implied	7 (22.58)	2 (6.45)	9
Unknown	8 (25.81)	2 (6.45)	10
Other	0	3 (9.68)	3
Totals	31	31	

*Police could be implied victims (i.e. not explicitly mentioned) in concordance lines including *police van/lines/barricades*.

Nevertheless, there are three occurrences in the concordance lines which explicitly note the peaceful actions of occupiers: ‘police declared an unlawful assembly at a peaceful protest’. The actions of occupiers are described as ‘nonviolent in the face of aggressive actions by the New York police’, and ‘police relationships with the Occupy protesters were largely noncontroversial’. Such examples indicate that the peaceful nature of most Occupy protests was acknowledged by the main stream press, but such occurrences are in the minority and contrast with direct quotations from government officials, such as New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg who stated that ‘some protesters “deliberately pursued violence”’.

What was also apparent in the concordance lines for *police** is that occupiers tended to be referred to as either ‘protesters’ or ‘demonstrators’; the more neutral term ‘occupiers’, which we

have used throughout, occurs only ten times in the corpus. To facilitate closer analysis of the primary labels given to occupiers, concordance lines were generated for *demonstrat** and *protest**. *Protest** tends to collocate with quantifiers; there are 14 occurrences (out of 309) where numerals are used, and the plural *protesters* (174 tokens) is more common than the singular (3). Indeed, *protesters* is the second most frequent open-class word (after *said*) in the newspaper corpus, occurring even more times than *Occupy* (169). Looking specifically at 'protester(s)', analysis of syntactic structure indicates that agentless passives are used in conjunction with terms associated with violence: 'a protester was led from the park with blood streaming down his nose', '10 protesters were injured', '700 protesters were arrested', '21 protesters were escorted from the building in handcuffs', 'protesters were evicted'. In these examples, those supporting Occupy are acted upon by unspecified forces, as the agents performing the actions of *arresting* and *injuring* are syntactically obscured (see RQ4). Whilst arguably the agents performing the arrests are recoverable based on wider knowledge of society (and who has the power to legitimately perform arrests) the fact that the police are not explicitly mentioned in the syntax and, furthermore, that this agent deletion is systematic, does represent a pattern in how relationships between occupiers and police were characterised. Section 4.3 considers agency in more detail.

In terms of RQ2 (What other political movements, and groups, is Occupy related to, and how?), hacker group *Anonymous* were mentioned in the Canadian texts, but a closer look at the concordance lines for *Anonymous* suggests the group was represented as separate from Occupy: 'Anonymous has previously stated it would ignore the Occupy Canada movement'. Such a finding illustrates why relying on quantitative corpus data, especially in a small corpus, does not

always give an accurate picture of how words are used in a particular dataset; closer qualitative analysis (through the generation of concordance lines) can highlight the nuances of how a keyword (or any term) is used. Whilst the proximity of the term *Anonymous* to *Occupy* could indicate that the media is making a conceptual link between the two movements, there is not enough evidence here to suggest that this is the case. Having said that, the calculation of keywords is useful for indicating the importance of geographical locations in the corpus – 24 of the top 100 keywords related to particular places – with the newspaper texts focusing their reports of a restricted set of occupy encampments.

Again using concordance lines, the term *Occup** tends to primarily co-occur with places (Occupy Boston, Occupy Canada, etc.) and with 'movement' (18 times). The locations that collocate with this node word can be as large as entire countries, but also as small as a city or location (Occupy Wall Street). Even though we have included articles from four different nations, none of the texts in the newspaper corpus refer specifically to Occupy sites outside of the US, Canada, UK or Italy. Thus, despite the movement being global, discussions of it in institutional texts are primarily restricted to sites in a few (predominantly English-speaking) countries. However, responding to RQ2, and similarly to the references to *Anonymous* discussed above, there are nine references in the texts to Egypt/Cairo/Tahrir which implicitly link Occupy and other uprisings; more specifically, referencing Egypt links Occupy with the Arab Spring even if 'Arab' and 'Spring' are not keywords. Five (12.5%) articles draw on references to the Arab Spring, suggesting that it is Occupy's 'inspiration' or 'model' – there is one occasion where an 'affinity' between the Arab Spring and Occupy is mentioned – while three texts (7.5%) also find the Tea Party comparable enough to mention. Rome (and Italy more generally) was also

mentioned in the newspaper corpus, and tended to collocate with terms relating to violence (RQ1): 'The worst violence was in Rome', 'An angry mob set Rome ablaze'. However, such mentions only occurred in three newspaper articles and thus were not representative of wider trends. In contrast, the blogs we analysed (see below) also make mention of Greek strikes and riots in response to austerity measures, the Spanish indignados, and the student fee protests in the UK, with one blogger finding the Tea Party superior to Occupy, partly because they find the word 'occupy' (as in 'taking over something that belongs to someone else') distasteful.

Table 5: Top 20 keywords in newspaper and blog corpora

	Newspapers			Blogs		
	Token	Freq.	Keyness	Token	Freq.	Keyness
1	Protesters	174	1,969.67	Occupy	126	1,465.40
2	Occupy	169	1,952.08	Not	85	692.71
3	Not	89	675.57	Movement	96	557.4
4	Protest	78	603.71	Street	71	339.57
5	Police	129	571.13	Protest	34	229.35
6	Movement	106	568.19	Wall	53	218.48
7	Paul's	30	551.6	Didn't	18	199.94
8	Street	108	535.87	Piven	13	184.87
9	Byline	37	511.39	Protests	24	176.14
10	Wall	102	484.62	Occupywallstreet	8	160.97
11	Zuccotti	24	467.23	People	122	154.67
12	Protests	50	407.17	Assembly	23	154.08
13	Park	60	300.49	Occupiers	12	142.05
14	City's	15	292.01	Protestors	12	138.16
15	Vancouver	33	281.8	Osgoode	8	137.46
16	London	53	272.98	Occupation	21	133.51
17	It's	27	256.9	Wente	9	122.79
18	Tents	29	243.12	Zuccotti	6	120.72
19	Encampment	22	243.05	Scotiabank	5	100.6
20	City	82	242.26	Square	22	96.23

To compare the corpus of newspaper texts to the blogs, keyword lists were again generated, but this time all the texts were grouped together (and compared to the BNC).[4] Table 5 shows that eight keywords occurred in the top 20 for each text type: *Occupy, not, movement, street, protest,*

[4] We could have compared the blogs and newspaper texts directly, using each as the other's reference corpus. However, this would only serve to show the differences between the text types. By comparing newspapers and blogs to the same reference corpus, we can also see the similarities in how Occupy is debated within the two text types.

wall, protests, Zuccotti. Whilst this finding illustrates that the core elements of discussions across the text types were similar, there is much more variation in keywords than was evident in Table 3. The newspaper texts were more likely to discuss locations and law enforcement/arrests, whilst blogs drew on the notion of cohesion – *assembly* – and used a range of terms for occupiers: *protestors, people, occupiers*. Thus, the institutionally-produced texts were more likely to focus on legal action, newsworthy as 'illegality' is, whilst the blogs focused on the perceived collectivity of Occupy. Blogs foreground the press having allegedly initially communally snubbed the movement – a blogger quotes columnist Glenn Greenwald blasting the media 'for their smug dismissal of the protests, diagnosing their scorn as a form of self hatred' – while other bloggers hint that media reports are not to be trusted anyway: 'Contrary to what is reported in the press [...]', 'If Fox News and the Daily Mail are to be believed I'm damn lucky she didn't shiv me in the guts and film it on her phone'. The 'ignoring' of the movement is something the press itself admits: '[f]or the first two weeks Occupy Wall Street's nebulous leadership expressed disappointment that the media was ignoring its protests, although editors said they gave it coverage proportionate to its size'. Whilst the analysis of statistically salient keywords has provided some insights into the overarching themes in our corpora, it is at close inspection of the press' language that their evaluations of the movement can really be seen – note here the premodifying adjective 'nebulous'. A close reading of the corpora helps to provide justification for our argument that critically evaluating how the movement was represented in institutional texts is worthy of investigation.

4.2 Naming, Describing, and Metaphors

Whilst section 4.1 has begun to address RQs 1, 2 and 4, this section primarily focuses on RQ3 (How is Occupy evaluated or otherwise represented in institutional media texts?). It draws particularly on an analysis of metaphors and considers the terms used to describe occupiers, their actions, and the movement as a whole. Our analysis shows that regardless of which country it originates from, and which political party each newspaper supports (in election time at least), media text writers opted for the same sorts of evaluative descriptions. The press personifies the movement ('Occupy protests barely hanging on') and draws on water metaphors describing the movement as tide or flood-like: 'the movement is set to spill over into Canada', 'a wave of Occupy encampments'. Similarly to Baker and McEnery's (2005) work on water metaphors in relation to asylum seekers, such metaphoricity facilitates the negative evaluation of a marginalised group. Occupy is said to be a 'global' (12 tokens) movement that 'evolved' (2) is 'growing/grows' (18), its new encampments unexpectedly 'spring(ing)' (9) or 'popping up' (1) out of nowhere. Occupy is concretised into material that 'sprawls' ('the sprawling St. James Park encampment'), 'spreads' ('Anti-banker protests spread'), and 'swells' ('the number of protesters swells'), sometimes 'erupting' into riots ('riots erupting in Rome and Berlin'), with occupiers 'storming' into streets. Such constructions generate the impression of the movement's growth being unwanted ('spill' (1), 'spread' (17)) and, not unlike natural disasters, even dangerous ('erupt' (2), 'flood' (3), 'storm' (4)). Adding to this impression of 'disaster' is a reference to Zuccotti Park as the movement's 'ground zero' (see above), and an Occupy spokesperson referring to there being an 'explosion of encampments'. Our observation of such metaphors is further justification for combining close reading with techniques from corpus linguistics. Corpus analysis is unlikely to show one or two occurrences of a term or phrase as significant, but whilst

these metaphors occur in different guises, their cumulative effect is to associate Occupy with negative imagery.

The press also directly links the protests with confrontation (RQ1) by referring to a subset of occupiers as violent – 'Violent fringe could fray Occupy', 'Some Occupiers argued or fought with the violent protesters' – and also by drawing attention to deaths that are unrelated to Occupy: 'a man was shot and killed in a fight near the camp […] but protesters said there was no connection [to them]'. The term 'violence' and its derivatives occur in the corpus 21 times. Eight of these refer to particular examples of real-world violence: 'Some occupiers argued or fought with violent protesters' – an example which reinforces the apparent neutrality of 'occupiers' in relation to 'protesters'. However, nine occurrences denote hypothetical violence which is presented as a potential future hazard. For example, a 'call for Occupy to end without violence' presupposes that violence is likely to occur; similar examples include 'a course of action which could lead to violence' and the more generic 'For the past century, violence has almost always been counterproductive'. Again we see Occupy portrayed as violent or aggressive by implication, rather than explicit statement.

Much like the movement itself, Occupiers' rage, anger and mistrust is animated ('the newly unleashed passions') and concretised into solid material ('Pieces of hate in bank protest') or storable liquid that floods into the streets ('Reservoir of rage swamps Wall St', 'outpouring of energy'). Additionally, occupiers are characterised as 'feeding from that deep well of pent-up anger and mistrust at Wall street', 'the same reservoir of frustration the Tea Party is drinking from'. Although not expressed in exact terms, the cumulative effect of such metaphors and

associations is notable and suggestive of aggression. The discourse in question also speaks to RQ4 (agency) with occupiers as agents/doers. Metaphors of occupiers having 'target(s)' (2) and 'faulty aim' (1), 'gunning' (1), or 'fight(ing)' (5) against iniquities, and claiming 'victory in their sometimes quixotic struggle' draw on the semantic domain of war. Similarly, descriptions of occupiers add to the impression of their actions being reactionary ('People hit back') and revolutionary ('the Bastille hasn't been stormed') and, ultimately, pointless (note the word 'quixotic') and unsuccessful (their aim is 'faulty').

Regardless of the aggressive tendency some media align occupiers with, some evaluations (RQ3) are positive. One reporter says they are 'gutsy', another says their commitment is 'remarkable', and a third quotes the Anonymous hacker group who find occupiers to be 'brave citizens', 'peaceful', and 'well mannered'. Such positively-loaded lexis is less frequent than more negative depictions of occupiers though, tending towards single examples and, much like with Gibbons' (2013) media study, particular pronouns 'other' occupiers, excluding them from the inclusive 'we' of the public, which gets consistently distinguished from the Occupy group (who claim to act on behalf of the majority of citizens – the 99%). One writer even quotes an anti-Occupier describing the occupiers as entitled 'slackers'. There are also suggestions that some encampments are dangerous, which is why city officials were sent to ensure compliance with health and safety regulations, and eventually to clear camps: 'more police departments move to clear out encampments, citing public health and safety concerns'. Despite some limited sympathy (see below) the institutional texts characterise Occupy as 'a noble but fractured and airy movement' with an 'absence of specific demands'. The newspaper texts include quotations

from occupiers claiming '[t]here is no coherent plan' and being somewhat aimless ('I don't know what I'm defending right now').

Not all media descriptions are critical of the movement; some suggest sympathy. Animalistic references to banks needing 'taming' and to bankers and corporations as 'greedy' (19 tokens) metaphorically liken excessive consumption to excessive money-making. Regardless of their take on the movement itself, the press seems to share occupiers' dissatisfaction with bankers. The metaphor of there being a 'wealth gap' suggests the press accepts discrepancies in wealth distribution: 'Occupy movement may be extreme, but wealth gap is real'. Similarly, when referring to ordinary people being 'hurt' by the 'economic' downturn, and when quoting an occupier referring to corporations as 'strangling us to death', the press portrays the occupiers as being metaphorically violently acted upon (RQ4), even if the press seems to find their reaction to this 'violence' merely symptomatic of circumstances. They quote Republican presidential candidate Newt Gingrich referring to the movement as a mere 'symptom' of a 'collapsed' moral system, for example.

In response to RQ3 (evaluation), Occupy is metaphorically referred to as a 'story' ('Police prefer to stay out of Occupy story'), 'carnival' ('So is this carnival coming home to Canada?'), or tourist attraction ('Wall St. rallies are new brand of tourism'). Its participants are chattering ('online Occupy chatter'), ranting ('the movement's anti-corporate rant') or acting like animals[5] ('in a cat-and-mouse game with the police'). Altogether, such metaphors create the impression that, though certainly noise-making and perhaps attractive, Occupy is a mere spectacle, and not a

[5] Such animal metaphors are taken up by an Occupy-supporting blogger who quotes those likening Occupiers to animals ('like a pack of wolves', 'we are one big swarm of people'), metaphors that suggest power and strength in the numbers of those involved, rather than simply acting to dehumanise occupiers.

movement to be taken seriously. Descriptions of Occupiers having a 'unifying mantra' and of losing 'their halo' when camping in front of St Paul's Cathedral (London) further suggest the group is more saint-like/spiritual than political/serious, although OCCUPY IS RELIGION metaphors only occurred across a subset of texts. Mid-late November 2011 texts refer to the movement's peak ending, noting camps 'shut[ing] down', city managers needing to assess 'damage', and 'cleanup' needing to be done by 'dismantling' operations and the police. These descriptions presuppose that not only did the occupiers generate damage, dirt or mess ('The mess!'), but perhaps that the movement itself (and not just its tents) needed 'undoing'. Such characterisations also suggest that the dismantling of Occupy campsites signified a definable end of the movement itself.

The representations of occupiers in the blog corpus were not far removed from those found in the newspaper corpus. This finding is unexpected as most blogs in the corpus were written by Occupy participants/sympathisers (only two were in clear opposition to the movement) and suggests that, independent of the positions taken by blog authors, they were drawing on the same linguistic resources to characterise the movement. Two blog authors were derisive of occupiers' actions, but overall the evaluative language used was rather mixed. References to Occupy as a person – 'the Occupy movement knows all this at the gut level' – having 'spread' and having a certain spirit ('to capture the zeitgeist of the #OccupyWallStreet protests') are again encountered, as are metaphors relating to war/fighting ('protest veterans', 'to attack the system'). There are also descriptions of Occupy as 'a space' and a party ('it's a riot down there – I mean in the sense of "fun"'), entertainment, or a show: 'the theatre that has been dissolving audiences into participants'. Those who support Occupy defend its not having a leader as '[o]ne of the

movement's significant principles', and argue for there being 'method to their madness'. However, those questioning the movement describe it as 'a ritual', suggesting many unthinkingly and mindlessly 'sleepwalk through' it.

One blogger also notes that lawyer/journalist Glenn Greenwald likened the movement to a church: 'the movement had taken on religious dimensions […] a church of dissent'. This suggests there is a whole ideology/ethos underpinning Occupy, rather than the movement being a campaign with a set of discrete and concrete commands; another blogger refers to Occupy as a 'phenomenon', its ideals as 'scaffolding', and people's will as their 'founding'. Furthermore, efforts are made to locate Occupy in conceptual and geographic space, with the claim that 'Zuccotti Park […] is becoming both the graveyard of a deceased economic dogma and the cradle of the revolution'. An anti-Occupy blogger insists on the kinds of destruction and disaster metaphors the press also opted for; they talk of President Obama getting on 'the train of destruction' that is Occupy, and quotes billionaire-supported MoveOn.org saying that 'an amazing wave of protest against Wall Street and the big banks has erupted across the country'. The occupiers are named as 'moochers', 'looters' and 'destroyers', their 'attempt' at revolution 'pathetic' and 'dangerous'. In comparison, the negative characterisations of occupiers in the newspaper corpus look restrained.

4.3 Representing Actions

In this final analysis section, we focus on transitivity and RQ4 (agency) in more detail. As Mayr (2008, 18) notes, "[t]he idea behind analysing Transitivity is to explore what social, cultural,

ideological and political factors determine what Process type (verb) is chosen in a particular type of discourse". She adds that "[r]elations of power may be implicitly inscribed by the relationship between *Actor* and *Goal*". The newspaper texts often include the use of nominalisation and (mostly agentless) passives to draw attention to events and states rather than to human agency. Making reference, for instance, to the 'despair and anger at financial institutions', and the 'violence [and] attacks' in Rome, respectively conceals whose feelings and behaviour is being reported. Similarly, in contrast to the *New York Times'* headlines found in Gaby and Caren's (2012) research, the newspapers include passives such as '37 people were arrested [...] after a Police Community Support Officer was attacked'. Here, the agents behind both the arrest and the attack go unnamed. Agency is hidden particularly where one group causes harm to the other: 'seven officers were injured'. Individual police officers and occupiers remain mostly nameless and unidentified, constructing two dichotomous groups, each functioning as a collective in opposition. One group acts upon the other through the actions of unidentified members of their collective. Quantification also contributes to this impression of occupiers and officers acting collectively: 'offices [...] were stormed by about 60 people protesting', and 'three demonstrators and 30 policemen were injured'.

Having found that police action tends to be implied (section 4.1), we chose to look at the verbs associated with occupier action to investigate whether they indicated agency or involved a particular semantic field (RQ1). We used the corpus software package AntConc (Anthony 2014) to produce a list of verbs occurring within five words either side of *protest** and found a clear trend in the newspaper texts drawing upon the semantic field of aggressive, if not violent, action ('vowed' (2), 'tossed aside' (1), 'set up' (14), 'insisted' (2), 'clashed' (2), 'complained' (1),

'fought' (3), 'gathered' (9), 'hurled' (1), 'engulfed'(1)). In contrast, 'demonstrator' only occurred 26 times and there are no clear trends in the semantics of verbs used in close proximity (e.g. 'supposed', 'including', 'slept'). This suggests that 'protester(s)' is the primary label given to those in support of Occupy – connotations of which are 'rebelliousness' or 'militancy' (OED Historical Thesaurus) – whereas alternative labels, associated with more passive behaviours (such as sleeping/supposing) are seldom used. Thus, the labelling of occupiers as protesters, combined with their association with aggressive actions and their positioning as perpetrators, evidences that (the actions of) occupiers are associated with violence/crime.

As for the blogs, police agency is again often implied in agentless passives involving verbs such as 'arrested' (4), 'permitted' (4), 'allowed' (6) and 'controlled' (1), constructions which suggest police power over occupiers' actions. Contrastingly, occupiers' agency is implied in agentless passives employing the use of fewer power-related verbs, such as 'announced' (3), 'promoted' (1) and 'used' (3), as in 'facebook is being used to organise events'. Overall, occupiers engage in fewer material processes and more verbalisation processes. Here we see a contrast between the individual blogs and the institutional newspaper texts; the verbs collocating with *protester** did not indicate preference to portray occupiers as talking, rather they were portrayed as acting (in opposition to the police).

Our analysis has shown that institutional representations of Occupy are worthy of investigation insofar as we have shown that occupiers are represented differently in newspaper texts compared with blogs. As most previous research focused on individually-authored texts (not texts produced by media outlets owned by the 1%) the characterisation of occupiers as aggressive, in conflict

with the police, and as an undesirable nuisance which metaphorically (and sometimes literally) spreads across locations around the globe has hitherto not been addressed. Furthermore, the linguistic focus of our analysis demonstrates exactly how this characterisation of Occupy is achieved. If such characterisations are accepted by those engaging with institutional texts, then public opinion of Occupy could be swayed towards the aggressive characterisation presented.

5. Summary and Conclusions

Occupy protests received relatively little traditional media attention (only 54 UK articles matched our initial criteria, although more articles appeared online and we excluded editorials). Furthermore, articles only tended to appear after Occupy received widespread social media interest. Unlike the linguistic elements of Gibbons' (2013) study, which are limited to the analysis of four Montreal newspaper articles, the present study explores an international corpus that extends across several English language media outlets. Through engaging with computational and qualitative language analysis, we considered whether characterisations, such as those found in Catalano and Creswell's (2013) study, were also deployed in institutional texts. However, as we have stressed above, our corpus is small and represents a snap-shot of media reports on Occupy. Whilst there is no reason to assume great differences between our texts and a larger corpus – considering we sourced texts from publications with a range of political leanings – there could be additional features characterising Occupy's depiction that did not occur in our data.

In terms of semantic fields (RQ1), institutional texts portray the movement negatively, as societally marginal and deviant (c.f. Gibbon's 2013). Media use of the term 'protester' over 'demonstrator' contributes to an impression of occupiers as rebellious and reactionary. The focus on police presence and arrests, alongside occupiers being portrayed as perpetrators of aggression, is indicative of links between the movement and the semantic field of aggression/violence. There is limited acknowledgement that, as a whole, Occupy was a peaceful movement, but this is not a major trend in our data. Despite occupiers purporting to function on behalf of the largest proportion of the world's citizens, they are portrayed as dangerous, militant and unwanted, particularly through the use of negatively-loaded water metaphors. Linked to this are the references made to the Arab Spring, and less so to the Tea Party. However, overall, Occupy is a movement which stands on its own (RQ2); it is represented as a coherent whole positioned in opposition to the 1% which does not warrant explanation through allusion to other social movements.

When evaluating the movement (RQ3), though not unsympathetic to occupier's concerns regarding corporations/bankers' greed, newspapers presented Occupy as a spectacle rather than serious; it is something to be dismissed. In comparison, blog writers' evaluations were mixed; where they were negative, they were more so than the press, describing occupiers as sleepwalking through the movement. Whilst occupiers and other social groups (such as the police) do possess agency (RQ4), the verbs which correlate with 'protester(s)' tend towards negative evaluations and relate to aggression (if not always violent acts). The primary activity associated with the police is *arresting* (implied) occupiers – an activity which is within their jurisdiction to perform. Relatedly, the use of passives (with verbs like *arrest*) irrelativises

agency, and obscures who exactly is responsible for the injuries that took place at occupy camps and their surrounding areas. Newspaper texts also focused on newsworthy legal action, even though such legal proceedings did not apply to the vast majority of occupiers globally.

Although not reported here in any detail, we also analysed modality and speech presentation to interrogate participant attitude, volition, and commitment, and to show the extent to which occupiers are given a 'voice' by the news media. Most examples of modality occurred when the institutional texts included direct quotation: 'Progressive Conservative Leader Tim Hudak said police *should* be used to clear out the protesters'. However, the use of modality was extremely limited and we could not draw general conclusions about Occupy from our analysis of this linguistic feature. Similarly, to establish whose voices were represented in institutional texts, we looked at the subjects of the most frequently occurring verbal processes. The most common such verb was 'said' (175 hits), followed by its derivatives 'says' (26) and 'say' (18). There are some occurrences of 'claimed' (2), 'declared' (4), and 'refused' (5), but these occurrences represent a minority. Neither newspapers nor blogs tended towards evaluation through verbal verb choice; there are no occurrences of 'shouted', 'argued', etc. Our data does not, therefore, add to wider debates about who gets to talk in institutional texts and what attitudes are portrayed. But such topics would be of future interest.

Whilst the metaphors we found overlapped somewhat with the war metaphors found by Catalano and Creswell (2013), the greater majority of metaphors were negatively-loaded water metaphors, similar to those found in immigration discourse by Baker and McEnery (2005). We also did not find references to online activity, such as those proposed by Costanza-Chock (2012). However,

whilst our conclusions are different to previous research on Occupy, our analysis does challenge 'out of sight' ideologies (Patridge 2012) that are encoded within the linguistic choices in our corpus. Through combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics, this paper contributes to wider understandings of the mass media's portrayal of marginalised social groups: the corpus analysis gave an overview of the key topics in the texts, whilst the discourse-level analysis, particularly in terms of metaphors, illustrated the importance of looking beyond statistical patterns and pulling together elements which expressed similar positions but took differing linguistic forms. Specifically, our main finding is that, whilst the vast majority of protesters are reported to have been peaceful, the media aligned Occupy with language suggestive of aggression, conflict and even violence. In so doing, the media texts (and those controlling their publication) misrepresent the majority membership of the Occupy movement.

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