

**Discourses of Disorder:
Representations of Riots, Strikes
and Protests**

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Book of Abstracts

Keynote Abstracts

Renewing, revolting and unruly protest: Housing struggle in the neoliberal city

Tracey Jensen (University of East London)

The 'tilted' social geographies of the city incubate a range of regeneration, displacement, appropriation and speculation processes through which urban inequalities are made solid and which result in spreading colonisation by urban elites. The UK's 'austerity' housing consensus is extending these processes by capping benefits and dispersing low-income households, severing family and community ties.

There has been a vibrant surge in London housing activism that responds to such 'social cleansing' processes and demanding the right to remain in the city. Unusually, though, these new housing campaigns are often initiated and led by young, working class mothers, resisting their policy and media demonization, and asserting strong ethical and political positions about communities, children, and social justice. In the neoliberal theatre of cruelty, it is the young, welfare-claiming, single mother who is the most stigmatized and vilified figure and whose existence is used to generate consent for punitive neoliberal state. In the contemporary housing struggle, it is these very women who are re-inventing the rules for protest, testing the boundaries of activist possibilities and constraints; the discursive vocabularies of class, feminism and history through which social justice politics can be framed; and reshaping concepts of agency, solidarity and resistance.

This talk will explore the new combinations of direct action such as occupations with electoral and civil society mobilisations; the creation of flexible coalitions with other campaigns; the inventive use of social, radical and alternative media; the renewing, revolting and unruly feminisms that emerge in these protests; the discursive contestations around activism, protest and occupation that circulate within and across housing struggle in the neoliberal city.

Reflections on the changing nature of industrial conflict

Nicholas Jones (author and journalist)

All out-strikes have given way to one-day, or perhaps two-day, disputes contested more often than not via the news media rather than the picket line. I look back on how trade unions that once shunned media now seek to influence the news agenda. The failure of the last of the indefinite, all-out stoppages – the 1984-85 miners' strike and the 1986 Wapping dispute – exposed the limitations of the industrial strength of once mighty trade unions. The aim now is to harness public sympathy and support, to work with press, television and radio to put pressure on managements and governments of the day. But are the unions doing enough to embrace the internet and exploit social

media? If, in 1984, the mineworkers and their wives had been able to take advantage of 24-hour rolling news, YouTube, Facebook and Twitter would they have been able to force Margaret Thatcher to the negotiating table?

General Abstracts

Social media, power and digital activism

Thomas Allmer (University of Edinburgh)

The display of power and counter-power, domination and spaces of struggles, and the commons and the commodification of the commons characterize modern society. The Internet and social media are fields of conflict in this struggle. The media are power structures and sites of power struggles and are able to support both the expansion and the commodification of the commons. New media are tools for exerting power, domination, and counter-power. Based on a critical and dialectical perspective it is possible to comprehend these contradictions occurring between emancipatory potentials of new and digital media that imply a logic of the commons and processes of commodification and enclosure that tend to jeopardize the commons and incorporate them into the logic of capital.

The overall aim of my talk is to study the constraints and emancipatory potentials of web 2.0 and to assess to what extent social media can contribute to strengthen the idea of the communication and network commons and a commons-based information society. I follow an emancipatory research interest being based on a critical theory and political economy approach in three parts:

I provide some foundational concepts of a critical theory of media, technology and society in part one. There has been an extension and intensification of privacy threats and surveillance risks in economic, political, and cultural contexts in recent years being also based on the employment of various surveillance technologies. The Internet and new media are one of these technologies.

The economic and political logic shaping the strategies of profit-oriented social media platforms produces an antagonism between communicative opportunities and privacy and surveillance threats. This points out the antagonistic structure of communication technologies in capitalism. The task of part two is to study the users' knowledge, attitudes, and practices towards this antagonistic character and the potentials and risks of social media. This part can be considered as a case study of the critical theory and dialectics of media, technology, and society. I analyse which advantages and disadvantages students consider in the context of social networking sites.

Part three unites the theoretical foundations and the empirical case study and asks what the results mean and how they can be interpreted with the help of a dialectical and critical theory of social media. In addition, I raise the question if technological and/or social changes are required in order to bring about real social media and human liberation. Part three furthermore discusses political implications and draws some conclusions.

The Italian University system: Reforms, resistance and (media) representation

Alessandro Arienzo (Università di Napoli Federico II)
Marco Venuti (Università di Catania)

The trend towards an 'entrepreneurial university' (Mautner 2005; Shattock 2009) and the process leading to a European Higher Education Area (Jessop, Fairclough and Wodak 2008; Wodak and Fairclough 2010) have meant, also in Italy, a series of reforms of the University system. The first step of implementation of the so-called 'Bologna Process' has been the Berlinguer Reform passed in 2000. It was later followed, in 2003, by a new reform that, among other provisions, changed the researcher status from a permanent position in a three-year contract. This reform was opposed by a vast movement of students and researchers, and despite the parliamentary approval it remained largely unimplemented. The most recent step in the transformation of Italian Higher Education system has been the new reform in 2010.

Our paper will focus in particular on the latter. The normative process that is identified as *Riforma Gelmini* (Gelmini's reform, from the name of the then Minister of Education) started in August 2008 and ended on 30 December 2010 in the midst of a huge demonstration of students, researchers and professors seizing the Italian parliament in order to avoid the definitive passing of the law.

During these years a growing movement of critical reaction to the proposed reform gathered around a group permanent full time researchers, the *Rete 29 Aprile* (the 29 April Network), and a number of groups of precarious researchers claiming for a democratic university and fair and supportive working environment (Coin 2011, Comisso 2012). Their struggle against the managerial turn in University governance and the strong opposition to the growing precariat in research raised a significant public debate, well represented in the high number of news and opinion articles published in the press.

In our paper, we will present the major issues relating to the reform process, the steps of the rising protest that followed the Parliamentary path of the normative process and the media coverage of both the reform law and the protest. To this end we collected a corpus of newspaper articles published in the leading Italian newspapers (*La Repubblica, Il Corriere della Sera, Il Fatto Quotidiano, Il Manifesto, Il Sole24ore*).

The analysis of and the comparison between articles focusing on the reform, particularly on the way it was presented by the Government and its advisors, and those more specifically representing the opposition and the protest, and consequently the reasons behind them, will shed light on issues of news framing (de Vreese 2005, D'Angelo Kuypers 2010), ideology and power relations between hegemonic neoliberal policies, and the resistance to them enacted by protesters. It will also focus on the emergence of a new representation of University researchers in public debate as a result of their innovative form of organization and activism and self-representation.

Managing dissent: The representation and impact of undercover and mass digital surveillance on the protest practices of UK activists

Jonathan Cable (Cardiff University)

In January 2011 Metropolitan Police officer Mark Kennedy revealed that he had spent seven years undercover as an environmental activist (Evans and Lewis 2013). As a result of his disclosure other undercover officers were unmasked in Cardiff and elsewhere (ibid), and the press was left to civil liberties and protest. The use of this form of political policing in the managing and marginalising of dissent is taken further by the existence of the 'domestic extremism' database. It has been shown via Freedom of Information requests to contain the names of numerous peaceful activists, such as the Green Party member of the London Assembly Baroness Jenny Jones (Powerbase 2015). 'Domestic extremism' has no legal definition, but currently points to activism which aims to achieve its goals "outside of the normal democratic process" (ibid). This has clear implications for demonstrations and acts of non-violent direct action. Then came the revelations of Edward Snowden in June 2013 about the mass surveillance of citizens have produced debates around the potential 'chilling effects' for peoples' behaviour and implications on freedom of speech and expression. These two events, and others like it, potentially have a substantial influence on how activists attempt to reach their objectives and achieve their goals. This paper will explore these different issues and discuss their impact on how protest groups and campaigning organisations carry out their activism. What all this means for the transparency of such groups, the protest tactics they are willing to engage in, and their use of digital media. The arguments will be supported by interviews carried out with these social actors about issues relating to surveillance. In addition, the paper will explore the press coverage and framing of the major concerns and arguments around the use of undercover police officers, the domestic extremism database, and other forms of surveillance.

What they talk about what they talk about you: Examining the secret files on union activists

Phil Chamberlain (University of the West of England)

In 2009 the Information Commissioners Office seized more than 3,200 files on UK union activists which had been used in a secret blacklisting operation organized by the construction industry. Numerous news stories have been written about these files but little academic analysis which could contribute to a better understanding of surveillance and policing. Utilising exclusive access to dozens of these files, this paper considers the results of a discourse analysis of their content. This reading is compared with public statements made by construction industry about the files compilation and purpose. The files are constructed to allow information to be added incrementally and chronologically, sometimes over decades. Such information includes basic biographical detail (eg address) but in the majority of cases extends to colleagues, fellow union members and family members. This suggests that surveillance on an individual often led to others being drawn into the sphere of interest. In the vast majority of cases the trigger point for a file to be opened (ie the first

activity recorded) is involvement in health and safety issues or bona fide trade union activity (eg wage disputes). This compares with public statements which justified their use as preventing crime. The files mimic state surveillance documents in their use of code numbers and the language used to describe subjects. However, the majority also include subjective pejorative statements (eg a subject is described as a “sheep”). This suggests the illusion of objective critical distance. It contrasts with public statements which describe them as factual and objective. Finally, there is the question of authorship. A close reading reveals the sources of information to include not just workplace managers but everything from newspaper clippings to graffiti, conversations with union officials and details from security service files. This suggests the wide variety of sources which might be utilised for surveillance and the lack of discrimination applied to these sources. Publicly the files were described by the construction industry as an objective human resources tool. However this paper argues that a close reading reveals them to be an explicit ideological construct aimed at justifying the targeting of those whose behaviour triggered particular alarms. Extracts from some of the files will be available to delegates. Since these were never intended for public consumption this is a unique opportunity to ‘listen in’ on the secret discussions by the private sector about union activists.

Who is responsible? Examining descriptions and interpretations of the 2005 riots in French newspaper discourse

Laura Costelloe (National College of Ireland)

November 2005 saw a significant flashpoint in the long-running history of tensions between minority groups and those in power in France: two teenagers, allegedly while hiding from the police, were electrocuted in a Parisian electrical sub-station. This incident was the catalyst for the spread of violent riots across *banlieues* or urban districts in French cities lasting for a number of weeks. Mindful of the printed news media as important sites of ideology production (Fairclough, 1995), this study contributes to a growing body of work on newspaper representations of urban violence and the *banlieues* (c.f. Costelloe, 2014; Moirand, 2010; Peeters, 2010; 2012; Sedel, 2009) with focus on the particularly traumatic events of November 2005 and representations of the incidents of violence.

This paper explores the representation of violent events in news reporting on French urban violence in 2005, examining a corpus of news articles created specifically for this study. Using a critical discourse analytical framework (Van Leeuwen, 2008; Fairclough, 1995), it investigates how the civil disturbances are reported in order to identify the assumptions embodied in ostensibly straightforward descriptions of what took place in November 2005. It questions whether agency is attributed for the violence and argues that the overarching order of discourse through which agency is constructed is one of blamelessness. It is argued that discourses in the texts analysed draw on naturalised and common-sense knowledge of urban violence in France and the ostensible underlying social factors underpinning the outbreak of violence in November 2005. News journalists thus assume that readers are implicitly aware of both the nature and the perpetrators of the civil disturbances in the *banlieues* (implicitly understood as immigrant youth living in the suburbs). It will be concluded therefore that relations of dominance are sustained through the construction of riots

and urban violence as a recognised and somewhat expected occurrence in French society, perhaps to the extent that it has become normalised.

A class act? How the UK press demonize trade union action whilst denying its class basis

Matt Davies (University of Chester)

This investigation uses corpus linguistic techniques to investigate to what extent and how the national UK press demonize those who take industrial action against employers to protect their pay and conditions, whilst simultaneously denying that this action is representative of social class tensions and power relations. The investigation is predicated on the claim of Ortu (2008:289) that trade unions “help to improve the material conditions of the workers but, at the same time, they create class consciousness. The denial of the existence of class struggle is part of the government’s anti-union strategy” (see also Jones, 2011). The initial study utilised two corpora - 138,000 words of news data from 20 – 24 March 2010 reporting the industrial dispute between British Airways Management and BA cabin crew, and 64,000 words from 29 June – 1 July 2011 reporting a one-day national strike of teachers and civil servants in the UK. This has been updated to include news reports from more recent industrial action. Using the WMatrix corpus software processing tool in which single words and multiword expressions are mapped into their potential semantic categories, I explore how the key semantic categories generated - for instance, ‘violent/angry’, and ‘damaging/destroying’ – are consistent depictions of trade union activity. I undertake a qualitative exploration of the context of keywords in these categories to show how the press consistently stigmatize strikers and trade unions by focussing, for instance, on ‘disruption’, ‘chaos’, ‘fears of intimidation’, ‘public suffering’, with a particular emphasis on the use of the word ‘militant’ and its variants (see Davies, 2014). I also explore how trade union activity, as one of a number of potentially threatening popular movements which have a material class basis, are recontextualised by the reports “in accordance with a dominant hegemonic tendency in neoliberal discourse towards the representation of social-material inequality as individual-moral difference” (Bennett 2013:28).

Strategic maneuvering in Arab Spring political cartoons

Rania El Nakkouzi (Lancaster University)

The Arab Spring has unleashed the force of civil society in bringing about transformation, emancipation and social justice. However, as protestors were faced with brutal physical force, political cartoonists played a significant role not only in sketching the unfolding events on the streets, but by siding with those who are persecuted (protestors) their cartoons were means to defend protestors’ legitimate right for equality, freedom of speech and social recognition. The myriad events of the Arab Spring and their effects on the negotiation and transition of power have been investigated from the perspective of political science (Fosshagen, 2104; Inbar, 2013; Panara &

Wilson, 2013; Rand, 2013). Arab Spring political cartoons are not, yet, seen as a form of counter-discourse or as one dimension of discourses of disorder.

Recent developments in the field of argumentation (Birdsell & Groarke, 2007; Kjeldson, 2007; Groake, 2009) consider visual arguments as an indirect type of argumentation, thus, visuals are perceived as indirect speech acts advanced to convince readers of a specific political position (Feteris et al, 2011). More specifically, Groarke (2002) envisages visual images in political cartoons as indirect speech acts that function as visual arguments to defend a standpoint. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to analyze Arab Spring political cartoons, as a type of visual argumentation, advanced by cartoonists to defend and justify their standpoints. In particular, the paper will examine how Arab cartoonists strategically maneuver by appealing to universal principles and values such as freedom of speech, social justice and liberty to adapt to national and international audience to mobilize support.

The language of the Occupy Movement

Christiana Gregoriou (University of Leeds)
Laura Paterson (Sheffield Hallam University)

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). The movement objected to the present economic system producing unevenly-distributed wealth and resulting in a tiny fraction of the population holding most of society's wealth (Writers for the 99%, 2011). Despite being leaderless, the movement's organising 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). Indeed, with the help of the net, the movement soon spread 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). In Szolucha's (2015) terms, Occupy aimed to transcend the 'rules of the day'.

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 qualitative and quantitative analysis of institutionally-endorsed traditional media texts. We aim to address these points of concern by adopting a mixed-method approach of corpus analysis and discourse analysis of three text types; blogs, websites, and, primarily, newspaper articles. We set out to do this with the following, rather broad, questions:

1. Which side is the press on?
2. How is the movement represented across text types?
3. Is this movement related to others (looking at ideologies and implicatures)?
4. Is there a language of aggression?

Whilst we do not aim to give 'complete' answers to these questions, we wish to start the ball rolling on the systematic linguistic analysis of Occupy texts. Tabbert (2012: 131) also recommends combining corpus with close analysis, these two approaches helping 'reduce the researcher's bias in deciding what to focus on, thereby avoiding the subjectivity of which CDA is often accused'. Similarly to Gregoriou and Troullinou's (2012: 21) study of how body scanners were portrayed in UK media texts, we explore the naming and describing of the main stakeholders, grammatical transitivity and modality, metaphoricity, and semantic presuppositions, to uncover the major parties' portrayal, relationships and standpoint.

Metaphor, myth and intertextuality in media representations of the British Miners' Strike (1984-1985): A cognitive and multimodal approach

Christopher Hart (Lancaster University)

From the theoretical perspective of Critical Metaphor Analysis (e.g. Charteris-Black 2004; Koller 2004), metaphors in discourse index and invoke underlying conceptualisations which constitute worldview. Metaphors in discourse, in other words, reflect/reinforce ideology. Metaphors of the media, in particular, are influential in shaping public opinion and thus directing political realities (Santa Ana 2002). Since metaphors are manifestations of underlying conceptions, moreover, they are not restricted to any single form of communication but, rather, occur across a range of genres and modalities (Forceville and Urios Aparisi 2009).

This paper analyses metaphorical conceptualisations of the 1984-1985 British Miner's Strike promoted by the news media of the time. It focuses in particular on the conceptual metaphor strike is war as it was articulated (i) in newspapers across the political spectrum and (ii) in different genres and modalities of news communication. The conceptual metaphor strike is war presents an ideologised framing of the strike in so far as it asks the reader to take sides and see the other side as 'the enemy'. This metaphor, which permeated media representations of the year-long strike, thus promotes an understanding of the strike which precludes the possibility of compromise or cooperation to achieve a mutually satisfactory outcome.

In this paper, I analyse expressions of this conceptual metaphor in hard news stories, news photography and editorial cartoons. I consider the different means of expressing the metaphor within these practices and show that, especially in the primarily visual genres of photography and cartoons, the metaphor is invoked through intertextual references to cultural (often mythical) memories of the first and second world wars.

A cognitive semiotic account of the Weatherman position paper: Ideological and conceptual structures

Jeremy J Holland (Lancaster University)

In the summer of 1969 a civil-rights inspired University organization known as Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was on the brink of an organizational coup, with three factions advancing competing ideological visions. One faction, Progressive Labour (PL), acting as self-styled industrial Maoists, sought to lead the organization in a traditional Marxist direction by forging university student – industrial worker alliances. However, a small handful of influential campus organizers, advocating a more direct-action stance, wrote a series of position papers calling for neighbourhood-based centres to be set up in multiple North American cities. The goal of this group was to create a white revolutionary youth movement (RYM) faction inside what they termed ‘the belly of the beast’. The Weatherman (WM) faction, swiping their name from a lyric in a Bob Dylan song, were spawned from within RYM. WM, serving as our case study, essentially held to the same class analysis as RYM, but advocated for more immediate tactical militancy.

The foundational text model (FTM), as a semiotic framework for discourse analysis, has been employed in the deconstruction of both social movement (Holland 2014) and corporate (Holland and Nichola forthcoming) foundational texts. I conceive of foundational texts as primary documents contributing to the *master frames*, which structure and set up ideational perimeters for the individuals involved in social movement organizations. Accordingly, my assertion is that the foundational text acts as a comprehensive and semi-stable conceptual structure able to orient and influence subsequent collective action framing efforts. As we shall see, the WM foundational text is highly interdiscursive in nature, ranging from Third World revolutionary to domestic national liberationist texts.

As for the methodological approach, an ideological content analysis is performed looking especially at five socio-semantic fields including: role attributions, ethical norms, folklore narratives, strategic plans and utopian schemes. After deconstruction of the foundational text via ideological content analysis, the results are reconstructed in an adapted version of Paul Chilton’s (2010, 2014) deictic space model (DSM). While Chilton’s deictic space theory has been concerned to evince the on-line process of construal operations, I pick up the DSM with a view to spatially model off-line conceptual structures making up a social movement frame. This amounts to a cognitive semiotic approach intent to disclose both ideological contents and internal logical structures, both of which are continuously appealed to in the act of mobilizing construal endeavours.

Discursive struggles over organisational restructuring in a public-private partnership: The case of London Underground

Emma Hughes (University of Bangor)
Doris Merkl-Davies (University of Bangor)
Tony Dobbins (University of Bangor)

Our experience of the social world and our attitude towards socio-political and economic issues are influenced by linguistic constructions. It is therefore important to study how such issues, including organisational restructuring (e.g., privatisation, plant closures, and out-sourcing of services) are being constructed, legitimated, and resisted. We examine the discursive struggle between London Underground and RMT, the national union for Maritime, Rail and Transport Workers, over structural re-organisation resulting from the transformation of London Underground from a public sector organisation to a public-private partnership. The employment relationship and labour disputes are often portrayed by three competing discourses, namely, unitarism, pluralism and radicalism. When labour strikes occur, politicians, employers and the media have a tendency to advocate a unitarist perspective. They assume that all members of an organisation have one common goal and share the same interests. In contrast, trade unions support pluralism. They contend that conflict is inevitable, due to a diversity of interests, and the power imbalance between employers and employees. We examine which discourses are used by social actors involved in the recent London Underground strikes. For this purpose, we use Fairclough's Dialectical Relational Approach to CDA to examine how language is used to partially fix, reproduce and structure meaning. We analyse press releases issued by London Underground and by RMT, supplemented by media articles, to examine how social actors use discursive strategies to shape perceptions of audiences and to legitimise their point of view.

Mythology, morality and ideology: Discursive constructions of the "sick society" in British newspaper responses to the 2011 England riots

Darren Kelsey (Newcastle University)

Between 6 and 10 August 2011, acts of violence and civil disobedience occurred in 66 locations across London and other cities in England. Initial responses from politicians and the press sought to explain why the riots were happening and what responses were necessary. This paper shows how the depoliticised actions of rioters were redefined as a politicised problem, symbolic of a "sick society" that could be cured by Conservative social policy. A discourse-mythological analysis (DMA) explores the nuanced discursive and paradoxical mechanisms of mythological storytelling in British newspapers. I argue that ideological consistencies operating beyond the foreground and immediacy of individual texts override the appearance of discursive contradiction across longitudinal contexts. Subsequently, constructions of a "sick society" provided the discursive space for other representations of class, ethnicity and morality, which demonstrate the ideological nuances and contextual complications of mythological storytelling in the right wing press.

‘Eu não mereço morrer assassinado’: On- and off-line protest by favela residents in Rio de Janeiro and mainstream media reactions to it: a multimodal approach

Andrea Mayr (Queen’s University Belfast)

This paper examines one case in which favela residents in Rio de Janeiro have campaigned against police violence by using street protest and the semiotic potential of the web as a form of civic engagement against social and political injustice.

No other city in Brazil has been more associated with violence and societal divisions than Rio de Janeiro, where the state has virtually abandoned significant parts of the urban landscape, allowing organised ‘criminal’ groups to rule of many of the city’s favelas (self-built communities of the urban poor). Repeated attempts to regain control over these areas through interventions by the army and the military police have been largely unsuccessful and have given rise to an endless cycle of media discourses that invoke an imagery and rhetoric of Rio as a city ‘at war’. However, since the selection of Rio de Janeiro for the FIFA World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016 the state government of Rio de Janeiro has embarked on an ambitious policy of favela ‘pacification’ by new community policing units of the military police, the UPPs (*Unidades de Polícia Pacificadora*) whose declared aim is to create conditions for the social, economic, and political integration of favelas into the city. The main strategy so far, however, has been to establish police presence and to drive out drug gangs. This was brought to the fore in April 2014 during a violent incident and its aftermath in a ‘pacified’ favela near Copacabana, in which two young men were killed by police. The event sparked protests by residents and violent clashes with the military police, which were widely reported in the national and international media because of their newsworthiness.

Using Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) image analysis framework together with Martin’s (2000) Appraisal system for describing evaluative meanings in journalistic (visual) discourses (Economou, 2006), the paper focuses on the internet campaign that was launched by favela residents to show how they engage in ‘semiotic interventions’ against social and political injustice. It then also explores the semiotic impact of image and text of the reporting of the case in Rio’s mainstream press and its role in reinforcing and/or counteracting often unspoken racial and class discourses about the city’s urban poor.

Newspaper images of protest: The pictorial framing of Occupy Wall Street

Michael Neuber (Humboldt University of Berlin)

Beth Gharrity Gardner (University of California)

David A. Snow (University of California)

While the literature on media framing of movements has expanded our understanding of frame contestation in the mass-mediated public sphere, previous studies have largely overlooked the role of media images in which framing also occurs. We conceptualize and measure what we refer to as

the “pictorial framing” of the Occupy Wall Street (Occupy) movement in the US over the first seven months of its coverage and across two major national newspapers (the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*). Using content analysis of published photos, we investigate the ways in which Occupy was pictorially framed. In line with previous studies, compositional cues that can bias the reader’s reception of actors, such as the camera angle, social distance, and the balance of actors, were far from uniformly unfavorable for the movement. Conflict and spectacle were also common genres of Occupy images. However, such templates often simultaneously showed unity among participants, commitment, or victimization. Whether images presented the character of the movement as worthy, as weak, or as needing to be controlled was strongly conditioned by the image genre, the type of action Occupy was engaged in, the actors they were grouped with, and the newspaper. Timing also mattered. Initial pictorial frames of Occupy were highly polarized between competing stereotypes of protest action (e.g., as spectacle or politically meaningful, as diluted or broad-based), but frames became more ambivalent in typifying the movement over time. We suggest that further research is needed on the pictorial framing of movements to see how well media images hew to arguments from the textual analysis of media.

Rioting and disorderly behaviour as political media practice

Serjoscha Ostermeyer (University of Magdeburg)
David Sittler (University of Siegen)

The symbolic dimension of rioting and its representations are directly connected to conflicts and respective discourses about access to and participation in the city (Harvey 2008). Riots are never only collective criminal/racists acts. Neither are they simply a „valve“ for destructive manifestations of frustration in the name of marginalized social groups of „problematic“ neighbourhoods. Riots, as we want to argue from an urbanistic perspective informed by cultural studies (Ostermeyer) as well as by media history (Sittler), have to be understood as special rough form of mass communication. Rioting as media practice can be understood as a continuation of everyday’s multimodal discourses about „law and order“ of society – just with a much higher intensity of emotions and brutality. At least since the 1919 Race Riots in Chicago, riots are not only accompanied by mass media and represented by them. The 1992 Los Angeles riots even started with a tv-broadcasting of a video showing police violence. The process of representing riots starts immediately with their beginning. Therefore, riot behaviour has to be analysed as symbolic acts and to be semiotically analysed in their material aesthetics that are connected to discourses –associations, connotations or allusions to local and popular cultural knowledge (Bratich et al. 2003). The bodily learned „code of the street“ (Anderson 1999) influences the violent „image-acts“ of rioters as of the police fighting against them. Accordingly, violent gestures and performances have to be decoded aesthetically.

Popular culture (Fiske 2001) serves as a stock of riot-iconographic patterns, figures and topoi that can support moral-economical (Randall/Charlesworth 2000) claims of rioters or their opponents to legitimacy, which can become effective in diverse media formats gaining broad attention like headlines. The range starts from stone throwing on a tank to various forms of crackdowns on protesters or police.

The proposed presentation deals with image material (photographs and videos) from several rioting-scenarios between 1992-2014. The imbalanced access to broad political visibility between successful governmentality (Foucault) in the form of police activity and violent acts of resistance from people feeling marginalized and discriminated against is at the centre of our interest. Rioting tries to spectacularly disrupt the naturalizing everyday enactment of a topography of society as a landscape of stark contrasts, which rioters feel to be unjust to a not anymore tolerable degree.

Rioting articulates implicit conflicts between urban dwellers explicitly. Instead of romanticizing disorderly behaviour, we want to scrutinize image-qualities not only of images but also of bodily performances in the image-traffic on the street. Also, media presented there matter for discourses of (dis)order in the long run.

Why do they protest? The discursive construction of 'motives' of the Chilean student movement (2011-2013) in the alternative press

Carolina Pérez (Lancaster University)

The conceptualization of motive is discursively constructed in texts to explain human behaviour and their social practices in action (van Leeuwen, 2000; 2007; 2008). The aim of this study is to explore the different strategies used to construct and attribute motivation to the Chilean student movement demonstrators in the alternative press from 2011 to 2013. I focus on the alternative press due to its contribution as a political, social, and economic resistance against dominant groups belonging to the status quo (Hamilton, 2000; Atkinson & Dougherty, 2007; Downing, 2001; Tracy, 2007). This is particularly relevant in Chile, where the press has been monopolized by a political and economic duopoly ever since Pinochet's dictatorship (Monckeberg, 2009), leaving the alternative press struggling for survival. In this study, I aim to explore how the alternative press construct a social movement which demands radical reforms to the educational and economic system in terms of their motivations. Additionally, I analyse whether these attributions of motive serve as a strategy to legitimize the role of young students, as they tend to be excluded from hegemonic discourses (Aguilera, 2012; Cárdenas, 2012; 2014) or criminalized in the established media (Pérez, 2012; *in press*; Marín, 2014).

To achieve these objectives, I created an 872,743-word corpus comprising the news coverage of the Chilean student movement of three alternative newspapers during the Chilean academic years of 2011 to 2013. The corpus was then analysed by a personal adaptation of van Leeuwen's purpose network (2000; 2008). Additionally, this adaptation was supplemented by elements drawn from the Discursive Action Model (Potter & Edwards, 1993) and complemented with a *corpus-assisted* approach (Baker, 2006; Baker et.al, 2008).

Preliminary results reveal that referential and predicational strategies are crucial to the construction of motives in the alternative press. Similarly, the use of prepositional and adverbial phrases play an important role in the attribution of motives to the social actors involved in social protests. Finally, most of the actions performed by these actors accomplish a legitimation function, expressed by the references to a moral order understood in terms of the dichotomy dictatorship/democracy.

“A Sinister Fringe!” Political / media discursive constructions of the anti-water charges protest movement in Ireland

Martin J. Power (University of Limerick)

Despite devastating impacts on living standards in Ireland, resistance to austerity has largely been muted; until recently. In 2013, Irish Water, was established to administer a new system of domestic water charges, which were to be implemented in 2014. Throughout 2014 a series of protest against the water charges emerged, culminating in over 90 separate protest marches against water charges taking place on November 1st 2014. With some estimates putting the number of protesters at over 200,000 (25% of the population), it was the largest demonstration in the history of the Irish state.

This article is based on research which examines the discourses about these protests which are produced and circulated by politicians and the mainstream media. Our interest in how such discourses contribute to and reproduce hegemony is influenced by both Neo-Marxist and Foucauldian approaches (see Van Dijk, 1998; Deacon et al. 1999, p.147). We argue that these constructions ‘inform’ public debate, and may ultimately have a detrimental impact on how such protests are publicly perceived.

In this paper we examine discursive constructions of the anti-water charges protest movement in Ireland and offer a brief insight into the contemporary Irish context of austerity and crisis, linking it to the overarching discourse of neoliberalism which dominates Irish political and economic life (Dukelow 2012). We do not only see neoliberalism as an economic policy programme (Larner 2000). It is also understood as a particular type of ‘governmentality’, and as a form of ‘public pedagogy’ (Giroux 2004). In the current era of neoliberalisation a ‘coherent, large-scale responsabilisation process’ is underway, that is ‘fundamentally premised on the construction of a moral agency that accepts the consequences of its actions in a self-reflexive manner’ (Thompson 2007). In essence neoliberalism remains a global hegemonic ideology because of its ability to adapt to fluctuating circumstances and it ‘is now engaged in manufacturing a new reality, using an ambitious blame-the-victim bait-and-switch strategy’ (Gutstein 2012).

In conclusion, we underscore the need for sociology to challenge such discursive processes and defend civil society in a capitalist world-system that is in structural crisis (O’ Flynn et al 2014).

Taking a stance through the voice of ‘others’: attribution in news coverage of a public sector workers’ strike in two Botswana newspapers

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References to neutral and factual style of hard news reporting have been projected as characteristics that are highly valued, and the use of attributed content has been found to be one of the features that are used to present apparent neutral and factual news content (Stenvall 2008). However, as Thomson et al. (2008) point out, neutrality is better understood as a relative characteristic of news

reporting because in order to attain neutrality, journalists often strategically avoid direct attitudinal meanings. Using the speech of external sources is one such strategy and journalists manage to embed their subjective opinions in attributed news content. In this paper I discuss various ways through which reported speech is included within news reports covering the public sector workers' strike in two Botswana newspapers. Using a combination of Appraisal theory and tools of qualitative analysis software, I critically investigate the discursive uses of attributing opinions and viewpoints to external news sources. A central argument that I make in this paper is that while the inclusion of attributed content in the news is often thought of as a neutral way of reporting, the framing of the quoted content is indicative of strategic stance-taking under the guise of neutrality. Using a comparative perspective I particularly focus on the strategies of framing of objections and legitimating actions among the multiple voices represented in the news stories. The results that have been drawn suggest that the use of attributed content in news stories is a functionally discursive feature in the coverage of the workers' strike. Through attributed content, journalists employ strategic reporting clauses to express their attitudinal opinions and yet maintain the neutrality ideal.

The rhetoric of disaffected education consumers: The news media and the mobilisation and reproduction of a “consumer discourse” during the Student Tuition Fee protests

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The “tuition fee” protests of 2010 and 2011 were mass mobilisations in protest against perhaps the most fundamental change to universities for a generation. In this paper I will argue that presentations of the protests in the news media were articulated in and represented through a discourse of consumption. Using a series of examples from Television News, the paper will demonstrate that news media very quickly established a discourse of students as disaffected and angry “consumers of education”. This continues to have very problematic consequences and ramifications for students, staff, universities and the wider public in general.

The Higher Education policy changes – including, crucially, the withdrawal of the central teaching grant - attach all responsibility for Higher Education funding onto the slender shoulders of individual[ised] students. Much like this policy shift, the media representation of “protest” and protesters as “consumers” safely contains protest within a narrow and regressive discourse while simultaneously absenting wider, competing and alternative discourses within which the protests are surely located, namely: the [further] neoliberalisation of Higher Education. That no alternative discourses are present or represented in and by Television news coverage is intensely problematic, and furthermore, means that a frame or “media template” has been established, one that is able to be quickly retrieved and reproduced for the next protest or whenever the subject of Higher Education funding is raised in political media discourse. Having established that Higher Education is akin to a commodity one purchases or consumes, subsequent discussions, protests and representations of students are then located within a cost/benefit analysis frame and the neoliberalisation of a precious, national, pedagogical, research and intellectual resource is side-lined and remains undiscussed.

Political spin in early newspapers: Comparing narratives of the Baltimore Riots in June and July 1812

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In June 1812 the American Congress declared war on Great Britain, initiating the War of 1812. Majorities in both Houses of Congress endorsed the war, but the majorities came from Jeffersonian Republicans, with the Federalist party opposed to the war. In the ensuing war years newspapers of the two parties engaged in harsh political attacks on each other. There was also some civil disorder. The most significant unrest occurred in Maryland, with two incidents in Baltimore. The first occurred at the end of June, 1812, when a house where a harshly Federalist newspaper was printed was attacked. In a second incident at the end of July 1812 a group of armed Federalists, including the publisher of the newspaper, barricaded themselves in a different house and there ensued a violent confrontation with at least two deaths.

The paper examines the historical context of the disorders, and then concentrates on newspaper narratives of them, especially of the more serious second incident. The purpose is to compare Federalist and Republican newspaper accounts of the unrest, and also to consider commentaries on it. The paper sheds light on these questions: what were the overall characterizations of the events? How were the two protagonists in the disorder described in newspapers of the two parties? How was the role of the authorities depicted? Was there something said in defense of the actions taken by either protagonist? How were the actions of the protagonists presented linguistically, in terms of the predicates used to conceptualize the actions that they engaged in? What was the impact of the disorders on Maryland politics?

Differences in newspaper narratives are investigated on the basis of the questions listed. For instance, with respect to the first question, the title of the narrative in the *Federal Republican*, a Federalist paper, on August 3, 1812 was "Massacre at Baltimore," and this may be compared with the title of the story about the same incident in the *National Intelligencer*, a Republican newspaper, of August 1, 1812, which was the far milder "Dreadful Commotion." The study offers more comparison of contrasting narratives of the disorders and their impact.

"Screening" protest and massacre in Jacques Panijel's *Octobre à Paris* (1962)

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This paper will examine cinematic representations of protest and massacre in *Octobre à Paris/October in Paris* (Panijel 1962). This little-known political documentary analyses the "events" of 17 October 1961, when more than a hundred Algerians living in Paris were massacred by the French police after demonstrating for national independence (Algeria was dominated by French colonisation until 1962). During this period, French cinema was stifled by the influence of state censorship. As a result, many directors (including those associated with the famous "New Wave") adopted an ambiguous position in relation to the politics of the period, particularly when it came to

the Algerian War (1954-1962). On the contrary, Jacques Panijel developed a highly independent – even illegal – *modus operandi* that allowed him to evade censorship with the ultimate aim of interviewing Algerians who had been subjected to police violence during this fateful night. With this in mind, this paper will analyse three aspects of Panijel’s representation of the protest.

In the first part, I will look at the unconventional methods adopted by Panijel to produce his film, including financial support from the clandestine newspaper, *Vérité-liberté* and *le comité Audin*, an anticolonial committee comprised of leftist activists and intellectuals. This source of finance allowed Panijel to circumnavigate the need for often-restrictive state funding. In the second part, I will focus on the stark interviews that feature throughout *Octobre à Paris* (conducted largely in the shantytowns located on the fringes of the capital). Here, we will address the issues that burn at the heart of Panijel’s representation of protest: torture, racial discrimination, round-ups, testimony. Protestors drowned by authorities in the murky waters of the Seine. The deafening silence of the police. After calibrating the political potential of these incendiary interviews, I then will discuss the unusual locations used by Panijel to screen and distribute his film, including; the modicum of “parallel” festivals located in Evreux, Evian et Paris; *ciné-clubs* filled with students and film critics; scientific workshops (given that Panijel was actually a biologist by trade); and the catacombs (the huge mausoleum that lies just below the streets of the capital). Finally, I will conclude by examining, why exactly, Panijel’s film remained submerged for so long within the cultural landscape, despite providing rare and significant images of October the 17, 1961.