How the news expresses exclusion: A linguistic analysis of two Montreal newspapers and their coverage of the Occupy movement

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ABSTRACT

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This study examines exclusion as an expressive act occurring in language. Using a sample of news coverage taken from *The Gazette* and *La Presse*, this thesis examines grammatical and lexical elements that express exclusion. The purpose is to examine the characteristics of language that posit a "they" identification, as opposed to an "us" identification. Elements that express a "not like us" differentiation will be considered along with supplementary context, such as social theories of exclusion. The methodology adopted for this study is based on critical linguistic studies and functional grammar; this method considers language to express ideology, whether deliberate or inadvertent. The methodology examines power structures in the sentence such as "transitivity," which is the analysis of who does what to whom, and lexical (word and terminological) choices that, in certain instances, express negative associative values (connotations). These transitive and lexical considerations, taken cumulatively across a text, provide a conception of the principal idea used to organize the text, or what some of the prevailing ideas happen to be. The sample used consists of news coverage of the Occupy movement, as featured during the time frame spanning the 15th of October to the 25th of November 2011.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This thesis will examine grammatical and lexical elements that occur in a sample of written news text. These elements include redundant qualities (such as expressive, attitudinal and ideological qualities) that can be observed as they occur throughout any number of texts (whether verbal, written, visual, etc.). The purpose is to examine the characteristics of language that posit a "they" identification instead of, or as distinct from, an "us" identification. The differentiation between insiders and outsiders in the language of the news will be studied as language that excludes on the basis of difference, criminality, extremism, ideology etc. The elements of language that function to exclude will be described, and ultimately collected, as "mechanisms of exclusion." To find and document these mechanisms, functional grammar and social theory will be used arguing that the language of a news text can be studied as an ideological "map" (Fowler, 1991). By amassing linguistic points on this "map" a number of the organizing principles of the article can be determined. Furthermore, labeling the functions of sentence-level elements such as verbs, subjects, articles, etc., provides insight into power and agency at this level of representation. To achieve this end, a sample has been compiled using Montreal newspaper coverage of the Occupy social movement. The analysis of the sample will be provided according to recurring "themes," as they will be called, themes being recurring ideas that suggest a "they" or an "us" identification. In addition to analyzing these

themes in the news sample, four newspaper stories will be selected for an in-depth examination of how grammatical and lexical elements express a "they" identification.

1.1. The study

This study examines exclusion as an expressive linguistic act occurring in language. This approach to studying language entails reading news text like a map (Fowler, 1991), and sorting words according to related characteristics as a means of understanding the meaningful category or categories being expressed. The way a news text is organized helps underline the issues and concerns presented in the story. Organizational measures define the event, establish certain expectations and describe the problem type. In addition, information presented in a news text can be organized according to characterizations; these are often shorthand terms that refer to a specific representation (e.g. "Muslim offender") (see Fowler 1991).

The purpose of this study, using a sample of written text, is to ascertain how a subject(s) is placed in an out-group through the assignment of a "they" identification. To accomplish this, it is necessary to address how language can be studied as conveying ideological significance. In this thesis, language will be studied as expressing ideology. As van Dijk (2008) has noted, whenever alternative possibilities of word choice or terminology exist, some are suppressed in favor of a particular choice, e.g. the use of the word "terrorist" instead of the term "freedom fighter" in discussing the coverage of the American invasion of Iraq.

The approach to studying recurring forms of language at the sentence level, as it will be developed in this thesis, is related to framing, as found in both sociological and news media scholarship. Framing exists on a linguistic level, as sociolinguistic studies of framing have discussed (see Fillmore, 1975); in daily face-to-face interactions, and derivatives of face-to-face interactions – such as phone calls, emails, etc. (see Burger and Luckmann, 1966) we frame the information we express and information we receive. There is a section of framing research that deals specifically with news media coverage of protests, referred to as the "protest paradigm." Considering that the sample used in the present study consists of news coverage of the Occupy social movement, literature concerned with the paradigm will be included in the literature review. The study, then, has a focus on the lexical and grammatical aspects of a written news text, though this will be supplemented with relevant context with respect to social movements (i.e. theories regarding new social movements, and the Occupy movement more specifically).

1.2. Context, focus and thesis structure

Organizing reality: Organizational measures in the news media

In a number of respects, the news offers a sense of continuity (see Carrey, 2008). The continuity of the news can be based on the ritual of consuming the news, the fashion in which the news is presented, or the substance of the communication itself. In addition to a particular sense of continuity, the news media offer content that is considered by journalists to

be newsworthy. There is nothing innately newsworthy about reality; various conventional criteria determine what events are newsworthy to a particular audience at a given time. These news values include: geographic proximity; cultural proximity; the number of people affected; timeliness; clarity; meaningfulness; and unpredictability, to name several of these factors (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). These criteria mean that the news media are likely to report key events, i.e. concrete events as opposed to long drawn-out and potentially abstract processes. The events considered "newsworthy," considering time constraints and limited resources, further depends on what key events journalists believe would be of interest to their audiences.

Aside from considerations regarding newsworthiness, there are others regarding how a news text is organized. The news media provide selections of reality in an organized fashion, not as a jumble of facts, according to meaningful categories, categories that have been established largely through convention. A newspaper, for example, is organized into sections such as "business," "politics" and "international news," all of which are vague categories. More specific organizational measures can be gleaned from these vague categories, and appear within the stories themselves, such as "corrupt politician" or "anarchist." These more specific organizational measures are based on "typifications" (i.e. a representation based on what the subject "typically" looks like) or stereotypes, a stereotype being the most extreme instance of a typification (Fowler, 1991). Typifications help make the large influx of daily information more manageable. Social interaction, from

elementary levels of development to adult life, depends on the use of typifications and related uses of categorization to make sense of the world (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). These categories are not static, because the human mind is an organic entity; Bartlett referred to the human mind as a network of "active developing patterns," indicating that individuals grow and change over time (Tannen, 1993, p.16). Considerations regarding "types" will be taken up again at a later point, seeing as how they are pertinent to the study of lexical and grammatical mechanisms of exclusion.

Focus and hypotheses

The present study approaches a "how" question, asking how mechanisms of exclusion present themselves in a news text, while accepting that the same text might present inclusive elements. This ability to express exclusion has broader implications for the producers of news text (such as journalists, editors, etc.) as agents who can voice expressions that include and exclude on the basis of memberships, affiliations, categorizations, etc. It is important to note that the role of the journalist, and other actors behind the production of news text, is beyond the scope of this study. The two hypotheses guiding this study are:

Hypothesis 1: Some of the lexical and grammatical elements of the primary text convey meanings that correspond to mechanisms of exclusion.

Hypothesis 2: The information provided by journalists conforms to/remains consistent with an existing understanding of the subject described.

Addressing the second hypothesis, the lexical and grammatical elements of the primary text, and the meaning being studied in these lexical and grammatical elements, will be explained as they relate to some of the theories discussed in the literature review. A method of studying types/categorizations will be established before the analysis of the primary text, making it possible to see how consistent the primary text is with the previously outlined definitions. For example, sociological literature describes expressions of "membership" as either inclusive or exclusive. In the concluding section of this thesis, the sample used could be considered for how consistently it represents membership.

Thesis structure

To accomplish the objectives described, the groundwork for conducting a grammatical and lexical analysis will be established. This entails detailing what will be studied (exclusion) and how it will be studied (through a grammatical and lexical analysis). To this end, the chapters have been organized as follows:

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework of the thesis and a literature review that discusses scholarship dealing with framing, considering that this study bears similarity to a qualitative framing analysis (i.e. determining what frame is being used based on an interpretive analysis). The literature review will further provide a discussion of what is known as the "protest paradigm" (see Chan & Lee, 1984; McLeod, 2007). The protest paradigm examines the use of framing in news coverage of protest. Based on the criticism that news

coverage often fails to provide context (or rather, often fails to use substantive framing), the context of the Occupy movement will be described. This context situates the news coverage of the Occupy movement within its historical and cultural groundings.

Chapter 3 outlines the study's methodology. The methodology section will detail a linguistic approach to studying social exclusion and move more specifically into how, exactly, a text can be studied using a linguistic method. This section will list the "tools" to be implemented in the linguistic analysis. Details relating to the sample, i.e. the size and how it was compiled, will also be provided.

Chapter 4 discusses the linguistic analysis and defines it. In the first part of this chapter, general themes, found throughout the news coverage, will be documented with supporting examples. All of these themes are related to "they" identifications found throughout the sample. In addition to considering these themes found throughout the entire sample, four articles will be selected for an in-depth linguistic analysis. The in-depth analysis will examine each sentence in the selected articles using the lexical and grammatical method provided in the methodology section.

Chapter 5, the final chapter of this thesis, will consider the hypotheses in relation to the results of the analysis. In addition to considering, and summarizing, some of the exclusive mechanisms that present themselves in the news text, the final chapter will also consider language that is more

inclusive. This would include examples of coverage that suggest a "like us" identification.

1.3. Operational definitions

To ensure that the uses and meanings of the terms in this thesis are consistent, their operational definitions will be discussed before proceeding to Chapter 2.

Social exclusion

The term "social exclusion" has been in circulation since the 1970s, and was used in reference to populations that generally resided in *les banlieues* of major cities (Higuchi, 2012, p.3). A common misconception is that social exclusion and poverty are synonymous. Though poverty is a dimension of social exclusion, an individual does not have to be poor to be excluded. Social exclusion can be based on a number of factors that include political deviance, criminality, mental illness, cultural differences, minority status, race, ethnicity, poverty and gender. The level of exclusion can reach its zenith at what Room (1999, p.167) labels "catastrophic rupture," which in means the separation from society is irreparable.

Considering that social exclusion is based on a number of factors, and not only standards of consumption, it is reasonable to say that social exclusion is a result of human interaction – meaning it is social, and not only economic. This premise also calls into mind the criteria of inclusion, that is to say, what makes a person included? The criteria of inclusion could include membership within the dominant race or ethnic group, heterosexuality (at

least in some societies), dominant cultural practices, a suitable level of education, proficiency in the dominant language, moderate political views (see Curra, 2010). With respect to language, the importance does not rest solely on the ability to speak the accepted language of a culture, it depends on how the speaker sounds as well. For example, in Quebec, there is a difference between someone who speaks French (i.e. they have learned the language) and a Quebecois (in the ethnographic sense). As a further example, consider Great Britain, where different socio-economic classes (even within the same geographic area) speak with different English accents. This is, however, the area of sociolinguistics, and it will not be considered any further. With respect to the last two criteria, sex and age address issues related to equal rights, privileges and treatment of men and women across different age groups. Some of these criteria listed draw on the relativity of what is considered "normal" (see Curra, 2010). Behaviors, or lifestyles, that used to be thought wrong in a certain society, at a certain time, could now be considered acceptable or normal. Considering the fluid nature of exclusion – in the respect that the criteria of exclusion have a tendency to vary over time – social exclusion will be considered a *process* that is produced through social interaction. The definition of exclusion being used in this study is given by Walker & Walker (1997) as "the dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political or cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society" (p.8). Exclusion, then, arises from interaction as an expression that articulates

"marginalizing, rejecting, isolating, segregating and disenfranchising" qualities (Taket, Crisp et al., 2009, p.3). By contrast, the language of inclusion recognizes "social connectedness, recognizes acceptance, opportunity, equity, justice, citizenship, expression and validation" (ibid).

"In-group" and "out-group"

The terms "in-group" and "out-group" will be used to refer to the categories of "like us" and "not like us," respectively (See Bauman 1989). The "out-group" is designated based on descriptions of attitudes, appearances, etc. that are commonly viewed as questionable, abnormal, or immoral, or that elicit a "type" that is socially excluded. In this thesis, the terms function as an extension of the concepts advanced with respect to social exclusion. The "in-group," by comparison, indicates a group that is described as being either "us" or "like us." This can come in the form of the previously listed language of inclusion that acknowledges approval, validation and connectedness with a certain group, or that asserts a "we" identification, for example "the people think" can be considered an in-group identification as it indicates the general public and is synonymous with "we think."

Linguistics

Linguistics is a field that includes speech acts, how speech acts are interpreted, and the contextual elements that give these various expressions, gestures and tones significance (the area of sociolinguistics). When the term "linguistics" is used in this study, however, it refers to the written word

unless otherwise stated. When linguistic "tools" are being discussed and described, it should be understood that these are tools that can be utilized and applied to a written news text.

Social movement

In general, a social movement describes a group of extra-institutional or non-institutional actors who have mobilized for a certain cause. Prior to the 1960s, the theoretical paradigm used to approach social movements weighed class-based issues very heavily. Marxism and socialism, for example, considered re-ordering the economic system as a solution to most social problems. Class-based movements, such as worker movements, are referred to as "old" social movements. The term "new social movements" was, and is, used in reference to movements that address "lifestyle, ethical, or identity concerns" (Calhoun, 1993, p.385). New social movements often deal with specific causes, such as peace, anti-racism, feminism and gay and lesbian rights to name a few. They are often thought of as progressive, though they can be reactionary – the Tea Party would be an example.

"Old" and "New" social movements

Two other elements are worth considering as they apply to the differences between social movements. "Old" and "new" social movements occurred or occur with growing industrial societies and modern post-industrial societies. Notably there are movements that would suggest this isn't the case, the Occupy movement occurred in many of the world's wealthiest countries, yet a component of the movement involved economic

re-distribution, suggesting something characteristically "old" about the movement. Another element worth mentioning at this point is that the distinction between old and new social movements arose out of theoretical necessity (as mentioned previously). The theoretical paradigms used to describe "old" social movements gradually lost relevancy, and so "new" social movements theory was developed (see West, 2004). Social movements theory will be described in further detail in the literature review.

Notably, with respect to this study, it is worth remembering that terms such as "protest," "demonstration," or "encampment" are specific, whereas the term "movement" is potentially wide-scale. Depending on the context, "movement" could refer to the entire cause.

CHAPTER 2

Literature review

2.1. Framing analysis and linguistics

Although the objective is to identify some of the elements that suggest out-group status, it is important to consider how *anything* can be defined and understood in a text. As Chapter 1 noted, it should be understood that lexical and grammatical choices are being studied; in this first section of the literature review these elements will be related to framing. The literature relating to framing theory can be used to elucidate the relevance of, and provide further context to, the study of linguistics.

The term "frame," and theories related to framing, can be found across a number of disciplines including media studies, cognitive psychology and sociology. Furthermore, framing is studied on a number of levels. Framing can be studied for how it is applied to a text; this involves considering how the communicator has chosen to categorize the information he/she is communicating. At the level of reception, individuals frame information they receive. At the textual level, framing is studied as the organizing principle or principles of the text. A final level of framing worth mentioning is the cultural level, i.e. how a given frame appears within a particular society (a macro-social study of framing).

The level most relevant to this study is the level of text, in this instance published news text. The method of discerning the frame present in the news text can be based on an interpretive method. As Entman (1993)

defines framing: “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (p.52). The organizing principle of the text “provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them” and suggests “what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue” (ibid). Entman’s notion of framing is based on salience, as he suggests that some aspects of reality are more salient in a given text, while other aspects are given less emphasis.

Framing analysis can utilize quantitative or qualitative methods. A qualitative method is based on clearly defined interpretations and examines elements such as language choice, the use of quotes and how relevant information is assembled (de Vreese, 2012, p.367). This further entails studying “framing devices” such as metaphors, examples and catchphrases (ibid). Using a qualitative method, the frame is ascertained based on induction, given the material provided in the text. A quantitative study is more likely to use a pre-established list of frame definitions and study a large data set to amass empirical evidence. For example, de Vreese has advocated that researchers use existing “generic” frames instead of proposing new frames at will. Generic frames have broad applicability and include, for example, the “powerless” frame, where one group dominates another; the “economic” frame, that is preoccupied with gains and losses; the “moral values” frame, that posits recommendations; the “human interest” frame, that

deals with individuals; or the "responsibility" frame, that attributes blame to an individual, group or government (Entman, Matthes & Pellicano, 2009, pp.55-56). Fillmore (1975) has noted that some frames have "shared linguistic material," suggesting that more than one frame can be determined within a given text. For example, news coverage of an event can suggest the presence of episodic (also called procedural) framing, while simultaneously fulfilling the criteria of a human-interest piece.

In dealing with the linguistic elements of exclusion, exclusion can be based on the use of grammar, categories, rules, etc. that are associated with scenes and types that typically result in segregation, isolation marginalization or rejection. Considering "types" as an organizational measure that function in collaboration with meaningful categories, it is reasonable to propose that framing analysis compliments a linguistic analysis in this regard. In addition to discussing how information is organized according to meaningful categories, the four articles chosen for an analysis will be considered in relation to some of the broader elements of framing, such as procedural/substantive framing, and the previously listed generic frames.

The protest paradigm: How the media cover protest

One area of framing research that deals specifically with news media coverage of protests is known as the "protest paradigm" (See Chan & Lee, 1984; McLeod, 2007; McLeod & Hertog, 1997). The paradigm is related to more general framing theories, as the definitions offered in some of the literature would suggest. At the level of the written text, frames that surface

frequently in the coverage of protests are used to develop a conception of the principles that commonly organize news coverage of protests. The paradigm describes "typical" media coverage of protests as a pattern that can regularly be found in the coverage of protests. For example, Boykoff (2006, p.201) found that television and newspaper coverage of the 1999 World Trade Organization protests used disruptive, freak and ignorance frames. Another frame mentioned by McLeod (2007) is the "angry mob" frame, where the underlying causes are downplayed or simplified (procedural framing), and the coverage tends to emphasize erratic behavior. The presence of these frames in a news text dealing with a protest suggests the protest paradigm has been implemented, whether consciously or not. In keeping with the previous terminology, these can be considered "generic" frames.

A number of scholars have noted that disruptive protests receive more coverage that reveals the protest paradigm than protests that are less disruptive. Shoemaker (1984) found that among political groups (both institutional and non-institutional), the more radical their views, the more harshly they were treated by the media. This conception of how the news media respond to deviance is in line with social control theory, the argument being that the media will act against groups that threaten social order (ibid). Protests that advocate status quo support are more likely to receive positive coverage than protests that in some way go against the existing order. It has been noted by McLeod & Hertog (1992) that the news evokes public opinion in coverage of protests, gesturing toward the audience, and indicating

whether or not the protest is acceptable to the audience and the general public. Public opinion can be evoked by citing public opinion polls, using phrases such as “most people believe,” “in general” and so forth, and by featuring comments from bystanders who “represent” what many people think. The same can be accomplished by gesturing toward societal norms, the suggestion being that the rules “we” follow have been violated. McLeod (2007, p.191) had previously noted that journalists are more likely to deviate from the protest paradigm if the public is sympathetic to the goals of the protest.

The prevalence of these frames and elements of framing in the mainstream press have a number of implications. The presence of the protest paradigm marginalizes protesters and their cause, often by drawing attention away from the cause(s) and focusing it on the actions and appearances of protesters or the key events of the protest (for example, clashes with the police). This is especially true if there is violence or other sorts of criminality; Boyle, McLeod & Armstrong (2012, p.138) note that tactics – not goals, or underlying issues – are the main determinants of the quantity and kind (negative or positive) of news coverage. Protesters can attract attention by, for example, blocking traffic, vandalizing property, etc. yet undermine their cause by doing so (ibid). One of the assertions forwarded by scholars with respect to the protest paradigm is that the meaning and context of the protest is absent. On this basis, a discussion of the protests that took place in numerous cities as part of the Occupy movement will be provided.

2.2. Context: Occupy and social movements theory

Social movements

Considering that the sample of selected newspaper coverage involves coverage of the Occupy social movement it is worth providing context as regards social movements in general and the Occupy movement more specifically.

Many social movements in contemporary society are referred to as "new" social movements. Just what is "new" about them, though, and what is "old" about previous social movements? According to Laraña, Johnston & Gusfield (1994) old social movements were thought of as dealing with class struggle. Actors involved in these "old" movements mobilized based on shared grievances with their lot in life. These grievances included worker exploitation and exclusion from the wealth generated in industrial societies. Actors demanded basic securities, such as minimum wage, reasonable working hours, workers unions and a range of securities that can be found in modern-day welfare states.

New social movements do not necessarily originate in class conflict, and participants aren't necessarily working class. Whereas "old" social movements consisted of the working class, contemporary social movements tend to have participants that range in terms of sex, age and profession. The "old" approach to societal reform was narrow, focusing mainly on concerns of economic distribution (West, 2004). Old social movements are considered easy to categorize from an ideological standpoint, such as Marxist, liberal,

conservative, etc. (ibid). “New” movements are more difficult to categorize from an ideological standpoint. Occupy, for example, consisted of anarchists, libertarians (who think government bailouts interfere with the free market), socialists (advocates of a state-directed economy), among many others. As it will be discussed shortly, Occupy is related to numerous other movements that were taking place at the time (such as the student movement), further indicating a significant amount of diversity.

At face value, the Occupy movement is characteristically “old.” The movement addresses concerns of economic distribution in a capitalist society. In many respects, the movement proposed a revolution of the economic system, which is characteristically “old” (see Writers for the 99%, 2011; Gitlin, 2012) It has been noted that the term “occupy” in the anarchist sense refers to “occupying” and re-claiming privatized space for the people, which is revolutionary (Williams, 2012). Despite the fact that Occupy appears to be founded on the principles of “old” social movements, it is important to consider that Occupy included elements of the student movement and environmental movement, among others, making the movement not solely about economic distribution (Milkman, 2012). It is worth noting that one of the original goals of Occupy was the founding of a presidential commission that would monitor corporate influence on the government (Writers for the 99%, 2011); this is a modest demand that can be thought of as a reform of the existing system, and not a revolution. Furthermore, the tactics of Occupy are

"new," very new in fact, considering that social media and new technology played an important role in the movement (see Melucci, 1994).

The Occupy social movement

A criticism offered in literature related to the protest paradigm is that the media often fail to provide adequate context of protests, instead the media focus on key events (Boyle, McLeod & Armstrong, 2012; McLeod, 2007). Often, the newsworthiness of these key events is based on disruptiveness or violence; the way the protest has affected "us" is newsworthy, whereas the reasons behind the protest are less important (McLeod, 2007). Based on this criticism, the origins and context of the Occupy movement will be summarized.

The high-profile Occupy Wall Street movement was related to a number of movements taking place at the time. The occupation of public space, and the exercise of consensus-based democracy in the form of general assemblies had precedence in protests taking place in a number of Arab countries and in Europe (Writers for the 99%, 2011). These global protests were characterized by: the explicit targeting of corruption; the assertion that average people are not adequately represented in society; suspicion of political parties and leaders; and the assertion that alternatives to the status quo exist (ibid). In Spain, protesters who identified themselves as "indignados," mobilized in demonstration of a failing economy, a high rate of unemployment and political corruption (ibid, pp.5-13). Meanwhile, the "zapatismo" in Latin America were experimenting with participatory

democracy, something borrowed by the Occupy movement. Prior to the Occupation of Wall Street, a group opposing budget cuts was assembled in front of New York City Hall, in an assembly known as "Bloombergville." The "Bloombergville" group eventually migrated to Zuccotti Park, where the Occupy Wall Street encampment was established (Gitlin, 2012).

The Canadian organization *Adbusters* is credited with starting the movement in New York, as it promoted the occupation of Wall Street and recommended it begin on September 17, 2011 (Writers for the 99%, 2011). Participants from the previously mentioned movements, including those from Europe, made their way to New York. These European protesters, who already had experience, helped establish the first encampment (Milkman, 2012, p.13). The participants who assembled were racially and ethnically diverse, though many were highly educated young adults. Many of these individuals had finished undergraduate or post-graduate degrees only to find themselves facing a job market comparable to that of the 1930s, and – in the American example – rampant student debt. This segment of the population has been referred to as the "precariot," a portmanteau of the words precarious and proletariat. The proletariat in Marxist theory comprised the masses that had no choice but to sell their labor, and this constituted a form of exploitation. The precariot are groups who are unable to sell their skills or labor due to the conditions of the job market (Burawoy, 2012). The bailout of numerous financial institutions with public assets added insult to injury, and demonstrated a level of corporate-government cooperation (Chomsky, 2012).

The movement recognized that the present economic system results in unevenly distributed wealth, resulting in a vertical society whereby a tiny fraction of the population holds most of the society's wealth (Writers of the 99%, 2011; Chomsky, 2012).

The response, according to Williams (2012, p.20), was anarchy. This anarchy came in the form of an experimental, leaderless democracy that was horizontal, not concentrated. The "occupation" that took place was of public space, but also of public discourse, hence the extensive use of social media and the movement's ongoing mainstream media presence. Williams further notes that, historically, anarchists have encouraged citizens to seize and decentralize political power, have encouraged peasants to occupy private property and collectivize said property, and have encouraged workers to take over the means of production. And so Occupy "plays with anarchist notions of expropriation and seizing ill-gotten property for individual and collective needs" (p.20).

From the initial Occupy in New York, numerous others – in dozens of countries – sprang up, including a number in Canadian cities. The objectives of Occupy Montreal can be found on its website "occupons-montreal.org," noting that the movement is a reaction to economic principles that harm individual dignity, and that cause great injustice. It adds to that the drive toward making profit that has resulted in the destruction of the environment at a rate that threatens all of humanity. Furthermore, it is noted that Occupy in Montreal arose as a reaction to flawed democracy, where 99% of the

population is subjugated by 1%. The goals established by Occupy Montreal echo those outlined at the original encampment in New York, and notably constitute more than an attack on the economic system. The Occupy Montreal manifesto includes: respect for living things and their environments; responsible consumption; personal betterment through education and the exchange of information; the denouncing of injustice; respect of diversity; defending values without violence while maintaining dignity; and the denouncing of corruption ("à propos," n.d.).

2.3. Linguistic approaches: the subtle language of exclusion

At this point, the literature used in reference to the mechanisms of exclusion at the sentence level will be developed using relevant literature.

Studying exclusion requires a nuanced approach, as the language of exclusion is likely to be subtle for a number of reasons. A mainstream newspaper has a certain level of credibility to maintain in order to remain a viable source of information (see McLean, 2012). A newspaper that is explicitly discriminatory toward certain population segments runs the risk of developing a reputation as biased, and this bias could in turn undermine the newspaper's credibility. Exhibiting, or harboring, discriminatory views goes against social norms and values. Most people living in a democratic society would declare they are not racist, sexist, ageist and so on (Teo, 2000, p.8). A newspaper that demonstrates bias runs the risk of (1) segmenting its audience, as some existing readers might be the subject(s) of discrimination and (2) of losing credibility among the majority group, who recognize that

the paper has gone against the inter-group respect that is valued in a pluralist, democratic society.

Based on this premise, discrimination expressed in a newspaper is more likely to be subtle, rather than overt. A number of questionable taken-for-granted worldviews, or "consensualist" views as Hall, Crichter, Jefferson, Clarke & Roberts (1978) have referred to them, can be encoded into a text without the author's awareness. The near unconscious subtlety becomes more obvious with examples. Consider two lexical choices: "youth" and "young person." The term "youth" can have negative connotations – or figurative – implications such as "careless youth," immaturity, naïveté, and so on. The term "young person" is more positive, as it acknowledges personhood. Lexical terms carry both denotative and connotative meanings. A denotative meaning is the literal dictionary definition of a word, whereas a connotation refers to the meanings that have been attached to the term in a given society (Saussure, 1916). Whether deliberate or not, the use of loaded terms in a news text can be a contributing factor to the exclusion of the subject.

2.4. Lexical cues and typecasting

The words on a piece of paper, or on an electronic device, provide a representation of reality. In studying how language represents people, objects, actions, events, thought processes, etc. we are concerned with how language generates meaning. How does a reader recognize poverty, minority status, mental illness or political deviance when they read about it in a newspaper? Furthermore, how is this achieved *without* explicitly mentioning

the word "poverty," for example? Describing "inherent" group characteristics is one method of eliciting certain group identifications (Oakes, Haslam & Turner, 1994, p.34). An outline of the type can be provided, and this outline can suffice to identify the group in question. The language of exclusion does not have to identify out-group members by name, as the group can be inferred. The reader can *assume* that a certain group is being referred to.

This ability to identify a type is based on what is referred to as trait-based exclusion. The notion is that certain characteristics or behaviors belong to members of certain out-groups. For example, if a person is described as panhandling, the type "homeless" could be elicited. The term "panhandling" is then a lexical cue that directs us toward a certain identification. As a formula, behavior or types of deviance (or any other premise that can result in exclusion) leads to naming a problem group. This formula has been called the "deviance-by-definition" proposition, and is based on describing certain behaviors as bad, and others as good (Curra, 2011, p.15).

Defining out-group membership can be thought of as a process of "tagging, defining, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasizing, making conscious and self-conscious" (Curra, p.14-15). Most obviously, this could be a label that explicitly states something, such as "vagrant," though it could further be an extended series of details concerning behaviors and physical appearance that might be part of a characterization, or that belong to a type that has gone unnamed in the story but that can be inferred given the evidence. The tendency of news stories to be concise means words are chosen

with a certain level of deliberation, and so each word should be considered. The use of shorthand in a news story means that certain words or phrases might serve as a stand-in for a detailed group identification. Considering this, key terms and phrases in the news text will be considered for how they suggest an “out-group” identification.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

Considering the hypotheses being tested, and the orientation of the thesis based on linguistic features of exclusion as they appear in written text, a linguistic method has been chosen. The linguistic method consists of a number of analytical tools, adopted from Halliday (2004) and Fowler (1991). These linguistic tools will be provided with examples of their application. Lastly, the sample of newspaper articles compiled for the analysis will be described in detail.

3.1. Examining language: Lexical and grammatical tools

Critical linguistics/ functional grammar

The method chosen for this thesis has been referred to as "critical linguistic studies" by Fowler, itself based on functional grammar. Traditional approaches to studying sentences are based predominantly on syntactical analysis, e.g. the study of clause type, verbs, objects, adjuncts and so forth. Functional grammar, as the name suggests, is primarily focused on the function of sentence-level parts. A functional analysis assigns "functional" terms to parts of a sentence to deconstruct the representation that is offered. This should become more evident with the provision of a "functional" lexicon. This lexicon consists mainly of terms listed in Fowler's work *Language in the news*, with supplemental terms coming from Thompson's (1996) *Introducing functional grammar* and Halliday's (2004) *Introduction to functional grammar*.

The approach to determining function in a sentence relies heavily on what the verb(s) in a sentence is/are describing. In functional grammar and critical linguistics, verbs represent *processes*. Processes can be actions or mental procedures (e.g. thinking). Unless passive voicing is being employed, someone or something is described as performing the process. Take, for example, two clauses: "he thinks" and "he said." In this first example, the functional role of "he" is *participant* and the function of "thinks" is a process (more specifically, it is a mental process). In the second example, the function of "he" is *actor* and "said" is the process. When someone is represented as doing something (an action) they are referred to as actors, whereas when the process is mental they are typically referred to as participants. Notably, not all participants are represented as initiating a process, nor do participants always refer to people. For example, in the phrase "Tremblay had tolerated the occupation […])" both "Tremblay" and "the occupation" are participants, whereas "had tolerated" describes the process.

In some sentences, someone or something is represented as being affected by a particular process. These are broadly referred to as *affected participants*. If the affected participant is a person(s), they are referred to as *patient*. For example: "the city ordered that the wooden structure be taken down" versus "the city expulsed occupiers over the weekend." In the first example, the wooden structure is an affected participant, whereas in the latter, the occupiers would be labeled patient. Participants can also be

referred to as beneficiaries, if they are described as benefiting (whether explicitly or implicitly) from what is described in the sentence (e.g. "the free food offered has attracted *the homeless*").

In some cases, the process produces a *result* (e.g. Occupiers *complied* with the order to take down all wooden structures). In a sentence with multiple participants, this is often described in terms of *transitivity*, described simply as "who does what to whom." When the process accorded to an actor has an effect on a human participant (patient), the actor's function in the sentence is referred to as *agent*. At times the result described, or process, cannot be accorded to a human participant. For example, "the *winter* is threatening the Occupy encampment" describes a *force*, and the function is labeled accordingly.

Other functional terms include: *circumstance*, a term that describes time and place (e.g. it happened *yesterday in Montreal*); *states*, that usually appear in the form of an adjective (e.g. "he is *fragile*"); and lastly *modality*. It is most useful to think of modality as (authorial) commentary. Though a news story passes through a number of hands before publication – meaning the intent of the journalist cannot be established, considering that a story is edited – the text occasionally provides the semblance of a voice, a speaker, commentator, etc. To illustrate the use of commentary, consider slight variations of this phrase: "the occupiers should pack it up," "the occupiers will pack it up," "the occupiers better pack it up." All of these examples are types of commentary. The first suggests *obligation*; they *should* put an end to

their occupation. The second implies *truth*; truth commentary expresses a degree of certainty, as in they *will* pack it up. The third suggests *desirability*; they *better* pack it up.

A few supplementary terms have been adopted, outside of those derived from Fowler. Thompson refers to a participant who is sensing a stimulus as a "sensor" (e.g. *she* heard the sound). The stimulus itself (e.g. "the sound" in the previous example) is referred to as a *phenomenon*. Thompson also uses the term "address" to describe a form of address (e.g. "Do *you* think Montreal would have […]"). Thompson has further provided an explanation of nominals that will be used. A nominal is a noun that, broken down according to morphological units, has a verb as one of its units. The noun "statement" can be broken into the morphological units state + ment. "State," as in "to state" is a verb. The significance is that the use of a verb (as opposed to a nominal) requires more information; this means that in some cases a certain amount of information goes unexpressed with the use of a nominal. A verb typically requires a subject, and in the case of a transitive verb, an object as well. As will be shown, it is often productive to consider the information that has gone unexpressed with the use of a nominal.

Lexical sets

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the language of exclusion is likely to be subtle, nuanced, or unconscious as opposed to blatant or overt. Linguistic analysts compile lexical sets or lexical chains to get insight into some of the nuanced attitudes expressed in a written text. A lexical set is

essentially a collection of related words, or terms. For example, if the words "bitter, sad, angry, hilarious" appear throughout a text, they can be collected as a lexical set that can be titled "emotions" or "feelings." Lexical fields "signify certain kinds of identities, values and sequences of activity which need not be made explicit" (Mayr & Machin, 2012, p.28). The lack of explicitness can be attributed to the scattered nature of the lexical field; to use Fowler's (1991) analogy, only by marking the points across the map does the map itself become apparent. An example of mapping a lexical field from a news text is as follows:

> Natasha Hynes, 25, fears the city, rather than evicting the group outright, is chipping away at Occupy Montreal and trying to wear down participants - who've been in the square for a month - by cutting off their electricity and setting rules for shelter. (Montgomery, 17 November 2011, p.A6).

"Evicting, chipping, wear down, cutting off (2)" can be collected as a lexical set that expresses a process of liquidation, and that provides insight into the ideas organizing the text.

Prepositions and subordination

When reading a story it is worth considering what information is emphasized, and what is backgrounded. There are a number of methods to examine how this is achieved, one of them being the distinction between dominant and subordinate clauses. A conjunction is used to join similar categories together, such as words or phrases. The sentence could be a

coordinated structure comprised of two equally ranked units (linked by words such as "or"). Some sentences, though, have subordinate clauses, often indicated by conjunctions and propositions such as "if," "whenever," "although" and "after." The use of conjunctions and prepositions can have the effect of backgrouding information, by placing it closer to the end of the sentence.

For example:

"Chicago police arrested about 175 protesters in Grant Park Sunday after they refused to disperse, the Chicago Tribune reported" ("Protest rallies spread," 17 October 2011, p.A3).

The sentence backgrounds the reason for the arrest, using the preposition "after" to make the reason seem less important than the action, and puts emphasis on the agent and process by locating them first. Notably, if the sentence were restructured to begin with "After protesters refused to disperse […]" this would emphasize the participant "protesters" and the process "refused" and as a result represent them as having more authority/agency.

In addition to the use of prepositions, subordination can occur between two equally ranked sentences, joined by a conjunction. This is due to the fact that the left-hand position of the sentence (which is read first) is more prominent than the right-hand position.

General versus specific

Mayr & Machin (p.32) describe the process of removing details as "generalization." The use of details, or specifics, contribute individualism to a subject (or participant). Consider the following example :

> À Vancouver, les autorités municipales ont lancé un ultimatum aux manifestants après la mort d'une indignée en fin de semaine. La jeune femme de 20 ans serait morte d'une surdose de drogue.[1] (Bellavance, 8 November 2011, p.A7).

The description offered directs us toward the identification of "drug user." As a generalization, a drug user has met an ending as a consequence of drug use. The limits of what we can assume could reasonably allow us to think the woman was a frequent user of drugs, though there is no information to support this conclusion. Mayr & Machin note that the way around this is to try to describe "who" an individual is rather than "what" the individual is. A definition of "what" offers a type, such as drug addict, homeless person, gang member, etc. A "what" definition takes place when an individual's appearance, emotional response, or thoughts are being described without details of that person's role in society, something that is much more difficult to do. The description constitutes a form of exclusion based on describing traits, achieved through reductive or generalized principles. Abstractions are another sort of generalization that describe non-specific statements or actions

[1] In Vancouver, municipal authorities have given protesters an ultimatum after a protester died over the course of the weekend. The 20-year-old woman died of a drug overdose.

in lieu of detailed, specific ones. The use of nominals, as previously described, can constitute a form of abstraction in some cases, as a noun has been used to replace a process that might offer greater detail.

Sample

With details of the linguistic approach out of the way, the text selected for the linguistic analysis will be provided. Two mainstream Montreal daily newspapers have been selected for this study: *The Gazette* and *La Presse*. These newspapers have been chosen seeing as they are comparable; other newspapers, such as *Le Devoir*, could have also provided a suitable sample. The sample of *Gazette* coverage was compiled using the ProQuest database; the keywords used were: occup* and indig*. These keywords account for words including: Occupy, occupation, occupiers and terms such as Occupy Wall Street, Occupy Montreal, etc. The keyword "indig*" has been selected to account for terms such as "indignados" or "indignants." After refining the results, a total of 69 stories, whether main news features, editorials, op-eds or letters to the editor were found to be applicable. To qualify as applicable, the story had to have Occupy as its subject, or address a subject related to Occupy (for example, food donations being made to the Occupy camp would fall into the latter category). Articles that make reference to Occupy, but that otherwise address a different subject (e.g. one story's call on Montrealers to "occupy a pothole") were not used in the sample. The sample of articles from *La Presse* was compiled using the Eureka database, using the same keywords: occup* and indig*. The keyword

occup* accounts for words “occupons” “occuper” “occupées” and related terms such as “occupons Montreal.” The keyword indig* was selected to account for terms such as “indigne” “indigné(e)(s)” “s’indigner” and terms such as “s’indigner contre” and so forth. The number of applicable articles, using the same criteria as described previously with *The Gazette* sample, amounts to 56.

The sample has been broken into two main sections for the analysis. The first section of the analysis dealing with broader themes lists the theme along with supporting examples from the primary text. These general themes describe how the occupiers are placed within an out-group, or related to an out-group. Undoubtedly there are other themes present in the text that are outside the scope of this study, including themes that could indicate an in-group identification. In addition to studying the cumulative body of text, organized according to general themes, two articles from each paper have been chosen for a close paragraph-by-paragraph linguistic analysis. The articles selected are especially dense, in the sense that they contain a significant variety of linguistic elements. Despite this, the linguistic qualities found in these particular articles can be found throughout the sample, meaning they are not exceptional. In this second section, the linguistic analysis will be implementing the linguistic tools previously described, with the objective of documenting some of the processes depicted (transitivity), and elements that contribute to a “they” identification at the sentence level.

Coverage of the Occupy movement was selected, considering that in Montreal, as in most other cities, the encampment had a start date and an end date. This makes it reasonable to refine the sample according to the duration of the protest in Montreal, in this case from October 15th, 2011, to November 25th, 2011. This makes coverage of the Occupy movement ideal given the nature of this study.

CHAPTER 4

Part 1

4.1.1.

General themes:

The Gazette

This section has been organized according to themes and broader linguistic trends. A number of the broader recurring characterizations present throughout the news coverage have been organized according to relevance and consistency throughout the news coverage. These themes will be listed, along with examples and an analysis. Though the themes listed were prevalent in both English and French news coverage, the list of themes and supporting evidence has been separated, for organizational purposes. The following themes, and supporting evidence, have been taken from *The Gazette*.

4.1.2. The Occupy encampment as a microsociety

Koller & Davidson (2008) refer to the production of spatial perception in discourse as a "bounded space metaphor" also referred to as a "container metaphor" (p.308). The first theme reflects the suggestion that a membrane separates in-group members from out-group members, providing the impression of "bounded space." The suggestion posits a sort of physical disparity between the space "we" inhabit and the space "they" inhabit. The earlier citation of *les banlieues* serves as an example of this: there is the suggestion that "they," who were typically poor minority groups, live "over

there," on the outskirts of the city. With respect to coverage of the Occupy movement, there is evidence to support the conception that a bounded space metaphor was being produced. Examples of the explicit recognition of bounded space include labeling the encampment a "protest village" or a "tent city," among other similar kinds of labels. This is problematic as it suggests discontinuity between protesters and other Montreal residents. Labels that suggest bounded space increase the perception of distinction, and this can contribute to a conception of the out-group. Implicit suggestions of bounded space include: descriptions of the amenities and services available at the encampment; social organization and established regulations at the encampment; the functions of camp members when introduced in the story (e.g. "media liaison," "camp security," "kitchen worker"). These further the impression that the encampment is in some way a microsociety, surrounded by an observant general public ("us").

The following is evidence of the explicit reference to a microsociety in *The Gazette*.

Example 1:

> This is a small village and, like any community, there are people who work more, do more, there are homeless people, there are part-time workers," Zaidi said. "For some people it's their first time in a political movement. Others know it."
>
> […]

> "Toronto's branch of the worldwide occupation movement is based in St. James Park, where a small tent city sprung up last month" (O'Toole & Alcoba, 15 November 2011, p.A8).

Example 2:

"Well, they achieved it in their microsociety; now maybe they'll realize what the consequences are" (Szekely, 11 November 2011, p.A18).

Example 3:

> "We are building a micro-society based on new values. We're trying to make them work in this camp so we can make them work in the outside world."
>
> […]
>
> "At the moment the problem we have to solve is the drug and alcohol use in the camp which are not related to the Occupy movement,' Saint-Laurent said. 'But they are part of our society and we are in this society. So we have no choice" (Rocha, 9 November 2011, p.A7).

In addition to explicitly labeling the encampment as a microsociety, or suggesting a derivative of the microsociety label, the first example describes a complaint that could be lodged within society at large, that complaint being that some work harder than others. The "undesirables" (as they have been referred to in French coverage) at the Occupy encampment in Montreal and other cities, a group that includes the homeless, users of controlled substances, and the mentally ill, were found to be the subject of

Occupy stories on a regular basis. This tendency is addressed in the next section. The presence of "undesirables" at Occupy Montreal suggests that within the camp itself there exists an in-group and an out-group, furthering the impression that Occupy is a small society. Notably, example 3 offers a distinction between "the camp" and "the outside world," and so distinguishes between "their" space and "our" space. In addition to these explicit examples, there are cases where it can be inferred, based on the evidence, that a microsociety is being described.

Evidence of implicit reference to a microsociety includes:

Example 1:

"Occupiers who manage the security and cleanliness of the camp grumble about doing all the work while others relax in their tents or lounge on the park benches or share a joint."

[…]

"Joey Arsenault, the group's media liaison" (O'Toole, 22 November 2011, p.A4).

Example 2:

> "As long as we remain peaceful, they have no problem with us staying here," a member of the spontaneously formed police liaison committee announced to the crowd huddled in the square Sunday."
>
> […]

> "On the second day of Occupy Montreal, Victoria Square, now entirely covered in tents, also had a makeshift kitchen, a clinic, a children's area, and a media centre with a Macbook Pro and an Internet antenna. Protesters camping there since Saturday say they are in for the long haul" (Rocha & Lalonde, 17 October 2011, p.A3).

Example 3:

> "Since it began last Saturday, the occupation has grown more complex each day. It now has two generators, six rented chemical toilets, and a savings fund to take them through the cold winter. The kitchen's pantry, fashioned from old pallets, is overflowing with cans and dried goods. There are recycling and compost bins, and a dishwashing area" (Rocha, 20 October 2011, p.A7).

These examples provide a conception of the encampment as a microsociety in a more nuanced fashioned. To begin with, the amenities and services available at the encampment are described. These include: a full, serviceable kitchen, electricity, recycling, composting and waste disposal, toilets and Wi-Fi Internet to name several. The microsociety is also implied in descriptions of the social roles, committees and managerial levels present at the encampment. The text presents occupiers with their "title" in the camp, such as "media liaison," "chef," "police liaison committee" or "occupiers who manage the security and cleanliness." This encourages the conception

that there are levels of social organization at the encampment, much like in society at large.

Summary:

Representing Occupy Montreal as a microsociety contributes to a "they" definition, as it encourages the impression that occupiers are a discontinuous, segmented population. This is accomplished through a mental conception of space that posits "them" as inhabiting an area that is their own. This is problematic as it implies segregation of the Occupy population, and offers a spatial differentiation that enhances an "us" "them" differentiation.

4.1.3. Deviance and the Occupy encampment

Throughout the news coverage a significant amount of attention has been given to deviant or criminal behavior. Deviant and criminal behaviors include: criminal sexual acts; criminal drug use; confrontations with police and city officials; and the homeless and mentally ill population at the Occupy encampment. Though the text often makes a distinction between deviant groups and legitimate protesters, the repeated mention of what these groups are doing at the camp detracts from the purpose of the movement. It also encourages a negative association between legitimate protesters and "undesirables." The phenomenon of associative stigmatization has been documented; for example, a study conducted in the UK found that psychiatric caregivers experienced certain levels of stigma due to their proximity to the mentally ill (see Ward, 2009).

As a point of entry into this theme, *The Gazette* reported that a Montreal food bank had provided the Occupy encampment with food; this fact seemed to incur the ire of several readers, as a number of letters to the editor revealed. Ultimately, the food bank that had provided the occupiers with food ceased doing so. The details relating to the donation, preparation and distribution of food at the camp gives the impression that the camp itself served as a makeshift food bank.

The suggestion that the Occupy encampment in Montreal was akin to a food bank can be illustrated with a few examples from the text.

Example 1:

"At any given moment, a donor drops off a bagful of cans, loaves of bread, a stack of hummus tubs, or homemade cake" (Rocha, 20 October 2011, p.A21).

Example 2:

"At the Occupy Montreal event, donated food is piling up, from cans of dried goods to mountains of oranges" (Solyom, 22 October 2011 p.B1).

Example 3:

"The free food, clothing, and shelter offered by the camp has drawn many of the city's homeless and mentally ill. Intoxication among them regularly leads to confrontations, which camp volunteers must spend time defusing" (Rocha, 22 November 2011, p.A4).

In addition to describing the eating arrangements, the protocol (protesters lined up to be served) for being served also suggests a cafeteria or soup kitchen setting. As it was mentioned in the literature review, some

scenes have shared linguistic material; in this case both the Occupy camp and more traditional food banks share similar descriptive elements. Notably, the description of the kitchen area overlaps with the microsociety theme in certain respects, seeing as how it touches on the camp's ability to sustain itself.

The free provisions offered at the camp, such as food at no cost, are cited as being reasons the homeless gathered at the camp. The homeless population is typically mentioned along with other "problem" groups, such as the mentally ill and controlled substance users. Examples that mention the homeless population at the encampment, accompanied with explanations as to why this population gathered at the encampment, include the following:

Example 1:

"Because the occupation offers free food and clothing, it has become a gathering point for drug addicts, homeless people and the mentally ill. Loud confrontations are a nightly occurrence" (Marsden & Mennie, 19 November 2011, p.A2).

Example 2:

"The free food, clothing, and shelter offered by the camp has drawn many of the city's homeless and mentally ill" (Rocha, 22 November 2011, p.A4).

In addition to descriptions of the homeless population, news coverage included details relating to criminal activity, in keeping with the protest paradigm, and further supporting the theme of deviance at the Occupy encampment.

Example 1:

> "Maybe it was the Occupy camp that elected a border collie as its leader, or the death of a 23-year-old woman in Vancouver of a drug overdose, or reports of an alleged sexual assault in Philadelphia, but the occupation has been steadily losing its cool" (Curran, 15 November 2011, p.A8).

Example 2:

> "Police ordered anti-capitalist protesters in California to abandon their camp Friday after a fatal shooting, at least the fourth death this week in anti-Wall St. camps across the U.S."
>
> […]
>
> "In Utah, Salt Lake City police ordered protesters to vacate their camps after a man died overnight, apparently from a combination of carbon-monoxide poisoning and a drug overdose, according to the Salt Lake City Tribune" ("Occupy protesters urged to leave camp," 12 November, 2011, p.A18).

In some instances, the presence of violent individuals is distinguished from the protesters themselves, whereas in other cases the distinction is less clear. Terms such as "squatters" ("While other major cities in Canada and around the globe put an end to the occupation of public spaces by aimless squatters[…]") and "squeegee kids" (Tierney, 26 October 2011, p.E7) contribute to the "out-group" identification of young, disheveled activists.

Summary:

The Occupy food bank setting, and descriptions of criminal behavior, invites the perception that Occupy is dangerous and that those gathered at Occupy are among society's "undesirables," such as criminals (some of them violent), the homeless and the mentally ill. In some instances, it is suggested that the activists themselves are drug users, violent criminals, homeless, etc. This is problematic as it delegitimizes the Occupy encampment; there are no real "activists," but rather people who find Occupy a convenient place to do what is typically condemned in society at large.

4.1.4. The other side of exclusion: Gesturing toward the majority

Describing the out-group, as a segmented microsociety of "undesirables," is only half of the equation, the other part of the equation being the in-group. Pease (2009) has noted that the other side of exclusion is the voice of privilege, those behind the scenes who often elude any kind of scrutiny. It will be considered how the news text identifies, or gestures toward, the majority group. It has been noted, as per the protest paradigm, that stories dealing with protests will often acknowledge the public in some fashion. This can be found in statements such as "the people in general," "the population at large" and so on. *The Gazette* has indicated the majority group in a number of ways. Consider the following examples:

Example 1:

"I'm here to represent the businesses and taxpayers in the city and I'm getting numerous calls," Ford said Wednesday (Smith, 10 November 2011, p.A14).

Example 2:

“They've effectively taken over a lovely park and prevented the general public from using (it)," lawyer Darrel Smith noted (O’Toole, 22 November 2011, p.A4).

In the first example, the mayor of Toronto issues two statements: (1) “I’m here to represent businesses and taxpayers” (2) “I’ve been getting numerous calls.” It can be inferred that the second statement refers to calls made by “businesses and taxpayers,” and so this constitutes a gesture toward the majority population and business interests.

In the second example, the public is referred to explicitly. The processes “taken” and “prevented” are associated with the participant “they” referring to the Occupiers, and so a distinction is made between “the public” and “they.”

The acknowledgement is further evident in some of the statements issued by protesters themselves:

Example 1:

“Each of the tent-ins or rallies could be organized around a particular theme and conclude with the identification of actionable steps that ordinary people can take to help push for regulatory reforms” (“Does Occupy Montreal have any solutions to offer?” 3 November 2011, p.A22).

Here, “tent-ins or “rallies” are located in proximity to “ordinary people.” The statement can be used to locate the speaker as someone who is not an “ordinary person” but rather as someone who is trying to gain the

support of "ordinary people." The proposed actions, then, are to be undertaken by the implied population segment "activists."

Another way in which the group is segmented, and reduced to a small out-group, is by listing figures that dwarf the protest, or by explicitly stating that the protesters are a small percentage of the overall population.

Example 1:

"As to whether the Occupy movement will foster change, Choquet said 'We are a drop in the bucket. But I hope we will multiply'" (Solyom, 22 October 2011, p.B1).

Example 2:

"The several hundred protesters at the convivial camp…"

[…]

"If the activists were to fine-tune their demands and demonstrate for a provincial inquiry with teeth, would they get more public support? I think so" (Aubin, 22 October 2011, p.B7).

This second example acknowledges that the activists have some support, but it also suggests that support for Occupy could be more substantial, as the public is more interested in other things (such as a public inquiry into corruption, in the case of this particular story).

A diatribe, in the form of a letter to the editor, published by *The Gazette* is also indicative of who the majority is, and who the minority:

Example:

> "This protest is starting to cost me money. How much of our taxes is [sic] being used for the police presence, the city manager who is there all day and the city workers who are cleaning up every three hours?"
>
> […]
>
> "I am part of the 99 per cent and worked all my life to get what I have" (Hodgson, 19 October 2011, p.A18).

The author uses the banner motto of the occupiers, "we are the 99 per cent" to suggest that the 99% are, in fact, those who work hard and pay taxes, not those who cost taxpayers money with acts of civil disobedience. This suggests that the population occupying Victoria Square is a fringe population. This group is not the "real" 99%. The claim also suggests that the trope adopted by the occupiers is inaccurate. The trope used by the occupiers suggests that there are two groups: the inordinately rich, and everyone else. Though it is true that a very small percentage (less than one per cent, in fact) control most of the world's wealth (Chomsky, 2012), the term "99%" has a homogenizing effect. The statement "I…worked all my life to get what I have" suggests that the occupiers are not working hard. As an aside, it is worth mentioning that many Western societies, especially the U.S., encourage the notion of "upward mobility." This is the expectation that hard work results in financial and material gain. And so, the occupiers are not only challenging the wealthy, they are also challenging everyone who buys into the myth of upward mobility.

These are examples of gesturing toward the majority group, or of indicating the small scale of the protest. In addition to acknowledging the general public in this regard, order and public safety are gestured toward in a number of stories. Maintaining order can be described with respect to the police presence, and measures being taken by the police. Concerns for safety and order are further asserted in statements made by political figures.

Example 1:

"A block away, as has been the case since the protest began, a Montreal police squad car kept watch" (Mennie, 23 November 2011, p.A8).

Example 2:

"Mayor Michael Bloomberg said in a statement "the city has the ultimate responsibility to protect public health and safety[…]" ("Court upholds dismantling of New York camp," 6 November 2011, p.A4).

Example 3:

"Tremblay said the protest would not be hindered so long as public order and security were not compromised" (Meenie*,* 23 November 2011, p.A8).

In the first example, a "Montreal police car" is said to be located "a block away," and the process associated with this participant is "kept." In the second example, the mayor of New York claims to be responsible for public health and safety. The third example features a contingency articulated by the term "so long," the stipulation being that the protest can continue so long as "public order and security are maintained." The statement issued by the mayor of Montreal reserves the right to "hinder" the protest should order be

compromised. The significance is that the system is asserting its power and a domain of intervention, and bases this on its responsibility to the public.

Summary:

Whereas the previous themes contribute more to a "they" definition of Occupy and the occupiers, the present theme provides more of a conception of who "we" are. "We" are the majority group, and "they" are a fringe population. "Their" occupation will be tolerated insofar as it does not interfere with "our" safety. Like the microsociety theme, this is problematic as it encourages the impression of discontinuity between "us" and "them."

4.1.5. A tolerant city

The use of the word "tolerance" is prevalent throughout the news coverage. The coverage of the Occupy movement made it abundantly clear that the protest would be tolerated so long as the Occupy microsociety didn't interfere with everyday activities and security. Tolerance has decisively negative associations; we are not usually fond of a thing we are tolerating, or are tolerant toward. The word "tolerant" is often quoted in statements made by city officials, and comes with the implication that the protest is expected to meet an end, in that the protest will be tolerated by the city up to a point. Examples of this word in use are:

Example 1:

"Montreal is a beacon of tolerance during this saga with the Occupy movement."

[…]

“Is city hall's tolerance less a matter of spontaneous generosity of spirit than of legal necessity?” (Aubin, 19 November 2011, p.A2).

Example 2:

“‘At this moment there is a (certain level of tolerance),’ he said. ‘But how it will be in the future is going to depend on a lot of things’” (Aubin, 19 November 2011, p.A2).

Example 3:

“‘The main message is that the period of tolerance is over. City rules will apply in full,’ city spokesperson Gonzalo Nunez said Wednesday night” (Marsden & Mennie, 25 November 2011, p.A6).

The use of the word tolerance, as these examples show, means, “to put up with,” or “endure.” “Tolerance” does not imply respect, acceptance or permission. If anything, it expresses a certain degree of annoyance. The city allowed protesters to set up camp in a public square (something that is usually illegal), but the use of the word “tolerable” suggests that this isn’t a preferable situation. Furthermore, “tolerance” suggests that the situation will not be a lasting one. Most can “put up with” something to a certain extent; there are limits to tolerance. This suggests that the city could reach its limit of tolerance, at which point it won’t “put up with” the encampment anymore.

Summary:

As a theme, “tolerance” expresses a mostly negative attitude toward Occupy, and this contributes to a problem definition of Occupy.

4.2.1.

General themes: *La Presse*

Overlooking the redundant structure, the process of listing themes will be repeated using *La Presse*. The themes have been assembled in the same order, and are comparable to those found in *The Gazette*.

4.2.2. The Occupy encampment as a micro society

Similar to the English Language news coverage found in *The Gazette*, the Occupy encampment is often referred to as a microsociety; this is indicated both implicitly through the use of social designations within the camp (e.g. a member of the encampment's "comité légal"), and through detailed descriptions of amenities and services available at the site. It is further described explicitly through the use of titles such as "village de tentes."

Example 1:

"Au cours d'une assemblée tenue dans la station de métro Square Victoria, sous leur village de tentes"[1] (Larouche & Normandin, 25 November 2011, p.A6).

Example 2 :

" […] initialement sympathiques au message des indignés, auraient pu conserver cette attitude en constatant que le seul résultat à long terme de la

[1] During an assembly held in Square Victoria metro station, underneath their tent village.

"tentifada" était la création d'un bidonville en plein centre-ville!"[1] (Roy, 9 November 2011, p.A28).

The explicit mention consists of describing the camp as a "tentifada," a term that refers to "intifada" as it relates to the Arab Spring. More negatively, "bidonville" can be translated as "shanty-town" or "slum," a labelling that is loaded with negative associations. The conception that the camp is an enclosed space is further suggested in descriptions of the camp itself, with respect to the services and amenities available:

Example 1:

"Pierre Mathieu, membre du "comité légal" du groupe, qui négocie avec les autorités" [2] (Larouche & Normandin, 25 November 2011, p.A6).

Example 2:

"Après un automne clément, Occupons Montréal a formé un comité pour trouver des solutions au temps froid, imminent"[3] (Audet, 18 November 2011, p.A16).

Example 3:

[1] […] initially sympathetic to the message of the protesters, it would be diffcult to maintain this attitude considering that the only long-term result of the "tentifada" has been the creation of a shanty-town in the middle of downtown!

[2] […] Pierre Mathieu, a member of the group's 'legal committee,' who negotiates with authorities.

[3] After a mild autumn, Occupy Montreal formed a committee to find solutions to the imminent approach of cold weather.

> Un groupe tentera aujourd'hui d'installer un serveur pour rendre internet accessible aux "résidants" de ce village improvisé. D'autres cherchent à installer un groupe électrogène, les câbles électriques utilisés samedi ayant mystérieusement cessé de fonctionner dans la nuit de samedi à hier. "C'est bien organisé, il y a des assemblées générales chaque jour. Il y a des poubelles, du recyclage, du compostage. C'est fait pour ne pas que ce soit le chaos, on essaye vraiment de respecter les lieux"[1] (Normandin & Simard, 17 October 2011 p.A6).

The implied microsociety is described on the same basis as coverage in *The Gazette*. The occupiers are described as "residents," though the use of quotations on the word suggests this isn't meant to be literal, and their village is acknowledged explicitly, through the use of the word "village," and implicitly, through a description of amenities available at the encampment, such as garbage disposal, recycling and Internet access. This implicit reference to the camp as a microsociety extends to a description of the camp as one that has a level of social organization, including the acknowledgment that there are rules set up, and assemblies being held on a daily basis.

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[1] A group attempted to install a server today, in order to provide Internet access to the "residents" of this improvised village. Others tried to install a generator, after the cables used Saturday mysteriously stopped functioning overnight. "It's well organized, there are general assemblies everyday. There are garbages, recycling, compost. It's set up so that there won't be chaos, we're really trying to respect the rules"

Summary:

Labeling Occupy a "city" or "village," and suggesting levels of social organization at Occupy (such as "legal committee") contributes to a sense of discontinuity between the Occupy camp and the rest of the city. This is problematic as it segments and isolates the Occupy population.

4.2.3. Deviance and the Occupy encampment

A number of stories from *La Presse* are framed according to crime and conflict, with attention given toward the "undesirable" populations at the camp, "undesirables" being a term used in the text. As in the previous case, the undesirables include: the homeless, the mentally ill, users of controlled substances and various kinds of criminal offenders. In some instances there is no clear distinction between the undesirable group/offender(s) and the protesters, whereas in other cases the groups mentioned are clearly distinguished from the protesters themselves. Considering the attributions made with respect to the protest, including the ideology associated with the protest in the text (anarchy) it is possible to frame protesting not as the exercise of civil rights, but rather as a kind of deviance whose manifestation (as an encampment) welcomes other similar types. In this respect, the out-group is designated by implying that protest encampments are conducive to illegal transgressions.

With respect to criminal activity at different Occupy encampments, a number of news items that have their origins in the U.S. were reported in *La Presse* and exemplify this criminal element.

Example 1:

> Plusieurs militants de New York, où le mouvement a pris naissance le 17 septembre, craignent d'être évincés du parc Zuccotti depuis une sordide histoire d'agressions sexuelles. Un homme de 26 ans a été arrêté mardi après avoir agressé deux jeunes femmes de 17 et 18 ans. Un autre incident serait survenu au campement de Dallas où un homme de 24 ans a été arrêté après avoir eu une relation sexuelle avec une fugueuse de 14 ans[1] (Normandin, 7 November 2011, p.A9).

Example 2:

"À Ottawa, une jeune femme aurait été victime d'une agression sexuelle la semaine dernière dans le campement des indignés, dans le parc Major, tout près de la colline parlementaire"[2] (Bellavance, 10 November, 2011, p.A14).

Notably, the details are somewhat abstract: "d'agressions sexuelles" could include any sort of unsolicited physical contact of a sexual nature. In addition to drawing associations between criminal sexual behavior and the Occupy encampment in a fashion that melds the line between criminals and

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[1] Multiple protesters in New York, where the movement was born on the 17th of September, are afraid they will be evicted from Zuccotti Park due to a sordid history of sexual assaults. A 26-year-old-man was arrested Tuesday after he assaulted two young women, aged 17 and 18. Another incident supposedly occurred at a Dallas camp when a 24-year-old man had a sexual relationship with a 14-year-old runaway.

[2] Last week in Ottawa, a young woman was the victim of a sexual assault at the Major park encampment in the vicinity of Parliament Hill.

protesters, the first example offers two positions. The pressure to end Occupy encampments in the U.S. is based on the fact that individuals, very young ones, are being sexually assaulted. In this respect, supporting the protest can be interpreted as condoning a lawless environment, whereas supporting the effort to shut down the camp can be interpreted as taking a stand against these crimes. The second example juxtaposes a symbol of authority (Parliament Hill) with the sexual transgressions occurring at the encampment; in this respect crime is juxtaposed with a symbol representing law and order.

An example warranting consideration is an incident mentioned repeatedly in the news coverage, in both *The Gazette* and *La Presse,* involving the death of a 23-year-old woman in Vancouver, the cause being attributed to drug overdose.

Example 1:

"Samedi après-midi, une jeune femme dans la vingtaine a été trouvée morte dans une tente du campement d'Occupy Vancouver, probablement victime d'une surdose"[1] (Normandin, 7 November 2011, p.A9).

Example 2:

"Certains indignés ont toutefois nié hier qu'on avait trouvé des seringues dans une tente, affirmant que l'abri avait plutôt servi à fumer du crack" (Normandin & Benessaieh, 22 November 2011, p.A7).

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[1] A woman in her twenties was found dead Saturday afternoon in a tent at the Occupy Vancouver encampment, likely of a drug overdose.

Details of this nature encourage an association between crime, or criminal behavior, and Occupy encampments. The second example suggests the encampment is a haven for users of controlled substances. In this respect "criminality" is the meaningful category being elicited in both of these examples. Again, the text does regularly posit a distinction between legitimate protesters and those who have flocked to the encampment to take advantage of the free amenities and shelter. Arguably, though, there is still a level of stigmatization through association, and at times the text invites us to place the protesters in the group of "undesirables," by housing them under the same label. An example of this is: "Le square ressemble à un camp de réfugiés. Sauf que les camps de réfugiés sont mieux organizes"[1] (Ouimet, 10 November 2011, p.A14).

In this instance, it is suggested that the entire encampment can be considered a poorly organized refugee camp. In this example, there is no distinction between the protesters and other groups at the Occupy encampment. Another example of this, previously cited in the microsociety section, referred to the Occupy encampment as a "bidonville," translated as "shanty town" or "slum." The use of the term suggests a homogenous group of occupants, who aren't defined by who they are so much as where they reside. A group identity based on a term such as "ghetto" is a "what" definition, as we are told "what" this group is, rather than who they are.

Summary:

[1] The square resembles a refugee camp, except that refugee camps are better organized.

Labels such as "shantytown" homogenize the Occupy population, and suggest that the Occupy population can be defined according to where they are, as opposed to who they are. At times there is no distinction between legitimate protesters and those using drugs at the Occupy encampment, or those suspected of criminal transgressions such as sexual assault. This is exclusive as it delegitimizes Occupy by suggesting they are "undesirables," or by implying a relationship between occupiers and the "undesirables."

4.2.4. The majority group

La Presse indicates the majority population in a number of ways. As it was mentioned, the majority group is the other side of exclusion. A "they" definition is one part of exclusion, the other part being an "us" definition, or a gesture toward the majority group. This includes indicating the number of protesters (the figures provided usually reveal a small turnout), and by reference to the majority non-activist population. Occasionally, the minority population of protesters is juxtaposed directly with figures or voices that supposedly represent the majority.

Example 1:

"Depuis un mois, quelques centaines de personnes occupent la place. Dans les rues voisines, la vie continue comme avant"[1] (Gruda, 15 October 2011, p.A30).

Example 2:

[1] For the last month, a few hundred people have occupied the place. In the surrounding street, life continues as it did before.

“ […] jamais le citoyen moyen n'en viendra à cultiver cette vision manichéenne des choses qui, de tout temps, a été le propre du militant”[1] (Roy, 22, November 2011, p.A18).

The first example acknowledges that the camp is sizeable, and provides the information that there are a few hundred people occupying the space. An existing way of life is acknowledged with the assertion that “la vie continue comme avant” in the streets surrounding the Occupy site. Though the text provides a figure, the text does not qualify it, i.e. would a hundred people be considered a significant or an insignificant number? Other stories suggest that the number of protesters at the encampment, given Montreal’s population, is negligible, and supplements this by describing other protests in the city that have attracted more support. An op-ed titled “Et l’autre 98%?” (Pratte, 17 October 2011, p.A16) noted that the region of Montreal consists of 3.9 million inhabitants making the protesters a “microscopic” minority of the 99 per cent of the population that are not extraordinarily rich. The irony is that the activists that proclaimed they are the “99%” are actually “1%” (as the title suggests), making them a population that is comparable to the extraordinarily rich, at least in terms of size. The example provided on the previous page (beginning with “jamais le citoyen moyen […]”) acknowledges two parties, “the average person” (“citoyen moyen”) and “the protester” (“militant”) (Roy, 22 November 2011, p.A18). The text suggests

[1] The average citizen will never come to cultivate this Manichean vision of things that, for the most part, belongs to the protester.

that the vision being realized at the Occupy encampment is not the "average" person's vision, but rather the vision of someone exceptional; this suggests the general public is different from the protester. This kind of differentiation is even present in news coverage that is more supportive of the movement; an op-ed entitled "Soyons patients" (Genest, 16 November 2011, p.A30) notes that the movement is rendering "un énorme service à la population." Though it lauds the movement, it makes a distinction between the movement itself and the "average" person whose interests are being served by the movement.

Summary:

By suggesting occupiers are a fringe population, the text delegitimizes the cause (as it would appear support for the movement is minimal) and by positioning Occupy in relation to "us." Isolation is a component of exclusive language, and the occupiers are represented as an isolated group that is distinct from the majority.

4.2.5. An attitude of tolerance

This theme is related to the prevalence of the word "tolérance" in the French news coverage, and words that are related in this context such as "patience."

Example 1 :

“Malgré le démantèlement d'Occupy Wall Street, Montréal a assuré, hier, maintenir sa politique de tolérance à l'égard des occupants du square Victoria”[1] (Normandin, 16 November 2011, p.A17).

Example 2:

“On a respecté les indignés, on leur a donné la possibilité de s'exprimer. On a été peut-être une des seules villes qui a été tolérante” [2] (Normandin & Benessaieh, 22 November 2011, p.A7).

Example 3:

> “La patience tire à sa fin: la Ville de Montréal a remis des avis écrits aux occupants du square Victoria, hier soir, pour leur intimer l'ordre de libérer l'espace public.”[3]
>
> […]
>
> “La période de tolérance est terminée. La Ville de Montréal ordonne formellement aux indignés de quitter le square” [4] (Larouche, 24 November, 2011, p.A7).

Example 4:

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[1] Despite the dismantlement of Occupy Wall Street, Montreal assured yesteday that it would maintain its politic of tolerance with respect to the occupants of Victoria Square.

[2] We respected the occupiers, we gave them the chance to express themselves. We were probably one of the only cities who were tolerant.

[3] Patience is nearing its end: the City of Montreal distributed written notices to the occupants of Victoria Square last night, ordering the release of the public space.

[4] The period of tolerance is over. The City of Montreal has formally asked protesters to quit the square.

"David Brown a tranché que tolérer la présence des occupants dans ce parc situé près de Bay Street, où plusieurs banques canadiennes ont leur siège social, signifierait approuver l'anarchie" [1] (Normandin & Benessaieh, 22 November 2011, p.A7).

These statements, issued primarily by city officials, are related to public order and safety. The protest can be tolerated insofar as it does not impose a threat. Similar to the English Language news coverage, tolerance should not be confused with acceptance, as tolerance has limits, and as it can be withdrawn. An attitude of tolerance can be favorable from a political standpoint, as it would suggest the city supports democracy, while at the same time remaining noncommittal. In the examples provided, patience and tolerance are described as drawing toward an end, suggesting the attitude toward the protesters tended toward annoyance for the most part.

In example 4, the presence of the protesters near financial establishments conspicuously juxtaposes anarchy and symbols of the economy. This is not described as apropos – seeing as these institutions were being criticized by protesters – but rather as an endorsement of the wrong values. In this example, we shouldn't tolerate a challenge to the system. Tolerance, then, can be passive annoyance, in the sense that the city is fed up

[1] David Brown indicated that tolerating the presence of occupiers in the park situated near Bay street, where numerous Canadian banks have their headquarters, signifies the approval of anarchy.

with people camping in the park. Tolerance can also be defensive, in the sense that we cannot tolerate the offensive nature of occupiers.

Summary:

The use of the word "tolerance" and related words such as "patience" express an attitude of annoyance toward Occupy, both in Montreal and elsewhere. This is a largely negative attitude; "tolerance" is not be confused with acceptance, or support, but rather – in a number of examples – describes a passive aggressive stance.

Section summary:

This thematic section has provided examples of themes that can be found throughout the sample. These themes exclude Occupy protesters by; suggesting they are separate from the rest of society (the microsociety theme); positioning them in relation to/as being distinct from the majority group; suggesting they are akin to other "undesirable" populations at various Occupy camps; and by expressing an attitude of annoyance. These themes provide broader examples of delegitimation, isolation, segregation and marginalization, all of which are characteristics of language that excludes.

Part 2A

Linguistic analysis

The previous "themes," as they were referred to, were recognized across the sample of news coverage collectively. These themes have been posited as situating a group of outsiders while occasionally gesturing toward the majority population or public safety and order. Four articles, two from each newspaper, have been selected for a close linguistic analysis. The criteria for selecting these articles include relevance to the study, i.e. to the subject of Occupy, while at the same time representing linguistic features that are observable in numerous articles across the entire sample. Though these articles are dense, in the sense that there is a lot of relevant material, the linguistic elements examined in these articles are not exceptional. A read through the sample will reveal that these lexical and grammatical elements are present throughout the coverage, though admittedly not always as abundantly as in these cases. The articles will be presented paragraph-by-paragraph, with accompanying analyses and explanations and with reference to exclusive mechanisms where applicable.

4.3.1.

Microanalysis: *The Gazette*, article 1

The first story selected for analysis is headlined "Occupiers defy mayor's request to leave; Dismayed at city; After a weekend marred by violence, mayor says he can't guarantee safety at site" (Rocha, 22 November 2011, p.A4).

Headline:

The headline opens up the possibility of conflict framing, in the sense that it would indicate a sequence that places civil disobedience against public safety, keeping in mind that a conflict frame pits an individual or group against another individual or group. The headline further suggests that the mayor's request is for the well being of the occupiers, seeing as how the safety in the encampment is described as being uncertain. The process "dismayed" in the phrase "dismayed at city" has the implied subject occupiers (the voicing is passive). The more assertive processes "request" and "guarantee" are associated with the mayor. The process "defy," associated with the occupiers, is reactive. Specifically, it is a reaction to the mayor's request. Considering this, the occupiers can be described as "patients," seeing as how the process associated with the agent "mayor" has affected them. This suggests that the agency (and power) resides with the authority "mayor."

Paragraph 1:

$\overbrace{\text{It's time for}}^{Desirability}$ $\overbrace{\text{Occupy Montreal}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{to find}}^{Process}$ a new way $\overbrace{\text{to deliver}}^{Process}$ their [sic] message. $\overbrace{\text{Five weeks into the occupation}}^{Circumstance}$, $\overbrace{\text{Mayor Gerald Tremblay}}^{Agent}$ $\overbrace{\text{asked}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{the campers}}^{Patient,}$ $\overbrace{\text{to leave}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{the People's Square}}^{Circumstance}$, previously known as Victoria Square.

Analysis and explanation:

The phrase "it's time for" expresses authorial/speaker desirability, as it suggests an authorial voice is saying, "I think that Occupy should…" This element of reporter commentary agrees with what is stated in the subsequent sentence that describes the agent "mayor Gerald Tremblay" as asking protesters to leave Victoria Square. Based on these two sentences, the impression is that the authorial voice agrees with the agent "mayor." A different way of phrasing the opening sentence without commentary is "Occupy Montreal has been asked […]." The first sentence further states that Occupy Montreal should engage in the process "deliver" in a new fashion. The previous method of enacting this process was through the occupation of public space and discourse. It is noted that the square has been renamed "the People's square," which describes the seizure of publicly held property (as in city-owned and operated), a move that is in keeping with anarchism. The desirability and processes expressed in the paragraph suggest the move is to revert back to the publicly held space "Victoria Square." The use of the word "new" is vague, in the sense that a new method could be almost anything. A "new" method of delivering their message could be private, if we accept that the "old" method was public.

The second sentence describes the circumstance "five weeks into the occupation," and the agent "Mayor Gerald Tremblay" who is associated with the processes "asked" and "leave." The affected participant is implied (the protesters) and the result (if applicable) is not described. The role of "agent" implies a certain amount of power, whereas "patient" describes an affected

human participant – keep in mind an affected non-human subject is referred to as an "affected participant." The power resides with the agent, in this case a municipal authority elected by "the people." It is worthwhile considering who is represented as initiating a process, seeing as how it is usually possible to communicate the same prepositional phrase with a different agent. In this first paragraph the actions of the protesters might have been featured, instead these actions are featured in a less prominent section of the story.

Another notable point is the use of the term "campers." Considering that for most word choices there are different possibilities, the use of "campers" is trivializing, and is inaccurate. It is inaccurate as it suggests the recreational activity "camping." Word choices such as this can contribute to an out-group identification, considering that trivialization has been established as a characteristic of exclusive language. Words like "activists" or "protesters" add more legitimacy, as these words suggest the occupiers are working toward social change and not simply engaging in recreational activities.

Paragraph 2:

$\overbrace{\text{Tremblay}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{had tolerated}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{the occupation}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{as long as}}^{Contingency}$ it $\overbrace{\text{remained}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{safe and clean.}}^{Attribute}$ After $\overbrace{\text{reports of violence and death threats}}^{Participant,\ Objects}$ $\overbrace{\text{over the}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{weekend}}^{Circ.}$ $\overbrace{\text{made}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{the front page of a city newspaper,}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{the mayor}}^{Actor/Sayer}$ $\overbrace{\text{said}}^{Process}$ that $\overbrace{\text{peace and security are no longer guaranteed}}^{Result}$ $\overbrace{\text{on the site.}}^{Circumstance}$

Analysis and explanation:

The text contains a number of words that have related meanings, they are: “safe,” “clean,” “peace” and “security.” Another chain can be formed based on the words “violence,” “death,” and “threats.” Should these two chains be combined, they form a chain of contrasting meaning: “peace/violence” “safe/threats” and so on. It is evident that these opposites represent opposing participants, the mayor and the occupation, respectively. Reports of violence and death at an encampment have produced the result “peace and security are no longer guaranteed.” As mentioned with respect to the headline, the assertion is that the mayor’s duty is to ensure public safety to the benefit of the occupiers, whose occupation has produced “violence and death.” It is very difficult to rebuke, or look past, this argument. Public safety trumps any claims to occupy public space or to demonstrate. This situates the participant “Tremblay” as exercising his authority in a reasonable way. It further situates the “campers” as posing a risk to society and to themselves.

Going further with this, there are two processes associated with the participant “Tremblay.” “Had tolerated” and “said” are both associated with the mayor. The participant “peace and security are no longer guaranteed” is a result marked initially by the preposition “after.” As a reminder, an object (such as a report) can be a participant, and in this case the process “made” associated with the participant “report” has produced this result. The actor (Mayor Tremblay), then, appears to be reactive, as opposed to provocative. As it is described in this paragraph, the limit of tolerance is safety and

cleanliness. Breaching this limit means that the city will no longer put up with the encampment. “Tolerance,” as has been discussed, can imply a begrudging attitude. “Tolerance” does not imply willingness, and “tolerance” is usually limited, a point that is demonstrated here.

Lastly, the non-mayor participants are objects or things, such as “the occupation” and “reports.” The mayor is the only animate participant in the paragraph. The process “said,” places him as an actor/sayer; this process is the most active of all the processes represented in this paragraph. As with the previous paragraph, the mayor appears powerful and in control, whereas the participants associated with Occupy are passive. The power dynamic, then, favors the mayor.

Paragraphs 3-5:

Sayer *Certainty* *Participant* *Process* *Modifier*
"I'm sure they will understand the need to act as quickly as possible,"
Actor/Sayer *Process* *Modifier* *Nominalization* *Process*
the mayor said in a cautiously worded statement, without giving deadlines or ultimatums.

Participant *Process* *Participant*
"The concerns of the occupiers were heard and the population in general
Process *Object* *Sayer* *Process*
shares their values of social justice and human dignity," Tremblay said.

Participant *Modality* *Pr.* *Circ.*
"All the efforts of the occupiers should not be in vain and end like in other
Circumstance
places in the world."

Analysis and explanation:

The words "values," "justice," and "dignity" represent intangible things. These intangibles are associated with the participant "occupiers." The sensory process "heard" is associated with the participant "the population in general," and the processes "giving" and "said (2)" are associated with the actor/sayer "Tremblay." The mayor is represented as being active, whereas the participant "the occupiers" are represented alongside the "values" they share with the "population in general." The distinction, then, is between observable action and "values" that are essentially ideals. Considering the difference is between actions taking place in the real world and the ideals of a particular group, the representation of the mayor is more commanding. Actions are easy to envision, compared to abstracts such as "dignity."

The paragraph contains the word "statement." The root of the word "statement" is the verb "state," making "statement" a nominal. Nominals often conceal processes; for example, "Tremblay states" is technically a clause, though it doesn't seem complete seeing as how "states" should have an object (i.e. what did he state? To whom did he state it?). In this verb form, it is necessary to describe what the actor stated, though in this case it can be gathered through context.

Paragraphs 6-8:

In an emergency meeting $\overbrace{\text{Monday night,}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{occupiers}}^{Actor/Sayer}$ $\overbrace{\text{said}}^{Process}$ they $\overbrace{\text{will defy}}^{Process}$ the request and $\overbrace{\text{discussed}}^{Process}$ a day of action $\overbrace{\text{this week}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{to show}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{public support}}^{Part./State}$ for $\overbrace{\text{the movement.}}^{Beneficiary}$

Many (Part.) were dismayed (Process) at the city (Actor) for reneging (Process) on a verbal agreement (Participant,Object / Nominalization) to leave (Process) the occupation (Participant) alone as long as (Contingency) it (Part.) complies (Process) with police and fire regulations.

"We (Part.) have met (Process) all the city's (Actor) requests (Process) on time," Jamie Richardson (Sayer) told (Process) a group of protesters (Patients) gathered (Process) at the Square Victoria metro station (Circumstance).

Analysis and explanation:

A lexical chain relative to the participant "occupiers" includes: "defy," "discussed," "action," "dismayed," "met" and "complies." "Defy," "dismayed," "met" and "complies" suggest a degree of reactivity or obedience. Words associated with the city or civic authorities include: "request," "reneging," "agreement" "requests" and "regulations" This word chain suggests an imposition ("request"), and a certain degree of authority ("regulations"). "Reneging" in the sentence modifies "agreement," suggesting the city is to blame for the "emergency meeting" and ensuing actions. Notably, the process "defy" is directed at the participant/object "the request," meaning it could reasonably be accorded the function of affected participant.

The power dynamic is evident in the fact that the city issues requests that occupiers must implement, and so represents the city as having a commanding role. The contingency "as long as," suggests that the occupation would be permitted if it met certain requirements, those requirements being

related to safety. The city's preoccupation is not with what the occupiers are protesting, but rather with ensuring the safety of the Occupy encampment. This makes the city authority appear paternalistic, in that they are looking out for the safety of the encampment and the surrounding area. It also makes the city appear reasonable; they are only trying to ensure security, they are not policing occupiers unnecessarily.

Paragraphs 9-12:

Participant *Process* *Actor* *Process*
The mayor's letter also comes after the occupiers spent $6,500 on eight army surplus tents *Process* *Process*
to take them through the winter. Those tents were to *Process* *Participant* *Process*
replace 18 wooden structures that the fire department saw as a fire hazard.

Participant *Process*
But some volunteers showed a lack of surprise immediately after the *Participant* *Process*
mayor's statement was released.

Part. *Pr.* *Part.* *Pr.* *Actor* *Process*
" We saw it coming because every other city is shutting down (their *Part.* *Pr.* *Pr.* *Sayer*
occupations). We're probably the last one," said Natasha Hynes.

Part. *Process* *Act.* *Pr.*
Nonetheless, she said, occupiers will remain defiant. "If they come in and *Pr.* *Act.* *Pr.*
take our stuff we'll go back," she said.

Part. *Mod.* *Process*
The occupiers can also count on union support. In a letter to members, *Part/ Sayer*
Gaetan Chateauneuf, president of the central council for metropolitan

Montreal at CSN, $\overbrace{\text{said}}^{Pr.}$ that if $\overbrace{\text{the city}}^{Act.}$ $\overbrace{\text{makes a move}}^{Process}$ on the occupation, he $\overbrace{\text{will call}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{on workers}}^{Act.}$ $\overbrace{\text{to protest}}^{Process}$ at $\overbrace{\text{Victoria Square}}^{Circumstance}$.

Analysis and explanation:

The suggestion is that the occupiers had followed the requests of the city, having replaced potentially hazardous wooden structures. This compliance has led to the claim that the city has "reneged" on its agreement, though the reason for evicting the occupiers isn't hazardous material but rather, as mentioned in the opening paragraph, reports of violence and death at other Occupy encampments. An occupier is quoted as saying every other city has shut down its Occupy encampments, and that the city of Montreal has simply followed suit. This suggests the city of Montreal considered extraneous factors, such as reports of violence and death, but also the example set by other cities. It could be that the crackdown on Occupy camps in most cities justifies Montreal's plans to do the same.

Interestingly, a worker union (the CSN) expressed solidarity with the occupiers. A worker union is a kind of mobilization that is related to old social movements, as has been previously discussed. Arguably, the CSN's support adds legitimacy to the Occupy movement, seeing as the CSN is an institutional force that has both history and a sizeable number of members. If this story were to be rewritten, the CSN's initiative could be placed more prominently, with the details and reasons related to union support provided in the body of the text.

Paragraph 13:

$\overbrace{\text{The mayor's}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{request came}}^{Process}$ as $\overbrace{\text{the occupation}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{deals}}^{Process}$ with an internal crisis of its own. $\overbrace{\text{An article}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{in La Presse}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{detailing}}^{Process}$ violent confrontations $\overbrace{\text{over the weekend}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{prompted}}^{Result}$ $\overbrace{\text{a group of volunteers}}^{Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{to quit}}^{Pr./Result}$ the movement in frustration. Although $\overbrace{\text{no one}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{denies}}^{Process}$ the incidents of violence they say $\overbrace{\text{the article}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{distorted}}^{Process}$ the facts.

Analysis and explanation:

A lexical chain located in this paragraph is comprised of: "crisis," "violent," "frustration," "incidents" and "violence." This chain suggests that conflict and danger are meaningful categories. Furthermore, the assertion that the mayor's request comes on the heels of an "internal" crisis at Occupy Montreal elicits the microsociety theme. It can be suggested that if the camp is "internal" then the city authority, and presumably most of society, would be considered "external," suggesting the notion of bounded space. The mayor, then, poses an external threat (implied), while incidents within the encampment pose an internal threat (explicitly stated). This promotes exclusion in the sense that the population of occupiers can be thought of as segmented, to such an extent that they appear to be semi-autonomous.

With respect to prominence, the phrase describing the mayor's action is situated in the syntactic left-hand position, meaning it is the first thing we read. The "internal crisis" isn't the subject of the sentence, but rather an object. As it was described in the methodology, location in a sentence can

serve as a type of emphasis. Though the word “as” indicates an equally ranked clause, the mayor’s request comes first. This emphasizes the mayor’s request, and suggests that the mayor’s request is more important than the “internal crisis” taking place at Occupy Montreal.

Paragraphs 14-15:

In response, $\overbrace{\text{another group}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{held}}^{Process}$ a press conference on $\overbrace{\text{Monday afternoon}}^{Circumstance}$ to $\overbrace{\text{control}}^{Process}$ the damage. $\overbrace{\text{They}}^{Sayer}$ $\overbrace{\text{said}}^{Pr.}$ $\overbrace{\text{the movement}}^{Participants}$ $\overbrace{\text{is ready}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{to evolve}}^{Process}$ from an occupation to an active political force which will take "direct action aimed at $\overbrace{\text{the actors who control finance, politics, and the economy}}^{Participant}$.

What these $\overbrace{\text{actions}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{will be were}}^{Process/Mod.}$ not revealed since $\overbrace{\text{the occupiers}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{want to maintain}}^{Process}$ a "certain level of mystery," $\overbrace{\text{Hynes}}^{Sayer}$ $\overbrace{\text{said}}^{Process}$ at $\overbrace{\text{the conference.}}^{Circumstance}$ But they $\overbrace{\text{could}}^{Modality}$ include flash mobs, marches, sit-ins and publicity stunts.

Analysis and explanation:

In the first sentence, the participants are described in relation to processes described by modal verbs; this has the effect of making any result presumptive/desirable but not definite. “Flash mobs, marches, sit-ins and publicity stunts” have not been accorded the function of result, since the process associated with the participant “occupiers” could (“could” being

another modal process) produce this result, meaning other results are also conceivable.

The text mentions that "another group" held a press conference. This could also be taken as implying levels of social organization, or division, within the camp. The participants in this paragraph are occupiers, or related to Occupy. This represents the occupiers as having more agency and as being assertive in a number of ways. The processes "held" "evolve" and "said" are examples of processes that are more active, or that imply action.

The paragraph further notes that Occupy could be looking to evolve into an active political force. Technically, a movement is a non-institutional political force. Perhaps "active political force" indicates a move toward institutionalization. If this were the case, it would be beneficial to express this point, as it adds legitimacy. It is also interesting to consider that a worker union, such as the CSN, is the result of institutionalization. If this detail were mentioned in the story, it would have added coherence and insight.

Paragraphs 16-18:

"The point of the movement $\overset{Pr.}{\overbrace{\text{is}}}$ not the camp, $\overset{Part.}{\overbrace{\text{the camp}}}$ $\overset{Pr.}{\overbrace{\text{is}}}$ a symbol. It $\overset{Pr.}{\overbrace{\text{provided}}}$ us with connections and a voice. Now $\overset{Part.}{\overbrace{\text{we}}}$ $\overset{Pr.}{\overbrace{\text{have}}}$ to $\overset{Process}{\overbrace{\text{communicate}}}$ with the public," Hynes added.

$\overset{Participant}{\overbrace{\text{This press conference}}}$ $\overset{Pr.}{\overbrace{\text{is}}}$ unusual in the history of the movement, since $\overset{Part.}{\overbrace{\text{no one}}}$ $\overset{Process}{\overbrace{\text{is allowed to speak}}}$ on behalf of the group, only voice their personal

opinions. This angered $\overbrace{\text{a large number of occupiers}}^{Participant}$ who $\overbrace{\text{were not informed}}^{Process}$ of the decision $\overbrace{\text{to speak}}^{Pr.}$ to the press.

"Those who $\overbrace{\text{founded}}^{Pr.}$ the occupation do not $\overbrace{\text{own}}^{Pr.}$ the occupation," Richardson said at the emergency meeting $\overbrace{\text{Monday night}}^{Circumstance}$.

Analysis and explanation:

The microsociety theme is evident in the sentence describing the angry reaction of occupiers to the press conference held by several members, speaking to an internal conflict among occupiers. This was referred to previously as an "internal crisis." The assertion that occupiers need to "communicate with the public" suggests a discord between occupiers and the general public, suggesting an us/them distinction. This situates, and distinguishes, between the occupiers and the general public. It was noted previously that a number of words associated with the occupiers were abstracts, such as "dignity" and justice." These paragraphs contain more abstract elements; the camp is referred to as a "symbol," and it is stated that "those who founded the occupation do not own the occupation," suggesting the occupation is an idea, not a thing. Abstracts are more difficult to place than concrete events, making the latter more compelling. This contributes a certain degree of mysticism to the participant "the camp."

Paragraph 19:

$\overbrace{\text{Until recently,}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{Occupy Montreal}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{enjoyed}}^{Process}$ amicable relations with $\overbrace{\text{the city and the police.}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{Inspectors}}^{Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{performed}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{daily}}^{Circ.}$ $\overbrace{\text{inspections}}^{Nominalization}$ and made $\overbrace{\text{recommendations,}}^{Nominalization}$ which $\overbrace{\text{the occupiers}}^{Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{enacted.}}^{Process/Result}$ However, after $\overbrace{\text{erecting}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{several wooden structures}}^{Affected\ Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{to prepare}}^{Process}$ for $\overbrace{\text{the winter months,}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{the city}}^{Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{ordered}}^{Process}$ them down, $\overbrace{\text{citing}}^{Process}$ fire hazards.

Analysis and explanation:

The participant "occupiers" is presented in the syntactic right of the sentence, whereas the actor "inspectors" is in the syntactic left. This result is the actor is more prominent, whereas the actor "occupiers" are described as reactive. The result "enacted" has come about after the actor "inspectors" made recommendations.

The third sentence gives the initial impression that there is only one actor in the sentence (the city) though the process (as action) "erecting" has an implied actor – the implied actor being "occupiers." This, again, gives prominence and agency to the actor "the city" while forgoing an explicit mention of the actor "occupiers." Of further note are the two nominalizations in the second sentence, "inspections" and "recommendations." The words can be broken down into the following morphological units: inspect + ion + s and recommend + ation + s. The bases of both words are verbs. As nouns, however, the information pertaining to (1) what was inspected? (2) what was

recommended, and whom was it recommended to? goes unexpressed, though it can be ascertained from the context.

Paragraphs 20-21:

Occupiers^{Participant} are$^{Pr.}$ also unhappy with the city^{Actor} for refusing to^{Process} help$^{Pr.}$ with the drug and alcohol problem. The free food, clothing, and shelter^{Participant} offered^{Process} by the camp^{Actor} has drawn$^{Process/Result}$ many of the city's homeless and mentally ill.$^{Particiant/Beneficiary}$ Intoxication among them$^{Part.}$ regularly leads^{Process} to confrontations,^{Nominalization} which camp volunteers^{Actor} must spend^{Process} time defusing.^{Process}

" We$^{Part.}$ 're$^{Pr.}$ disappointed that the city$^{Part.}$ won't help^{Process} us find^{Process} the resources^{Object} we need to help^{Process} the people$^{Part.}$ here,$^{Circ.}$" Hynes$^{Part./Sayer}$ added.^{Process} "They$^{Part.}$ 're$^{Pr.}$ on the street^{Circumstance} for lack of resources that the city$^{Part.}$ should^{Modality} be providing.^{Process}"

Analysis and explanation:

The lexical field that includes "drug," "alcohol," "homeless," "mentally," "ill," "intoxication," suggests that deviance/criminality is a meaningful category. The use of this category is overt, seeing as how the paragraph focuses predominantly on the presence of the homeless, drug users and those described as having alcohol problems. These groups have no agency in the text, seeing as how they are not quoted or paraphrased, but rather are spoken of. The occupiers are represented as either doing or being

something, whereas the homeless, drug users, and those with alcohol problems are differentiated in name only. This suggests that these groups are related, encouraging the impression that one group comes with the others. Though the occupiers have more agency, there is a degree of exclusion by association. The occupiers belong to the same space as the homeless, drug users and those with alcohol problems.

The first sentence describes the occupiers using the emotion "unhappy" whereas the action "refusing" is associated with "city." This makes the former a participant, described by a state, and the latter an actor, seeing as how a concrete action is associated with the participant "city." The difference is that one participant (the occupiers) is being something, whereas the other is doing something (the city). The process "refuse" describes the power relationship; one party (the occupiers) asks (implied) and the other party (the city) either agrees or refuses. In this case, the city has refused. The services that the city should provide to the homeless, as articulated by one of the occupiers, suggest that both groups have been denied resources, which gives them something in common.

On a positive note, the process "defusing," associated with the actor "camp volunteers," is an active process and offers a differentiation between occupiers and the homeless. This active process is a change from the more abstract processes or attributions that have been found throughout the story.

Summary:

It is evident throughout the story that the city is usually represented as being the actor, and the occupiers often as reactors, or passive participants. This representation favors the city, as the agency resides with them for the most part. The power relationship, considered with respect to processes and other word or word groups associated with both participants, represents the city as being more commanding, and as a result more powerful. In this regard, the occupiers are represented as having less of a role to play in matters that would directly affect them and their cause.

It has been observed that occupiers are occasionally associated with abstracts, such as "justice," and at one point the encampment itself is likened to a symbol. In addition, the occupiers are described with respect to certain states, such as "unhappy" and "frustrated." These suggest thoughts, ideals and states of being. These are not quite the same as actions, which are more palpable, and as result, more compelling.

Two of the word chains provided describe criminality at the camp. In addition, the homeless population and drug users are described as migrating to Occupy Montreal. This encourages an association between the "campers" as they are referred to in a defamatory sense and other out-group members. This draws attention away from the purpose of the encampment and focuses it on the encampment itself.

The encampment was described as a microsociety, as indicated by the "internal conflict" within the encampment, and explanations related this internal conflict. In addition, it was noted that initiatives were being taken to

communicate with the general population. This proposes a distinction between occupiers, whose society is experiencing a crisis, and the rest of the population, that occupy members are trying to communicate with.

The mechanisms of exclusion at work are lexical, as a protest site is reduced to a recreational campsite, and several lexical fields suggest that criminality and homelessness are meaningful categories. The notion that out-groups are somehow separate from the rest of society suggests a divide between "them" and "us." This is evident in the fact that the "campers" are dealing with other groups within the encampment, while simultaneously trying to appeal to the general public.

Furthermore, the agency favors the city regularly, making the occupiers appear passive. The passive state of the occupiers is evident in words and processes that suggest the occupiers are thinkers, or feelers, but not actors who are part of the real world. Considering these words and process, and the type "campers," it seems reasonable to propose a latent bohemian/hippie categorization, furthering an out-group designation.

4.3.2.

Microanalysis: *The Gazette*, article 2

The second article selected for analysis is entitled "Anarchy, it seems, is overrated; Montreal occupation has become dysfunctional village of homeless, bohemians and frustrated idealists" (Curran, 15 November, 2011, p.A7).

Headline:

Please see the analysis of paragraphs 4-5, as the headline was taken from these paragraphs.

Paragraph 1:

$\overbrace{\text{Don't look now,}}^{Address}$ but $\overbrace{\text{the zeitgeist}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{is shifting.}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{Maybe}}^{Modality}$ it was $\overbrace{\text{the Occupy camp}}^{Actor}$ that $\overbrace{\text{elected}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{a border collie}}^{Participant}$ as its leader, or the $\overbrace{\text{death}}^{Nom.}$ of $\overbrace{\text{a 23 - year - old woman}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{in Vancouver}}^{Circumstance}$ of a drug overdose, or reports of an alleged[1] sexual $\overbrace{\text{assault}}^{Process}$ in $\overbrace{\text{Philadelphia}}^{Circumstance}$, but $\overbrace{\text{the occupation}}^{Participant}$ has been $\overbrace{\text{steadily losing}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{its cool.}}^{Object}$

Analysis and explanation:

The paragraph discredits the Occupy movement by describing criminality, death and absurdity in relation to various encampments. A lexical chain that contains words with similar meanings includes: "drug," "overdose," "sexual" and "assault." Collectively, these words can be placed according to criminality, as they can be understood as criminal in certain contexts. The use of "sexual assault" is vague, a point brought up in the thematic review of criminality in *La Presse*. The term "assault" is a serious allegation that covers a broad area of physical abuse. By using the term "sexual assault" it is possible to assume this refers to the worst kind of sexual assault, whether or not this is the case. The story also presents a "what"

[1] Adjective with verb morpheme: "allege"

definition in the way of "a 23-year-old woman" who died of a drug overdose. We can think of this woman according to the type "drug user."

The text notes an Occupy camp elected a border collie as its leader. Without further explanation this appears absurd. The election of a border collie as leader was likely symbolic, as the Occupy movement didn't have leadership, but instead favored horizontal democracy. The sentence could have stated why Occupiers elected a border collie, and in so doing make it seem less farcical.

Notably, the tone taken in this paragraph is paternalistic, and the style is somewhat colloquial. The opening "don't look now" can be labeled with the function "address," as it would suggest an implied speaker is telling someone not to look. This further constitutes an "us" "them" distinction considering that the authorial voice is asking "us" not too look at "them." All of these elements reduce the subject "occupiers" to a strange group, whose encampment seems to invite criminal behavior. This is used to justify the remark that the "zeitgeist" of Occupy could be shifting, as these are all elements that contribute to the dysfunction of the village.

Paragraph 2:

$\overbrace{\text{A month after}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{tent cities}}^{Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{sprung up}}^{Process}$ throughout $\overbrace{\text{the Western world}}^{Circumstance}$ as $\overbrace{\text{sympathetic}}^{State}$ satellites of the Occupy Wall Street movement, $\overbrace{\text{authorities}}^{Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{are impatient}}^{State}$ and $\overbrace{\text{calling}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{the cops.}}^{Obj.}$

Analysis and explanation:

Notably the actor "authorities" is associated with a mental state (being impatient) and an action ("calling"). The term impatient is of further significance with respect to the tolerance theme (i.e. "authorities" are no longer tolerant). The lexical choice "tent cities" evokes the microsociety theme explicitly, and through the circumstance "the Western World" describes where these cities have appeared. The process "sprung up" is somewhat provocative, as it suggests speed and unexpectedness, a more neutral term would be "appeared throughout."

Paragraph 3:

Down at $\overbrace{\text{Victoria Square}}^{CIrcumstance}$, even $\overbrace{\text{the don't} - \text{call} - \text{me} - \text{a} - \text{leader leaders}}^{Actor}$ of Occupy Montreal sound like they $\overbrace{\text{would}}^{Modality}$ welcome an excuse $\overbrace{\text{to decamp}}^{Process}$, so $\overbrace{\text{weary}}^{State}$ are they with $\overbrace{\text{keeping the peace and doing the dishes}}^{Process}$ while $\overbrace{\text{others}}^{Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{hang out or get high.}}^{Process}$

Analysis and explanation:

In functional grammar, sensory stimulus is often coded as "phenomenon." For example, if a phrase reads "to hear him coming," "hear" is a sensory process, and "him coming" is the phenomenon. The use of "sound" in this sentence is worth considering. It has not been coded due to the fact that it does not appear to be literal, though it bears a similar functional relationship. If "sound" were hypothetically coded as a phenomenon, then it would stand to reason that someone has sensed the stimulus. This posits an "us" "them" dynamic, in the sense that "they" are

making a sound and an implied listener has sensed it. The participant whose mental process could hypothetically "hear" the stated phenomenon avoids subjectivity.

The paragraph furthers the sense of paternalism; referring to some occupiers as "don't call me a leader leaders" is condescending and cynical. It is possible to infer an element of the microsociety theme; "keeping the peace" suggests "policing and/or security" and "doing the dishes" elicits the "soup kitchen" scene that was previously described. It also suggests a certain degree of hierarchy within the encampment, there are the "don't call me a leader leaders" and then there are those who "hang out or get high." It can be suggested that the problem some of "us" have with the occupiers, i.e. that they aren't activists, but are rather "hanging out," is a problem occupiers are described as having within their own encampment.

Paragraphs 4-5:

"Maybe $\overset{Part.}{\widetilde{\text{we}}}$ $\overbrace{\text{are on the verge of realizing}}^{Process}$ that we'$\overset{Pr.}{\widetilde{\text{re}}}$ not ready to have no leadership [sic]." $\overbrace{\text{Felix Saint} - \text{Laurent}}^{Sayer}$ $\overset{Pr.}{\widetilde{\text{told}}}$ $\overbrace{\text{The Gazette's Roberto Rocha}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{last week.}}^{Circumstance}$

$\overbrace{\text{Anarchy,}}^{Partipant}$ $\overbrace{\text{it seems}}^{Modality}$, $\overset{Pr.}{\widetilde{\text{is}}}$ overrated. Even with $\overbrace{\text{the shelter}}^{Participant}$ of Mountain Equipment Coop tents, $\overbrace{\text{hot meals}}^{Participant}$ and the blessing of an improbably $\overbrace{\text{dry and balmy November,}}^{Force}$ $\overbrace{\text{the Montreal occupation}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{has become}}^{Process}$ a

$\overbrace{\text{dysfunctional village of the homeless and mentally ill, born} - \text{again bohemians}}^{Participant,Object}$

and $\overbrace{\overbrace{\text{frustrated}}^{Nom.}}^{Part.,Obj.}$ idealists.

Analysis and explanation:

The use of "it seems" has been coded as modality; of the three types of modality specified by Fowler (truth, desirability and obligation) "it seems" expresses truth, remembering that truth indicates certainty or some degree of certainty. To make this clear, "it seems" is a less certain degree of "it is." Modality typically indicates authorial/speaker commentary; considering this, the authorial voice is expressing an opinion. With respect to the second sentence, the text describes what could be considered a result, noting that the city "has become a dysfunctional village of…" Since there is no observable participant who caused this result, this has not been labeled one. This participant/result could also be labeled "beneficiary," if we agree that the types "homeless" and "mentally ill" are the beneficiaries of the shelter and hot meals.

There is quite a bit to discuss with respect to lexical choice. The lexical choice "born-again bohemians" suggests veteran activists who sympathize with the Occupy cause, as the use of "born-again" suggests they have been "bohemian" at some earlier point. It could, contrarily, suggest new converts to bohemianism. The use of "bohemian" suggests an artistic, unconventional lifestyle – akin to "hippie" as it is used in this context. In terms of lexical choice, this has a delegitimizing effect; a term such as

"repeat activists" would be more favorable, as there is less room for interpretation, and less in the way of negative connotations. The term "frustrated idealists," again, presumably refers to the protesters themselves. Considering that "frustrated idealists" is a distinct category of protester, who likely haven't demonstrated before, the "idealists" could refer to those participating in a demonstration for the first time. The adjective used to describe these protesters is "frustrated." The morphological units are frustrate + d, making the root a verb. As an adjective, or process, this describes a mental state, and arguably this particular emotional state suggests a degree of irrationality. The term "idealist" is positive in the sense that it matches a perception of what is most suitable, or perfect, but arguably suggests a degree of irrationality seeing as how the occupiers are idealistic, as opposed to realistic. Idealistic further connotes naïveté, and so suggest that the occupiers are naïve. This idealism would further explain the attribute "frustrated," seeing as how ideals can easily be frustrated by reality. The types "homeless and mentally ill" are also listed, and at this sentence level are closely tied with the protesters themselves, further suggesting their shared membership in the out-group tied to the "dysfunctional village." Notably, "homeless and mentally" constitutes a "what" definition in the respect that these titles describe "what" these populations are, without describing specifics related to "who" these people are. At this juncture, then, the groups are described using mostly non-specific, anonymous terms.

Paragraph 6-7:

$\overbrace{\text{So why}}^{Modality}$ $\overbrace{\text{are}}^{Pr.}$ $\overbrace{\text{they}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{still there}}^{Process}$ and $\overbrace{\text{why}}^{Mod.}$ $\overbrace{\text{has}}^{Pr.}$ $\overbrace{\text{the city}}^{Agent}$ $\overbrace{\text{been}}^{Pr.}$ so reluctant $\overbrace{\text{to order}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{them}}^{Patient}$ $\overbrace{\text{out or tear}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{the encampment}}^{Affected\ Part.}$ down?

$\overbrace{\text{You}}^{Address}$ $\overbrace{\text{can bet}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{that if}}^{Mod.}$ $\overbrace{\text{the street people}}^{Participant}$ who $\overbrace{\text{congregate}}^{Process}$ at $\overbrace{\text{Cabot Square}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{every night}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{had}}^{Pr./Mod.}$ the wherewithal and mental clarity $\overbrace{\text{to set up}}^{Process}$ tents and $\overbrace{\text{bring in}}^{Pr.}$ a generator, $\overbrace{\text{city hall}}^{Agent}$ $\overbrace{\text{would not}}^{Modality}$ $\overbrace{\text{have wasted}}^{Process}$ an hour $\overbrace{\text{telling}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{folks}}^{Patient}$ who make up society's truly disenfranchised to $\overbrace{\text{move along.}}^{Process}$

Analysis and explanation:

Though “the city” has been coded as agent twice, it should be noted that the actions “order” and “tell” are hypothetical. In the first instance, “order” is embedded in an interrogative clause, and the latter “tell” after a modal verb (“would”).

After reading paragraphs 6 and 7, it becomes clear that the first sentence, in context, is actually a statement that is masked as an interrogative clause. The pronoun “they” in this sentence refers to the occupiers; the text implies that occupiers are street people that have not been encouraged to “move along,” and suggests that this is the typical recourse when dealing with the “truly disenfranchised.” The term “street people” is a generalization, in that it presents a monolithic category into which an assortment of types can be housed. Street people can include anything from the homeless to sex workers. The generalization extends to the term “truly disenfranchised.” This

term could suggest "catastrophic rupture" from society, a term given by Room, as cited earlier. The adverb "truly" suggests the level of disenfranchisement is significant, and possibly even "catastrophic." The use of the word is abstract, in the sense that "truly" isn't specific. A less abstract term, in this instance, would be "most disenfranchised." The use of "truly" could also suggest that the occupiers are not "truly" disenfranchised. A further abstraction comes in the use of the word "wasted;" the phrase suggests that the city doesn't usually "waste" time telling street people to move along, though the city is "wasting" its time with the occupiers. "Wasting" could be the city's willingness to allow the protest to continue (i.e. waste in a passive sense), or wasting could be in the sense that the city has wasted resources (such as police surveillance).

The text further suggests a distinction between the in-group and out-group in the form of a direct address, "You can bet" addresses the readership, as distinguished from "they" and "street people." The "you" does not include the occupiers. This address also serves as another example of the casual, paternalistic tone the story uses. And so, in addition to a conception of bounded space, expressed in the term "dysfunctional village," the address offers a distinction between the in-group and the out-group.

Paragraph 8-9:

Modality *Circumstance* *Actor*
Why the double standard at Occupy Montreal, where even organizers
Process *Process* *Process*
confess they sometimes need to take a day or two off to sleep in a real bed

or $\overbrace{\text{go to}}^{Process}$ work or school? $\overbrace{\text{Sort of like}}^{Modality}$ a $\overbrace{\text{hunger striker}}^{Participant}$ who has the occasional $\overbrace{\text{lapse}}^{Pr.}$ at Burger King.

When the $\overbrace{\text{Occupy movement}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{bloomed}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{on Wall Street in late summer,}}^{Circumstance}$ then $\overbrace{\text{spread}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{in October}}^{Circumstance}$ from $\overbrace{\text{Newark to New Zealand,}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{lots of people}}^{Agent}$ $\overbrace{\text{were prepared to cut}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{protesters}}^{Patient}$ some slack. $\overbrace{\text{Naive, perhaps,}}^{Commentary}$ but $\overbrace{\text{they}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{were}}^{Pr.}$ $\overbrace{\text{young and enthusiastic,}}^{Attributes}$ $\overbrace{\text{their}}^{Part.}$ hearts were pure, their dreams of financial and social equality noble at a time when $\overbrace{\text{the gap}}^{Part.}$ between rich and poor $\overbrace{\text{was becoming}}^{Process}$ a canyon.

Analysis and explanation:

Paragraph eight is an interrogative clause, beginning with "why the double standard […]." The commentary "Sort of like" expresses a degree of truth, though not complete certainty ("it is like" would suggest greater certainty).

The lexical field "naïve," "young" "enthusiastic," "pure," "dreams," and "noble" in the second paragraph, all attributed to occupiers and their movement, suggest states of being (e.g. mindsets, including young in the sense of "young at heart"). States of being are abstract, they are ideas, and are not the same as actions that happen in the physical world. The field also suggests a paternalistic tone, as the authorial voice has suggested that occupiers can be forgiven their youth and naïveté. The same paragraph

acknowledges the public as the agent (associated with the process "to cut"). This offers a distinction between those described by the lexical field listed, and who might benefit from being cut some slack, and those who are cutting the slack. Notably, the term "cut some slack" describes a level of permissibility; though this is not qualified, it is worth considering with respect to the tolerance theme. "The public was sympathetic toward the protesters" would be a plausible re-write that doesn't communicate permission, though this re-write still offers an "us" and "them" distinction.

Of further note, metaphors and figures of speech are a component of framing. In this paragraph, the simile "like a hunger striker who has the occasional lapse at Burger King" effectively cheapens and trivializes the occupiers. It suggests the occupiers are hypocrites and is in keeping with the paternalism of the story. Lastly, the occupiers are represented with the process "confess," suggesting that taking time away from the encampment is wrong, seeing as how we usually "confess" our guilt. This offers a sort of judgment, though the representation suggests that the occupiers are offering it themselves, seeing as how they are supposedly confessing.

Paragraphs 10-11:

$\overbrace{\text{Those aspirations}}^{Participant}$ for a fairer, kinder, more environmentally friendly world, where $\overbrace{\text{everyone}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{has access}}^{Process}$ to health care and education is affordable, $\overbrace{\overbrace{\text{are still}}^{Pr.}\ \text{beautiful.}}^{Commentary}$

It's simply not clear how any of that $\overbrace{\text{will}}^{Mod.}$ $\overbrace{\text{be achieved}}^{Process}$ by a movement with such blurry objectives, where $\overbrace{\text{no one}}^{Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{wants to take}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{the helm}}^{Part./Obj.}$ in the battle to $\overbrace{\text{make change}}^{Participant}$ happen.

Analysis and explanation:

Notably, anarchy is elicited once more, not through an explicit mention, but rather through the assertion that there is no one at the "helm." This is framed as a problem, rather than as an ideal, i.e. the ideal of horizontal democracy. These paragraphs offer a significant amount of commentary; in both instances the commentary offered refers to truth. The first truth statement is that the "Aspirations… are beautiful" which would suggests a high level of certainty. With respect to paragraph 11, the statement offered is essentially: The protesters *will not* achieve their goals because their objectives are blurry, and their leadership is lacking. This too offers a level of certainty, and suggests the presence of commentary.

Paragraphs 12-15:

$\overbrace{\text{Writing}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{in The Atlantic}}^{Circumstance}$, $\overbrace{\text{Dominic Tierney}}^{Actor/\,Sayer}$ $\overbrace{\text{said}}^{Pr.}$ $\overbrace{\text{the U. S. Occupy movement}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{has}}^{Pr.}$ an image problem.

"$\overbrace{\text{Occupy Wall Street}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{is}}^{Pr.}$ at a fork in the road," $\overbrace{\text{said}}^{Pr.}$ $\overbrace{\text{Tierney}}^{Sayer}$, who $\overbrace{\text{teaches}}^{Pr.}$ political science $\overbrace{\text{at Swarthmore College.}}^{Circumstnace}$ $\overbrace{\text{"One path}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{leads}}^{Pr.}$ to political change, as $\overbrace{\text{the movement}}^{Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{pushes}}^{Pr.}$ the centre of gravity in American politics

to the left. $\overbrace{\text{The other path}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{leads}}^{Pr.}$ to irrelevance or even harm for the progressive project."

$\overbrace{\text{He}}^{Sayer}$ $\overbrace{\text{suggested}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{American protesters}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{begin}}^{Pr.}$ by $\overbrace{\text{waving}}^{Pr.}$ the flag to $\overbrace{\text{demonstrate}}^{Process}$ their left-wing demands $\overbrace{\text{are}}^{Pr.}$ as red-white-and-blue as anything the right-wing $\overbrace{\text{Tea Party}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{has to offer}}^{Proces}$.

"$\overbrace{\text{Unless OWS}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{understands}}^{Pr.}$ the power of symbols, $\overbrace{\text{the American Autumn}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{will be followed}}^{Process}$ by a winter of discontent."

Analysis and explanation:

These paragraphs offer a change from preceding sections, as they feature a series of quotations from an American scholar. Quotations from the scholar are used to interpret the situation, and to justify what the authorial voice has been suggesting up to this point. There have been no direct quotations from the occupiers themselves, describing, for example, what Occupy should do to remain relevant. The voices of the occupiers themselves are absent, and so they are excluded from the discussion.

Some of the language is more inclusive, such as “American protesters” and “American Autumn,” alluding to the Arab Spring, and the Occupy movement is described as a political force, suggesting legitimacy.

The metaphorical language used throughout these paragraphs, and the assertion that Occupy should harness the power of symbolism, is in keeping

with the representation of Occupy as a thought or state rather than as something that is real and happening.

Paragraph 16:

$\overbrace{\text{Here in Montreal, sometime very soon}}^{Cricumstance}$ – when the $\overbrace{\text{snow falls}}^{Force}$ and $\overbrace{\text{makes}}^{Process}$ tent life unbearable or when $\overbrace{\text{something unfortunate}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{happens,}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{the mayor}}^{Agent}$ $\overbrace{\overbrace{\text{will}}^{Mod.}}^{Process}$ decide he's had enough and $\overbrace{\text{Montreal police}}^{Agent}$ $\overbrace{\overbrace{\text{will}}^{Mod.}}^{Process}$ pull the plug on $\overbrace{\text{that untidy open – air party at}}^{Affected\ Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{Victoria Square.}}^{Circumstance}$

Analysis and explanation:

The excerpt provides some evidence of commentary, the relative use of the adverb "when," stating when X then Y, marks a dependency. The main clause (beginning with "the mayor"…) is embedded in the syntactic right-hand position (where, more customarily, objects are placed). The use of the modal verb "will" is at the very least presumptuous, and, arguably, expresses truth commentary. Certainty is offered in the comment "when something unfortunate happens," as opposed to a less certain statement such as "if something unfortunate happens."

With respect to lexical choice, "had enough" can be considered the limit of patience/tolerance, especially considering the precedence set by "cut some slack," as discussed earlier. The lexical choices "untidy open-air party" suggests a bohemian/hippie gathering, as forwarded previously. The fact that it is "open-air" suggests it is public, as it is outside. The attribute "untidy" is

in keeping with the attitude expressed throughout the story. A more neutral term that could have been used is "the encampment." These word choices contribute to a conception of the type being referred to as hippies, not activists, and the protest cite as being a recreational spot. This delegitimizes the protesters and their protest cite.

Paragraphs 17-18:

Only then $\overbrace{\text{will}}^{Mod.}$ $\overbrace{\text{we}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{know}}^{Process}$ what, if anything, $\overbrace{\text{Montreal's Occupy}}^{Particiant}$ movement $\overbrace{\text{stands for,}}^{Process}$ and whether $\overbrace{\text{protesters}}^{Actor}$ who've $\overbrace{\text{spent}}^{Process}$ a $\overbrace{\text{month on the pavement}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{have}}^{Proces}$ enough steam left $\overbrace{\text{to push}}^{Process}$ for the changes they desire.

Here's a good start: roll up the sleeping bags; fold up the tents; pick up the garbage; write a letter; vote, do something.

Analysis and explanation:

The commentary can once again be categorized as "truth" in the respect that the end of the encampment will reveal, with a level of certainty, what Occupy meant and what those affiliated with the movement will do. The initial remark of "will we" could refer to the readership, but plausibly society in general – though there is a distinction between what "we" will know and what "protesters" have done and will continue to do. This suggests a distinction between "us" and "them."

The final paragraph consists of verbs and objects, and an implied addressee; this addressee is told they should "roll up," "fold up," "pick up," and "vote." The process associated with the participant "we" is the mental

state of "knowing." The difference in process type suggests that one party is in the privileged position of observer, while the other is providing the information that is being observed. It can further be observed that the positive statement "do something" implies that demonstrating isn't considered "doing something." Lastly, the circumstance mentioned ("on the pavement") is in keeping with the "street people" type mentioned previously, eliciting a delegitimizing type.

Summary:

Keeping in mind that Curran is a columnist, and columnists provide commentary, it is clear that the attitude expressed toward the subject "occupiers" is condescending. The tone is paternalistic, and suggests, at several points, that the authorial voice "knows better." The tone itself is exclusive, on the basis of delegitimization.

Descriptive acts of exclusion include the assertion that occupiers are "street people," and the suggestion that Montreal occupiers be managed just as the "truly disenfranchised" are managed, by being told to "move along." Aspects of the type "street people" are elicited when the text notes that occupiers "spent a month on the pavement," which given the precedence feeds into the "street people" category. This is exclusive as it conforms to an existing understanding of the out-group "street people." Further descriptive elements that contribute to a conception of an out-group involve the representation of the encampment as an "untidy open-air party," criminality and danger (the death of a drug user) and absurdity (the border collie leader).

An exclusory mechanism that wasn't applicable in the previous story is the distinction between "us" and "them" through authorial address. At several points in the story, the text suggests it is speaking to someone, for example "don't look now" and "only then will we know." The first example suggests "we" are observers of what is happening to the Occupy movement and to the occupiers. The second example similarly suggests that "we" are processing information surrounding the Occupy movement, and trying to understand both the movement and those involved. The impression is that "we" are being spoken to and that the protesters are not included in this address.

Part 2B

4.3.3.

Microanalysis: *La Presse*, article 1

The same process will be repeated, using two articles selected from *La Presse*. The first article selected for analysis is entitled “Occupy Wall Street: Une série de tuiles s'abat sur les "indignés" (Normandin, 7 November 2011, p.A9).

Headline:

The headline, as headlines often do, features passive voicing; the process “abat” (falling on) with the affected party “les indignés” emphasizes what is happening, and to whom it is happening, without mentioning causality.

Paragraph 1:

Mort par surdose, agressions sexuelles, incendie, arrestations multiples: $\overbrace{\text{une série d'incidents}}^{Participant}$ a $\overbrace{\text{ébranlé}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{le mouvement Occupy Wall Street,}}^{Participant,Object}$ au point où $\overbrace{\text{plusieurs villes}}^{Agent}$ $\overbrace{\text{ont décidé d'évincer}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{les indignés.}}^{Patient}$ $\overbrace{\text{À Montréal,}}^{Circumstance}$ c'est toutefois $\overbrace{\text{l'arrivée du froid}}^{Force}$ $\overbrace{\text{qui pourrait inciter}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{la Ville}}^{Agent}$ $\overbrace{\text{à demander}}^{Process}$ le démantèlement $\overbrace{\text{du campement du square Victoria.}}^{Affected\ Part.}$

Analysis and explanation:

The opening sentence contains a lexical field that can be classed according to criminality (“surdose,” “agressions,” “arrestation”) and that is

attributed to Occupy Wall Street. This lexical field/opening phrase offers a negative first impression. The first paragraph (and first phrase of the story) begins by using a passive voice, listing a number of objects before describing the participant and process the list refers to. This series of short phrases (beginning with "mort" and ending with a colon) form a lexical chain detailing deviant behavior; this behavior justifies the actions "multiple cities" are described as taking. This list is featured most saliently in the sentence and in the story; this encourages negative associations with the encampment by positing a negative category relative to the occupiers.

Analyzed for transitivity, the third phrase in the second sentence beginning with "plusieurs villes ont [...]" describes the agent "multiple cities" engaging in the action/process "d'évincer (to evict)" the patient being "occupiers." This situates the "multiple cities" as having authority, and "occupiers" as a passive group that are having the process "evict" directed at them. Of further note is the mention that multiple cities have taken part in the eviction of occupiers. Considering the tolerance theme, it is possible that many cities were looking for an excuse to evict protesters, and with incidents of sexual assault and arrests, these cities finally had a legitimate excuse. As if to suggest Montreal is different, the force "winter" is described as the factor that could prompt the city to dismantle the Occupy Montreal encampment, though it could also be considered a further rational, as the eviction of occupiers has become a normal or common action amongst different cities.

Paragraph 2:

$\overbrace{\text{Samedi après – midi,}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{une jeune femme dans la vingtaine}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{a été tourvee}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{morte}}^{State}$ dans $\overbrace{\text{une tente du campement d'Occupy Vancouver,}}^{Circumstance}$ probablement victime d'une surdose. Cette première mort chez $\overbrace{\text{les indignés}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{survient deux jours après}}^{Circumstance}$ qu'un autre $\overbrace{\text{toxicomane}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{eut été sauvé}}^{Process}$ in extremis. Mécontent, $\overbrace{\text{le maire Gregor Robertson}}^{Agent}$ $\overbrace{\text{a demandé}}^{Process}$ à ses $\overbrace{\text{policiers et pompiers}}^{Agent}$ $\overbrace{\text{de trouver}}^{Process}$ la meilleure façon d' $\overbrace{\text{expulser}}^{Pr.}$ $\overbrace{\text{les occupants.}}^{Patient}$

Analysis and explanation:

The first sentence features passive voicing; it is mentioned that a young woman was found deceased, her state and the circumstance surrounding her death are described, though the actor associated with the process "was found" isn't explicitly mentioned (i.e. an unmentioned subject must have found her). This emphasizes the participant and the state of the participant, while concurrently deemphasizing specifics related to the discovery itself. This makes drug use and death prominent, and encourages a negative association between the Occupy Vancouver protest cite and drug use. The use of passive voicing continues into the second sentence, as the participant mentioned as "toxicomane" was saved, though the actor who

saved this participant is unmentioned, though implied. This delegitimizes the occupiers and the Occupy site by organizing the text around categories relating to criminal behavior, and by emphasizing actions that describe troubles at the encampment.

The behavior described in the first sentence suggests the type "drug user," reiterated explicitly in the second sentence with the term "toxicomane." The definition offered of the woman is a "what" definition considering that details related to physical appearance, age, sex, etc. provide a conception of "what" this person was rather than "who" they were. Based on the violent/criminal element elaborated in the first paragraph, this "what" definition provides a concrete example of what was previously more abstract. The problem with a "what" definition is that it is, by nature, overly simplistic. Like a stereotype, a "what" definition removes personhood. A "who" definition would involve a greater amount of detail, and provide information regarding this person's role in society; it would be humanizing rather than dehumanizing. A number of the words associated or attributed to les indignés in the first two phrases are: "morte," "surdose," "mort," and "toxicomane." The words refer to the demise or near-demise of two protesters, though taken within context these also function to describe a contributing factor to the demise of Occupy itself. The death of an occupier, then, personifies the movement's demise.

The sentence beginning with "Mécontent, le maire […]" is an example of transitivity in the simplest sense of "who does what to whom";

the actor ("maire Gregor Robertson") has the process "demandé" associated with him, and the police and firefighters have been charged with the presumptive (as it has yet to occur) process "trouver," as in find a way to expulse the protesters. This places the city in the active role of agent, and the protesters in the more passive role of patient. This type of representation is unfavorable, as it suggests that the occupiers are a problem to be dealt with.

Paragraph 3:

$\overbrace{\text{La capitale de la Colombie} - \text{Britannique, Victoria}}^{Agent}$ $\overbrace{\text{a suivi}}^{Process}$ l'exemple et $\overbrace{\text{lancé}}^{Pr.}$ $\overbrace{\text{hier}}^{Circ.}$ un ultimatum aux $\overbrace{\text{indignés}}^{Patient}$ $\overbrace{\text{occupant}}^{Process}$ le $\overbrace{\text{Centennial Square.}}^{Circumstance}$ Sous prétexte $\overbrace{\text{de vouloir installer}}^{Process}$ les décorations de Noël, $\overbrace{\text{la Ville}}^{Agent}$ $\overbrace{\text{leur}}^{Patient}$ $\overbrace{\text{donne}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{jusqu'à ce midi}}^{CIrcumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{pour lever}}^{Process}$ le camp.

Analysis and explanation:

Both sentences describe a municipal agent initiating a process that will affect human participants (labeled as "patient"). This provides a clear example of the power dynamic, considering that the city can issue an "ultimatum." It is mentioned that Victoria is following the example of other cities, further indicating the widespread disapproval of the Occupy movement, and that other cities have done the same thing justifies Victoria's response.

The phrase "sous prétexte de vouloir installer les décorations de Noël" acknowledges the existing order in a certain respect; the city wants to use Centennial Square as it usually would, as an area where seasonal

decorations are displayed. The city wants to reclaim the park for the general public, as seasonal decorations in public places are typically for the public. In addition to offering a sense of the city's routine, it can be ascertained that the group occupying the space complicates this routine. The text calls the move a "pretext," suggesting it is really an excuse to expel the occupiers, and that likely any reason would have sufficed.

Paragraph 4:

$\overbrace{\text{Après}}$ $\overbrace{\text{avoir confisqué}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{tout le bois et le carburant}}^{Part./Obj.}$ $\overbrace{\text{qu'}}$ $\overbrace{\text{utilisaient}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{les militants}}^{Patient}$ $\overbrace{\text{pour}}$ $\overbrace{\text{se chauffer,}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{la Ville de Québec}}^{Agent}$ $\overbrace{\text{a elle aussi}}$ $\overbrace{\text{donné}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{jusqu'à aujourd'hui}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{aux}}$ $\overbrace{\text{militants}}^{Patient}$ $\overbrace{\text{pour}}$ $\overbrace{\text{démanteler}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{l'essentiel de leurs}}$ installations. $\overbrace{\text{Après un début d'incendie}}$ $\overbrace{\text{mardi dernier,}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{l'administration de Régis Labeaume}}^{Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{demande}}^{Process,\ Result}$ $\overbrace{\text{le retrait de toutes les}}$ bâches et toiles inflammables $\overbrace{\text{du jardin Saint} - \text{Roch,}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{occupé}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{depuis le 22 octobre.}}^{Circumstance}$

Analysis and explanation:

Again, the agent is a municipal authority, although it has gone from British Colombia to Québec. "Les militants" is the patient as the processes associated with the actor "la Ville de Quebec" ("confisqué," "donné," and "demande") are directed at this participant. This represents the city as doing

something, and the protesters as having something done to them. The power dynamic favors the municipal authority over the protesters in this regard.

The first sentence embeds the phrase "la Ville de Québec […]" providing the information relating to the confiscation of inflammables prominently in the sentence, and so emphasizes actions that are being done to protesters, who are represented as being affected. An alternative way of beginning the sentence could feasibly be: "Les militants devront démanteler l'essentiel de leurs installation aujourd'hui après […]" Beginning this way emphasizes what the occupiers are doing initially, followed by an explanation of what the city is doing; it also posits them as subject rather than object. Representing the occupiers in this manner suggests they are reacting to something, which is an improvement over the more passive original phrasing.

As it has been noted with respect to the tolerance theme, the rationale given for ending a tolerant position is often a breach of security, as is the case in this paragraph. In this respect, the city is merely reactive, as opposed to provocative; it is *because* of fires at the camp that inflammable materials have been confiscated. This represents the city's action as justifiable, even commendable, seeing as how they are looking after the safety of the occupiers. This also implies that occupiers are inconsiderate, or irresponsible, seeing as how the encampment they've established and manage is a safety liability.

Paragraph 5:

$\overbrace{\text{Aux États – Unis,}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{la pression}}^{Participant}$ s' $\overbrace{\text{accentue}}^{Process}$ aussi pour $\overbrace{\text{mettre}}^{Process}$ fin à l' $\overbrace{\text{occupation}}^{Participant}$ des $\overbrace{\text{centres – villes.}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{Plusieurs militants de New York}}^{Participant}$, où $\overbrace{\text{le mouvement}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{a pris}}^{Pr.}$ naissance $\overbrace{\text{le 17 septembre}}^{Circumstance}$, $\overbrace{\text{craignent d'être évincés}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{du parc Zuccotti}}^{Circumstance}$ depuis une sordide histoire d'agressions sexuelles. $\overbrace{\text{Un homme de 26 ans}}^{Agent}$ $\overbrace{\text{a été arrêté}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{mardi}}^{Circ.}$ après $\overbrace{\text{avoir agressé}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{deux jeunes femmes de 17 et 18 ans.}}^{Patient}$ $\overbrace{\text{Un autre incident}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{serait survenu}}^{Process}$ au campement de Dallas où $\overbrace{\text{un homme de 24 ans}}^{Participant}$ a $\overbrace{\text{été arrêté}}^{Process}$ après $\overbrace{\text{avoir eu}}^{Pr.}$ une relation sexuelle avec $\overbrace{\text{une fugueuse de 14 ans.}}^{Participant}$

Analysis and explanation :

The lexical chain: “sordide,” “agressions,” “sexuelles,” “aggressé,” “incident,” “sexuelle,” and “fugueuse” provides an example of the criminal aspect of Occupy that constitutes one of the organizing principles of this paragraph. The criminal behaviour at several Occupy encampments justifies the “pressure” being put on the Occupy movement nationally. Given the evidence provided, the pressure to end the encampment is justifiable, as it is a measure to end the sexual exploitation of minors. The text, in this paragraph, provides no reason for anyone to support the camp. It could even be suggested that if you support Occupy, then you support this kind of

behaviour, considering that there is no distinction made between criminal behaviour and the movement itself.

The only process associated with the occupiers themselves is "craignent d'être évinces," suggesting a state, and the impending process of an agent who will evict them. The other processes are associated more with criminals, though the text fails to differentiate between those responsible for criminal processes and legitimate activists who fear the movement will come to an end. This effectively collapses any difference between occupiers and criminals, and makes them a common issue.

Paragraph 6 :

$\overbrace{\text{En parallèle,}}$ $\overbrace{\text{les policiers}}^{Actor/Agent}$ $\overbrace{\text{ont fait}}^{Process}$ plusieurs arrestations $\overbrace{\text{cette fin de semaine}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{après des affrontements}}^{Nominalization}$ avec les $\overbrace{\text{manifestants,}}^{Participant/Patient}$ dont 20 à $\overbrace{\text{New York.}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{Samedi soir,}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{20 autres indignés}}^{Actor/Patient}$ $\overbrace{\text{ont été arrêtés}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{à Atlanta}}^{Circumstnace}$ $\overbrace{\text{après avoir été évincés}}^{Process}$ du parc où ils $\overbrace{\text{tentaient d'ériger}}^{Process}$ un nouveau camp, $\overbrace{\text{le premier}}^{Affect.Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{ayant été démantelé}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{il y a un mois.}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{À Washington,}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{trois indignés ont également été blessés}}^{Patient}$ $\overbrace{\text{vendredi}}^{Circ.}$ $\overbrace{\text{quand un voiture a}}^{Object,\ Force}$ $\overbrace{\text{foncé}}^{Obj.,\ Fr.}$ dans un groupe de militants qui se trouvait $\overbrace{\text{dans la rue.}}^{CIrcumstance}$

Analysis and explanation:

Whereas paragraph 4 begins with the proposition "après," paragraph 6 places the main clause at the syntactic left, and the clause after the

preposition. This has the effect of emphasizing the process “arrests,” and backgrounds the information describing the cause of the arrests.

The transitive property of the sentence describes the agent “policiers” initiating the process “fait plusieurs arrestations” with the implied patient being the protesters, as it is noted that a confrontation between police and protesters resulted in the arrests. The second sentence uses the same preposition (“après”) and places the information regarding the arrest of protesters before the preposition, while placing the cause in a less prominent position. This effectively represents the police as being powerful, and the protesters as being affected by the processes initiated by the police. This remains consistent with the protest paradigm, considering that conflict framing as it applies to news coverage of protests often pits police against protesters. The protesters are represented as a problem group that is being handled by an authority. They are represented as antagonizing the police authorities; the police shut down one camp, and the occupiers moved to another location and attempted to establish another. The inclusion of details relating to a car accident further suggests the tendency to report events; in this case it is suggested that the protesters were in the way of a car, seeing as how they are described as being in the street (implying fault, to a certain degree).

Paragraph 7:

Outre l'$\overbrace{\text{expulsion}}^{Nom.}$ de personnes fortement intoxiquées et d'une violente dispute conjugal $\overbrace{\text{aucun incident majeur}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{n}'\text{a perturbé}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{l}'\text{occupation}}^{Part.}$

$\overbrace{\text{du square Victoria, a Montreal.}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{Des rumeurs}}^{Participant}$ selon lesquelles il y $\overbrace{\text{aurai eu}}^{Process}$ une tentative de viol dans $\overbrace{\text{le campement}}^{Circum.}$ $\overbrace{\text{ont circulé,}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{mais personne}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{ne s′est}}^{Pr.}$ officiellement $\overbrace{\text{plaint,}}^{Pr.}$ $\overbrace{\text{indique}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{l′une des personnes}}^{Actor/Sayer}$ $\overbrace{\text{mandatées pour surveiller}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{le camp.}}^{Circ.}$

Analysis and explanation:

A lexical chain that is related to criminality and to disruptiveness contains the following words: “intoxiquées,” “violente,” “dispute,” “incident,” “pertubé,” and “viol.” The first sentence begins with a preposition, initially describing behavior that has led to expulsion, while backgrounding details that quantify the information. The second sentence figures the purported severe sexual transgression in the prominent left hand portion of the sentence; and the assertion that the rumor is unfounded in the less prominent right hand portion of the sentence, the break between the two is marked by the conjunction “mais.” The information present post-conjunction renders the information offered pre-conjunction as plausible, though unconfirmed and thus speculative. Regardless, the category that applies to this paragraph is “criminality,” and there is no distinction between criminal behavior and non-criminal activists.

The source “l'une des personnes mandatées pour surveiller le camp” provides an example of the micro-society theme, through the implication that

there are levels of social organization, inherent in the various social roles and responsibilities of participants.

Paragraph 8:

Malgré les incidents *(Participant)* survenus *(Process)* dans plusieurs villes, *(Circumstance)* Montréal *(Actor)* a confirmé *(Process)* hier *(Circ.)* maintenir *(Process)* sa politique de tolérance relativement à l'occupation *(Particpant/Patient)* du square Victoria qui dure depuis trois semaines. *(Circumstance)*

Un porte – parole de la Ville, Gonzalo Nunez, *(Actor)* a indiqué *(Process)* que les militants *(Participant)* ont toujours respecté *(Process)* les demandes *(Process)* pour l'amélioration de la sécurité du camp *(Object)* et qu'aucun incident majeur *(Participant/Result)* n'y a été rapporté. *(Process)* Il *(Act.)* précise *(Process)* toutefois que la position de Montréal *(Participant)* relativement aux indignés *(Patient)* est réévaluée *(Process)* quotidiennement. *(Circumstance)*

Analysis and explanation:

The paragraph begins by noting there have been incidents, and even with the knowledge that the camp has produced incidents, the attitude of tolerance remains – though this suggests the limit of tolerance is being tested. The actor "Montreal" is associated with the processes "confirmé" and "maintenir," with respect to "tolérance." These words are abstract, however. The threshold or limits of the city's tolerance isn't specified, the action inherent in "maintaining" isn't specified, and the politics thereof are not

provided in detail. The circumstance “Victoria” and “depuis trois semaines” is given as supplementary information in the right hand portion of the sentence. In the second sentence, the actor “Gonzalo Nunez” has the process “indiqué” associated with it, and speaks not as a person but rather as a function (“porte-parole”). The conjunction “et” typically indicates equally ranked statements, though it is worth considering that the right hand position is less prominent than the left, and so information in this position is somewhat backgrounded. In one of the sentences, the fact that no major incident has occurred at Occupy Montreal is backgrounded.

Paragraph 9:

Au-delà des problèmes de sécurité, $\overbrace{\text{la Ville}}^{Part./Sayer}$ se $\overbrace{\text{dit}}^{Pr.}$ de plus en plus $\overbrace{\text{préoccupée}}^{Process}$ par l'arrivée de l'$\overbrace{\text{hiver}}^{Force}$. "On $\overbrace{\text{surveille}}^{Process}$ ça de très près pour $\overbrace{\text{voir comment}}^{Pr.}$ on $\overbrace{\text{pourra continuer à assurer}}^{Process}$ la sécurité des occupants sur le site à l'approche du $\overbrace{\text{temps froid}}^{Force}$. On n'$\overbrace{\text{est}}^{Pr.}$ pas rendus à leur $\overbrace{\text{demander}}^{Process}$ de $\overbrace{\text{partir}}^{Process}$, mais on $\overbrace{\text{est}}^{Pr.}$ au stade où c'$\overbrace{\text{est}}^{Pr.}$ une préoccupation sérieuse."

Analysis and explanation:

The sayer “La Ville” describes the impending force “hiver” as its main concern. This deflects some of the attention away from the criminal aspect that has been referred to until this point. Conveniently for the city, the force “winter” is inevitable. Even if the city could ensure the camp was free of crime, the winter would still pose too great a risk to allow the encampment

to continue. The city notes it is trying to see how it can continue to assure the safety of the occupiers, and offers the foreboding remark that the encampment has become a serious preoccupation. The city appears to be paternalistic, as they appear to know what is best for the occupiers, even if the occupiers don't. The process "surveille" is interesting, considering that the ability to watch over a group suggests a certain amount of power (i.e. in the Foucaultian sense). In this paragraph, the city is describing what the camp is facing. This gives the city an active role, whereas the occupiers are being spoken of, not spoken to. At this point, they are not depicted as offering a response.

Paragraphs 10-11:

Conscients que $\overbrace{\text{l'hiver}}^{Force}$ $\overbrace{\text{représente}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{le principal obstacle}}^{Part./Obj.}$ à la $\overbrace{\text{survie du mouvement,}}^{Part./Obj}$ les $\overbrace{\text{indignés}}^{Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{ont commencé à isoler}}^{Process}$ leurs $\overbrace{\text{226}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{tentes,}}^{Part.}$ en les $\overbrace{\text{surélevant}}^{Process}$ sur $\overbrace{\text{des palettes de bois}}^{Part.Obj.}$ et $\overbrace{\text{en ajoutant}}^{Process}$ de $\overbrace{\text{la laine}}^{Obj.}$ $\overbrace{\text{minérale.}}^{Obj.}$

Plusieurs $\overbrace{\text{sympathisants}}^{Actor}$ à $\overbrace{\text{la cause}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{apportent}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{vêtements chauds, nourriture}}^{Part.\ Obj.}$ et $\overbrace{\text{argent.}}^{Part.Obj.}$ $\overbrace{\text{Certains organisateurs}}^{Actor/Sayer}$ $\overbrace{\text{affirment}}^{Process}$ que $\overbrace{\text{le camp}}^{Beneficiary}$ $\overbrace{\text{reçoit}}^{Process}$ plus de $\overbrace{\text{500\$ en dons}}^{Part.Obj.}$ $\overbrace{\text{par jour,}}^{Circ.}$ ce qui $\overbrace{\text{permet de payer}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{le carburant des génératrices}}^{Part.Obj}$ $\overbrace{\text{Professeur dans un cégep,}}^{Actor}$

$\overbrace{\text{Marc – Yvan Poitras}}^{Actor\ (cont.)}$ $\overbrace{\text{a livré}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{des sacs remplis de}}^{Part.\ Obj.}$ $\overbrace{\text{pain}}^{Part./Obj.}$ avec $\overbrace{\text{ses trois filles.}}^{Part.}$ " $\overbrace{\text{Je}}^{Act.}$ $\overbrace{\text{voulais montrer}}^{Process}$ à $\overbrace{\text{mes filles}}^{Part.}$ que $\overbrace{\text{militer,}}^{Proc.}$ c'est plus que $\overbrace{\text{cliquer}}^{Process}$ "J'$\overbrace{\text{aime}}^{Pr.}$" sur $\overbrace{\text{Facebook.}}^{Obj.}$"

Analysis and explanation :

The participants/actors in paragraphs 10 and 11 are affiliated with the protest, differentiating the orientation of these concluding paragraphs from the bulk of the story. Many of the processes are actions, and so the human participants have been referred to accordingly; the protesters are represented as having a more active role. Notably, many of the participants are objects (i.e. they complete the processes described). Arguably, the first two sentences of paragraph 10 (beginning with "plusieurs sympathisants") can be negotiated according to the thematic element that relates to homelessness. To elaborate, the beneficiary of donated food, money, and clothing is the "camp," though it could be suggested that this lexical material could also be used to describe the homeless.

Summary:

The most striking mechanism of exclusion in this story is exclusion through a lack of differentiation, and through association. In this case, legitimate protesters are scarcely differentiated from criminals. This is further evident in numerous lexical fields that suggest criminality is a meaningful category. The suggestion is that the best way to solve the criminal problems at Occupy encampments is to shut down the entire camp, giving the

impression that criminal behaviour is too extensive to solve by simply removing offenders. The city of Montreal stated that winter poses a threat to the security of Occupy Montreal, and so in addition to crime the city has provided further reason for concern. Though these causes for concern are reasonable, they still act as an exit strategy and provide insight into the city's attitude toward Occupy. The attitude is apprehensive, as the occupiers are, for the most part, represented as being a problem. The occupiers are represented as being somewhat irresponsible, and that there must be something wrong with their encampments if such criminal activity is taking place.

4.3.4.

Microanalysis: *La Presse,* article 2

The final article selected for analysis is entitled "S'indigner autrement" (Gruda 22 November 2011, p.A6). Similar to Curran's article taken from *The Gazette*, this article utilizes elements of direct/implied audience address, and offers commentary in a conspicuous fashion. The article provides exemplary use of "what" definitions; the subjectivity of several individuals is provided in detail, and in addition to various types, named both explicitly and through the use of pertaining words.

Headline:

The two word headline is quite provocative; it suggests a dismissive attitude. Considering that occupiers have been occupying public space, the statement "indigner autrement" could be a call to leave public spaces.

Paragraph 1:

La première personne que $\overbrace{\text{j'ai}}^{Sensor/Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{vue}}^{Sense}$ hier $\overbrace{\text{en arrivant}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{au campement des indignés montréalais,}}^{Circumstance}$ c'est $\overbrace{\text{un homme}}^{Participant/Phen.}$ $\overbrace{\text{furieux}}^{State}$ parce que $\overbrace{\text{ses affaires}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{avaient été déplacées}}^{Process}$ pendant qu' $\overbrace{\text{on}}^{Act.}$ $\overbrace{\text{faisait le ménage}}^{Process}$ de la $\overbrace{\text{"place du Peuple",}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{pour répondre}}^{Process}$ aux exigences du $\overbrace{\text{service des incendies de Montréal.}}^{Participant}$

Analysis and explanation:

The text provides a first person identification, and the function of this participant is of sensor ("I saw"). This would, at the onset, suggest the role of witness, though there are also actions associated with this same participant ("en arrivant"). The participant "a man" is accorded the state "furious." This state is emotional, and emotions, especially one such as fury, suggest a certain level of irrationality (e.g. "blind fury"). As it was mentioned, states are not always as compelling as actions. "Being" something seems less assertive than "doing" something. Furthermore, describing a state of being can function as part of a "what" definition, as "furious" is what he is, not who he is. Notably "place du Peuple" has been accorded the function of circumstance; if the process of cleaning the camp is viewed as beneficial, then the function could be changed to beneficiary.

Paragraph 2 :

Enfin, c'est ce que j'ai cru comprendre alors qu' il tournait comme un lion en cage en fulminant. "Vous êtes trop occupés pour avoir du crisse de respect, j' avais tous mes papiers là-dedans," a-t il hurlé.

Analysis and explanation:

The process associated with the first person is a mental process (understand) whereas the processes attributed to the "furious" man are actions (turn, yell). This furthers the impression that a witness account is being relayed, seeing as how the external world is being processed by the first participant. The difference between observer and observed suggests a "me" "him/them" differentiation, though it is not clear at this point who exactly "me" is speaking to.

With respect to the quotation, the word "occupés" is used to suggest that occupiers are too occupied to have respect, which is ironic, and this is emphasized with the use of an expletive. Notably, quoting the use of an expletive in this context has an abrasive quality, as it functions as a further display of "fury" and provides further insight into the subjectivity of the individual, in the form of the "what" definition of a nearly anonymous character. Furthermore, this is not the kind of language that usually appears in a newspaper, making his language use deviant.

As it was mentioned in the literature dealing with framing, metaphors are a component of framing. In this case, the man is compared to a lion turning in a cage. A lion is an animal that can potentially inflict bodily harm.

Furthermore, as a beast, the level of rational is minimal. There is no convincing a lion, and perhaps the suggestion is that the furious man cannot be reasoned with.

Paragraph 3 :

"C'est $\overbrace{\text{monsieur Jean,}}^{Participant}$ il $\overbrace{\text{est}}^{Pr.}$ très $\overbrace{\text{fragile}}^{State}$ $\overbrace{\text{en ce moment,}}^{Circ.}$" $\overbrace{\text{m'a}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{expliqué}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{un habitué}}^{Part.}$ du $\overbrace{\text{square Victoria,}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{un grand gaillard}}^{Attributes}$ prénommé $\overbrace{\text{Vincent}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{qui passe}}^{Process}$ toutes ses nuits avec $\overbrace{\text{les indignés.}}^{Participant}$ Et qui $\overbrace{\text{dit intervenir}}^{Process}$ en tant que "modérateur" $\overbrace{\text{quand}}^{Pr.}$ $\overbrace{\text{les choses}}^{Part.,\ Obj.}$ $\overbrace{\text{dérapent.}}^{Process}$ " $\overbrace{\text{Il y a}}^{Pr.}$ beaucoup de $\overbrace{\text{psychiatrisés,}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{ici,}}^{Circ.}$ et $\overbrace{\text{il y en a}}^{Pr.}$ qui ne $\overbrace{\text{sont}}^{Pr.}$ pas $\overbrace{\text{paisibles.}}^{State}$"

Analysis and explanation:

The attribution (adjective) with respect to "monsieur Jean" is the state "fragile." This contributes to the "what" definition that has been developed in the preceding paragraphs. The description of "monsieur Jean" is one of two "what" definitions in the paragraph. The other is the definition of "Vincent," who is described according to his appearance. He is described as being a "moderator," inherently suggesting the microsociety aspect of the camp, as this can be thought of as a social role, indicating a degree of social organization within the camp. The final sentence contains two equally ranked statements joined by a conjunction, they are: (1) There are a lot of mentally ill at the encampment (2) Some of them (the mentally ill) are not peaceful. This ranks mental illness at a level equal to violence, suggesting that the

latter is often present when the former is. Based on deductive reasoning, if the mentally ill are dangerous, then Occupy must be dangerous. This can be considered a "what" definition of the camp itself, considering that the suggestion is that the camp *is* dangerous.

Paragraph 4:

Si $\overbrace{\text{je}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{me fie}}^{Pr.}$ à $\overbrace{\text{un autre habitué}}^{Participant}$ des lieux, $\overbrace{\text{l'infirmier spécialisé en psychiatrie Stéphane Marceau,}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{l'expression "pas paisibles"}}^{Participant}$ est un bel euphémisme pour $\overbrace{\text{décrire}}^{Process}$ un lieu où les $\overbrace{\text{sans – abri, les}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{toxicomanes et les personnes souffrant de graves problèmes de santé mentale}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{sont désormais}}^{Process}$ plus nombreux que $\overbrace{\text{les émules d'Occupy Wall Street.}}^{Participant}$ Selon $\overbrace{\text{lui,}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{quelques}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{dizaines de sans – abri}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{gravitent}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{autour du square,}}^{Circumstance}$ dont environ $\overbrace{\text{cinq ou six personnages}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{"très dangereux".}}^{State/Attribute}$

$\overbrace{\text{"Certains d'entre eux}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{sont très violents,}}^{State}$ $\overbrace{\text{il y a eu}}^{Pr.}$ des menaces de mort, des coups, des batailles."

Analysis and explanation:

The first person is used once more, and states that "if I confide," suggesting there might be a reason to believe the source is unreliable. This expresses a certain attitude toward the source, seeing as the "I" is untrusting of the source.

Notably, “sont très dangereux” has been accorded the function of state, considering that the verb “sont” describes being, not in the sense of action, but rather as a description of what they are. The problem definition is constituted of dangerous individuals; this in turn is conflated with mental illness and addiction. Though these are different problems, they are all grouped together. Doing so gives a generalized impression of the out-group. The text suggests that the camp (“un lieu”) is a ticking time bomb, where death threats, fights and other sorts of violence have been occurring. Though the text offers a differentiation between those emulating Occupy Wall Street and problem groups, the assertion is that problem populations have out-numbered legitimate protesters, and so suggests the cite is a liability.

Paragraph 5:

$\overbrace{\text{Stéphane Marceau}}^{Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{a passé}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{plusieurs nuits}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{au square Victoria,}}^{Circumstance}$ à $\overbrace{\text{tenter d'apaiser}}^{Process}$ des $\overbrace{\text{crises de psychose ou des délires éthyliques,}}^{States}$ mais il n'a pas l'autorité d'$\overbrace{\text{intervenir pour envoyer}}^{Process}$ ces $\overbrace{\text{"patients"}}^{Participant}$ à l'hôpital. Et quand $\overbrace{\text{la police}}^{Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{s'en occupe}}^{Process}$, $\overbrace{\text{ceux – ci}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{sont relâchés}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{le lendemain.}}^{Circumstance}$ $\overbrace{\text{Ils}}^{Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{reviennent}}^{Process}$ $\overbrace{\text{ici,}}^{Circ.}$ avec des exactos ou des lames de rasoir."

Analysis and explanation:

The processes and related objects associated with the subject “Stéphane Marceau” are extensive, and include “passé plusieurs nuits” and “tenter d’apaiser des crise.” The phrase occurring after the conjunction

"mais" notes that this individual's authority is limited. The words "patients" and "l'hopital" present a linguistic frame that can be associated with numerous scenes related to healthcare institutions. Whereas paragraph 4 referred explicitly to several types, paragraph 5 elicits types through a description of behaviour, and lexical cues. "Psychosis" and "delirium," as lexical cues, elicit types such as "mentally ill" and "substance abuser." With respect to function, both crises of psychosis and delirium can be considered states; it is worth noting that states usually describe a stable attribution, whereas "delirium" or a "psychotic crisis" appears to indicate the climax of a problem. Provided the functional terms used, however, "state" seems to most adequately describe the function of this part of the sentence.

The situation is out of control to the extent that violent individuals who are removed from the encampment return with weapons, as the text states. This means that expulsion of violent occupiers will not provide a solution, implying one possible solution is the dismantlement of Occupy Montreal.

Paragraph 6-7:

$\overbrace{\text{On}}^{Part.}$ a beau $\overbrace{\text{juger}}^{Pr.}$ que $\overbrace{\text{tout ça}}^{Part.}$, c'$\overbrace{\text{est}}^{Pr.}$ la faute de la désinstitutionnalisation, n'$\overbrace{\text{empêche}}^{Process}$ que $\overbrace{\text{les indignés montréalais}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{foncent}}^{Pr.}$ tout droit vers un mur. Malgré toute leur bonne volonté, $\overbrace{\text{le noyau de manifestants originaux}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{est}}^{Pr.}$ aujourd'hui complètement $\overbrace{\text{dépassé}}^{Pr.}$ par $\overbrace{\text{une situation}}^{Part.}$ qu'il $\overbrace{\text{est}}^{Pr.}$ incapable de

maîtriser. Avec le froid qui s' installe en ville, le square Victoria est désormais un champ de grenades dégoupillées. C'est un lieu en attente d'une catastrophe.

Les indignés montréalais le savent, mais ils étaient un peu piégés. Piégés par la démocratie directe qui leur interdit d'imposer des décisions. Piégés aussi par la Ville de Montréal, qui a mis beaucoup de temps avant de leur demander de partir.

Analysis and explanation:

The paragraph begins by stating "we" have judged deinstitutionalization as the cause of Occupy's problem. "Juger" is a mental process, not to be confused with a state of being, and indicates that "we" have processed and interpreted the situation. "We" have judged "their " outcome, so the sentence suggests, offering a differentiation between "us" and "them." The paragraph confirms what was previously suggested, that the Occupy encampment is a safety liability. The encampment is compared to a field of grenades that have had the pins taken off, suggesting that at any moment they can go off. The use of this figurative language likens Occupy to a warzone, and encourages a negative evaluation of the situation.

The "good intentions" of the original occupiers have been surpassed by an unmanageable situation. The previously discussed juxtaposition of intentions (or ideals) with reality is relevant here. The contrast is between

what the occupiers wanted and what is actually happening. The occupiers are associated with the intangible, and this has been complicated by the tangible.

The text claims that part of Occupy's problem is horizontal democracy. This suggests that the principles behind Occupy will also cause Occupy's demise. In addition to placing the blame on Occupy itself, the force "winter" is an impending threat. The paragraph only describes reasons the encampment cannot continue, there is nothing provided that would suggest Occupy could survive. This is dismissive of the movement under the pretext that it is dangerous, unmanageable, unpractical and unrealistic. The final sentence represents the city as an agent asking the occupiers to leave. It is mentioned that the city waited some time before putting an end to Occupy; this could be taken to mean the city tolerated the encampment for some time. This suggests the city's attitude has never been truly accepting, but that rather the city has been waiting to evict the occupiers all the while.

Paragraph 8:

Participant *Process* *Circ.* *Patient*
Cette invitation est finalement tombée hier. Les indignés
Process
devraient en profiter pour plier bagage. *Mod.* *Process* *Part.*
Ce ne serait pas, de leur part, le
Commentary
signe d'une honteuse compromission, mais plutôt un gage de maturité.
Participant *Pr.*
Les protestataires du square Victoria n'ont pas les ressources nécessaires
Process *Participant* *Process* *Part.*
pour gérer les passagers lourds qui sont montés dans leur wagon. S' ils
Process *Process*
restent, ils risquent de se retrouver, tôt ou tard, avec des morts sur les bras.

Analysis and explanation:

This paragraph presents criticism of the microsociety, by indicating a lack of "resources" and management ("gérer"). The language employs a conditional tense, and a conditional clause. A number of the sentences express commentary "devraient en profiter" expresses obligation, and the succeeding three sentences provide evidence of truth commentary: (1) the protesters *don't* have the resources (certainty); (2) If they stay, they risk…(degree of certainty); it *wouldn't* be a comprise… but rather a gage of maturity (certainty). None of the "truths" expressed in these commentaries are particularly favorable to the occupiers. Furthermore, it is evident in the commentary that the protesters are being referred to as "they," in the sense that they are being spoken about, not spoken to. This excludes the occupiers from the address.

Paragraph 9:

De toute façon, un peu partout, y compris $\overbrace{\text{à New York}}^{Circumstance}$, $\overbrace{\text{la vague Occupy}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{Wall Street}}^{Part.}$ $\overbrace{\text{est en train de changer}}^{Process}$ de cap $\overbrace{\text{et de remettre}}^{Process}$ l'occupation à l'arrière-plan. Au point qu'à $\overbrace{\text{New York}}^{Circumstance}$, certaines voix $\overbrace{\text{indignées}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{estiment}}^{Pr.}$ que $\overbrace{\text{la police}}^{Actor}$ $\overbrace{\text{a rendu}}^{Pr.}$ un grand service au mouvement en l'$\overbrace{\text{évinçant}}^{Pr.}$ du parc Zuccotti. Depuis quelque temps, $\overbrace{\text{les médias}}^{Participant}$ n'en $\overbrace{\text{avaient}}^{Pr.}$ que pour l'insécurité et les dérapages de plus en plus fréquents sur les places publiques

occupées. Tandis que $\overbrace{\text{la dénonciation des injustices et des inégalités}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{passait}}^{Pr.}$ de plus en plus sous le radar.

Analysis and explanation:

The abstract underpinning of Occupy, i.e. Occupy as an idea, is acknowledged. New York occupiers are described as ready to move away from their occupation, suggesting that Occupy and the occupation of Zuccotti Park are not synonymous. This is described as positive, considering that the media have focused increasingly on what was happening at the Occupy encampment, and much less on why the Occupy encampment was there to begin with. Ironically, this is precisely what the present article is guilty of; up to this point, there has been no mention of why activists had gathered in Victoria Square. The emphasis has been entirely on the issues related to the mental health of some occupants and safety liabilities.

Paragraph 10-11:

L'agression policière illégitime nous a $\overbrace{\text{permis de retrouver}}^{Process}$ du soutien populaire", $\overbrace{\overbrace{\text{dit}}^{Pr.}\ \overbrace{\text{Michael Levitin}}^{Sayer}}$, responsable de l'Occupy Wall Street Journal, qui a $\overbrace{\text{publié}}^{Pr.}$ son cinquième numéro hier.

Ce que le journaliste ne $\overbrace{\overbrace{\text{dit}}^{Pr.}}$ pas, c'est que ce $\overbrace{\text{déploiement de force}}^{Participant}$ a aussi $\overbrace{\text{débarrassé}}^{Pr.}$ les protestataires d'un fardeau de plus en plus difficile à porter. Car cette $\overbrace{\text{occupation symbolique}}^{Participant}$ $\overbrace{\text{était}}^{Pr.}$ en train de se $\overbrace{\text{retourner}}^{Pr.}$ contre les

manifestants. Et de plus en plus de gens $\overbrace{\text{sentaient}}^{Pr.}$ que "le message $\overbrace{\text{devait}}^{Pr.}$ dépasser l'occupation." Michael Levitin $\overbrace{\text{résume}}^{Pr.}$ le virage en cours par cette phrase lapidaire: "Après tout, $\overbrace{\text{nous}}^{Part./Act.}$ ne $\overbrace{\text{sommes}}^{Pr.}$ pas $\overbrace{\text{sortis}}^{Pr.}$ $\overbrace{\text{dans la rue}}^{Circ.}$ pour $\overbrace{\text{faire}}^{Pr.}$ une démonstration de camping!"

Analysis and explanation:

Again, the physical Occupy encampment is differentiated from the ideas behind Occupy, the assertion being that the message will outlast the Occupy encampments seeing as how they are not one in the same. This is further evident in describing occupy as “symbolic,” suggesting an abstract aspect of the movement. Both occupants of Occupy camps and Occupy itself are described according to states of being and abstractions, such as ideas. This contributes to a passive, unrealistic representation of the occupiers.

After quoting Michael Levitin initially, the text undermines him by suggesting that aggressions of police officers imposed a burden on the encampment. This is described as a problem weighing on the camp, added to the host of problems underlined throughout the text. The “symbolic” occupation has turned against the occupiers, suggesting a failure of the microsociety. This complements the previous statement that the occupiers were trapped in their own creation, and unable to manage it any further.

Paragraph 13:

Un peu partout, et surtout là où l'hiver (Force) rend (Pr.) le camping urbain difficile et périlleux, les indignés nord – américains (Participant) déménagent (Process) peu à peu dans des lieux plus chauds. Selon Michael Levitin, des centaines de groupes (Actor) ont déjà envahi (Process) les cafés et d'autres lieux intérieurs pour repenser (Process) leur action qui, dans sa forme actuelle, a atteint (Process) ses limites.

Analysis and explanation:

The lexical choice "urban camping" is a bit trivializing. "Camping" is a recreational activity. There are more accurate terms, such as "le camp Occupy." The activity "urban camping" is referred to as "dangerous and perilous." Though admittedly it is a stretch, the description of occupiers looking for shelter as winter looms shares linguistic material with the homeless seeking shelter in the winter (substitute "les indignés nord – américains" for "les sans-abris" and the phrase remains intelligible). The trivializing lexical choice, attributing danger to the camp and describing a scene that shares linguistic material with a different excluded group are well in keeping with the precedence established in this text.

Summary:

The most notable mechanism of exclusion is the conflation of Occupy, and Occupy activists, with the mentally ill. Mentally ill subjects are represented using a "what" definition that is based on physical appearance and characteristics, such as their present state. Mental illness is ranked

equally with violence on the grammatical level, and so their presence at the Occupy Montreal encampment means the area has become dangerous. The use of figurative language is also suggestive, as it likens one of the subjects to an irrational beast, and the encampment itself to a field of grenades. These elements contribute to a delegitimizing "what" definition of the camp. The most positive, and active, representation of the occupiers occurs in paragraphs 10 and 11. This paragraph weighs the survival of Occupy on symbolism and ideology. This suggests the intangible in relation to Occupy, meanwhile, in the "real" world, Occupy is riddled with problems the occupiers cannot manage. This reality/idealism distinction suggests that occupiers are not on the same level as "us," and this offers a sense of distinction between "us" and "them."

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Mechanisms of exclusion

Now that the linguistic analysis has been conducted, some of the sentence-level elements that contribute to an out-group identification will be listed. These elements should be considered the linguistic mechanisms of exclusion.

1.

Expressive acts of exclusion are evident in *lexical choice*, such as words and terms. These include words such as "campers," "bohemians," "bidonville," etc. In the literature review it was noted that the language of exclusion includes delegitimizing and trivializing language, making lexical choice a component of this kind of exclusion. More favorable terms would be "activists" or "militants" (in French), as these suggest a certain degree of legitimacy.

Word choices label different groups, and in so doing offer distinctions between them. For example, one of the stories analyzed offered the term "the population in general" and the word "activists," the latter being in reference to the occupiers. This suggests they're distinct and non-overlapping populations. A term such as "Montreal occupiers" is more inclusive, as it expresses a civic relation between "Montrealers" and "Montreal occupiers." This differentiation, at the sentence level, recognizes the exclusive

mechanisms *isolation* and *segregation*, in that it represents the population of occupiers as being a separate population.

2.

Words such as "arrests," "violence," deaths," etc. when taken together provide insight into *the meaningful category or categories being used*. This is a more subtle kind of expression, as it usually spread throughout a story, and is likely produced unconsciously. In this case, "negative categories" can be considered the mechanism of exclusion. In all the samples used for the linguistic analysis there is at least one instance of a negative category being used. These categories suggest what some of the organizing principles and ideas behind the story are. It is possible that the subject is placed in this negative category, or seems to be consistently mentioned in relation to this category. This suggests a "they" identification in a subtle way, seeing as how "they" are associated with processes and descriptions that also describe criminal offences, drug use, alcoholism and mental illness.

3.

Another potentially exclusive mechanism is the "what" definition. A "what" definition includes details relating to physical appearance, what a person is doing and what a person is feeling. "What" definitions also include shorthand terms such as "the homeless," "the mentally ill," etc. These "what" definitions reduce human subjectivity to a homogenous type, a spectacle, or a case, rather than representing the subject as an individual who does something in society, has relations, thoughts, convictions and so forth. The

use of a “what” definition can further remove individual agency. To be fair, a “what definition” isn’t necessarily negative, “a police officer” is a “what” definition. A “what” definition is typically negative if it remains consistent with an existing understanding of a “type” such as “drug addict.” The linguistic analysis showed that “what” definitions often reduced occupiers, or non-occupiers at the encampment, to negative types such as “mental case” or “drug addict.”

4.

A mechanism of exclusion related to *transitivity* is the representation of the power dynamic. The occupiers are consistently represented as being passive, whereas the city, whether the city is Montreal or elsewhere, is often represented with an active process. This favors institutional voices over the voices of occupiers, and so represents the occupiers as passive participants. In some cases, the city authority is represented as doing something that affects occupiers, making the functional role “patient” applicable to the occupiers. This too is evidence of a power dynamic that favors the city. This also interprets the situation using institutional accounts, rather than those of the occupiers. Instead of being represented as proactive, the occupiers are represented as reactive. Based on the definition of exclusive language, the representation of this power dynamic has a marginalizing effect on the subject “occupiers.”

5.

Related to the previous mechanism, subordination, backgrounding and passive voicing can contribute to a conception of powerlessness and can emphasize violence, death and so forth. Subordination, backgrounding and/or passive voicing as a linguistic mechanism of exclusion can be used to emphasize a frame that contributes to a negative representation. This representation is also related to delegitimization, as issues plaguing the group eclipse the message of the occupiers. As a sentence structure, backgrouding first describes what has been done (e.g. "the police arrested") and then whom it has been done to ("a group of protesters"). In addition to suggesting a lack of agency, the emphasis is on the process. As an example of passive voicing "a 23-year-old woman was found dead over the weekend" excludes information relating to the actor who must have discovered the woman, and who possibly tried to assist her. Instead, the emphasis is on the discovery itself.

6.

An element of exclusion that is particularly relevant with respect to the Curran article from *The Gazette* is *address.* In some cases, especially in cases where commentary is being offered (such as in a column, editorial or op-ed); the story asserts that "you" might think a certain thing, even though "they" (the occupiers) are the actual subjects of the story, not "us." An address can offer the distinction between who "you" are and what "they" are. This can be considered exclusion from the address, seeing as how the subject (occupiers) is not part of "you/us."

7.

The use of modality and related commentary, in some instances, marks presumptiveness, for example "the protesters *will* not achieve their goal[…]." When used to describe processes associated with the occupiers, this can contribute a degree of uncertainty. The use of modality can offer a sense of delegitimization or trivialization. Aspects of commentary are more likely to be found in columns, editorials, op-eds or letters, but are occasionally suggested in main news stories as well.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses entering this study were:

Hypothesis 1: Some of the lexical and grammatical elements of the primary text convey meanings that correspond to mechanisms of exclusion.

Hypothesis 2: The information provided by journalists conforms to/remains consistent with an existing understanding of the subject described.

Considering the first hypothesis, the sample did provide lexical and grammatical elements that correspond to mechanisms of exclusion. As these were discussed in the methodology, "what" definitions, lexical choices with negative connotations and considerations regarding transitivity can express exclusion. Expressions of exclusion can be obvious, but in many cases are subtle; the functional methodology used in this study labeled parts of the text with the objective of breaking down the representation. The exclusive mechanisms of delegitimization, trivialization, marginalization, isolation and

segregation were all found to be applicable, as the list of exclusive mechanisms demonstrates.

Consistency with an existing understanding of the subject, as mentioned in the second hypothesis, refers both to existing "types," and to indicators that suggest out-group membership. Membership is suggested by "tagging, defining, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasizing, making conscious and self-conscious" (Curra 2011, pp.14-15). Existing types include the homeless, the mentally ill, users of controlled substances, and criminals. As it was discussed in the literature review, there are descriptive cues that can elicit a certain type. For example "shantytown" isn't a type in of itself, but it elicits the type "the poor."

The consistency of the subject can also be measured against the protest paradigm and framing, as literature relating to the protest paradigm describes how protests are often covered by mainstream news media. This includes the regular use of disruptive, freak and ignorance frames and emphasis on erratic behavior while concurrently downplaying the significance of the protest itself. Both the presence of defamatory "types" and some of the framing characteristics mentioned in literature relating to the protest paradigm were found to apply. This should be evident in the themes section and the linguistic analysis, where the examples suggest a focus on what is happening rather than on why it was happening. This "what" definition of the event includes the mention of numerous types, and so

encourages the use of preconceived definitions of groups such as the homeless, mentally ill, etc.

Implications for journalism, suggestions for writing

The language, and grammatical structure, of the news can function as an expressive act of exclusion, ergo journalism can be considered a medium of exclusion. A news text can define membership on the basis of expressive acts of exclusion, such as lexical choice, and through grammatical considerations, such as prominence, subordination, omission and so forth. As knowledge producers, journalists can challenge or affirm existing categories to the benefit or disadvantage of the subject. The language of the news has the ability to dehumanize through the use of shorthand terms that remove the complexity of the individual or group and that render the subject a "type." Journalism can offer a segmented representation of society, whereby different groups are represented without the mention of similarities or common interests. Without careful consideration of grammatical and lexical elements, a news text runs the risk of (1) exaggerating distinctions between "us" and "them," as represented linguistically through processes and attributions (2) indicating, usually through a lexical cue or form of address, who "they" are and who "we" are. Journalism, as it has been remarked, can also collapse differentiations in certain cases, for example "activists" and "the homeless" could, on a linguistic basis, share similar processes and attributions. As an instance of implied similarity, the occupiers and the homeless share the same space, suggesting relativity in this sense, though it could just as easily be

suggested that Montrealers, occupiers and the homeless share the same space (the city of Montreal). To avoid being exclusive, more accurate lexical choices are favorable (e.g. "activists" instead of "campers"). Lexical fields, taken throughout a paragraph or story, provide insight into the category (or categories) being used. A journalist might want to consider what category (or categories) their word choices might suggest, considering that word choices can lead to a conception of the subject as belonging to a category with negative associations. A representation of the subject that is more engaging (i.e. a more active representation) is favorable, as it incorporates the subject into the dialogue of the text, rather than representing them as a passive member. Where commentary is used, the addressee or implied addressee can usually be expanded and made to be more inclusive. Furthermore, journalists should avoid passive voicing (where the emphasis is on the action) if it enhances a negative representation, as this delegitimizes the subject; subordination and prepositional phrases can have the same delegitimizing effect.

Similarities between the newspapers

Though it was never the intention of this study, it should be mentioned that similarities in the news coverage of Occupy as found in *The Gazette* and *La Presse* can be observed. The theme section in Chapter 4 should serve as an adequate example of this: the same four themes were found in the samples from both newspapers. At this point, it would be difficult to say what the significance of this discovery is, as it would likely

take more research. If the present study were to be taken further, additional newspapers could be added to see if this is a trend among mainstream newspapers. The methodology would have to be reworked to sufficiently gauge similarities and differences between papers, something that is lacking from the present study.

Inclusive and substantive coverage in the sample

Though the focus of the study has been on expressive acts of exclusion, it is important to note that the same sample could be read for expressions of inclusion. It should be noted that several articles featured more substantive news coverage. These are articles that focus more on why the Occupy movement was taking place, rather than on what an Occupy encampment looks like, what occupiers look like, etc. In the same vein, some articles feature elements of commentary and modality that suggest support for the cause, rather than hostility toward it. That said, within any given article there are likely elements of inclusion and exclusion; this study only focused on the latter.

Limitations of the present study

As a means of assembling a list of exclusive mechanisms, the sample used was appropriate. Despite this, the list of exclusive mechanisms should be used in future studies to further test their significance. The limitation, then, is that this study is a microanalysis. While this makes sense given the methodology, this limitation is still worth mentioning. Furthermore, the sample used was comprised of two mainstream newspapers in Montreal. It

could be interesting to consider "fringe" newspapers and newspapers from other cities and countries to see how they differ.

Recommendations for further research

A future study could take the mechanisms postulated in the present study and determine how applicable they are to another sample. A future study should utilize a more diverse sample, and augment the methodology to account for and track similarities and differences between different news outlets. The present study did not attempt to re-write any of the articles provided. A future study could provide stories that have been re-written to be more neutral or inclusive; this would entail taking the "implications for journalism" mentioned previously and putting them to practice.

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