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A CORPUS-ASSISTED COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE EUROMAIDAN PROTESTS IN UKRAINE (2013-2014) AND THE BELARUS PROTESTS (2020-2021) IN *THE NEW YORK TIMES*

MA thesis

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ABSTRACT

Media representation plays a crucial role in (de-)legitimizing social movements and their participants. This thesis aims to compare the representations of two consequential events in Eastern Europe—the Euromaidan protests in Ukraine (2013-2014) and the Belarus protests (2020-2021)—in *The New York Times*, a major global media outlet. The study specifically concentrates on the naming strategies used for the events and social actors and the attribution of responsibility for violence. To achieve this goal, a corpus-assisted approach to discourse analysis and van Leeuwen's framework for social actors' analysis are employed. The Sketch Engine tool is used to analyze two corpora, which together encompass 167 articles (192,111 words).

The thesis consists of five sections. The introduction delves into media power and representation. The first chapter discusses the process of news construction and the role of language in it, the media coverage of social movements, the background of the analyzed events, the ethical policy of *The New York Times*, and previous research on the analyzed events and protests in general. The second chapter presents the methodological approaches employed (critical discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, and van Leeuwen's framework for analyzing social actors) and details the methodological procedure. The final chapter reports and discusses the findings of the analysis. The conclusion summarizes the main results and implications for further research.

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INTRODUCTION

"What we know about the world is largely based on what the media decide to tell us" (McCombs 2011: 2). This statement, albeit seemingly exaggerated, effectively conveys the powerful role of the mass media in influencing our understanding of global events and issues. News media not only provides information but also directs the focus of the public's attention and can influence its perspectives on current news topics (McCombs 2011: 1, 5).

Van Dijk (1995b: 10) describes a traditional view of power in the news as relations between institutions or groups, where the more powerful entities exert control over the thoughts and actions of the less powerful. In contrast, Foucault (1978: 92-94) believes that power is dispersed throughout society and is "the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization." Force relations can be manifested in various forms (for example, norms, institutions, and individual interactions). Foucault (1978: 93) emphasizes that power is omnipresent, permeating and originating from all levels of society, and self-reproducing. It operates in a chain or network, wherein individuals are not merely passive recipients but also active contributors, serving as carriers of power within a complex web of relationships (Foucault 1980: 98).

The first instance of media power is its ability to attach significance to the issues by reporting them, called amplification (Schudson 1995: 20). When a piece of news is offered to the public, it gains certification of its legitimacy and importance (Schudson 1995: 33). The importance of different issues varies, and the news organization impacts how much value the audience assigns to each (Schudson 1995: 21).

The media also exert power by influencing mental representations, such as beliefs, ideas, knowledge, and opinions (van Dijk 1995b: 10, 13). News, through its informational and persuasive functions, aims to prompt readers to create mental models of news events after consuming them (van Dijk 1995b: 14). Each time readers engage with a news report,

they create or update a model of the events described, incorporating both personal opinions and socially shared knowledge influenced by their social group's perspectives. Journalists and newspapers seek to influence these mental representations of news events and implant the preferred models into the minds of readers. This presents plentiful opportunities for manipulation, such as emphasizing or downplaying the significance of certain events, their causes or consequences, and specific qualities of social actors (van Dijk 1995b: 14-15).

The way media presents groups, events, and topics to the audience is called representation. The traditional understanding of representation is that it is a depiction of something that already exists and its meaning (Hall 1997: 6). In this case, the work on representation analyzes to what extent the meaning given by the representation is an accurate or distorted reflection of the original meaning. Alternatively, Hall (1997: 8) argues that the representation can be seen as existing within the object of the representation, "It is part of the object itself; it is constitutive of it." According to this view, the object being represented does not have one fixed meaning; its meaning depends on the mode of representation chosen. Hence, the object becomes meaningful once represented. Various representations contribute to the simultaneous existence of different meanings or the change of meaning of the objects. This approach requires studying representation in its dynamic and creative role.

News media's representation of crisis events is especially significant. One such instance is sudden protest movements. Protests rely much more on the media than the other way around, and this inherent imbalance suggests the greater influence of the media system in the exchange (Gamson & Wolfsfeld 1993: 115-116). Protests primarily need the media to mobilize their support base through public discourse (Gamson & Wolfsfeld 1993: 116). They also depend on the media for their validation, as a protest without media coverage is a non-event. Finally, movements require the media for scope enlargement and attracting other parties, a goal often achieved by evoking sympathy for their cause. In turn, protests can offer

the media the captivating content of drama and conflict (Gamson & Wolfsfeld 1993: 116-117).

When it comes to validation, there are several techniques that can be employed by the media to legitimize an event or its participants (van Leeuwen 2007: 92). The first of such tools is references to the authority of tradition, law, experts, or institutions. Moral evaluation appeals to moral values and our perceptions of right and wrong. Rationalization justifies events by referencing their goals or established practices. Finally, storytelling can legitimize events by using familiar narrative structures. These methods can also be used with the opposite goal of delegitimation.

One of the major ways the media represents events is by means of language. Fairclough (2001b: 18-19) perceives language as a form of social practice—'discourse'—that is impacted by and, in turn, has an impact on societal structures and relations. Discourses convey and perpetuate ideologies, which can either legitimize and reinforce existing power relations or challenge and transform them (Fairclough 2001b: 3, 27). Fowler (1991: 1) denies the neutrality of language in the media and emphasizes its role as an influential mediator in shaping perceptions. This is achieved by linguistic choices in vocabulary and syntax, which, through the values they convey, can influence the perspectives of the audience.

In this thesis, I aim to compare the representations of the Euromaidan protests in Ukraine (2013-2014) and the Belarus protests (2020-2021) in *The New York Times* (from here on referred to as *The NYT*) using a corpus-assisted approach to discourse analysis and van Leeuwen's framework for social actors' analysis.

Both protests were large anti-government and pro-democracy movements. While the Euromaidan protests resulted in the ousting of President Viktor Yanukovych, the Belarus protests failed, as President Aliaksandr Lukashenka remained in power. These events were part of the development of the current conflict—Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in

2022 and examining them is indispensable for understanding the ongoing war. While scholarly attention in various fields, including the media, is now largely directed toward the war, it is also essential to explore the antecedent events as this will not only provide us with valuable insights into the current war but also contribute to our understanding of how the representations of both countries developed over time. The rationale behind choosing *The NYT* for analysis is its substantial global presence and extensive reporting of the events.

This thesis is guided by the following research question: What are the similarities and differences in the representation of the Euromaidan and Belarus protests in *The NYT*? Specifically, I will analyze the naming of the event as well as anti-government (protesters, opposition leaders) and pro-government (security forces, presidents) social actors. Another focus of the study is the attribution of responsibility for violence through linguistic choices, as it is very impactful in shaping the audience's perception of the events and is often subject to conflicting or ambiguous interpretations. My MA thesis contributes to knowledge about representations of Ukraine and Belarus during one of the focal points of their contemporary history and provides insights into various strategies of media representation of protest movements and their participants.

This thesis consists of three chapters: the literature review, methodology, and the empirical analysis. In the first chapter, I discuss the process of news construction and the role of language in it, the media coverage of social movements, the background of the analyzed events, the ethical policy of *The NYT*, and previous research on the analyzed events and protests in general. The second chapter presents the methodological approaches employed (critical discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, and van Leeuwen's framework for analyzing social actors) and details the methodological procedure. The final chapter reports and discusses the findings of the analysis.

1 REPRESENTATION OF PROTESTS IN MEDIA: LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 News Construction and Language

News is, on the one hand, socially constructed and, on the other hand, actively contributes to the social construction of reality (Fowler 1991: 2). Firstly, this implies that the processes of news selection and transformation are influenced by ideas and beliefs that are often in line with the ideas of the dominant groups in society. Secondly, news is a representation of reality mediated by language, and linguistic choices can affect the perceptions of the audience (Fowler 1991: 4).

Regardless of media efforts to maintain impartiality, owing to the social, economic, and political positioning of media institutions, every news story is inevitably reported from a particular angle, which Fowler (1991: 10) calls an ideological position. He uses the relatively neutral terms of media 'representation' and 'mediation' to describe this process, as opposed to negatively charged designations 'bias,' 'skewing,' and 'judgment,' since some kind of a stance is inevitable and frequently it is not the explicit purpose of a media outlet to manipulate information (Fowler 1991: 12). Representation in the media is a constructive practice where events and ideas are shaped by the structural features of the medium (a newspaper, a photograph, language, etc.), which, in turn, are influenced by social values, economic conditions, and production conventions (Fowler 1991: 26).

The initial step, in which a certain view of reality starts being constructed, is news selection and its ranking (Fowler 1991: 11, Hall et al. 1978: 53-54). An event is intrinsically not newsworthy, so its inclusion in the news report is ideologically significant (Hall et al. 1978: 53). The criteria for news selection, frequently unconsciously applied, are known as news values (Fowler 1991: 13). Galtung & Ruge (1965: 65-71) identified twelve culturally determined factors that impact the likelihood of an event being featured in the news. They

concluded that events that unfold within the production cycle of a media outlet, fit into or balance the composition of the newspaper/program, surpass a significance threshold, have negative outcomes, are unambiguous in interpretation, involve elite nations or people, or include personalization are more likely to receive news coverage. It is also important for events to be relevant and culturally proximate to make them meaningful for the audience of a media outlet. Next, events that are consonant with the media's expectations receive more attention, as the media is more prepared to report on them. However, it is the most unexpected event within the range of meaningful and consonant events that is more newsworthy. Finally, once a topic has been initially reported in the news, subsequent related events tend to continue being covered. Thus, the act of news selection already entails an ideological process of interpretation (Fowler 1991: 19).

The next step involves the construction of the news story and is influenced by certain political, economic, and social factors (Fowler 1991: 11, Hall et al. 1978: 54). During this process, the media presents and makes selected events comprehensible to the assumed audience by identifying the event (e. g. naming) and placing it within a social or cultural context that is already familiar to the audience (Hall et al. 1978: 54).

When an event is shaped into a finalized news piece, it is encoded into a specific language form, representing the newspaper's understanding of the language used by its primary audience (Hall et al. 1978: 60-61). This is also when language is used as a "refracting, structuring medium," meaning that certain values are implanted in the linguistic usage, which not only makes reality accessible to the public, but also molds their perceptions (Fowler 1991: 10). The term 'refracting' suggests that language does not simply reflect reality, but rather, it plays a dynamic and transformative role in shaping how people perceive and understand the world.

According to Berger & Luckmann (1966: 172-173), language functions as a primary tool in the social construction of reality and has two capacities which are instantiated in communication: reality-maintaining and reality-generating. The subjective reality of an individual is incessantly maintained, modified, and reconstructed during communication. Communication does not delineate the world but acquires a sense within a certain picture of the world, confirming the subjective reality of this world by means of accumulation and consistency. Consequently, in communication, the reality-maintenance is implicit, and the reality it maintains is often accepted without question. Overall, this mechanism upholds reality by verbally processing different elements of experience and assigning them a specific position.

The reality-generating capacity of language is realized through linguistic objectification, where diverse experiences are transformed into a cohesive order (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 173). For instance, communication brings clarity, shape, and substance to vague concepts, transforming abstractions into tangible realities within one's consciousness. Additionally, the continuous exclusion of certain elements can weaken corresponding aspects of subjective reality, whereas the consistent inclusion of certain items can strengthen others.

Kress & Hodge (1979) claim that language serves as the mechanism through which society infiltrates and shapes an individual's consciousness (Kress & Hodge 1979: 1) By means of language, the world becomes more stable and coherent in our consciousness as opposed to what it actually is, reflecting the ability of language to construct reality (Kress & Hodge 1979: 5). Language is also considered a medium of social consciousness, albeit flawed due to its inherent partiality (Kress & Hodge 1979: 6, 13). This function of language is defined by the linguists as ideology—"a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view" (Kress & Hodge 1979: 6). They emphasize that language is not

solely a means for comprehending the world but also a version of the world that is imposed by someone else (Kress & Hodge 1979: 9). Consequently, the capacity of language to convey or distort significance through linguistic forms encourages its use as an instrument of control, potentially manipulating individuals who believe they are merely receiving information (Kress & Hodge 1979: 6).

Fowler (1991: 67) also acknowledges that language is permeated by fixed and invisible ideology, which the method of critical linguistics seeks to uncover. He further asserts that each specific linguistic expression in a media text, including choices in wording and syntax, serves a specific purpose (Fowler 1991: 4). Different ways of expressing the same content are not arbitrary and create intentional ideological distinctions and carry certain values, influencing how the content is represented (Fowler 1991: 4, 66).

The press holds a unique significance in mediating ideology for individuals due to two factors. Firstly, newspapers ensure that a significant portion of the population can easily access news, allowing them to exert ideological influence simultaneously on millions of people (Fowler 1991: 121-122). The second factor involves the economic and political environment of the newspaper industry which generates a vested interest in presenting ideas from particular viewpoints (Fowler 1991: 122).

Most news consumers lack awareness and sufficient training to unveil the layers of media representation or manipulation (Fowler 1991: 11). Nonetheless, the audience is not limited to a passive role. Readers actively and creatively employ their background knowledge when engaging with news, projecting these unconscious chunks of knowledge onto the information received and shaping their understanding through structural and contextual clues in the news report (Fowler 1991: 43-44, van Dijk 1995: 14). In a certain sense, the text is collaboratively produced by both the writer and the reader, involving the

negotiation of the language used based on their shared knowledge of the world, society, and language (Fowler 1991: 60).

1.2 Media Coverage of Protests

On the one hand, media can help validate and mobilize social movements (Gamson & Wolfsfeld 1993: 116), but on the other hand, it tends to be negatively biased toward the representation of protests.

McCurdy (2012) synthesized the research conducted on the dynamics between movements and their media coverage. He specifically focused on the concept of protest paradigm—a framework for the negative coverage of protests in the news (McCurdy 2012: 245). According to McCurdy (2012: 245, 250), social protests generate negative coverage due to the inherent practices in journalism and media that commonly amplify violence and sensationalism.

Lee (2014: 2726) agrees that the mainstream media has been frequently criticized for its tendency to delegitimize and marginalize protests, especially the ones that use radical tactics. However, changes in the media environment have led to a more nuanced attitude of the newspapers toward the news coverage of the protests and a more diverse representation. A protest paradigm, or the pattern of media coverage, is now considered to be variable, and the assumption of a bias against social protests in the mainstream news media has been discarded (Lee 2014: 2728).

Sometimes, protests can contest the media bias. While it seems obvious that media consumption increases during the period of distressing and significant events (Fowler 1991: 6), it is also noteworthy that precisely some of these distressing events, referred to as ‘anomalies’ by Trew (1979: 97), can challenge the political and social ideologies inherent in the media representations and, consequently, the social order these ideologies legitimize. The anomalous situations, when things happen in a way that does not seem to fit in the

existing ideological frame, allow the theoretical processes of interpreting, explaining, and judging to be understood more easily (Trew 1979: 96-97).

The dominant ideology tends to deny and suppress anomalies or reinterpret them within the existing framework (Trew 1979: 97). Upon the completion of these processes, the initial story in the media undergoes a substantial transformation, presenting the event in a manner distinct from its original form (Trew 1979: 98). Trew (1979: 94) examined linguistic transformations in the representation of the shooting and killing of unarmed people in the 1975 riots in Zimbabwe in *The Times* and *Guardian* reports. For instance, in the first *The Times* report, while the description ("Eleven Africans were shot dead and 15 wounded when Rhodesian police opened fire on a rioting crowd of about 2,000") mentions the police, it obscures their responsibility for killing the demonstrators by agent deletion and using a temporal conjunction 'when' instead of a causal one. The subsequent report completely removes the police from the portrayal of the same events ("After Sunday's riots in which 13 Africans were killed and 28 injured /…/") by agent deletion and does not include information about the manner of death (by shooting), shifting the focus of the narration. Trew's (1979: 111-112) findings suggest that linguistic transformations in a series of descriptions of the same situation involved an ideological shift and contributed to the reinterpretation of the event.

1.3 *The New York Times*

The NYT is an American liberal quality newspaper with the third biggest news website globally as of December 2023 (Majid 2024, January 22), the biggest digital subscription in the world as of December 2023 (Majid 2023, December 7), and the second largest printed circulation in the US as of March 2023 (Majid: 2023, June 26). This positions it as one of the leading global media outlets with 10.36 million subscribers, 9.7 million of them digital-only at the end of 2023 (Robertson 2024, February 7). *The NYT* covers news at

local, national, and global levels, offering news articles, opinion articles, editorials, investigative reports, reviews, etc., with multimedia content added in its online version. Its extensive global presence is one of the reasons it was selected for the analysis in this thesis.

On the website, the newspaper presents its ethical guidelines and principles it adheres (The New York Times 2004). The handbook starts with the following commitment:

> The goal of The New York Times is to cover the news as impartially as possible — "without fear or favor," in the words of Adolph Ochs, our patriarch — and to treat readers, news sources, advertisers and others fairly and openly, and to be seen to be doing so (The New York Times 2004: 3).

The pursuit of impartiality and neutrality is common in journalism ethics, but the newspaper does not transparently and clearly convey its own tendency to prefer certain ideological standpoints and the potential resulting bias.

The NYT covers protest movements both nationally and globally. In their research, Harlow & Johnson (2011: 1359) explore the media coverage of the Egyptian Revolution by examining the approaches of *The NYT*, Global Voices, and Twitter. The focus is on assessing whether the coverage challenges or deviates from the established delegitimizing protest paradigm. The findings indicate that *The NYT*'s representation aligned more closely with the protest paradigm than the Twitter feed of the *Times* reporter or Global Voices (Harlow & Johnson 2011: 1369). The newspaper opted for formulaic reporting by prioritizing the sensational aspects, relying on official sources rather than citizen reports, and potentially marginalizing and undermining the protesters.

There are also studies that show that some of the protests are covered favorably by *The NYT* and the protest paradigm is overcome (Elmasry & el-Nawawy 2017, Wang & Ma 2021). In research on the coverage of the Black Lives Matter protests using content analysis it was established that the newspaper provided a sympathetic representation of the movement (Elmasry & el-Nawawy 2017: 14). When depicting the protests, *The NYT* tended to use a 'positive' frame, emphasizing peace and order, more frequently than a 'negative' frame which highlights lawlessness. Another study showed that in covering the 2019-20 Hong

Kong Protests *The NYT* focused on the pro-democracy dimension of the movement, bringing to light its resistance against China's influence over Hong Kong (Wang & Ma 2021: 13). The researchers assume this is the result of the 'anti-communism' and 'anti-China' ideology (Wang & Ma 2021: 13), but this conclusion might also reflect the Chinese scholars' cultural and ideological positioning.

The newspaper's attitudes to covering protests are relevant for the present analysis that compares the representation of protest actions in Ukraine and Belarus, which were extensively covered by the newspaper.

1.4 Historical and Social Background of the Euromaidan and Belarus Protests

1.4.1 Euromaidan Protests

The Euromaidan (November 21, 2013–February 21, 2014), also regarded as the Revolution of Dignity, was a series of protests in Ukraine, advocating for closer European integration, political reforms, and ultimately a change of government and political regime. It resulted in ousting of President Viktor Yanukovych and was followed by Russia's annexation of Crimea and conflict in Donbas, eastern Ukraine (Zelinska 2017: 1-5). Perceptions of the event varied widely, ranging from viewing it as a civic protest, a social movement, a revolution, or even an armed coup (Zelinska 2017: 2).

Three stages of the Euromaidan protests can be identified (Zelinska 2017: 4, Kvit 2014: 28-29, Shveda & Park 2016: 86-88). The first phase is referred to as a peaceful rally for European integration (November 21-29, 2013), triggered by the government's decision not to sign the Association Agreement with the EU. After a violent crackdown on the protesters on November 30, 2013, the protest grew into a mostly peaceful movement against police violations and human rights abuse (November 30, 2013–January 15, 2014). It was supported by the opposition leaders in the Parliament—Arseniy Yatsenyuk, Vitaliy Klitschko, and Oleh Tiahnybok. On January 16, 2014, the Ukrainian Parliament passed the

so-called dictatorial laws, limiting freedom of speech and outdoor assembly, which marked the beginning of the third stage (January 16, 2014–February 21, 2014). It was characterized by the coexistence of both peaceful and violent protests (the latter involving far-right organizations) calling for a regime change and bloody clashes between the protesters and security forces, resulting in the deaths of over a hundred protesters and 13 police officers.

The reasons for the Euromaidan extend beyond the refusal of the government to sign the Association Agreement. The protests were a reaction to the extreme consolidation of powers by Viktor Yanukovych, institutional failures, widespread corruption, and elites' inability to reform Ukraine (Zelinska 2017: 5-6, Shveda & Park 2016: 86). The Euromaidan resulted in the removal of Yanukovych from power, the change of the political regime, the renewal of the pro-European foreign policy, the release of political prisoners (including former prime minister Yulia Tymoshenko), the strengthening of civil society, and the implementation of institutional reforms (Zelinska 2017: 1, 6-7).

1.4.2 Belarus Protests

The protests in Belarus (24 May 2020–25 March 2021) refer to mass demonstrations against the government and incumbent president Aliaksander Lukashenka that started prior to the 2020 presidential election.

Until 2020, the authoritarian rule of Lukashenka had persisted for 26 years without encountering significant challenges (Bedford 2021: 808). Pre-election protests backed the opposition candidates Viktar Babaryka, Valery Tsapkala, and Siarhei Tsikhanouski (Bedford 2021: 809). Following their imprisonment or exclusion from the election, Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya, Tsikhanouski's wife, emerged as the primary opposition candidate, receiving support from Veronica Tsapkala (Tsapkala's wife), and Maria Kolesnikova (Babaryka's campaign manager) (Bedford 2021: 809-810).

The rigged elections on August 9, 2020 that declared Lukashenka the winner ignited large-scale protests to contest these results (Leukavets 2022: 1-3). The initial days of protests following the election were met with severe suppression by Lukashenka's government: protesters were detained, beaten, and tortured. During the next stage (August 12-23, 2020), there was a temporary cease-fire, and protests took more diversified forms (mass demonstrations, human chains in solidarity, women's marches, strikes, resignations from media, etc.) (Leukavets 2022: 3-4). At the end of August, the regime returned to the suppression of the movement, and with time, the protests started to decline after failing to reach their goals (Leukavets 2022: 4-5).

1.5 Previous Research on the Euromaidan and Belarus Protests in the Media

The representation of the Euromaidan protests in media has been explored from multiple perspectives: media framing research, metaphors and symbols, and the representation of social actors and countries/regions. In contrast, the topic of the media coverage of Belarus protests has received little attention; the only research paper discovered (Sheppental 2021) compares the protests in Belarus with the Euromaidan movement. Additionally, one master's thesis (Kukštaitė 2021) examining the coverage of events in Belarus in four newspapers was identified but will not be used here, as it is student work the reliability of which could not be ascertained.

1.5.1 Framing Approach

A number of studies have examined the Euromaidan protests through framing analysis, which examines how media outlets selectively present and emphasize certain aspects of an event or issue to shape audience perceptions and interpretations.

In their studies, Sheppental (2021) and Liu (2022) adopted a comparative approach: Sheppental analyzed the news framing of the Euromaidan and Belarus protests in German media (*Zeit*, *Spiegel*, *FAZ*, and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*), while Liu compared news framing of

the Euromaidan protests in Russian (*Pravda.ru*, *RT*, and *The Moscow Times)* and UK (*Mail Online*, *BBC*, and *The Guardian)* media outlets. Sheppental discovered that the protests in Ukraine were much more likely to be portrayed in the conflict frame, while the protests in Belarus in the human impact frame (Sheppental 2021: 89). The conflict frame views an event through the lens of disagreements and confrontations; by contrast, the human impact frame centers on depictions of individuals and groups impacted by a particular issue (Sheppental 2021: 86). This paper is especially useful in my research since I also aim to compare the media representation of the protests in Belarus and Ukraine.

Liu (2022: 423) argues that both the UK and Russian media were characterized by a one-sided manner of presentation. The author asserts that this is illiberal, but this claim is unsubstantiated in the article, as the level of media freedom is radically different in the two countries studied. The claim is especially surprising since two of the Russian sources studied are known to act as vehicles for voicing government viewpoints, while the UK sources included privately owned sources of different viewpoints, in addition to the BBC.

Two other studies by Dyczok (2015) and Surzhko-Harned & Zahuranec (2017) focus on the media landscape in Ukraine and investigate framing predominantly in Ukrainian media with relevant comparisons to foreign media outlets. Dyczok (2015: 81-83) established that mass media reports in Ukraine were censored to a certain degree as the TV channels experienced pressure from the authorities. Reports in the mainstream media underreported incidents, avoided protesters' comments, softened criticisms of the government, and ignored international condemnation (Dyczok 2015: 81). Protesters were portrayed as a small, unruly, and radical group, with far-right elements dominating headlines, distorting the true nature of the movement (Dyczok 2015: 81-82). On the other hand, social and digital media remained outside the state control (Dyczok 2015: 91). Dyczok was also able to trace Russian

propaganda in Ukrainian and Western reports (2015: 84-86), which indicates that I also need to be attentive to the possible presence of Russian propaganda in my corpus.

In contrast, Surzhko-Harned & Zahuranec concentrated solely on framing in Ukrainian social media, namely Facebook. Their findings indicate that, as opposed to Western media, which framed the revolution as a geopolitical struggle between Europe and Russia, Ukrainians themselves conceptualized the protests primarily as a domestic issue and anti-regime movement (Surzhko-Harned & Zahuranec 2017: 774).

1.5.2 Analysis of Metaphors and Symbols

Another method used in studying the protests involves the analysis of language in the media to explore metaphors and symbols as essential techniques of story-telling that also reflect worldviews.

Bezpiatchuk (2016) compared how the Ukrainian and Polish media outlets, including both tabloid and quality publications, symbolically represented the Maidan movement. Although there were minor differences, it was observed that certain symbols, such as "barricade" and "Berkut" (the security force), were prominently featured in both Ukrainian and Polish media coverage (Bezpiatchuk 2016: 69). Bezpiatchuk occasionally involved broader sociopolitical and historical contexts in which these representations emerged; however, a deeper examination could provide a more nuanced understanding of the symbolic meanings and their implications.

In a similar vein, Dilai & Serafin (2019) examined the metaphorical framing of the Euromaidan discourse in the Ukrainian media. Their findings suggest that the Euromaidan was perceived as a war ("/…/ on cold Kyiv's streets men and women with the EU **flags are fighting for this flag** because they are fighting for Ukraine and their future /…/"), a natural phenomenon ("/…/ the **fire of revolution** had spread to the regions /…/"), and a human being ("This **revolution has many faces**."), whereas authorities were conceptualized as

criminals ("Yanukovych and Party of Regions **are stealing our future**."), machine ("/…/ the government like a **tractor runs over people**."), and animals ("It [the revolution] has eradicated political **parasites**.") (Dilai & Serafin 2019: 162-176, bold in the original in all of the cases cited above and below). Political life was seen primarily as a journey ("The **path** to the EU is thorny."), but the metaphors of politics as a game ("The student movement is held hostage by big **political games**."), theater ("We take the **leading roles in this play**."), or trade ("What can Ukraine actually **trade** in Vilnius?") also appear. When it comes to methodology, while Bezpiatchuk developed a thorough system of symbol coding in her study, the research by Dilai & Serafin appears to lack clear criteria for metaphor identification, which may undermine the results of their quantitative analysis.

1.5.3 Analysis of Social Actors and Countries/Regions

Another productive angle of research involves the representations of various countries/regions and actors in the Euromaidan protests.

Tkachenko (2016) explored the image of Ukraine and Ukrainians as protesters in the Polish opinion-making press (6 newspapers) during the Euromaidan protests and has developed a meticulous system for analyzing it. The findings reveal that in the portrayal of Ukrainians, national identity received slightly more attention than supranational one (which comprises European and Eastern Slavic identities) and was presented mainly in a positive light with an emphasis on civic responsibility (Tkachenko 2016: 84-85).

Horbyk (2017) compared the portrayal of Europe during the Euromaidan protests in news media of three neighboring countries—Ukraine (*Dzerkalo tyzhnia*, *Korrespondent*, and *Segodnya*), Russia (*Izvestiya*, *Kommersant*, and *Novaya Gazeta*), and Poland (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Rzeczpospolita*, and *Polityka*). The findings suggest that the images of Europe differed greatly between these countries, with Russia having the most negative and Ukraine the most positive one (Horbyk 2017: 125).

Finally, Martsenyuk & Troian (2018) explored the gender of social actors during the Euromaidan movement; in particular, they aimed to determine and discuss patriarchal and egalitarian scenarios of Ukrainian women's participation in the protests. The researchers concluded that the portrayal of women reproduced already existing patriarchal roles but at the same time challenged them (Martsenyuk & Troian 2018: 149-151). I believe quantitative analysis would have also been beneficial to this research to establish which images were prevailing.

From the methodological perspective, the studies using a framing approach provide insights into what perspectives of the representation exist, which is valuable for my research, as I can track them in *The NYT* portrayal of events. The articles on metaphorical and symbolic conceptualizations in political discourse share the views of my research on the importance of language in constructing representation. The last cluster of studies offers ideas to investigate social actors and images of countries/regions in media representations.

However, the analysis showed that certain aspects like language and the representation of social actors still lack sufficient research, and certain methodologies like corpus linguistics have not been utilized. That is why, in my study, I adopt a corpus-assisted approach to critical discourse analysis in order to look into the role of language in the naming of the events and representations of social actors. Also, I do a comparative study of the Euromaidan and Belarus protests, inspired by Sheppental (2021) but will employ a different methodological framework.

1.6 Previous Research Methodologies on Protests

Discourse analysis has been one of the main frameworks for analyzing the representations of protests. However, corpus-assisted discourse approaches, which use computational tools to examine large data sets, are becoming more popular in research on protests.

Brindle (2016) investigated how the Sunflower Student Movement (2014) is linguistically constructed in the two primary English-language newspapers in Taiwan, *The China Post* and *Taipei Times*. He employed a corpus analysis methodology to delve into discursive constructions. Initially, the study examined raw frequency lists of the corpora, followed by a thorough analysis of collocates and concordances associated with the most frequent words. 'Taiwan' was established as the most frequent word in both corpora. In *The China Post* it was used as the object of 'hurt,' 'visit,' 'protect,' and 'affect' (Brindle 2016: 9). The concordance analyses demonstrated that Taiwan's economy is 'hurt' by protests, hence, Taiwan has to be 'protected.' In *Taipei Times*, 'Taiwan' is the object of 'safeguard,' 'annex,' 'protect,' 'hurt,' 'help,' 'visit,' 'defend,' and 'support' (Brindle 2016: 11). The qualitative analysis of the concordance lines showed that this representation, as opposed to that of *The China Post*, positions protesters as 'safeguarding' and 'defending' Taiwan's democracy and independence. Subsequently, the researchers conducted a comparison of keywords between the two corpora. The study's results show that *Taipei Times* framed the protests positively as a democratic struggle, while *The China Post* portrayed the movement in a more negative light, bringing to public attention its destabilizing aspects.

Abeed (2017) analyzed the news representation of the Libyan Revolution (2011) in British broadsheet newspapers. He adopted a critical methodology along with corpus linguistics. His methodological procedure involved keyword extraction, filtering the keyword list, thematic grouping of keywords into categories of opposing groups (pro- and anti-government forces), military operations, and victims of conflict, and, finally, considering keyword distribution. For the qualitative phase of analysis of the corpus findings, he used a concordance function to investigate the naming and the linguistic construction of the opposing groups as well as the construction of violence. It was established that protesters were referred to as 'protesters,' 'fighters,' 'revolutionaries,' and

'rebels' and were described on the noun phrase level as mostly large groups ("hundreds of rebel fighters"), Lybian ("Libyan rebel fighters"), young ("the young fighters"), peaceful ("unarmed civilian protesters"), and standing for democracy and freedom ("freedom fighters," "pro-democracy protesters") (Abeed 2017: 131-137). Gadaffi was named as 'colonel,' 'leader,' 'dictator,' 'autocrat,' 'tyrant,' 'despot' and very negatively evaluated ("murderous dictator," "hated dictator," "one of the world's most notorious dictators," "erratic tyrant") with a focus on the duration of his rule ("the veteran autocrat," "the world's longest-surviving dictator," "a dictator who has ruled Libya for 42 years") (Abeed 2017: 121-128). The examination uncovered discursive tactics that indicate a biased portrayal of the Libyan Revolution in British newspapers, favoring the anti-Gaddafi forces.

Algmade (2019) studied the media representation of the Syrian Revolution (2011-2012) in the Iranian English-language *Fars News Agency* and UK *Reuters*, primarily focusing on the discursive constructions of pro- and anti-government forces. The researcher employed a corpus-based critical discourse analysis, exploring both micro-level aspects, such as lexical choices, and macro-level linguistic elements in their broader contextual sense. At the micro level of analysis, tools of corpus linguistics were utilized: frequency, keyness, collocates, and concordances. At the macro level, an eclectic methodology for critical discourse analysis was developed, encompassing van Leeuwen's sociosemantic approach to social actors, transitivity model, and van Dijk's ideological square, to analyze the representation of social actors in chemical attacks by the Assad regime. For example, the *Fars* headlines do not mention the government (led by Assad) as responsible for attacks ("Terrorists in Syria Receive Cargo of Chemical Substances;" "Turkey Behind Sarin Attack in Syria;" "Iraqi Plants Producing Chemical Arms for Rebels"); instead, they attribute the responsibility to the rebels (the agent role in receiving the substances), Turkey (preposition 'behind') and Iraq (the agent role in supplying the rebels with chemical weapons) (Algamde

2019: 54-55). In contrast, the *Reuters* headlines were contradictory and portrayed rebels as victims of attacks (“Dogged rebels the target of Syria gas attacks”) and, at the same time, assigned accountability to them (“Chemical weapons used by fighters in Syria”), or simply reported the events without naming any social actors (“UN confirms chemical arms were used repeatedly in Syria”). The findings reveal that the Iranian newspaper provided a biased representation of the Syrian Revolution, whereas the UK media agency offered a more balanced portrayal of the conflicting parties.

1.7 Conclusion

The literature review has shown that linguistic choices can be used in the media to convey ideology and that the media tends to be negatively biased toward the representation of protests (protest paradigm). *The NYT* declares its commitment to balanced coverage in its ethical guidelines, but some instances of representation of protest actions suggest an alignment with the protest paradigm. However, recent studies reveal cases of a more diverse representation of protests in the newspaper.

Previous research on the representation of the Ukrainian and Belarus protests in the media has demonstrated that while the representation of Belarus protests in the media remains largely under-researched, the Euromaidan protests have been extensively studied. It was established that the media coverage of the Ukraine protests emphasized conflict, while the Belarus protests were depicted with a focus on human impact. Other findings highlight the metaphorical representation of the Euromaidan protests as a war, the presence of Russian propaganda, bias, and censorship in some accounts, and an opposing framing as either a geopolitical or domestic issue in different types of media. Also, examples of positive representations of Ukrainians and Europe were discovered, along with contradictory descriptions of women. Prior research on protests in media incorporated corpus methodology to establish the nuances of the representation.

2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (from here on referred to as CDA) is an umbrella term for perspectives that consider language a social practice, recognize the importance of the context of language use, and explore the relation between language and power (Wodak 2001: 2-3). This approach signals a shift in scholarly attention to the role of language in reflecting, shaping, and sustaining social hierarchy and power (Wodak 2001: 6).

In CDA, text is viewed as the basic unit of communication and, hence, one of the main objects of inquiry (Wodak 2001: 3). Through texts and their language, the relationships of power and control are systematically expressed and, more importantly, legitimized. As a result, language gains power and becomes ideological, but only due to the fact that it is used by powerful people with the intent to establish their dominance. That is why a special focus in CDA is placed on investigating the social processes and structures that affect both text production and interpretation (Wodak 2001: 6).

The primary goal of CDA is, by analyzing language use, to reveal conventionalized power relationships (Wodak 2001: 3-4). Perceived in a society predominantly as stable, natural, and given, these relationships of dominance remain largely opaque and obscure to those who are dominated or deceived, which is why it is important to critically analyze the language of power structures and demystify their discourses. CDA further seeks to encourage people to resist control in acts of creativity, such as, for instance, breaking discursive conventions. Ultimately, this emancipation can give people tools to improve their conditions or even challenge an existing system of social inequality (Wodak 2001: 11-12).

Another essential issue in CDA is the responsibility of an analyst (Wodak 2001: 10-11). Wodak emphasizes that when one performs a critical analysis, one does not look at the linguistic data in the social context from a distance, so one has to be explicit about one's

own social influences and political stance. The researcher's ability to reflect on their findings and interpretation is also crucial. Finally, critical discourse analysts also focus on the application of their results in society.

In my research, I will use Norman Fairclough's framework for critical discourse analysis because of its extensive and multi-layered approach to examining discourse. Fairclough (2001a) sees CDA both as a theory and as a method. He introduces a theoretical perspective on language as a central medium of social control and power because of its ideological properties (Fairclough 2001b: 1-4). Fairclough (2001b: 3) concludes that language is used by the powerful to manufacture consent to their power. Hence, language activity is not a mere reflection of social processes but an essential constituting part of them (Fairclough 2001b: 30-31).

In Fairclough's (2001b: 4) understanding, 'critical' in CDA refers to revealing power relations that may be hidden from people by finding ideologies embedded in language use. Discourse refers to language as a form of social practice or, in other words, "language use conceived as socially determined" (Fairclough 2001b: 18). He further determines 'text,' 'interaction,' and 'context' as three interrelated dimensions of discourse (Fairclough 2001b: 21). Text is, on the one hand, a product of text production; on the other hand, it serves as a resource for text interpretation (Fairclough 2001b: 20). The processes of production and interpretation are affected by social conditions—the context of the social situation, social institutions, and, at last, society (Fairclough 2001b: 20-21). When it comes to analysis, Fairclough suggests three stages (description, interpretation, and explanation) which correspond to the three aforementioned dimensions of discourse and the relationships between them.

2.1.1 Description

CDA's first phase—description—deals with the level of text and involves the analysis of the formal properties of the text and the values they convey (Fairclough 2001b: 91-92). These formal features can be regarded as specific choices from a wide range of vocabulary and grammar options. In this way, they are also traces of the production process and cues in the interpretation process (Fairclough 2001b: 67). The task of the analyst is to uncover the values conveyed by the formal properties: experiential value refers to the knowledge, beliefs, and experience of the text producer; relational value reflects social relationships, whereas expressive value reveals the producer's evaluation (Fairclough 2001b: 93).

For the description stage, Fairclough developed a set of questions, focusing on the formal features that tend to be most important to CDA. Regarding vocabulary, it is useful to pay attention to classification schemes, ideologically contested words, instances of rewording (using different phrasing) and overwording (using many synonymous words), meaning relations, euphemistic expressions, formality, and metaphors (Fairclough 2001b: 92). As for grammar, one can analyze types of processes and participants, agency, nominalizations (a verb/adjective transformed into a noun), voice, polarity (positive/negative sentences), modes (declarative, interrogative or imperative), pronouns 'we' and 'you,' relational as well as expressive modalities, linkers, and referencing (Fairclough 2001b: 93). Fairclough's model also covers textual structures, but I will not analyze them in my research, and hence I will not introduce them here.

2.1.1.1 Naming

I will complement Fairclough's approach with van Dijk's research on the role of semantics in communicating ideologies and Jeffries's work on naming, as these provide deeper insight into this aspect of language that is a major factor in my corpus. Van Dijk

(1995a: 256) assigns the primary role in conveying ideologies to the level of meaning and reference. In particular, Jeffries (2007: 63) points out that naming is one of the most impactful decisions that can have ideological effects. Richardson (2007: 49) highlights that how people are named in the news is always a choice, and it influences how the audience sees them. While the media account of event participants may be factually true, it can still carry significant ideological implications: "We all simultaneously possess a range of identities, roles and characteristics that could be used to describe us equally *accurately* but not with the same meaning" (Richardson 2007: 49, italics in the original). Choosing a single social aspect from many alternatives available (gender, religion, ethnicity, occupation, etc.) to label a participant foregrounds one category among other equally accurate choices. The selected naming strategy emphasizes the groups to which the participant of the event is linked and can also signal the connection between the namer and the named in terms of, for instance, attitude or social status.

Jeffries (2007: 63) considers a noun phrase to be a basic unit of naming. The noun phrase consists of a head typically realized by a noun or pronoun and may also include determiners and modifiers which are subordinated to the head (Aarts & Aarts 1982: 62, 104). Determiners specify the meaning of the following nouns (Aarts 2001: 28), whereas modifiers provide descriptive or classifying information about the noun (Aarts & Aarts 1982: 63). Determiners can be realized by means of various items, such as articles, possessive and demonstrative pronouns, a specifying genitive ("Peters salary"), numerals, etc. (Aarts & Aarts 1982: 105-106). Two types of modifiers are distinguished: premodifiers and postmodifiers (Aarts & Aarts 1982: 62). Premodifiers precede the head and can be realized by an adjective phrase ("this rather expensive clock"), a noun phrase ("language disorder"), a classifying genitive ("a men's shop"), or an adverb phrase ("the then chairman") (Aarts & Aarts 1982: 62, 108-112). Postmodifiers follow the head and can take the form of an

adjective phrase (“a wallpaper similar to yours”), an adverb phrase (“the man outside”), a prepositional phrase (“the book on top”), a noun phrase (“a car that color”), a finite clause (“Christopher is no longer the man he used to be.”), a non-finite clause (“John lacks the energy to write such a book.”) (Aarts & Aarts 1982: 62, 112-118). So, naming comprises not only the choice of a noun but also the construction of a noun phrase with determiners and modifiers to further specify or characterize a referent (Jeffries 2010: 20).

Selecting a noun to name a referent can be already an ideological choice (Jeffries 2010: 20-21). One such instance is outlined by van Dijk (1995a: 259-260) in his examination of how *The NYT* editorials employ the term ‘terrorists’ for certain groups of people. Particularly, the newspaper refers to Hamas members as terrorists in its 1993 reports, which, as van Dijk argues, is an ideological decision and reflects the newspaper’s political stance favoring Israel. He highlights that reports from a Palestinian position would have used another label for the Hamas members, also ideologically loaded, for instance, ‘freedom fighters.’

Ideological implications can further be manifested at the level of the noun phrase with modifiers and determiners (Jeffries 2010: 21-22). The noun phrase serves as a package of ideas and labels something that is already presupposed as opposed to a clause/sentence which, instead of assuming, asserts the relationship between the named entities. To illustrate, in the sentence “the long and winding road that leads to your door will never disappear,” the relationships within the noun phrase (‘the road is long and winding’ and ‘the road leads to your door’) are taken for granted, while the fact that ‘the certain road will never disappear’ is asserted. That is why the noun phrase is less likely to be questioned by the reader and the relationship between different components of the noun phrase is harder to untangle. While some of the noun phrases are mere examples of economical use of language, others are instances of ideological packaging.

2.1.1.2 Transitivity

Transitivity is another crucial instrument in analyzing representation and ideological implications (Fowler 1991: 70). In a broad sense, transitivity deals with how meaning is represented in a clause and reflects how people encode in language their experiences of particular events (Simpson 1993: 81-82). Fundamentally, transitivity expresses various semantic processes. A process can consist of three elements: the process itself realized by a verb phrase, the participants usually expressed by noun phrases, and the circumstances indicating the time and place of the event that are realized through the adverbial and prepositional phrases (Simpson 1993: 82).

The system of transitivity offers numerous possibilities of representing a particular event by means of language, highlighting certain meanings while diminishing or obscuring others (Simpson 1993: 97). Two important transformations are of particular importance to critical linguists—passive and nominal (Fowler 1991: 77). In the passive transformation, the subject of an active sentence is demoted to an optional by-phrase, while the subject position is occupied by the object of the active sentence (Tallerman 2015: 233). Functionally, active voice is selected to place the focus on the agent and clearly convey responsibility (Fowler 1991: 77-78). In contrast, passive shifts the focus to the patient and the process; responsibility in this case is not foregrounded or communicated clearly. As can be seen, the choice between active and passive structures carries ideological significance regarding responsibility.

Another important transformation is nominalization which enables predicates to be expressed as nouns (Fowler 1991: 79-80). By densely packaging ideas, nominalization leaves much information unsaid in comparison with a full clause, creating ample room for ideological influence. Fowler demonstrates that in the nominalization “allegations against Mr. John Stalker” key details such as an accuser, content of allegations, time, and modality

are missing. Jeffries (2010: 25) gives another example of ideologically loaded nominalization—"invasion of Iraq," where the information about the doer of the action ("the British") is omitted.

2.1.2 Interpretation

The stage of interpretation involves the analysis of the relationship between text and interaction, namely text production and interpretation (Fairclough 2001b: 118). In these processes, people rely on cognitive resources that are socially generated, which Fairclough calls member's resources (from here on referred to as MR) and which are activated by formal features of the text. This signifies that the process of interpretation depends as much on what is in the text as on the interpreter.

The first aspect examined in this stage is the interpretation of the text, and the second is related to interpreting the context and holds more significance for the explanation stage (Fairclough 2001b: 119-121). Fairclough distinguishes two types of context: situational (properties of the physical situation and participants) and intertextual context (dialogic relationship between this text and others). Situational context is analyzed in terms of activities and topics reflected in the situation, its participants, relations between them, and the role of language in communicating these aspects (Fairclough 2001b: 123-124). Intertextual context is determined by placing the text withing a series of other texts and analyzing what aspects of the text are presupposed based on the antecedent texts (Fairclough 2001b: 127).

2.1.3 Explanation

The stage of explanation explores the social significance of the text by dealing with the relationship between interaction and social context, discourses and power relations (Fairclough 2001b: 135-136). On the one hand, power relations and social structures generate and determine discourses and MR, but on the other hand, the reproductive capacity

of discourses and MR gives them agency either to sustain or to change these relations and structures (Fairclough 2001b: 137). Hence, the producer of the text can be in a normative relation to them, when they act directly according to pre-existing discourses, or a creative one, when they transform them and unlock the potential for resistance.

The first step in the explanation stage is the analysis of social determinants, specifically how the power relationships shaped by social struggles have impacted the discourse (Fairclough 2001b: 136). Next, the ideological character of the MR that are drawn upon is established (Fairclough 2001b: 138). Finally, discourse is viewed as part of social struggle, prompting discussion on its effects on existing power relations (Fairclough 2001b: 135-136). While the first step directs the attention of the analyst to the past, the last step focuses on future, highlighting the potential for creativity in the hands of text producers and interpreters to transform the power relations.

2.2 Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Representation Framework

Another salient part of my research is the analysis of social actors. As a discourse category, social actors can be defined as "the textual instantiations of models of the self and others, both individual and collective" (Koller 2009: para. 1). In addition to Fairclough's CDA method, specifically the description and interpretation stages, I use the analysis of social actors developed by Theo van Leeuwen as it provides a more detailed and specific taxonomy to study the representations of participants of social practices. This framework, while analyzing formal properties of the text, also offers insights into the situational context in the text, particularly participants, their activities, relationships, and the role of language.

Van Leeuwen's (1996: 32) framework is sociosemantic, meaning that it initially identifies the sociological and critical relevance of categories before looking into their linguistic realization. The first reason for taking such a stance is that language lacks "biuniqueness"; namely, linguistic and sociological categories are frequently incongruent

(van Leeuwen 1996: 32-33). For instance, sociological agency need not be realized by the grammatical role of 'Agent,' which marks linguistic agency, but also by a prepositional phrase or possessive pronouns. The second reason stems from the view that meaning is attached to culture rather than solely to language, implying that besides language, there are other tools, such as images or music, for expressing different social categories (van Leeuwen 1996: 33-34). However, in my research, I only look into linguistic realizations.

The first sociological category is exclusion/inclusion. The choice to include or exclude social actors in representations depends on the intended audience (van Leeuwen 1996: 38-42). Exclusion implies that social actors are either completely removed with no traces in the representation, including their activities, or are referred to implicitly. The latter case of exclusion can occur through suppression and backgrounding. When a social actor is suppressed, there are only references to the activities associated with this specific social actor, but not to the social actor. Sometimes, it is challenging to infer whether suppressed social actors are supposed to be retrievable by the reader. In the case of backgrounding, social actors are de-emphasized: while they might not be referenced in connection to a specific activity, they are mentioned elsewhere in the text, so the reader can infer with a high degree of certainty who they are. However, in my research, I only look into linguistic realizations.

Suppression can be realized through (van Leeuwen 1996: 39-41):

- passive agent deletion: "In Japan similar concerns are being expressed /…/"—it is not mentioned who expresses these concerns;
- non-finite clauses which function as a grammatical participant: "To maintain this policy is hard." —it is not explained for whom it is hard to maintain this policy;

- deletion of a ‘Beneficiary’ (social actor benefiting from an activity): “Japan’s National Police Agency had to apologise recently for circulating an internal memo to police stations /…/”—it is not clarified to whom the agency apologized;
- nominalization, process nouns, or adjectives: “The level of support for stopping immigration altogether was at a postwar high.” —after the process noun “support,” the supporter is not specified.

Backgrounding is realized through simple ellipses (omission of the social actor) in non-finite clauses with -ing and -ed participles, in infinitival clauses with to, and in paratactic clauses (two independent clauses linked without a conjunction) or in the same ways as suppression (van Leeuwen 1996: 41). The difference is that the backgrounded social actors are always mentioned elsewhere in the text.

In inclusion, social actors can be assigned either active or passive roles (van Leeuwen 1996: 42-46). In the case of activation, social actors are portrayed as performing the activity, whereas, in the case of passivation, they are undergoing or receiving the activity. Activation and passivation can be realized through participation (corresponding thematic roles of Actor and Undergoer), circumstantialization (using the prepositional phrases with “by,” “from,” “against,” etc.), or premodification/postmodification of nominalizations.

The categories of genericization and specification reflect whether social actors are referred to as classes or specific individuals (van Leeuwen 1996: 46-48). Other similar two categories are assimilation, when social actors are referenced as groups, and individualization, when they are referred to as individuals (van Leeuwen 1996: 48-50). Two types of assimilation are distinguished: aggregation which treats participants as statistics and collectivization which highlights agreement and unity among members of the group (van Leeuwen 1996: 49). As groups, social actors can also be represented by means of association or dissociation (van Leeuwen 1996: 50-51). Association is used to express situational

alliances between different groups, and dissociation reflects the situation when these different groups stop being associated with each other in the text and the alliances are unformed.

What is also noteworthy in the analysis of social actors is whether they are anonymized (indetermination) or explicitly differentiated (differentiation) (van Leeuwen 1996: 51-52). When the identity of a social actor is specified, it is important to look into how it is represented. If a proper noun or title is used, we talk about nomination; if social actors are referred to by functions and identities they share with other people, we speak of categorization (van Leeuwen 1996: 52-54). There are three types of categorization: functionalization, identification, and appraisement (van Leeuwen 1996: 54-59). Functionalization occurs when social actors are described in relation to an activity they do (occupation), while identification occurs when social actors are characterized by what they inherently are. In this case, a social actor can be referred to through classification (gender, race, ethnicity, class, age, religion, etc.), relational identification (personal, work, family relations), or physical identification (physical characteristics). Appraisement happens when social actors are named using evaluative terms (‘darling,’ ‘thugs’).

Finally, social actors can be personalized (personalization) by being represented as human beings as well as impersonalized (impersonalization) through abstraction, which employs abstract nouns, and objectivation, which characterizes social actors by referencing places (spatialization), their utterances (utterance autonomization), their activity or instruments (instrumentalization), or parts of their body (somatization) (van Leeuwen 1996: 59-61). In his work, van Leeuwen also distinguishes overdetermination (van Leeuwen 1996: 41), but I will not use this category in my analysis as it is difficult to determine it with the help of corpus analysis.

2.3 Corpus Linguistics

I also employ a quantitative methodology of corpus linguistics, which uses corpora, large and structured sets of texts, and various corpus processes for analysis to be able to examine substantial amounts of data and draw generalizations. While discourse analysis treats a text as a whole and looks into the power of the language to construct reality and reinforce ideology, corpus analysis deals with large amounts of data and allows one to identify patterns and tendencies within discourses more clearly. Corpus linguistics, when applied to discourse analysis, helps to reveal linguistic patterns that are meaningful in the construction of discourses (Baker 2006: 1).

First of all, corpus linguistics is advantageous in CDA because it yields more thorough, reliable, and consistent results (Baker 2006: 10-12). Fairclough (2001b: 139) emphasizes that when performing CDA, analysts themselves draw upon certain MR; it is their self-consciousness and ability to reflect on the influences of their MR that differentiates them from the lay public. Still, even with such a high level of self-awareness, CDA is sometimes criticized for a bias in the interpretation, eclecticism, and lack of a systematic approach (Breeze 2011: 502-508). As argued by Baker (2006: 10-12), corpus linguistics imposes certain restrictions on the researcher's cognitive biases and reduces the level of selectivity, since general trends are revealed more easily when a large set of linguistic data is analyzed.

Another significant advantage of the corpus approach, according to Baker (2006: 13-15), is that it is useful in uncovering hegemonic as well as resistant and changing discourses. By collecting and analyzing numerous instances of discourse construction, we are able to observe that certain patterns of language are cultural triggers and evaluative meanings attached to them are not personal. These repeated linguistic patterns can serve as evidence of underlying hegemonic discourses. Moreover, corpus linguistics can also help reveal

resistant discourses, which are challenging to uncover in smaller-scale studies. Discourses are in a constant state of flux. This is manifested in changing frequencies of linguistic patterns that can be tracked by employing a corpus analysis.

The final benefit of using corpus-assisted research is triangulation (Baker 2006: 15-17). Scholars frequently employ several methodologies together, bridging the quantitative/qualitative split. The use of multiple methods to investigate the same phenomenon increases the validity of the findings.

However, there are also certain drawbacks to corpus linguistics. Firstly, it is limited only to the verbal domain (Baker 2006: 17), but this is not a limitation for my research, as I only study verbal data. Next, even though this methodology restricts a bias in analysis, it does not entirely remove it, since findings in corpus research remain the interpretation of the analyst to a certain extent (Baker 2006: 18). Also, the frequency of certain language patterns does not inherently indicate the presence of dominant discourses (Baker 2006: 19). Another issue is decontextualizing the data (Baker 2006: 18), which can be dealt with by employing CDA simultaneously. It is useful to be aware of these limitations, but they do not hinder my study significantly.

Corpus linguistics offers various methods for analyzing data: frequency, concordance, keyness, collocation, etc. In my research, frequency lists and concordances are employed.

Frequency is a pivotal concept in corpus analysis, used to reveal underlying discourses. A frequency list shows the number of times a particular word or linguistic feature appears within a given corpus. Baker (2006: 48) describes frequency as a reflection of ‘tension’ between two states of language—as a set of rules and as free choice. Frequency uncovers users’ preferences within the range of possible linguistic choices and with them, their intentions, both conscious and unconscious. The notion of dispersion is connected with

frequency; it reveals the spread and position of a particular linguistic feature across different sections of a corpus (Baker 2006: 48). Dispersion plots show whether certain words cluster to a certain period. Although helpful, frequency lists and dispersion plots only direct the analyst toward what is the focus of the text, which may be insufficient for a more thorough analysis.

A concordance analysis allows a close examination of the corpus (Baker 2006: 71). A concordance itself is a detailed list of the occurrences of a specific word or phrase within a given corpus. It also provides context as it presents the search term in its surrounding text, useful for identifying collocations and patterns. In fact, it is one of the more qualitative tools of corpus analysis, which provides a lot of flexibility, but this also brings in subjective choices as the recognition and interpretation of linguistic patterns are heavily dependent on an analyst (Baker 2006: 89).

2.4 Methodological Procedure

To examine how the protests were portrayed, I analyze the naming and representation of the event and social actors (with a special focus on acts of violence) by utilizing CDA, van Leeuwen's social actors' framework, and corpus analysis techniques. I conduct and write this research as a Ukrainian woman who sees both protests favorably, sympathizes with the protesters and stands in solidarity with their cause.

2.4.1 Data Collection

Using keywords 'Ukraine' and 'Belarus' and skimming all the articles published in the online version of *The NYT* during the protests' time frame (21 November 2013–23 February 2014 and 24 May 202025 March 2021 respectively), I compiled two corpora—114 articles on Ukraine and 53 articles on Belarus, including news reports, opinion pieces, and editorials. The article was considered relevant if it mostly focused on the protests, so pieces on Ukraine/Belarus and the Olympic Games, art, and other unrelated topics were excluded.

Then, I used an Excel table where I coded each article as ukr_(number) or bel_(number) and indicated the following information: date, headline, type of article, author, link, and notes. After that, I created two folders with Word documents including the texts of the articles, preserving the naming ukr_(number) or bel_(number). When copying the articles from the website into Word files, only headlines and the texts of the articles were retained, while other information was cleaned, such as the authors' names, location of reporting, publishing dates, images, image captions, ads, external links, etc. Opinion pieces and editorials were additionally tagged in the name as ukr/bel_(number)_op and ukr/bel_(number)_ed to monitor if any linguistic choices can be explained by a more subjective style typical for these types of articles.

2.4.2 Data Analysis Software

In the next stage, I uploaded the corpora to the Sketch Engine, a leading corpus-manager and text analysis software (Kilgarriff et al. 2014: 7) and investigated the data through the wordlist and concordance functions. Wordlist (or frequency list) gives an account of the most frequent words in the corpus, and the concordance function allows the user to look closer at the context of the word and is also beneficial for qualitative analysis.

2.4.3 Data Analysis Procedure

At first, I assessed and compared the amount of attention each of the events received, analyzing the number and length of articles and the news values. Then, to examine the representation of the events, I initially identified all instances of naming of the events as well as anti-government and pro-government social actors by scanning the articles. Using the advanced search feature in the concordance tool of the Sketch Engine, I looked for occurrences of each of these namings. Then, each concordance list was cleaned to remove irrelevant results, and the table of namings was compiled based on their frequency (results with a low number of occurrences were disregarded). Dispersion plots were used to see if a

certain name is used only in specific articles. In order to compare the results for different corpora, frequency was normalized. At the description level of CDA, all of the namings were analyzed using Fairclough's set of questions for vocabulary. Additionally, the word list function was utilized to determine which social actors were the most representative of the opposition.

I sorted the results in my concordance lists by left/right context to examine from what angles other elements (determiners and modifiers) of the noun phrase specify or modify the namings. For each naming, a table was compiled listing these aspects with examples sorted by frequency. Then, the results for each of the namings were added and organized into the table by number of occurrences (aspects with a low count of examples were dismissed), which allowed me to analyze how the events and social actors were characterized.

In the text of the analysis, the one-word quotations are enclosed in single quotation marks, whereas longer quotes are italicized. Lexical choices or grammar structures under focus are highlighted in bold. In the tables, examples are also given in italics; their grammatical category is specified in regular font. This thesis uses transliteration of proper names into English based on Ukrainian and Belarusian, which may be inconsistent with *The NYT*'s spelling that sometimes relied on Russian.

For the analysis of social actors, van Leeuwen's framework was employed, covering both the description and interpretation stages of CDA. The realizations of inclusion/exclusion, activation/passivation, association/dissociation, and personalization/impersonalization were determined only in the context of acts of violence, as they are the most applicable in the attribution of responsibility and to limit my focus due to the big amount of qualitative analysis needed to establish these categories. The emphasis was placed on acts of violence because they are frequently subject to ideological transformations and are one of the primary foci in protest reporting. In this case, also the list

of questions for grammar analysis developed by Fairclough and transitivity theory were utilized. All instances of namings of the social actors were analyzed through the lens of other categories. Generecization/specification and assimilation/individualization were established by paying attention to singular/plural forms and studying the broader context, nomination/categorization by analyzing the selected namings, indetermination/differentiation by looking at indeterminate references 'some,' 'someone/somebody,' and 'some people.'

In the interpretation stage of CDA, I investigated the relationship between social actors in acts of violence and in the instances when one social actor is defined through another one. I also looked into the dialogic relationship between the two analyzed events by searching for words 'Ukraine,' 'Ukrainian,' and 'Euromaidan' in the Belarus corpora and qualitatively analyzing the results. During the explanation phase, which is addressed in the conclusion, I tried to determine the ideological stance of the newspaper toward the events and investigate whether it maintains a normative or creative relationship with prevailing discourses and power dynamics.

3 EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF *THE NYT* REPRESENTATIONS OF THE EUROMAIDAN AND BELARUS PROTESTS

3.1 News Coverage

Both events received a substantial amount of attention in *The NYT*, which followed them quite extensively over an extended period, providing plentiful on-the-ground reports and even highlighting them in several editorials. It considered the events newsworthy according to Galtung & Ruge's news values discussed above due to the following factors: they were pro-democracy movements in the part of the world where democracy is being challenged, they were significant in terms of their scale and outcomes for both Ukraine and Belarus, they were very unexpected and continuously unfolding with certain climaxes, and they had negative consequences for participants, such as violence.

As can be seen from Table 1, the Euromaidan protests received significantly more coverage potentially because they involved a bigger country, evolved more rapidly and dramatically, and climaxed in a successful revolution. On the other hand, although there were considerably fewer articles on Belarus, they tended to be longer and thus more detailed.

	Euromaidan Protests	**Belarus Protests**
Total Number of Articles reports opinion editorial	114 84 23 7	53 46 5 2
Total words	109,612	60,181
Average length of the article	962	1,135

Table 1. Summary of the data collected for the analysis.

As illustrated in Figure 1, most of the articles on the protests in Ukraine were published in December probably due to the huge scale of protests then and in February possibly because of massive violence, killings of the protesters, and ousting of Yanukovych.

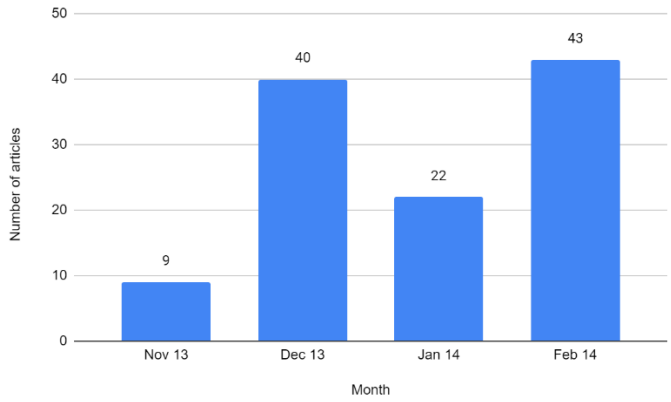

Figure 1. Number of articles on the Euromaidan protests by month.

According to Figure 2, the majority of articles on Belarus were written in August and September as a result of the largest protests in the history of Belarus after the election results on August 9. In the preceding and following months within the time frame of the protests, the number of articles did not exceed five per month, indicating lack of eventfulness and progression.

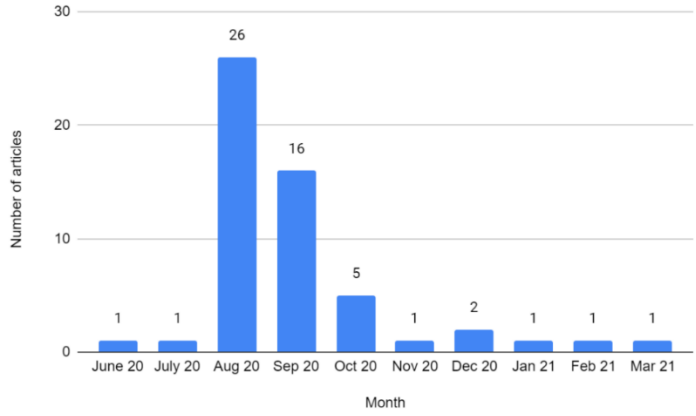

Figure 2. Number of articles on the Belarus protests by month.

3.2 Representation of the Protests in Ukraine

3.2.1 Naming and the Representation of the Event

Table 2 shows that *The NYT* mainly refers to the event in Ukraine as ‘protest/s,’ distinguishing between specific manifestations of protest activities through labels like ‘demonstration’ and ‘rally.’ The second most common term, ‘crisis,’ is more encompassing, and its frequent usage highlights the gravity, scale, and prolonged nature of the events, the

need for finding a solution, and the expectation of lasting social change. The third most used name, 'movement,' points to the broader involvement of the population and their sustained commitment.

Some namings ('clashes,' 'confrontation,' 'conflict,' 'standoff,' 'bloodshed,' and 'mayhem') convey the battlefield-like atmosphere during the more violent stage of the protests when the protesters and police fought each other and demands for the government to resign grew stronger, contributing to the portrayal of the events as a war: /…/ *the center of this elegant city* [Kyiv] *turned into a burning* ***war zone***. The reference 'crackdown' reflects the response of the authorities to the protests and highlights the severity of undertaken measures. The unpredictable and uncertain nature of the events is underscored in the terms 'unrest,' 'chaos,' 'turmoil,' and 'mayhem,' which bear a negative evaluation of the broader situation. The terms 'tug of war' and 'battle' mostly bring to the fore the geopolitical dimension of the event and position Ukraine as an object of struggle between Russia and Europe: /…/ *Ukraine was ensnared in* ***a battle for influence between Europe and Russia*** /…/; *Ukraine remains caught in* ***a tug of war between Europe and Russia*** /…/.

Several labels ('situation,' 'events,' and 'developments') seem to be euphemistic and downplay the gravity of the events: *The president's* [Obama's] *decision to address* ***the Ukrainian situation*** /…/. The term 'uprising' is used to emphasize the act of the rebellion of the protesters against the government. *The NYT* does not call the events a 'coup,' but it uses this definition to represent the viewpoint of Russia and the Ukrainian government: /…/ *with Russian officials denouncing* ***what they called a coup by right-wing extremists*** /…/. To reflect the possible development of the events, the name 'civil war' is employed, highlighting a deep division within the country. The newspaper resorts to defining the event as a 'revolution' only in the last articles (***Ukraine's "February Revolution"***), previously using

the term mostly in the quotations of the protesters. The term ‘Euromaidan,’ which is in retrospect the most recognized name for the events, is only used sparingly.

Overall, although there is a clear dominant naming in the representation, the wide variety of labels employed underscores the newspaper’s effort to capture the event’s complex and evolving nature and the challenge of defining it. There is no unified frame of reference and, instead, we see a competition between different interpretations.

No.	**Nominal choice**	**Frequency**	**Frequency per million**
1	protest	301	2746
2	crisis	107	976
3	movement	59	538
4	clash	42	383
5	demonstration	41	374
6	rally	40	365
7	crackdown situation	35 35	319 319
8	unrest	30	274
9	event	29	265
10	conflict uprising	26 26	237 237
11	confrontation	22	201
12	bloodshed chaos coup standoff (civil) war	19 19 19 19 19	173 173 173 173 173
13	turmoil	18	164
14	revolution	14	128
15	development tug of war	12 12	109 109
16	mayhem	11	100
17	battle	10	91
18	Euromaidan	6	55

Table 2. Nouns used to name the event in Ukraine.

The examination of determiners and modifiers in noun phrases containing the naming (see Table 3) showed that the event is primarily characterized by references to its character, location, and time. In terms of character, the event is predominantly defined as political (*the*

political *crisis in Ukraine*, *the* ***political*** *uprising*). It is also depicted much more as violent than peaceful. Peaceful nature is only associated with the protesters' events in the early phase of protests (*a* ***mostly peaceful*** *protest* ***in the mold of the Orange Revolution of 2004***, *the* ***largely peaceful*** *protest movement*), while violence is ascribed to both the police and the protesters to portray the situation in general (***violent*** *protests*, *Ukraine's* ***violent*** *civil uprising*, *a* ***violent*** *crackdown by the police*, ***bloody*** *clashes*, ***lethal*** *mayhem*, *a* ***violent*** *political crisis*). The event is described as happening in Ukraine, and there are plentiful references to Kyiv and the Independence Square, the central hub and focal point of the movement. Despite stressing Ukraine's West/East divide, the newspaper tries to show that pro-European protest activities were occurring in both areas: *demonstrations* ***in cities like Lviv and Chernivtsi****, in the generally pro-European western part of Ukraine*; *protests* ***in the city of Donetsk*** *in the traditionally Russia-friendly eastern half of Ukraine*). The modifiers indicating time, duration, frequency, and intensity highlight that the protests started in November (*the protest movement* ***that began last November***), emphasize the government's crackdown on November 30 (*a violent police crackdown on* ***Nov. 30***), and underscore the continuity of the event (*the* ***three-month-long*** *protest movement*, *a* ***sustained*** *civil uprising*, *a volatile situation* ***that showed no sign of abating***).

Regarding the aim, the protests being anti-government (*the* ***antigovernment*** *protest movement*, *the huge protests* ***against the government of President Viktor F. Yanukovych***) and pro-European (*the* ***pro-European*** *demonstrations*, *peaceful protests* ***in favor of closer ties with the European Union***) is emphasized, as is the government and police targeting of protesters (*the violent crackdown* ***on protesters***). The higher frequency of modifiers indicating the protests' anti-government orientation compared to those denoting a pro-European stance suggests that the newspaper perceives the protests' primary objective to be opposing the government. In terms of social actors, the responsibility for crackdown is

attributed to the security forces rather than the government by using genitive (***police's*** *crackdown*), noun modifiers (***police*** *crackdown*), and prepositional phrases (*crackdown* ***by riot police officers***). Also, the involvement of protesters and security forces in clashes is foregrounded (*clashes between* ***demonstrators*** *and* ***the police***). In terms of scale, the representation underscores the widespread popularity of the protests, thereby legitimizing them: *a* ***mass*** *demonstration movement, a* ***huge*** *demonstration* ***that drew hundreds of thousands***, ***spreading*** *unrest*.

No.	Aspect of representation	Number of occurrences	Some examples
1	character	201	violent (58): adjective (*violent, bloody, deadly, lethal*)
			peaceful (12): adjective (*peaceful*), prepositional phrase (*in the mold of the Orange Revolution of 2004*)
			other (131): noun (*protest, demonstration*), adjective phrase (*political, tumultuous, raucous, unrelenting, volatile, courageous, boisterous, loud, severe, increasingly ominous, uncertain, intractable, full-throttle, head-on, tense, serious*)
2	location	169	genitive (*Ukraine's, country's*), noun (*Ukraine, Kiev, street*), adjective (*Ukrainian*), prepositional phrase (*in Ukraine, in the country, in the former Soviet republic, in central Kiev, in Independence Square, in the city of Donetsk, in cities like Lviv and Chernivtsi, in Poltava*), -ing participle clause (*convulsing Ukraine*; *enveloping Kiev*), relative clause (*that has engulfed central Kiev*)
3	time, duration, frequency, intensity	109	genitive (*winter's*), noun phrase (*this week, last month*), adjective phrase (*current, recent, latest, sustained, continuing, long, intensifying, swirling, frequent, two/three-month-long*), prepositional phrase (*in November, in December, in its third month, on Nov. 30*), relative clause (*that began last November*; *which peaked in December*; *that showed no sign of abating*)
4	aim	57	against government (26): adjective (*antigovernment*), prepositional phrase (*against Mr. Yanukovich*), -ing participle clause (*calling for the government to step down*)
			against protesters (17): prepositional phrase ([*crackdown*] *on peaceful protesters, against demonstrators, on the protests*)
			pro-Europe/West (11): adjective (*pro-democracy, pro-European, pro-Europe*), prepositional phrase (*in favor of European integration*)
			pro-government (3): adjective (*pro-government*), prepositional phrase (*in support of the embattled president*)
5	social actors	54	government (4): genitive (*government's* [*crackdown*]), prepositional phrase ([*crackdown*] *by authorities*)
			opposition (3): noun (*opposition* [*movement*])
			security forces (33): noun (*police* [*crackdown*]), prepositional phrase ([*crackdown*] *by security forces*)
			protesters (7): genitive (*their* [*protest*])

			various (7): prepositional phrase ([*clashes*] *between demonstrators and the police*, [*standoff*] *between President Viktor F. Yanukovych and protesters*)
6	scale	52	adjective phrase (*mass*, *popular*, *huge*, *growing*, *spreading*, *widening*, *large*, *the biggest*, *massive*, *titanic*, *widespread*), prepositional phrase (*across the country*, *by hundreds of thousands of people*), relative clause (*that drew hundreds of thousands*)

Table 3. Aspects of the portrayal of the Ukraine event on the noun phrase level.

3.2.2 Naming and the Representation of Yanukovych and Opposition Leaders

Table 4 shows that the president of Ukraine is primarily nominated ('Yanukovych/Yanukovich'). His name is also the third most common content word in the corpus, suggesting he is a key focus in the representation. The lexical choices to name him ('President,' 'president,' 'leader') are neutral and reflect his role at the time as the leader of the country. There are also two references to him as a man (*a beefy* ***man*** *who is at least a head taller* [than Angela Merkel]) and two as a father (*his* ***father***), but due to a low number of occurrences, they are not significant in the portrayal.

No.	**Nominal choice**	**Frequency**	**Frequency per million**
1	Yanukovych/Yanukovich	772	7043
2	President/president	250	2281
3	leader	16	146

Table 4. Nouns used to name Yanukovych.

Table 5 shows that Yanukovych is primarily characterized with references to the country where he governs (***Ukraine's*** *president,* ***Ukraine*** *leader*). He is also depicted as facing difficulties, with the adjective 'embattled' being the most frequent modifier (*the country's* ***embattled*** *president*). Additional focus in the representation is placed on his legitimacy as a president (*a* ***legitimate, democratically elected*** *leader*) possibly to show the discrepancy between his official status as a president and questionable actions (use of force against protesters) and to caution against the potential consequences of removing a democratically elected president. There are very few references (hence, not included in the

table) to Yanukovych's character, but all of them depict him in a negative light: *Ukraine's* ***corrupt and cynical*** *president, Viktor Yanukovich*; *an* ***unsavory*** *leader*.

No.	Aspect of representation	Number of occurrences	Some examples
1	country	51	genitive (*Ukraine's*, *country's*), noun (*Ukraine*), adjective (*Ukrainian*), prepositional phrase (*of Ukraine*)
2	experiencing difficulties	14	adjective (*embattled*, *besieged*), -ed participle (*ousted*)
3	legitimacy	9	-ed participle (*elected*, *legitimately*/*democratically elected*), relative clause (*who was democratically elected in 2010*)

Table 5. Aspects of the portrayal of Yanukovych on the noun phrase level.

The representation of the Euromaidan protests does not clearly identify a single opposition leader. The three politicians whose names have the highest and nearly the same number of occurrences in the frequency list are Arseniy Yatsenyuk, Vitaliy Klitschko, and Yulia Tymoshenko. All three will be examined here.

As can be seen in Table 6, Yatsenyuk is mostly referred to as a leader or one of the leaders. Less frequently, he is also nominated by the newspaper ('Yatseniuk/Yatsenyuk'). There are also several references to him as a politician and a protest organizer as well as in regard to his former occupation as an economy minister.

No.	Nominal choice	Frequency	Frequency per million
1	leader	141	1286
2	Yatseniuk/Yatsenyuk	**77**	702
3	politician	5	46
4	economy/economics minister organizer	4 4	36 36

Table 6. Nouns used to name Yatsenyuk.

Table 7 demonstrates that Yatsenyuk is mostly portrayed as representing the opposition (*an* ***opposition*** *leader*), his party (*a leader* ***of the Fatherland party***), and parliament (*the* ***parliamentary*** *leader*). He is also depicted more often as a part of a larger group of opposition leaders rather than individually, which is reflected by the frequent usage of numerals (*the* ***two*** *main opposition leaders, Vitali Klitschko and Arseniy P. Yatsenyuk*).

Occasionally, he is also characterized with references to Ukraine and his role as one of the key opposition leaders.

No.	Aspect of representation	Number of occurrences	Some examples
1	representing	160	noun (*party*, *opposition*, *protest*), genitive (*party's*), adjective (*parliamentary*), prepositional phrase (*of the opposition Fatherland coalition*), relative clause *(who are members of parliamentary factions*)
2	quantity	16	numeral (*two, three*)
3	country	9	adjective (*Ukrainian*), prepositional phrase (*in Ukraine*)
4	role	6	adjective (*main*, *principal*)

Table 7. Aspects of the portrayal of Yatsenyuk on the noun phrase level.

Table 8 demonstrates that Klitschko is also mostly referred to as a leader or one of the opposition leaders. The newspaper uses his name ('Klitschko') less often. A significant number of references mention his career as a world champion boxer, probably because he is better known internationally for his boxing achievements than his political career.

No.	Nominal choice	Frequency	Frequency per million
1	leader	121	1104
2	Klitschko	75	684
3	boxing champion	15	137
4	(champion) boxer	11	100
5	politician	4	36

Table 8. Nouns used to name Klitschko.

As can be seen in Table 9, Klitschko is mostly portrayed as representing the opposition (*an **opposition** leader*), his party (*the leader **of the political party Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform***), and parliament (*several of the opposition leaders **in Parliament***). His former role as a boxer is reiterated (*the **former** boxing champion*) in the representation. Similarly to Yatsenyuk, he is also depicted more often as part of the opposition leadership rather than an individual leader, indicated by the frequent usage of numerals (*the **two** main opposition leaders, Vitali Klitschko and Arseniy P. Yatsenyuk*). Finally, Klitschko is sometimes described with references to Ukraine.

No.	Aspect of representation	Number of occurrences	Some examples
1	representing	141	noun (*party*, *opposition*), adjective (*parliamentary*), prepositional phrase (*of the Udar party*, *of the opposition Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform party*), -ing participle clause (*now serving in Parliament*), relative clause *(who leads the Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform*)
2	ex	18	adjective (*former*)
3	quantity	16	numeral (*two, three*)
4	country	8	adjective (*Ukrainian*), prepositional phrase (*in Ukraine*)

Table 9. Aspects of the portrayal of Klitschko on the noun phrase level.

The final prominent opposition leader represented is Yulia Tymoshenko who is mostly nominated by the newspaper ('Tymoshenko') (see Table 10). She is referred to in terms of her previous position as a prime minister of the country. Her role as a 'leader' is not emphasized (only seven occurrences) possibly because she is in prison. Other labels refer to her in relation to Yanukovych ('rival,' 'archrival'), highlighting their rivalry even despite her imprisonment. Once, Tymoshenko is named *Mr. Yanukovych's* ***nemesis***, a loaded term that implies a deep and persistent opposition between them. Additionally, in articles featuring her daughter Yevhenia Tymoshenko, a famous Ukrainian entrepreneur and activist, Tymoshenko is identified as a 'mother.'

No.	Nominal choice	Frequency	Frequency per million
1	Tymoshenko	67	611
2	prime minister	36	328
3	rival/archrival	12	109
4	leader mother	7 7	64 64

Table 10. Nouns used to name Tymoshenko.

According to Table 11, in the description of Tymoshenko, the major focus is placed on her previous political occupation and imprisonment (*the* ***jailed former*** *prime minister*). Her relation to Yanukovych as his main rival is highlighted (***Mr. Yanukovich's*** *archrival, a main rival* ***of Mr. Yanukovich's***), communicating the idea that despite her incarceration, she

still poses a threat to the president. Her relation to her daughter is emphasized as well (***her*** *mother*).

No.	Aspect of representation	Number of occurrences	Some examples
1	ex	34	adjective (*former*), prepositional phrase (*at the time*)
2	prisoner	19	adjective (*imprisoned*), -ed participle (*jailed*), prepositional phrase (*now in prison on politically inspired charges*), relative clause (*who was jailed by Mr. Yanukovych*)
3	relation to Yanukovych	10	genitive (*his, Mr. Yanukovych's*), prepositional phrase (*of Mr. Yanukovich's*)
4	relation to daughter	7	genitive (*her*, *my*)

Table 11. Aspects of the portrayal of Tymoshenko on the noun phrase level.

Inclusion/Exclusion, Activation/Passivation, Association/Dissociation, Personalization/Impersonalization in acts of violence. Descriptions of violence rarely mention Yanukovych as directly responsible for it. However, in those that do, he is backgrounded, though his culpability is still apparent: *As Parliament acted, even Mr. Yanukovych's party denounced* ***him*** *for the deadly crackdown on protesters*. There are no references to the opposition leaders being responsible for or experiencing violence. No instances of association were found. Yanukovych is personalized when mentioned.

Specification/Genericization. Yanukovych and opposition leaders are referred to specifically in the representation.

Individualization/Assimilation. Yanukovych is mostly individualized in the portrayal. The only cases when he is assimilated are the two times when the results of his conversations/meetings with other leaders (Russian President Putin, American Vice President Biden) are reported: *In a statement on Saturday, Mr. Azarov said* ***the presidents*** [Yanukovych and Putin] *had focused "exclusively on industrial cooperation, trade and economic relations, and gas issues."* The opposition representatives Yatsenyuk and Klitschko are mostly assimilated (in 51% of the cases), positioning them more as part of group leadership rather than individual leaders: *He* [Senator John McCain] *had dinner with*

three opposition leaders in Parliament *who are also* ***protest organizers****: Mr. Yatsenyuk; Vitali Klitschko, who leads the Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform; and Oleg Tyagnibok of Svoboda*. Yulia Tymoshenko is individualized and usually distinguished from other opposition leaders.

Indetermination/Differentiation. Yanukovych, Yatsenyuk, and Klitschko are differentiated. Tymoshenko is also mostly differentiated, except for one case: *After three months of hard-fought civic unrest, protesters may now be reluctant to automatically accept as a leader* ***someone*** *who was not with them in the streets*. Tymoshenko is implied here, and her future role in the political landscape is considered after her release from prison. The newspaper may be trying to be cautious and sensitive by not naming her directly because her absence from protests is due to her imprisonment.

Nomination/Categorization. Yanukovych is mostly nominated (83%) in labels 'Yanukovych/Yanukovich' and 'President.' This signifies that he is represented as an established political figure. In the cases of categorization (17%), he is mostly described through functionalization (16%), emphasizing his role as a leader of the country ('president,' 'leader'). The number of descriptions in terms of classification ('man') and relational identification ('father') is very low (1%).

Both Yatsenyuk and Klitschko are nominated in only 33% of the instances ('Yatseniuk/Yatsenyuk,' 'Klitschko'). They are predominantly categorized through functionalization (64%) in nominal choices to denote their current roles ('leader,' 'politician,' 'organizer') and previous occupations ('economy/economics minister,' 'boxing champion,' 'boxer'), which indicates that their function of opposition leaders is of prime importance. By contrast, Tymoshenko is mainly nominated (52%), yet less than Yanukovych. She is categorized in 48% of the cases through functionalization ('prime minister' and 'leader') and relational identification ('mother'). Labels 'archrival' and 'rival'

can exemplify both functionalization referring to her role and relational identification emphasizing her relation to Yanukovych as his adversary.

3.3.3 Naming and the Representation of Protesters and Security Forces

The NYT chiefly refers to the protesters in Ukraine as 'protesters,' 'people,' and 'demonstrators,' with the second term creating a more humanizing image of the protests. The reference 'fighters' contributes to the portrayal of the event in terms of a battle narrative (*victorious antigovernment* ***fighters***). The negatively connoted references like 'extremists' and 'radicals' are typically employed when reporting on the perspectives of Russia and the Ukrainian government regarding the protesters, while the newspaper journalists are cautious about using such terminology in their own descriptions: *Since late November, millions of Ukrainians have campaigned for a pro-European course, only to find themselves branded* ***extremists****, foreign agents and criminals*. To reflect a more violent character of some of the protesters, the label 'militants' is used.

No.	Nominal choice	Frequency	Frequency per million
1	protester	469	5574
2	people	192	1752
3	demonstrator	140	1277
4	activist	43	392
5	Ukrainian	25	228
6	fighter	18	164
7	supporter	17	155
8	extremist	15	136
9	citizen	13	119
10	radical	7	64
11	militant	6	55

Table 12. Nouns used to name protesters in Ukraine.

As Table 13 demonstrates, the portrayal focuses on the number of protesters, either to provide specific statistics or to highlight the vast scale of the protests: *rally by* ***hundreds of thousands of people*** *on* Sunday; ***Hundreds of thousands of people*** *took to the streets of*

Kiev last Sunday /…/. The location and origin of protesters are foregrounded with references to Ukraine, Kyiv, and the Independence Square (Maidan) (*enraged protesters **in Kiev's Independence Square***). Ideologically, the representation highlights the alignment of protesters with anti-government and pro-European ideas (*the **antigovernment** protesters in Independence Square*, *the supporters **of European integration***). In terms of character, protesters are described as both peaceful and violent, usually distinguishing between the two groups and portraying only some representatives as (potentially) violent (***the more radical** protesters*, *some of **the most aggressive** demonstrators*). Also, protesters are occasionally characterized as experiencing anger and frustration (***enraged** protesters*). An additional aspect in the description of protesters is police violence toward them, which is aimed at triggering an emotional response from the readership (*dozens of **beaten** demonstrators*).

No.	Aspect of representation	Number of occurrences	Some examples
1	quantity	163	*several thousand*, *thousands of*, *hundreds of*, *millions of*
2	location, origin	112	genitive (*Ukraine's*), noun (*Ukraine*, *Kiev*, *Lviv*, *Maidan*, *street*), adjective (*Ukrainian*), prepositional phrase (*in Kiev*, *in Lviv*, *in Dnepropetrovsk*, *in Independence Square*, *of the Maidan*), -ed participle clause (*camped out in Kiev*), -ing participle clause (*protesting in downtown Kiev*; *occupying Independence Square*), relative clause (*who have occupied Independence Square*)
3	alignment	72	anti-government (32): adjective (*antigovernment*), -ing participle clause (*fighting the government*)
			West/Europe (22): adjective (*pro-European*, *pro-Western*), prepositional phrase (*of European integration*), -ing participle clause (*yearning for a partnership with the European Union*), relative clause (*who favor closer ties with the union*)
			opposition (10): genitive (*Mr. Tyagnibok's*), noun (*opposition*, *UDAR*), prepositional phrase (*of the opposition*)
			government (8): adjective (*pro-government*), prepositional phrase (*of President Viktor F. Yanukovich*)
4	character	41	adjective phrase (*peaceful*, *enraged*, *angry*, *furious*, *upset*, *more radical*, *curious*, *grimly determined*, *energized*, *less-disciplined*, *noisy*, *nonviolent*, *violent*, *innocent*, *the most aggressive*, *the most fearsome*, *politically active*, *desperate*, *joyous*, *loud*)
5	actions of security forces	20	adjective (*wounded*, *beaten*), -ed participle (*arrested*, *detained*, *jailed*), -ed participle clause (*shot to death*), relative clause (*who were arrested*)

Table 13. Aspects of the portrayal of the protesters in Ukraine on the noun phrase level.

Security forces are mainly referred to as the police (‘police,’ ‘(police) officer’), specifying a particular type of them (see Table 14). Another label, ‘Berkut,’ denotes a special police force involved in the suppression of protests. More general terms are also used (‘force/s,’ ‘service/s’). Another cluster of labels refers to the army (‘military,’ ‘troops,’ ‘army’) to discuss their potential involvement in the crackdown on protests.

No.	Nominal choice	Frequency	Frequency per million
1	police	327	2983
2	officer	107	976
3	force	40	365
4	military	17	155
5	troops	16	146
6	Berkut	14	128
7	service	12	109
8	army	7	64

Table 14. Nouns used to name security forces in Ukraine.

Table 15 showcases that various types of security forces are introduced in the portrayal, defined mostly as belonging to the state (***Ukraine’s*** *forces move against protesters*). There are only two instances when they are described as belonging to Yanukovych (*the security forces* ***of President Viktor F. Yanukovych***, ***his*** *police ranks*). Additionally, police are described in terms of their quantity and violent acts toward protesters (postmodification: *the riot police* ***who were firing shotguns at them*** [protesters], *riot police officers* ***pummeling demonstrators***).

No.	Aspect of representation	Number of occurrences	Some examples
1	type	219	noun phrase (*antiriot*, *riot*, *security*, *Berkut*, *police*, *government*, *Interior Ministry*), adjective (*elite*, *special*, *military*, *armed*)
2	place	26	Ukraine (18): genitive (*Ukraine’s*), noun (*Ukraine*), adjective (*Ukrainian*), prepositional phrase (*of Ukraine*)
			local (4): noun (*Kiev*), adjective (*local*)
3	quantity	19	numeral (*one*, *two*, *18*, *70*)
4	violence	8	-ed participle clause (*accused of violently attacking demonstrators*), -ing participle clause (*pummeling demonstrators*), relative clause

			(*who were firing shotguns at them*; *who used violence against peaceful demonstrators*)

Table 15. Aspects of the portrayal of the security forces in Ukraine on the noun phrase level.

Suppression/Backgrounding, Activation/Passivation, Association/Dissociation, Personalization/Impersonalization in acts of violence. Most acts of violence (59%) represented target or are implied to target protesters, with the responsibility largely ascribed to the security forces (90%). In the majority of cases (56%), security forces are included through activation:

- participation (51%): ***The police*** *fired plastic bullets and threw stun grenades*;
- circumstantialization (29%): *These included the beating* ***by the police*** *of young protesters on Nov. 30*;
- premodification (19%): ***police*** *abuse*, ***police*** *beatings*, ***police*** *brutality*, ***police*** *violence*, ***police's*** *crackdown*, ***their*** *bloody crackdown on a group of protesters on Nov. 30*;
- postmodification (1%): *excessive brutality* ***of the police***.

In 44% of the instances, the security forces are excluded from the representation, specifically backgrounded through:

- nominalizations and process nouns (45%): ***Abuse*** *Claims in Ukraine Rise Among Protesters*; *reports of* ***beatings*** *and* ***abductions*** *of demonstrators and activists*;
- passive agent deletion (44%): *Two protesters* ***were shot and killed*** *early Wednesday during the violence*;
- ellipses in non-finite clauses (8%): *Riot police officers,* ***swinging truncheons and spraying bursts of tear gas****, forcibly broke up the crowd in Independence Square*;
- adjectives (3%): ***wounded*** *protesters*, ***beaten*** *demonstrators*.

Occasionally, authorities are blamed for their brutal tactics toward protesters: *We see that* ***this regime*** *started shooting at people again*. Sometimes, the newspaper struggles to identify a violent social actor: *Recently,* ***some unknown thugs in civilian clothes*** *kidnapped*

an activist and spent the night torturing him. In very few cases, the violence aimed at protesters is performed by other groups of protesters: *After five people were wounded on Wednesday in fighting* ***between two factions of antigovernment protesters***.

As targets of violence, protesters are passivated if included:

- participation (61%): *Witnesses said that* ***some protesters****, including women, were beaten brutally*;
- circumstantialization (28%): *a brief but bloody crackdown by the police* ***against demonstrators***;
- postmodification (9%): *the killing* ***of dozens of Ukrainians*** *by their own security forces last week*;
- adjectival premodification (2%): ***wounded*** *protesters,* ***beaten*** *demonstrators*.

As can be seen, security forces are depicted as the primary perpetrators of violence against protesters. In just over half of the instances, the security forces are explicitly held responsible for the violence; however, this responsibility is considerably downplayed when using circumstantialization, premodification, and postmodification. In other cases, this social actor is backgrounded, potentially obscuring their responsibility from the reader.

In almost a quarter of instances (21%), the acts of violence represented are aimed at or implied to be aimed at security forces, and protesters are held responsible. The social actor of protesters is mostly included (66%) in acts of violence through activation, predominantly participation: ***Protesters*** *Beat Police Officer in Ukraine, Ministry Says*. In 34% of the cases, they are excluded from the representation through backgrounding: *Three police officers* ***had been attacked and taken hostage*** *near Independence Square, which is occupied by demonstrators.* In the abovementioned instances, security forces are passivated, predominantly through participation: *radical agents began to attack* ***police***. Overall, the responsibility of protesters for violence is attributed more explicitly than that of the police.

Finally, in some cases (20%), the active role in violence is equally assigned to both social actors, with the police being included in the description significantly more than protesters: *Deadly fighting **between protestors and riot police** on Thursday in Kiev* /…/.

In the analyzed acts of violence, the following social actors are associated:

- protesters/activists and police as victims of violence: *Violent clashes on Thursday, which left **more than 80 protesters and many police officers** dead* /…/;
- protesters and police in fighting each other: ***protesters and the police** battled on a main street near the Dynamo soccer stadium*;
- different groups of security forces when committing violence: *in honor of those killed **by police officers and snipers** on Thursday*;
- different groups of protesters as victims of violence: *beatings and abductions **of demonstrators and activists***.

Sometimes, both security forces and protesters are referred to by means of impersonalization (specifically instrumentalization): *In Ukraine Protests Over New Laws, **Sticks and Stones** Are Met With **Tear Gas***. In this instance, the names of tools of violence are used to denote social actors, which may desensitize the description of violence and obscure responsibility. Also, protesters can be referred to through spatialization: /…/ *when the police began a bloody but unsuccessful assault **on Independence Square*** /…/, which seems to soften the description of violence.

Generecization/Specification. Most of the references to the protesters and security forces are generic. Occasionally, there are specific references to police officers and protesters to make their experiences more relatable (*Yevgeny Avramchuk, **a protester** who was treated at the center, said doctors had removed a pebble from a hole in his calf*) or to provide statistics (***three police officers** had been attacked and taken hostage near Independence Square*).

Individualization/Assimilation. Unfortunately, the corpus analysis does not provide an opportunity for a thorough analysis of individualization. Regarding assimilation, protesters are chiefly collectivized and represented as unified groups. However, in 17% of the instances, they are aggregated to underscore the scale of the protests (***Tens of thousands of people*** *marched through downtown Kiev on Sunday*) or to provide statistics on those arrested, detained, injured, or killed (*The police arrested* ***24 people*** *who attended a modest opposition rally*). Security forces are also predominantly collectivized, with very few instances of aggregation (3%). This suggests that the newspaper tends to treat protesters as statistics more than security officers.

Indetermination/Differentiation. Protesters and security forces are differentiated. There are instances of indetermination in the corpus; however, it is unclear to whom they refer (*at least 11 protesters had been abducted by* ***unknown men*** *on side streets near the square since Sunday*).

Nomination/Categorization. A large amount of data made it difficult to identify the occurrences of nomination. As for categorization, most of the references to protesters under analysis here ('protesters,' 'demonstrators,' 'activists,' 'fighters,' 'supporters,' 'extremists,' 'citizens,' 'radicals,' 'militants') are examples of functionalization (77%); however, in a significant number of cases, the social actor is referred to by means of identification (23%), specifically classification ('people,' 'Ukrainians'). All references to security forces exemplify functionalization. Thus, while both social actors are primarily portrayed through functionalization, only protesters are also classified.

3.3 Representation of the Protests in Belarus

3.3.1 Naming and the Representation of the Event

Table 16 shows that *The NYT* predominantly refers to the event in Belarus as 'protest/s.' Some of the namings convey Fairclough's expressive values and are negatively

connotated: ‘crackdown’ is used to describe the actions of the security forces and the government, ‘clashes’ denote confrontation between the security forces and the protesters, and ‘tumult,’ ‘turmoil,’ and ‘mayhem’ highlight the disorder and uncertainty in the country and on the streets. Several labels (‘events’ and ‘situation’) appear to be euphemistic. It is noteworthy that the naming ‘situation’ is primarily used in the quotes of European and American politicians, so it may not reflect the position of the newspaper. Some of the word choices are utilized only when applicable to certain manifestations of the event: the naming ‘rally’ is generally only used to talk about pro-government protests (although occasionally it is also employed for anti-government ones), and the label ‘strike’ refers to the workers’ protests. The name ‘revolution’ is employed in opinion pieces to denote the possible development of the events in Belarus (*Belarus’s would-be* ***revolution***).

No.	Nominal choice	Frequency	Frequency per million
1	protest	239	3971
2	demonstration rally	37 37	615 615
3	crackdown strike	35 35	582 582
4	movement	32	532
5	crisis	19	316
6	situation	16	266
7	unrest	15	249
8	clashes	12	199
9	uprising	10	166
10	confrontation event	7 7	116 116
11	revolution	6	100
12	tension	3	50
13	mayhem tumult turmoil	2 2 2	33 33 33

Table 16. Nouns used to name the event in Belarus.

The analysis of the determiners and modifiers in the noun phrases containing the naming (see Table 17) revealed that the event is predominantly represented with references

to scale, time, location, and aim. In terms of scale, the representation highlights that the protests gained huge popularity and thus legitimizes them (***the biggest*** *demonstrations in the country's history*). Mostly, the event is described as happening in Belarus (***Belarus*** *protests*), a choice that is understandable, given the American and international audience of the newspaper. The modifiers to denote the aim emphasize that the protests were directed against President Lukashenka, his government, and rigged election results (*nationwide protests* ***against his*** [Lukashenka's] ***disputed re-election***). When it comes to time, there are a lot of references to Sunday, underscoring that large-scale protests were mostly occurring on Sundays. Protests are also described as postelection (*the* ***postelection*** *demonstrations*), emphasizing that they were triggered by the election. A focus is also placed on the continuity of the protests (*the* ***long-running*** *unrest in Belarus*).

As for the character, the event tends to be described as violent rather than peaceful. Violence is attributed mostly to the actions of the security forces (*a* ***ruthless*** *crackdown on the protests*) and clashes between them and the protesters (***violent*** *clashes between the police and protesters*), while demonstrations of the protesters are predominantly portrayed as peaceful (***peaceful*** *protests*). This pinpoints the lack of respect for freedom of expression in the country and exposes the violence of armed people against unarmed. When it comes to the social actors, the responsibility for the crackdown on protests is attributed to the government and security forces through a specifying genitive (***Mr. Lukashenko's*** *crackdown*), noun premodifiers (*the* ***police*** *crackdown*), and prepositional phrase postmodifiers (*crackdown* ***by Mr. Lukashenko's security forces***). Also, the involvement of security forces in clashes (*violent clashes* ***with the police***) as well as women (*a weekly demonstration* ***by women***) and workers (*the* ***workers'*** *movement*) in the protests is foregrounded in the representation.

No.	Aspect of representation	Number of occurrences	Some examples
1	scale	69	adjective phrase (*mass*, *the biggest*, *the largest*, *huge*, *large-scale*, *widespread*, *nationwide*, *popular*, *broad*, *giant*, *national*, *general*, *growing*), prepositional phrase (*by tens of thousands of people*), -ed participle clause (*spearheaded by thousands of Belarusians*)
2	time, duration, frequency, intensity	66	genitive (*Sunday's*), noun *(Sunday*, *postelection*), adjective (*postelection*, *current*, *continuing*, *long-running*, *nonstop*, *monthlong*), prepositional phrase (*on Sunday*, *in August*, *after flawed elections*), relative clause (*that broke out after the election*)
3	location	64	noun (*Belarus*, *street*), genitive (*country's*), adjective (*Belarusian*), prepositional phrase (*in Belarus*, *in Minsk*, *in Grodno*), adverb phrase (*back home*), -ing participle clause (*now sweeping Belarus*),
4	aim	60	against Lukashenka, his government, election results (39): adjective (*antigovernment*), prepositional phrase (*against Lukashenko*, *against the rigged election*), -ed participle clause (*aimed at toppling a leader*), -ing participle clause (*denouncing the election*), infinitive clause (*to unseat Mr. Lukashenko*)
			against protesters and opposition (16): prepositional phrase ([*crackdown*] *on protesters*, *on protests*, *on opposition leaders*)
			pro-government (4): adjective (*progovernment*), prepositional phrase (*in his support*, *in his defense*)
			pro-opposition (1): infinitive clause (*to support Ms. Tikhanovskaya*)
5	character	57	violent (23): adjective (*violent*, *brutal*, *ruthless*)
			peaceful (10): adjective (*peaceful*)
			other (24): noun (*protest*), adjective (*political*, *spontaneous*, *dramatic*, *difficult*, *tense*)
6	social actors	44	government and Lukashenka (6): genitive (*Lukashenko's* [*rallies*]), noun (*Lukashenko* [*crackdown*]), prepositional phrase ([*crackdown*] *by Mr. Lukashenko*)
			opposition (14): noun (*opposition*)
			security forces (9): noun (*police* [*crackdown*]), prepositional phrase ([*crackdown*] *by Mr. Lukashenko's security forces*)
			protesters (12): genitive (*workers'*, *women's*), noun (*worker*), prepositional phrase (*workers*, *of Belarusian women*)
			various (3): prepositional phrase ([*clashes*] *between the police and protesters*)

Table 17. Aspects of the portrayal of the Belarus event on the noun phrase level.

3.3.2 Naming and the Representation of Lukashenka and Tsikhanouskaya

As demonstrated in Table 18, the president of Belarus is predominantly named in the representation ('Lukashenko'). 'Lukashenko' is also the content word with the highest frequency in the corpus, indicating he is one of the central foci in the portrayal. While some lexical choices are neutral ('President/president,' 'leader'), others tend to depict him in a

negative light and express abuse of power (‘dictator,’ ‘authoritarian,’ ‘strongman,’ ‘ruler’). On a few occasions, the newspaper emphasizes his gender (‘man’), especially when explaining his public image of machismo. His former occupation is also mentioned (‘state/collective farm manager’).

No.	Nominal choice	Frequency	Frequency per million
1	Lukashenko	685	11,382
2	President/president	123	2044
3	leader	63	1047
4	dictator	27	449
5	strongman	12	199
6	man	7	116
7	authoritarian farm manager ruler	6 6 6	100 100 100

Table 18. Nouns used to name Lukashenka.

Table 19 illustrates that Lukashenka is predominantly described with references to Belarus (***Belarus*** *leader, president* ***of an independent state****, the leader* ***of Belarus***). He is also frequently referred (19 times) to as ***Europe’s*** *last dictator*, highlighting his exceptional role in the region where the majority of countries have democratic systems of government. A few descriptions (*the most enduring leader* ***in the former Soviet Union***) link him to the colonial power Belarus used to be subjugated to. A special focus in the representation is placed on his long rule (*the* ***longtime*** *authoritarian leader*, *the country’s autocratic ruler* ***of 26 years***), which is a means of delegitimation since democratic countries impose limits on time in power. His abuse of power is also emphasized both in conventional terms (*their* ***authoritarian*** *ruler, the* ***autocratic*** *president*) and very emotionally charged language (*an* ***iron-fisted*** *leader*, *the embattled* ***strongman*** *leader of Belarus*). Finally, Lukashenka is portrayed as experiencing difficulties, with only one adjective choice ‘embattled’ occurring 10 times.

No.	Aspect of representation	Number of occurrences	Some examples
1	country/region	92	Belarus (71): genitive (*country's*), noun (*Belarus*), adjective (*Belarusian*), prepositional phrase (*of Belarus*)
			Europe (19): genitive (*Europe's* [*last dictator*]) former Soviet Union (2): prepositional phrase (*in the former Soviet Union)*
2	time	40	noun (*veteran*), adjective ([*Europe's*] *last* [*dictator*], *longtime*, *enduring*, *longest-serving*), prepositional phrase (*of 26 years*, *since 1994*), relative clause (*who has ruled for 26 years*)
3	character of governing	25	noun (*strongman*), adjective (*authoritarian*, *autocratic*, *iron-fisted*, *strong*, *swaggering*)
4	experiencing difficulties	10	adjective (*embattled*)

Table 19. Aspects of the portrayal of Lukashenka on the noun phrase level.

Among many opposition leaders, Tsikhanouskaya received the most attention in the representation according to the frequency list, which is why she was chosen for analysis here. As can be seen in Table 20, she is mostly nominated by the newspaper ('Tikhanovskaya'), and her role as a leader of the opposition and the candidate in the presidential election is emphasized. Other labels refer to her in relation to Lukashenka ('rival,' 'opponent,' 'challenger,' 'contender'), highlighting their rivalry. Her gender is mentioned significantly more than in Lukashenka's case, with some of such references being Lukashenka's quotes where he belittles Tsikhanouskaya. Additionally, the label 'housewife' is used solely when the newspaper reports Lukashenka's derogatory comments. Her role as a wife is also brought to attention, which can be explained by the fact that her husband had also taken part in the election campaign before he was arrested. Her previous professional background is described as the former 'stay-at-home mother' and 'English teacher'. This is used to emphasize the significant transformation she underwent to become an opposition leader and position her as a representative of common people fighting against injustice: /…/ *Svetlana Tikhanovskaya tells the story of her improbable rise from* ***stay-at-home mom*** *to* ***revolutionary icon***.

No.	Nominal choice	Frequency	Frequency per million
1	Tikhanovskaya	101	1678
2	woman	16	266
3	leader	14	233
4	candidate	13	216
5	rival	11	183
6	opponent	7	116
7	challenger	5	83
8	mother/mom	4	66
9	wife	3	50
10	contender English teacher housewife	2 2 2	33 33 33

Table 20. Nouns used to name Tsikhanouskaya.

According to Table 21, Tsikhanouskaya is portrayed as Lukashenka's main opponent (*the **principal** challenger*) in the election (*main opposition candidate **in the presidential election***) and one of the three opposition figures leading the protests (*the women **leading the protests***). Her relation to Lukashenka as his rival is highlighted (*challenger **to Belarus leader***), positioning her not so much of an independent leader. The premodifier 'opposition' emphasizes her role as a representative of the opposition forces.

No.	Aspect of representation	Number of occurrences	Some examples
1	leadership role	25	adjective (*main*, *principal*), prepositional phrase (*at the forefront of the Belarusian protests*), -ing participle clause (*leading the protests*), relative clause (*who has emerged as the opposition leader*)
2	relation to Lukashenko	23	genitive (*his*, *Mr. Lukashenko's*), adjective (*presidential*), prepositional phrase (*to Mr. Lukashenko*, *of Mr. Lukashenko*)
3	representing opposition	18	noun (*opposition*)
4	participating in the election	15	noun (*election*), prepositional phrase (*in the presidential election*, *in the disputed presidential election on Aug. 9*)

Table 21. Aspects of the portrayal of Tsikhanouskaya on the noun phrase level.

Inclusion/Exclusion, Activation/Passivation, Association/Dissociation, Personalization/Impersonalization in acts of violence. Lukashenka is mentioned on numerous occasions as responsible for violence against protesters, suggesting that the

newspaper found it important to emphasize that security forces acted under his command. This is achieved through inclusion and activation: *Accounts of violent beatings of protesters and mass detentions mounted in Belarus on Thursday as the country's embattled president,* ***Aleksandr G. Lukashenko****, deployed brute force to cling to power*. Sometimes, he is backgrounded in the description but easily retrievable from the context: ***He*** [Lukashenka] *faced a backlash after mass beatings and the detention of thousands of protesters in the days after the election*. While he is not explicitly mentioned as authorizing the use of violence, such an interpretation is implied since he is in command of security forces and faces public disapproval.

Tsikhanouskaya**,** in a couple of cases, is represented as a victim of violence by security forces through passivation: /…/ *Ms. Tikhanovskaya was met by security officials who held* ***her*** *for hours and forced* ***her*** *to make what amounted to a hostage video, in which she called on her supporters not to protest the result*. No instances of association were discovered in the context of violent actions. In both cases, the social actors are personalized.

Specification/Genericization. Lukashenka is referred to specifically in the representation, with only one exception when a generic reference 'dictator' is used: *The Belarusian strongman, Aleksandr Lukashenko, tried at first to quell the protests with a* ***dictator****'s basic tool, violence, unleashing his police and secret services to beat and round up thousands of marchers.* Here, the word is used not to describe Lukashenka specifically but the class of dictators he belongs to. Tsikhanouskaya is referred to specifically.

Individualization/Assimilation. Lukashenka is individualized in the description, except for the time when his meeting with Putin is described, then he is assimilated: *At the end of the talks, the Kremlin's spokesman, Dmitri Peskov, declined to say whether the* ***two presidents*** *had discussed the timing of a possible new election*. Tsikhanouskaya is also mostly individualized; however, she is assimilated more than Lukashenka to show that she

is part of a larger group of opposition leaders or does not always act independently: ***the opposition's leaders*** *say they do not intend to break with Russia*; ***nearly all active opposition leaders*** *have been forced to flee the country or been put behind bars by Mr. Lukashenko's robust security apparatus*.

Indetermination/Differentiation. Lukashenka and Tsikhanouskaya are differentiated.

Nomination/Categorization. Lukashenka is mostly nominated (79%) through labels 'Lukashenko' and 'President.' In the cases of categorization (21%), he is mostly described through functionalization (19%), highlighting his role as a leader of the country, his manner of governing, and his former occupation ('leader,' 'dictator,' 'authoritarian,' 'ruler,' 'strongman,' 'farm manager'). The number of descriptions categorized as identification ('man' and 'strongman') is very low (2%).

Tsikhanouskaya is also mainly nominated (56%), yet less than Lukashenka. However, she is categorized more (44%) than her opponent: probably due to her recent introduction to politics, she needed more explanation as to what she constitutes in terms of her career and identity. She is functionalized in labels 'leader' and 'candidate' to show her current role and in 'housewife,' 'mother/mom,' and 'English teacher' to talk about her previous occupation. She is identified in references 'woman' and 'wife,' with her gender playing a more significant role in the representation than for her opponent. As for namings 'rival,' 'opponent,' 'contender,' 'challenger,' they can serve both as examples of functionalization referring to her role and relational identification highlighting her relation to Lukashenka as a rival.

3.3.3 Naming and the Representation of Protesters and Security Forces

Table 22 shows that *The NYT* chiefly refers to the protesters in Belarus as 'protesters' and 'people,' with the second naming seemingly humanizing the social actor and their cause.

Several nominal choices (‘demonstrators,’ ‘strikers,’ and ‘marchers’) highlight different types of practices their participants are involved in: demonstrations, strikes, and marches. The reference ‘supporters’ is used to denote participants of both pro- and anti-government protests. Overall, none of the namings appear to convey a positive/negative evaluation of the participants of the event.

No.	Nominal choice	Frequency	Frequency per million
1	protester	207	3440
2	people	166	2758
3	Belarusian	44	731
4	demonstrator	31	515
5	supporter	29	482
6	activist	28	465
7	citizen striker	4 4	66 66
8	marcher	2	33

Table 22. Nouns used to name protesters in Belarus.

As can be seen in Table 23, the representation foregrounds the quantity of protesters to either provide statistics, or to emphasize a huge scale of protests (*But **tens of thousands of people** still took to the street on Sunday* /…/; /…/ ***hundreds of thousands of people** expressed their rage over the rigged presidential election* /…/). In some cases, the alignment of protesters with the government or opposition is specifically mentioned to clearly disambiguate between two groups of protesters. Predictably, the location and origin of protesters are brought to attention to specify them for the international audience (*hundreds of thousands of **Belarusian** protesters, pro-democracy demonstrators **in Belarus***). A significant focus is placed on the violent actions of security forces toward protesters, portraying the latter as victims of violence (*some of the **tortured** protesters, multiple people **with fractured bones, purple bruises and other injuries***) to evoke feelings of outrage and sympathy in the audience. By contrast, protesters are described as peaceful (***peaceful** demonstrators, protesters **who do not appear to pose a threat***) and unable to defend

themselves (***defenseless*** *demonstrators*, *people* ***who are defenseless***), which can only amplify the above-mentioned feelings.

No.	Aspect of representation	Number of occurrences	Some examples
1	quantity	128	*hundreds of, thousands of, tens of thousands of*
2	alignment	28	opposition (18): noun (*opposition*), prepositional phrase (*of Ms. Tikhanovskaya*)
			government (10): noun (*regime*), prepositional phrase (*of the government, of Mr. Lukashenko*)
3	location, origin	28	noun (*Belarus*), adjective (*Belarusian*), prepositional phrase (*in Belarus, in Minsk, in Grodno*)
4	actions of security forces	23	-ed participle clause (*detained, released, tortured*), prepositional phrase (*with fractured bones, purple bruises and other injuries*), relative clause (*who were beaten, arrested or detained*)
5	character	14	adjective (*peaceful, defenseless, brave, courageous, unsatisfied, apolitical, desperate*), relative clause (*who do not appear to pose a threat*; *who are defenseless*)

Table 23. Aspects of the portrayal of the protesters in Belarus on the noun phrase level.

Security forces are mainly referred to as police to denote a specific type of them (see Table 24). Other labels are more general (‘forces,’ ‘services,’ ‘apparatus,’ ‘system’), and some are used to refer to individuals working for a specific force (‘officers,’ ‘officials,’ ‘agents,’ ‘personnel’). Another cluster of nominal choices refers to the army (‘army,’ ‘troops,’ ‘soldiers’), indicating that Lukashenka’s regime also resorted to their employment to suppress the protests. The naming ‘thugs’ conveys a negative evaluation of the social actor and is used solely in the editorial article, possibly reflecting the newspaper’s intention to clearly describe security forces as violent: *When the streets of the capital, Minsk, and other cities and towns erupted in angry demonstrations,* ***Mr. Lukashenko’s black-shirted thugs*** *responded with extraordinary viciousness*.

No.	Nominal choice	Frequency	Frequency per million
1	police	197	3273
2	officer	75	1246
3	force	30	498
4	official service	19 19	316 316

5	apparatus	17	465
6	agent	11	66
7	army	5	83
8	personnel system	4 4	66 66
9	soldier troops	3 3	50 50
10	thug	2	33

Table 24. Nouns used to name security forces in Belarus.

Table 25 showcases that various types of security forces are introduced in the portrayal to underscore the extensive array of resources at Lukashenka's disposal which he used to suppress protests. The frequent use of genitive with security forces emphasizes the impression that they belong to Lukashenka, serving almost as his personal army: *President Aleksandr G. Lukashenko, the embattled strongman leader of Belarus, deployed **his** security forces in large numbers to deter ongoing protests*. In fact, there are more mentions of Lukashenka (***Mr. Lukashenko's** security forces*) than Belarus (***Belarusian** security forces*) in descriptions of security forces, which can suggest that they could be more loyal to the president than to the state. The newspaper also draws the specific attention of the readers to the looks of security officers, highlighting their masked faces (***masked** security agents*) and armor (***heavily armed** officers*). In terms of character, they are repetitively described as being loyal to Lukashenka and brutal: /…/ [Lukashenka] *backed by an expansive, **brutal** and **unwaveringly loyal** security apparatus*.

No.	**Aspect of representation**	**Number of occurrences**	**Some examples**
1	type	215	noun phrase (*security police*, *riot police*, *law enforcement army*, *border*, *K.G.B*, *security service*, *anti-riot*), adjective (*secret*, *military*, *special*, *undercover*, *paramilitary*, *interior*)
2	control by Lukashenka	31	genitive (*his*, *Lukashenko's*)
3	place	19	Belarus (10): genitive (*Belarus's*), noun (*Belarus*), adjective (*Belarusian*), prepositional phrase (*in Belarus*)
			local (9): adjective (*local*), prepositional phrase (*in Minsk*, *in Grodno*)

4	appearance	15	clothes (11): adjective (*masked*, *plainclothes*, *black-shirted*), -ing participle clause (*wearing balaclavas*)
			weapons (3): adjective phrase (*heavily armed*), prepositional phrase (*in full body armor*)
			both (1): -ing participle clause (*wearing body armor and balaclavas*)
5	character	13	brutal (8): adjective (*brutish*, *brutal*)
			loyal (5): adjective phrase (*(most, unwaveringly, so far) loyal*)

Table 25. Aspects of the portrayal of the security forces in Belarus on the noun phrase level.

Suppression/Backgrounding, Activation/Passivation, Association/Dissociation, Personalization/Impersonalization in acts of violence. Most of the acts of violence (92%) in the representation are specifically aimed at or implied to be aimed at protesters, and the responsibility is predominantly attributed to different types of security forces controlled by Lukashenka. In most of the cases (60%), the social actor of security forces is included in the description through activation:

- participation (45%): ***The police*** *in the southwestern city of Brest fired live rounds at protesters*;
- premodification (41%): *needlessly violent* ***police*** *action against protesters*, ***police*** *beatings*, ***police*** *violence*, *brutal* ***police*** *response*, ***police*** *ambush*, ***police*** *brutality*;
- circumstantialization (14%): *The footage indicated that he was actually shot* ***by the security forces***.

In 40% of the occurrences, the security forces are excluded from the portrayal through backgrounding:

- passive agent deletion (51%): *The Belarusian authorities detained thousands of protesters, and human rights groups say that hundreds* ***were beaten or injured***;
- nominalizations and process nouns (35%): *the widespread* ***beatings*** *and* ***torture*** *of protesters*, *the violent* ***assault*** *on their movement*, *a violent* ***crackdown*** *on protesters*;
- ellipsis in non-finite clauses (13%): *The security forces responded with shocking brutality,* ***aggressively beating demonstrators***.

- adjectives (1%): *some of the **tortured** protesters*.

As can be seen, in over half of the instances, the responsibility for violence is clearly attributed to the security forces; however, it is considerably deemphasized when premodification and circumstantialization are employed. Besides that, in a significant number of cases, this social actor is backgrounded, which can obscure the responsibility for the reader.

As victims of violence, protesters are passivated where they are included:

- participation (66%): *Dozens of videos show officers kicking, dragging and beating **protesters** who do not appear to pose a threat*;
- circumstantialization (29%): *Riot police officers in recent days have displayed extraordinary force **against protesters***;
- postmodification (4%): *the beatings and arrests **of peaceful protesters***;
- adjectival premodification (1%): *some of the **tortured** protesters*.

The minority of acts of violence (5%) in the representation are directed or implied to be directed at security forces, and the responsibility for them is very indirectly attributed to protesters. The social actor of protesters is generally (66%) excluded from the description by means of backgrounding, primarily through passive agent deletion: /…/ *21 law-enforcement and military personnel **had been injured*** [by protesters]. When protesters are included (34%), they are activated through participation: *Though the majority of protesters were peaceful, **some** were seen on video throwing paving stones, spraying a substance that looked like mace and driving cars into riot police*. In these cases, security forces are passivated through either participation (*More than 50 citizens, as well as **39 police officers**, were injured, officials said*.) or circumstantialization (/…/ *with demonstrators blocking roads with concrete benches and throwing broken paving stones **at riot police officers*** /…/).

Overall, the representation tends to minimize the active role of protesters in the acts of violence against police.

In very few instances (3%), the active role in violence is equally assigned to both social actors through activation: *By nightfall, **security forces and protesters** were clashing violently in the capital, and in Brest, a city in the west of Belarus on the border with Poland, as well as in several other towns*.

The latter is also an example of association, where these two groups are situationally aligned in their act of confronting each other. Another example of association between them is in the context of ceasefire: *Over the past three days, **protesters and riot police officers** have refrained from confronting each other, retreating from the violent clashes seen earlier in the week.* Finally, both social actors are aligned when the consequences of clashes are presented: ***Many protesters** were injured **along with dozens of officers***. These very rare associations, however, are quickly unformed in the articles.

Also, in the descriptions of violence there are several examples of impersonalization, specifically, instrumentalization, to refer to security forces by means of weapons/instruments they use: ***Rubber bullets and stun grenades** launched into peaceful crowds*; ***Truncheons** wielded over defenseless demonstrators*; *Another protester was reported to have been killed on Sunday when **a police vehicle** drove into him, but officials denied this*. This backgrounds the identity of and, most importantly, the active role of the social actor in acts of violence. The last example additionally distorts the cause-effect relationship by means of the temporal preposition ‘when.’

Generecization/Specification. Most of the references to protesters and security forces analyzed here are generic unless they are used with numerals (*39 officers*) or in singular (*Aleksandr Taraikovsky, **a protester** who died there during some of the heaviest clashes with the police earlier in the week*). Singular references to protesters are often

accompanied by their names and identities, reflecting the newspaper's attempt to represent protesters also as individuals as opposed to a faceless mass. This gives an opportunity for the reader to connect and relate to the experiences of the protesters.

Individualization/Assimilation. Unfortunately, the corpus analysis does not allow for a comprehensive analysis of individualization. As for assimilation, protesters are mostly collectivized, showing them as unified groups. However, in a quarter of cases, they are aggregated and quantified either to emphasize the scale of the protests (***hundreds of thousands of Belarusians*** *have gathered in protest*), or to provide statistics about the detained, injured, or killed (***at least two people*** *were detained*). Security forces are also predominantly collectivized, with very few instances of aggregation, usually to give an account of injured (***39 police officers*** *were injured*). This shows that the representation is more inclined to treat protesters as statistics as compared to security officers.

Indetermination/Differentiation. Protesters are chiefly differentiated; still, there are a few instances of indetermination (*the new show of force appeared to scare* ***some people*** *off the streets*), which is understandable since sometimes, it is difficult to determine the identity of demonstrators. As for security forces, no examples of indetermination were discovered. What is noteworthy is that even when the newspaper had an opportunity to employ such a representation, it still tried to identify a social actor at least in terms of some aspects, like gender and appearance: *masked men*, *unidentified men*, *men in civilian clothes*. From the context, it could be inferred that possibly these men are representatives of Lukashenka's security apparatus since, for instance, the description of security forces often highlighted that they are masked as these unknown men.

Nomination/Categorization. Due to a large amount of data, it was difficult to determine the occurrences of nomination of protesters and security officials. As for categorization, most of the references to protesters under analysis here ('protesters,'

'demonstrations,' 'supporters,' 'activists,' 'strikers,' 'citizens,' 'marchers') are examples of functionalization (59%); however, in a significant number of cases, the social actor is referred to by means of identification (41%), specifically classification ('people,' 'Belarusians'). All the analyzed references to security forces are examples of functionalization, except for 'thugs,' which is an instance of appraisement. The social actor is referred to in interpersonal terms with negative evaluation. It is significant that this naming is used in the editorial, which means it reflects the newspaper's disapproving stance toward the actions of the security forces. So, while for both social actors the predominant portrayal is in terms of functionalization, only protesters are classified.

3.4 Dialogic Relationship Between the Two Corpora

In the Belarus corpus, the Euromaidan protests in Ukraine are mentioned on several occasions and juxtaposed with the experience of Belarusians, particularly in the geopolitical dimension. It is consistently stressed that the Belarusian protesters do not take a stance toward Russia and the EU in contrast with Ukrainians who were vocal in their desire to join the European Union and openly opposed Russian influence: ***Unlike protesters in Ukraine****, who in 2014 waved European Union flags and cursed Mr. Putin as they toppled their own president, Belarusian demonstrators are not fighting to join Europe and reject Russia*.

Another context in which the protests in Ukraine are discussed in the Belarus corpus involves concerns, explicit in the text, from various social actors that Belarus could follow the path Ukraine took in 2014. From Russia's perspective, this means the potential shift of Belarus toward the West. Lukashenka views this scenario as chaos, the ousting of the leader, and the division of the country. Finally, the EU fears that the protests might provoke Russia's military response, similar to what occurred in Ukraine following the revolution.

There are no references in the corpus that liken the protest experiences of Ukrainians and Belarusians, for instance, in terms of their anti-government and pro-democracy goals or violence of security forces.

3.5 Comparison of the Representations of the Ukraine and Belarus Protests

Some similarities and differences between the representations stem from actual distinctions between the two events, while others appear to be ideologically driven. In my discussion, I will attempt to distinguish between these two cases.

The NYT considered the events in Ukraine more newsworthy than the events in Belarus, and both protests, although covered over several months, received somewhat inconsistent coverage with certain peaks for each of them (December 2013 and February 2014 for Ukraine; August 2020 and September 2020 for Belarus).

When naming the events, the newspaper primarily uses the label ‘protest/s’ for both. The higher count of nominal choices (25 as opposed to 18) to name the Euromaidan protests may indicate that they were more challenging to define. It is notable that the word ‘crisis’ is used three times more to describe the Euromaidan protests than the Belarusian ones, possibly signifying that *The NYT* considered the events in Ukraine more serious in terms of consequences and threats. A geopolitical dimension is added only to describe the events in Ukraine (‘tug of war’ and ‘battle’). In fact, the newspaper chooses to emphasize that the events in Belarus are a domestic issue for the protesters when comparing both events. In both cases, euphemistic expressions appear, though not frequently.

In terms of aspects of the representation of the events at the noun phrase level, although both events were large-scale movements, the newspaper places a stronger emphasis on the broad scope of the Belarus protests compared to the Euromaidan events, possibly indicating a greater need to legitimize the Belarus events and emphasize their exceptional character for the country as opposed to Ukraine which has experienced the Orange

Revolution in 2004. The location and time of the events play a significant role in both portrayals. The continuous nature of both movements is highlighted, and the newspaper covered the protest activities not only in capitals but also in other cities, thus reinforcing their legitimacy by underscoring their broad reach. In terms of aim, both events are defined as anti-government; however, a few pro-government activities are also mentioned to give a more objective portrayal, representing other perspectives. As for the character, they are portrayed as being violent rather than peaceful, although the violence is above all attributed to the security forces ('crackdown'), showing that freedom of expression instantiated in protest activities was not respected in the analyzed countries.

Regarding the presidents, the portrayal differences arise because Lukashenka had been in politics much longer and had established a reputation as an eccentric authoritarian leader, whereas Yanukovych was in his first presidential term at the time and was seen as one of many indistinguishable corrupt leaders. Consequently, Lukashenka's description is more vivid and direct in emphasizing his abuse of power and long rule to delegitimize his leadership role. On the other hand, Yanukovych is named and described mostly neutrally, with only occasional negative characterization. A similar strategy is employed in both portrayals when both presidents are described as facing difficulties through the adjective 'embattled'. The culpability for acts of violence against protesters is more explicitly and frequently attributed to Lukashenka than Yanukovych.

In the representation of the Belarus protests, Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya stands out as the clear opposition leader, also depicted as Lukashenka's main rival, whereas in the representation of the Ukrainian protests, several leaders receive nearly equal attention—Arseniy Yatsenyuk, Vitaliy Klitschko, and Yulia Tymoshenko. While Klitschko and Yatsenyuk actively participated in protests and negotiations, Tymoshenko was in jail, so her frequent mention is ideologically significant. It can be seen as an attempt to provide

continuity and familiarity, given her prominence in Ukrainian politics, and to fit the narration into a rivalry framework by positioning her as Yanukovych's arch-rival, thereby simplifying the events and making them more accessible to the international audience. Frequently, the backgrounds of opposition politicians in both events are mentioned to provide a context to their current roles or to help readers recognize them based on their past accomplishments. The opposition leaders in both portrayals are nominated less and assimilated more than the presidents to show that sometimes they act together and signify more in terms of their function as opposition than distinct political identities.

When it comes to naming the protesters, similar nominal choices are made in both cases. It is notable that the newspaper is cautious in reporting the Russian stance ('extremists') on Ukrainian protesters. The large number of participants is often emphasized to legitimize the protests, highlighting the extensive involvement of the people. In the Belarus representation, the focus is placed on whether protesters are supporters of the opposition or the government. While this dynamic is also present in the Euromaidan portrayal, the main axis of description is more ideological, foregrounding the alignment of the protesters with anti-government and pro-European sentiments. Protesters in Belarus are depicted as more peaceful than in Ukraine, probably reflecting the actual situation, since the Ukrainian protesters resorted to violent tactics against the police to defend themselves and to accomplish their objectives. Protesters in Belarus are mostly excluded through backgrounding in descriptions of their minimal acts of violence toward the police, while Ukrainian protesters are mostly included, so responsibility for violence is more clearly assigned to the latter.

In the coverage of the Belarus protests, security forces are shown as a system ('apparatus,' 'system') and there is a more diverse typological description in comparison with security forces in Ukraine. Their control by Lukashenka is also highlighted, while such

references to Yanukovych are minimal in the representation of the Euromaidan protests. This may signify that the newspaper views Lukashenka as having developed a versatile and multipurpose security system loyal to him. The brutality and violence of police officers are occasionally foregrounded in the description. Most of the acts of violence are attributed to the security forces in both representations, and the social actor is chiefly included in the portrayal.

In the Belarus texts, the way the Ukraine protests developed is portrayed as undesirable for Russia in terms of Belarus's potential shift toward Europe, Lukashenka in terms of a revolution leading to chaos, and for the EU due to the risk of escalating into military conflict.

Overall, the newspaper validates the protests, strives to provide a balanced account of events, incorporating various perspectives, opts for a rivalry framework between the presidents and certain opposition leaders, and foregrounds the abuse of power and violence against the protesters, unacceptable in democratic systems.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to compare the representations of the Euromaidan and Belarus protests in *The NYT*, focusing on the naming of the events and social actors and the attribution of responsibility for violence.

The literature review chapter provided the necessary insights into the news construction of protest movements. Linguistic choices in vocabulary and syntax used in news reporting carry ideological significance and can shape readers' perspectives. While protests are heavily reliant on media for their validation, the media tends to portray these events negatively, through a framework called a 'protest paradigm' in scholarly literature. As previous research shows, one of the major global English-speaking newspapers, *The NYT*, while declaring its commitment to balanced coverage in its ethical guidelines, shows examples of both adhering to and challenging the protest paradigm in its coverage.

The Euromaidan and Belarus protests were the largest and the most impactful anti-government and pro-democracy movements in the histories of their respective countries. Previous research on their representations in media has been focused mainly on the Ukrainian protests and showed instances of positive representation of Ukrainians and Europe, conflicting framing as either a geopolitical or domestic issue on different media platforms, and the presence of Russian propaganda in some media sources. The only comparative paper revealed that the Ukrainian Euromaidan protests were more commonly depicted through a conflict lens, while those in Belarus were framed more in terms of human impact. While most of the research done on media representation of the analyzed protests has used framing analysis or qualitative methods, research on protest movements is increasingly using corpus methodology. This is the type of analysis the present thesis seeks to contribute to in order to reduce the subjectivity that may occur in qualitative analysis.

The methodology chapter addressed the advantages of integrating various methods in my research. CDA helps to uncover ideologies and power dynamics embedded in language use. This is why it is used to retain a critical stance toward the analyzed material. CDA is combined with corpus analysis to examine large data sets and to be able to make generalizations. These two methods are complemented by van Leeuwen's framework which provides a detailed linguistic framework for the analysis of social actors, the key focus of the present thesis. The Sketch Engine was used to examine two corpora—114 articles on Ukraine and 53 on Belarus. Limitations of the study include the inability to extensively examine all sociological categories of van Leeuwen's framework by means of corpus analysis.

The empirical analysis of the event naming demonstrated that the newspaper faced more difficulty defining the Euromaidan protests, perceived the events in Ukraine as more severe, sought to legitimize the Belarus protests more, and condemned the violent actions of security forces. Some of the names of the Ukrainian protests referred to the event in geopolitical or confrontational terms, aligning with the findings of Sheppental and Surzhko-Harned & Zahuranec.

The social actor analysis showed that while both presidents are represented as experiencing difficulties, Lukashenka is delegitimized, whereas Yanukovych's legitimacy is highlighted. Some of the opposition leaders (Tsikhanouskaya and Tymoshenko) are described in terms of their rivalry with the presidents. Noticeably, opposition leaders are assimilated to show that they function as a united body. Protesters in Ukraine are depicted as more violent and more ideologically driven compared to those in Belarus. The security forces in Belarus are shown as Lukashenka's private army, while the Ukrainian security forces are seen as state representatives. In both representations, security forces are held primarily accountable for violence.

Overall, *The NYT* validates both anti-government protests by highlighting their scale, occurrence across multiple cities, clear objectives (rationalization), opposition support (references to authority), and police violence (moral evaluation). This demonstrates that the newspaper does not conform to the protest paradigm, offering a more nuanced portrayal. It can be viewed as an effort to be in a transformative relationship with the pre-existing discourse of often privileging the government's perspective while also aligning with the discourse supporting freedom of expression in democratic systems.

As a liberal newspaper situated in a democratic country, *The NYT* seems to have consciously committed itself to the coverage of the challenges to democracy in Eastern Europe, exemplified by the abuses of power by Yanukovych and Lukashenka. By highlighting the anti-government and protest nature of the movements in Ukraine and Belarus, the newspaper not only underscores the importance of freedom of expression but also emphasizes the active role citizens should play in defending or instituting democratic systems.

The reporting on these events enabled *The NYT* to consider the domestic and geopolitical situations in the two countries and positioned it in a manner that helped it to cover Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine that started in 2022. Additionally, it provided an opportunity for the newspaper to offer its readership a deeper background on the ongoing war, coverage of which has received prominent placement on the digital front page of the newspaper all through the two war years. The fact that *The NYT* has revisited the protests in its reporting during the war indicates the importance of these events and the newspaper's ongoing effort to reevaluate them in the new contexts.

Ultimately, the research provides valuable insights into media representation of protest movements and their social actors in general and contributes to the understanding of representations of Ukraine and Belarus in American media during their pivotal historical

moments. The study underscores the significance of recurring linguistic choices in *The NYT* to portray the protests in a specific way, demonstrating how language can convey ideology. Language in the media is a tool through which the media can exert its power in amplification of events and shaping the public's perspectives. Future research can explore representations of these protest movements in the media outlets in other countries or track how representations of these events and their participants transform over time, especially in the context of Russia's ongoing full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

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RESÜMEE

TARTU ÜLIKOOL

ANGLISTIKA OSAKOND

Kateryna Smuk

A Corpus-Assisted Comparative Study of the Representations of the Euromaidan Protests in Ukraine (2013-2014) and the Belarus Protests (2020-2021) in *The New York Times*

[Võrdlev korpusuuring Euromaidani (2013-2014) ja Valgevene meeleavalduste (2020-2021) meediakuvandist New York Timesis]

Magistritöö
2024
Lehekülgede arv: 91

Meediakuvand mängib suurt rolli ühiskondlike liikumiste ja nendes osalejate (de)legitimiseerimises. Magistritöö eesmärk on võrrelda kahe Ida-Euroopa meeleavalduse, Ukraina Euromaidani (2013-2014) ja Valgevene protestide (2020-2021) kujutamist rahvusvahelistelt tuntud Ameerika ajalehes The New York Times. Lõputöö keskendub sündmuste nimetamisviisidele ja ühiskondlikele osalejatele ning vägivallaaktide eest vastutuse omistamisele. Uurimistöös rakendatakse korpusepõhist diskursuseanalüüsi ning van Leeuweni ühiskondlike osalejate analüüsi raamistikku. Kahe korpuse analüüsimiseks on kasutatud Sketch Engine'i tarkvara. Korpused koosnevad kokku 167 artiklist (192 111 sõna).

Magistritöö koosneb viiest osast. Sissejuhatus käsitleb meedia võimu ja esindatust. Esimene peatükk vaatleb uudise loomise protsessi ja keele rolli selles; liikumiste meediakajastust; vaadeldavate sündmuste tausta; The New York Timesi eetikapoliitikat ning käsitletud sündmuste ja protestide üldist ülevaadet varasemates uurimistöödes. Teises peatükis tutvustatakse kasutatud metodoloogilisi käsitlusi (kriitilist diskursusanalüüsi, korpuslingvistikat ja van Leeuweni ühiskondlike osalejate analüüsi raamistikku) ning eritletakse kasutatud metodoloogilisi toiminguid. Viimases peatükis räägitakse analüüsitulemustest, millele järgneb arutelu. Kokkuvõttes mainitakse peamisi tulemusi ja tehakse järeldusi edasisteks uurimistöödeks.

Tulemustest saab järeldada, et The New York Times kajastas proteste õigustatutena ja püüdis anda sündmustest tasakaalustatud ülevaadet, hõlmates erinevaid vaatenurki, võttes aluseks presidentide ja teatud opositsiooniliidrite omavahelist suhet raamivat rivaalitsemist ning tõstis esile protestijate vastu suunatud võimu kuritarvitamise ja vägivalla, mis on demokraatlikes süsteemides lubamatu.

Märksõnad: Inglise keel ja keeleteadus, meediadiskursus, korpusanalüüs, meediadiskursus, diskursusanalüüs, *The New York Times*, protestid, meeleavaldused.

Lihtlitsents lõputöö reprodutseerimiseks ja lõputöö üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemiseks

Mina, Kateryna Smuk,

1. annan Tartu Ülikoolile tasuta loa (lihtlitsentsi) minu loodud teose

A Corpus-Assisted Comparative Study of the Representations of the Euromaidan Protests in Ukraine (2013-2014) and the Belarus Protests (2020-2021) in *The New York Times*,

mille juhendaja on Raili Marling,

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