Political discourse in the news: democratizing responsibility or aestheticizing politics?
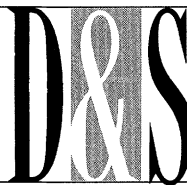
LILIE CHOULIARAKI
UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN

ABSTRACT. This article considers the influential social theoretical argument that relates the proliferation of mediated knowledge and information with the emergence of 'mediated' democracy, a new form of democracy based on non-dialogical deliberation rather than collective decision making (see for example Thompson, 1995). Drawing on sociological theory, media studies and discourse analysis, the paper uses empirical material to argue that the facilitation of deliberative processes among audiences is a matter not only of changing institutional arrangements (towards a regulation of marketized media) but also of changing the mode of articulation of media discourse itself; even though the latter may be a consequence of the former, each is a sine qua non for deliberative democracy. The meta-argument of this paper is that high social theory, which engages centrally with information flows and structures, should also incorporate a theoretical account of the discursive aspects of information, and of the symbolic resources that constitute aspects of the social world in the field of media.

KEY WORDS: critical discourse analysis, deliberative democracy, media discourse, nationalism, recontextualization

Political discourse and mass-mediated communication

Political discourse is increasingly mediatized, while media discourse is predominantly marketized (Fairclough, 1995a,b; Franklin, 1994; Thompson, 1995 – and see, for example, Marliere (1998) for comments on the reverse process, the impact of political power on the autonomy of the media). This 'coupling' of the field of politics onto the marketized field of media has been a focus of critical examination. Major lines of sociological critique take the view that the tight bind of media to the market displaces the logic and contents of the field of politics itself (Bourdieu, 1997) and that the critical political function of mediatized communication is weakened by the interests of large-scale organizations which dominate the public sphere (what Habermas, 1989/1997: 59 calls a 'refeudalization of the

public sphere'). Granted that there are differences between the two, both these critiques express a concern, shared in this article, for the viability of political deliberation in contemporary marketized mass communication.

To a certain extent social theories of late modernity share this concern. They describe the effects of mediated communication on experience in terms of a 'collage effect', considered as the disembedding and re-assembling of local events in new contexts, in ways which evaporate their sense of social and historical specificity (Giddens, 1991: 26). But, at the same time, they put forward a view of mass media as not only limiting but also enabling the articulation of political discourse, and as promoting forms of pluralism essential for a working public sphere. Electronic media have expanded the visibility of a range of social categories and discourses, otherwise non-available to the wider public, and, in so doing, they have transformed the traditional, Habermasian public sphere into a 'sphere of publicness' (Thompson, 1995: 245). It is precisely the accessibility of greater and more differentiated information within the new 'sphere of publicness' that opens up the self to non-local knowledges and experiences, and so accentuates the reflexive organization of the self, and with it a 'democratization of responsibility': an awareness of the global effects of local events, no matter how distant, and an increasing concern for non-local others (Thompson, 1995: 263).

In this narrative, reflexivity and a sense of collective responsibility are effects of the articulation of contemporary mass media with political discourse and, more generally, with discourses in the public sphere. This articulation facilitates the democratic process more as ongoing and individuated deliberation than as collective decision-making. Unlike 'representative democracy', 'deliberative democracy' points to a new form of non-localized, non-dialogical democracy, which centres the *open-ended processes* by which media audiences evaluate information and form judgements: 'Individuals are called on to consider alternatives, to weigh up reasons and arguments offered in support of particular proposals and, on the basis of their consideration of different points of view, to form reasoned arguments.' (Thompson, 1995: 255). The key point here is that contemporary media offer new discursive possibilities which partly displace direct, participatory forms of democracy; they also have the potential to cultivate deliberative processes, whereby audiences appropriate mediated discourses to make informed judgements. Therein lies a hope for new forms of politicization and collective action (see Thompson, 1995: 114–16 for examples of the latter).

In my view, in order to see precisely what forms of political discourse and democratic practices the media help to constitute, it is important to locate this general problematic in specific social contexts where mediated political discourse is disseminated and consumed. There is a need to relate abstract theory with empirical research on the internal properties of political discourse within particular television genres, as well as with research on media production and reception – research on audiences' own practices in making sense of mediated politics. In this way, tendencies at the abstract level of social theory can be assessed in their cul-

tural and historical specificity. While 'deliberative democracy' sets an important ethical and practical ideal for the contemporary, heavily mediatized, public sphere, as actual practice, 'deliberative democracy' can only be recognized, evaluated and facilitated once its conditions of possibility, and its obstacles and limitations, have been identified and discussed.

The study of mediatized political discourse

a) Theoretical Preliminaries: For the purposes of this paper, I understand the empirical study of mediatized political discourse as being primarily the study of *practices of language (including the visual semiotic) in their institutional context*: put another way, the coupling of political discourse onto the field of media. According to Poster, the configuration of electronic communication in particular, is an 'analytically autonomous realm of experience, one that is worthy of study in its own right' (Poster, 1990: 8).

Theories which centre their account of late modernity around the proliferation of information, such as Giddens and Thompson (but also Beck, 1994; Bell, 1976 or Lash, 1994), but do not conceptualize information flows and structures as discursive practices, as 'linguistic facts', in Poster's terminology (1990: 28), fail to address the crucial question of how mediated representations alter significantly the forms of knowledge, social relations and social subjects they articulate.[1] Differences in representations can be specified in terms of the use of different 'discourses', whereby discourse is defined as a linguistic/semiotic construction of one social practice from a particular perspective within another social practice – the media, for example (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Van Leeuwen, 1993). The concept of discourse points at the fact that mediated language practices do not simply relay or 'talk about' a reality that occurs 'out there', but that they actually constitute this reality, in the process of communication.

In media studies, the problematic of the constructed nature of information draws attention to the field of media as a set of institutional discursive practices which struggle for hegemony of meanings and representations (for example, Hall, 1981). Concerning television news, studies on the organizational processes of news production which emphasize their ideological role (for example, Golding and Elliot's 'news values' (1979), Schlesinger's 'daily routines' broadcasts (1991) are complemented by a third dimension, the 'moment of the construction of the news story itself', that is, by the signification processes by which a news item is identified and contextualized – how it is 'made to mean' by the media (see Hall et al., 1978/1997: 425). The assumption here is that the discursive practices of the media construct social processes from privileged perspectives, cueing audiences to 'preferred' meanings whilst suppressing others – though such 'directive closures' cannot a priori preclude the range of audiences' understandings of news meanings (Morley, 1996: 282).

A useful conceptualization of the field of media, for the purposes of this analy-

sis, is to see it as an institutional context which appropriates, organizes and constructs certain representations of the world according to its own logic and purposes.[2] Paraphrasing Bernstein (1990: 183–4), media discourse can be defined as 'a recontextualising principle for appropriating other discourses and bringing them into a special relation with each other for the purposes of their dissemination and mass consumption'.

This understanding harmonizes with, and further specifies the discursive dimensions of, broader social theories of the media as 'disembedding mechanisms' (Giddens, 1991; Thompson, 1995), or as 'social settings that include and exclude . . .' (Meyerowitz, 1985: 70), or as 'systems of cultural transmission without any ties to communities' (Poster, 1996: 44), in that they all privilege a *relational* perspective on the media – not as semantic content, but as a principle of articulation. In the forthcoming analysis, media discourse will be treated not in terms of its different contents but as a recontextualizing *principle* which brings together and organizes other discourses (semiotic constructions of practice) in a new order. Media representations, in this sense, are seen to obtain their internal organization and rationality by drawing on the regulative system of their institutional context, rather than on their conditions of production outside the media.

b)   The news broadcast under study: The question raised in the following analysis is how news broadcast practices implicitly produce hegemonic political positions, by privileging particular representations of the nation and national identities for the Greek audience. The news broadcast topic itself is about national politics and diplomatic relations between nations. It deals with a 'crisis' moment in Greece's exterior politics in August 1996, manifested as yet one more tension in its relationship with Turkey over the Cyprus issue. On the 22nd anniversary of the Turkish invasion, demonstrations and protests took place on the 'buffer' zone which separates the Southern from the Northern, occupied part of Cyprus. In the course of the demonstrations, which turned into riots, one Greek-Cypriot was beaten to death by Turkish paramilitary forces in the 'buffer' zone (11 August); another was shot dead as he was climbing the Turkish flag post, with the intention of bringing down the Turkish flag (15 August). The news broadcast under study (16 August) reports on international reactions to this second killing, and on Cypriot, Greek and Turkish political and diplomatic reactions to the victim's funeral as well as the Greek and Turkish people's protests and demonstrations following the event. In the analysis, I concentrate on the opening of the broadcast, i.e. the newsreader's text reporting on the international reactions to the killing (but see Chouliaraki, 1998b for a broader analysis of the most representative aspects of that broadcast with regard to the production of nationalist discourse).

In the light of the theoretical preliminaries, the questions addressed in the analysis include:
a) in the news broadcast under study, which recontextualizing principle selectively appropriates and re-orders discourses about the reported event under a regulative discourse (the logic of this media discourse)?

b) what kinds of political representations, alliances and identities does this recontextualizing principle project for the Greek viewers?
c) which are the sociocultural implications of the ways Greece and 'Greek-ness' are constructed through this recontextualizing process in this media text?

c) Critical Discourse Analysis: Following the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis, i.e. an analysis of textual and intertextual features of the text, I considered ways in which the articulation of media with political discourse offers 'preferred' significations of the reported events and, implicitly, hegemonic representations of the nation (see Van Dijk, 1988, 1991 for critical analyses of ethnic prejudice and media discourse; Wodak 1997 for critical analysis of ethnic prejudice and nationalist discourse).

The methodological assumption underlying CDA's qualitative approach is that language, and more generally semiotic modalities and social processes, are deeply implicated with one another, and that language organized into text provides a way into the constitution in meaning of social processes and relations – into their 'resemiotisation', in Iedema's terms (1998: 1). Language, in this view, both as practice itself and as a representation of practice, is one dimension of the social which articulates with and internalizes other 'moments' of the social process (material, imaginary, institutional 'moments'; see Harvey (1996) for the relationship between discourse and the social, and Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), for a discussion on Harvey's view).

This view of the text further implies that texts are *intertextual* (in varying degrees), i.e. that they are constituted by a variety of discourses and practices which surround them and are drawn into them. The types of practice a particular discourse or set of discourses enters can be specified in terms of 'genres' – the news broadcast itself being a particular television genre, consisting of other types of practices or genres, such as newsreading, reportage, interview, etc. Despite its internal heterogeneity the news broadcast genre has a relative stability, due to its regulative function in ordering and hierarchizing its variables. More generally, genres can be defined as a specifically discursive/linguistic ordering of a social practice, a regulative device which controls what goes with what and in what ordering, including which configuration and ordering of discourses (Chouliaraki, 1998a; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). The analysis draws attention to the process by which the combination of two specific discourses is controlled in the newsreading genre, and with its effects.

If text production as an intertextual process points at the fact that texts are produced by other discursive resources, then one analytical task is to identify those linguistic choices within texts which point to choices at the level of intertextual or discursive practice. The methodological advantage of CDA lies precisely in bringing together the discursive with the textual, through a conjunction of analysis of both text and its intertextual context. Indeed, CDA not only views the text as intertextual but maintains that linguistic processes in a text encode multiple social functions – i.e. that they are multifunctional (see, for example,

Halliday, 1985). The multifunctional view of language makes it possible to investigate how choices in the lexico-grammar simultaneously constitute representations, social relations and social identities in the text. In this analysis, I discuss the linguistic choices which represent different aspects of the Cyprus events, and the effects these choices have on the representation of Greece and Greek identity – as well as 'choices' of absence which exclude other, potentially relevant, discourses (see Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, for the relationship between Systemic-Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis).

I will begin by briefly describing the genre of news broadcast, then present the Critical Discourse Analysis of the newsreading text, before concluding with some implications relating to the articulation of political discourses in the broadcast.

The genre of news broadcasting

The news broadcast under study is put out by a major private Greek channel. Its generic properties can be explained in terms of the tension between fulfilling a public service and a market function – between providing information and entertainment. Before the advent of relative deregulation and increased media competition in Greece in the late 1980s, the main function of 'public service' news broadcasting was *to recapitulate*, to summarize the most important events of the day; under free market conditions, the status of news shifted from recapitulating a public agenda to *enhancing the immediacy of news*, playing up 'hot' news stories, preferably using 'live' reports. From providing bulletins that met the criteria of the state monopoly, news turned into a service for the viewer (Hjarvard, 1994: 312–13). The sample of this analysis best exemplifies this change in emphasis. For example, the distinction identified by Hjarvard (1994) between newsreading ('static, qualificative statements of events'), and on-location reportage (with narrative tension and 'drive'), is blurred when visual texts (such as the video of a killing) are played repeatedly in the course of a news broadcast, blending 'qualificative statements' with dramatic narrative tension, thus making a spectacle of death, sensationalizing information in order, potentially, to increase audience ratings.

Other genres to be found in the same broadcast include commentaries by politicians and diplomats, as well as reportages from international TV stations which are reproduced and commented on in the local channel. Each of these genres in turn recontextualizes other genres and discourses within its own order which makes the picture very complex – though given the length restrictions of this article, I shall focus here on the first newsreading sequence only.

In the analysis, I argue that the recontextualizing principle of this newsreading genre establishes the discursive sphere within which the event of the killing is situated and signified throughout the broadcast leaving no space for alternative conceptions on the Cyprus events. According to Hall et al. (1978/1997: 425), this discursive work sums up 'the essence of the ideology of political consensus' and is fundamental to the political function of the news broadcast in general.

Political consensus in the broadcast under study is accomplished through the articulation of nationalist discourse, which subsumes internal social antagonisms under the homogenizing construct of a national community. The point of the analysis, therefore, is to destabilize the terms of the consensus: to problematize a conception of the nation as standing outside social processes, and to treat it instead as being political *par excellence*, that is, as arising in certain institutions out of historically and culturally specific conditions of possibility. It is important to establish this point, given that mainstream theory, including media theory, tends to take for granted the nation category, and to treat it as politically irrelevant (see Schlesinger, 1991 for a critical discussion on discourses of 'the nation' in media and politics, also Billig, 1995 and Jørgensen and Phillips, 1999).

Newsreading: western morality and civic nationalism

a)   The Visual Text and The Discourse of Denunciation: Just after the opening section, there is a video of the killing of Solomon Solomou, shot as he was climbing up the flag-pole where the Turkish flag was flying, in the 'buffer' zone of Cyprus. The film was shown in slow motion, to the sound of a solemn requiem. This image merged with that of a map of Cyprus in blue, placed at the centre of a set of target circles, with 'Attila Killer' written at the bottom of the map. The video shows scenes from the man's funeral then fades away.

In my view, this video plays an essential role in introducing and establishing both the content (the ideational aspect of the text) and the social relationships and identities (the interpersonal aspect of the text). It also does so from a particular point of view. On the one hand, the 'objective eye' of the camera draws on the unquestionable power of empirical senses to establish factuality and truth: who was killed in cold-blood and by whom? On the other hand, it appeals directly to the emotions of the audience: the use of slow motion filming in the scene of the killing, the requiem music accompanying images of the mourning parents, the 'Attila Killer' logo over a map of Cyprus in red target circles, which closes the video, all constitute a dramatization of what was already an extremely powerful televised image of violence and terror. The repetition of the scene of the killing in the course of the news broadcast also works to exploit fully the dramatic potential of the scene, and to reach the emotions of the audience.[3]

This double effect of the video on the senses and the affect of the audience introduces into the text what can be called a *discourse of denunciation*.

I suggest that this is the central principle which recontextualizes other discourses into the newsreading genre, and into the broadcast genre as a whole. Formal definitions of denunciation include 'informing against' and 'accusing publicly' (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1983), so that in the present context a discourse of denunciation provides a particular perspective of talking about or constructing the event, which prioritizes precisely the *protest element*, the *dramatic reaction* towards the *unfairness* of the event, over other perspectives – such as a dis-

course which would emphasize the political and diplomatic consequences of the killing for bilateral relations between Greece and Turkey, within Cyprus, or in the wider international scene.

The first clause of the newsreader's text confirms this point: 'Into a rally of denunciation of the monstrosities of Attila was transformed the funeral ...' (l.2–3). If we look at the *cohesion* of the clause – the textual devices which build up the rationality of the text – we see that 'denunciation' occupies the first position in the clause, also known as the 'theme position' (Halliday, 1985: 277), considered as the position of 'given' information. 'New' information, in the 'rheme-position' follows the verb and introduces the funeral of the assassinated man, so by virtue of its theme-position, 'denunciation' also specifies what we are going to talk about, and is thus the 'topical' theme of the clause (Halliday, 1985: 54). Thematization works here to establish 'denunciation' as taken-for-granted knowledge, as a fact, the subject matter in relation to which other things can be said. In this way the funeral is recontextualized as an act of denunciation, rather than as an act of mourning.

Let us take a closer look at certain textual features of the newsreader's genre, to see how this discourse is further consolidated.

> Into a rally of denunciation of the monstrosities of Attila was transformed the funeral of Solomon Solomou, who was assassinated in cold blood by the death brigades of Denktas.
> At the same time, in Brussels, the Irish President of the European Union was condemning the two assassinations of Greek-Cypriots by the occupation forces, calling them barbaric murders.
> Whereas in Washington, the press representative of State Department, Nicholas Burnes, used for the first time ...

Whereas the first clause of the text is about the funeral-as-denunciation, the other clauses (lines 5–7 and 8–16 respectively in paragraphs two and three) are about reactions to the killing from the European Union and the US State Department. Cohesive devices give us insights into strategies of meaningfully linking the information provided in the remainder of the text. Paragraphs two and three are introduced through spatio-temporal conjunctions (Halliday, 1985: 306), which signify simultaneity across time and space: '*At the same time* in Brussels ...' l.5, '*Whereas* in Washington ...' l.8. So, three things are happening at the same time about the same event in different places: the funeral is a denunciation of the killing, the Americans condemn it, and the EU condemns it, too. Simultaneity works here *a*) to signify identicality of perspectives (funeral participants, Greek-Cypriots, the US administration and the EU presidency all believe that the killing had to be condemned), and *b*) to stress an intensity of emotion which all three parties are sharing through the act of condemnation (we will see later precisely how this was achieved through the use of processes and vocabulary). This identicality of perspectives, and the intensity of shared emotions appertains to a rhetoric which further consolidates the 'discourse of denunciation', and probably works to draw the audience firmly into it: all the parties

involved across space see the killing of the Greek Cypriot as an act to be denounced.

The *processes* (verbs) used throughout the newsreader's genre work in a similar direction, so that 'denunciation' becomes the main discursive principle under which discourses about the funeral and about the death of the young man are recontextualized. The Irish President *was condemning* (l.6), whereas Nicholas Burnes *used harsh language* (l.9–10), and *condemned* (l.10) and *castigated* (l.10) Tansu Chiller's statements. Both parties (foreign policy agents) are foregrounded here as 'sensers', in having been active in producing statements about the event, through 'mental' process (processes of the mind; Halliday, 1985: 107, 108), with a strong evaluative orientation, and a negative one (instead of more 'neutral' verbal processes, such as *stated, said, reported*). This negative evaluation towards the killing – the object of their statements and the 'phenomenon' of the mental processes – is also invested in the *wording* used to describe the killings as 'barbaric murders' (l.7) or 'assassination' (l.10), whereas these are introduced in the first paragraph as 'monstrosities of Attila' (l.1).

Here we can see a *collocation* of terms, a group of vocabulary and process items which throughout this text work together to unify one particular perspective towards the event of the killing as a 'denunciation'. These textual elements are further combined with the force of visual discourses of riots and demonstrations, and with a repetition of the video of the killing, this time edited with circles around the Turkish soldiers, to pin-point the shooters.

One more significant textual feature is *discourse representation* (Fairclough, 1995b: 118–20; discourse here as speech). People (the Irish President and Nicholas Burnes) are reported to have expressed their reactions to the killings. Their statements were reproduced in more than one way. In paragraph two (lines 5–7) we are told that 'The Irish presidency of the European Union was condemning the two assassinations of Greek-Cypriots by the occupation forces, calling them barbaric murders.'

In this case, the Irish President's speech, calling the killings 'barbaric murders' (1.7), is reported as a *direct quote*. However, he is also reported as having condemned the two killings 'by the occupation forces' (l.6–7), though on this occasion the report made use of *free indirect speech* rather than a direct quote. This mixture of two types of discourse representation has the effect of blurring the boundary between what is actually said and what is reconstructed in the process of representation. For example, is the passive agent 'by the occupation forces' part of the Irish President's text? This is the sort of terminology one encounters in the anti-Turkish political rhetoric of Greek-Cypriot and Greek politicians and civilians. As such, it is likely to have been appropriated by a leading European political and diplomaticy agency? In my view, the mixture of types of quotation in the news report is used in a calculated way, in order to reformulate the actual statements, so that while the propositional content is accurate, the overall force of the utterance is re-appropriated in the text for its own purposes. In other words, the choices of discourse/speech representation recontextualize the statement in

order to place it within a 'discourse of denunciation' to which it did not initially belong, or was not fully committed.

> ... whereas in Washington, the Press Representative of State Department, Nicholas Burnes, used, for the first time since Sunday, harsh language, in order to condemn the assassinations and to castigate Tansu Chiller's statements, who had claimed that she would break the arms of those daring to haul down the Turkish flag. The protection of the flag cannot justify the incidents of the 15th of August, said Mr Burnes, who added emphatically that human life and its sanctity are, in any case, more important than the protection of a piece of cloth.

In Nicholas Burnes' case, we have examples of *indirect speech* (as in '. . . used for the first time since Sunday harsh language to condemn . . . and to castigate . . .' l.9–10) and direct quote (the last sentence of the text, l.12–16). There are two remarks to make here. First, in Nicholas Burnes' case discourse/speech representation is accompanied by a *circumstantial (temporal) qualifier* ('for the first time . . . harsh language'; Halliday, 1985: 138). In my view, this qualifier points at an implicit claim, a *presupposition* within the 'discourse of denunciation', that Nicholas Burnes, and indeed all of the foreign political agencies, had been expected to reply to the killings with 'harsh language', condemning Turkey and aligning themselves with Greece (there are similar formulations in the broadcast text not analysed here). In this sense, a set of political practices about decision-making and alliances are implicit in the discourse, and 'traceable' in the textual features, whereby Greece and the rest of the world are seen to form a front (a moral front, as we shall see) against Turkey. Also implicit is an image of the Greek nation positioned in the international scene in coalition with its major forces and in opposition to Turkey, itself isolated and condemned.

This presupposition about political practice, and the image of the Greek nation within this practice, is further confirmed by another instance of Nicholas Burnes' discourse/speech representation. This is the way in which Tansu Chiller's own statement ('she would break the arms of those . . .' 1.11–12) is positioned, i.e. in between Nicholas Burnes' reported discourse. So Tansu Chiller's warning is placed after his reported speech as an embedded (secondary) discourse represen-tation, and becomes subject to the negative evaluation of 'castigate'. What immediately follows Tansu Chiller's warning is the direct quote from Nicholas Burnes' ('the protection of the flag is . . . piece of cloth' l.12–16). So, what we have here has the appearance of a multiple discourse representation, since both the American and the Turkish sides are present. However, what they say is 'orchestrated' in such a way that the Turkish statement is overshadowed by the strong negative evaluation of Nicholas Burnes's 'castigate' and the castigating statement itself. This is another textual stategy which ensures that Turkey will enter the 'discourse of denunciation' diplomatically condemned and morally iso-lated – notice the rhetorical contrast between the 'sanctity of human life' and the 'flag as a piece of cloth', in Nicholas Burnes' statement.

In sum, through textual devices (cohesion, choice of processes) and dis-course/speech representation strategies, the 'discourse of denunciation' is estab-

lished as an exclusive and exclusionary frame of reference which offers one single powerful perspective on the Cyprus events as a whole, and, specifically, on the killing of the Greek-Cypriot. At the same time, it hides its partiality by drawing on the 'objective' authority of accredited sources, in the form of senior political agents working in international organizations, who are thus constructed as 'primary definers' of events (Hall et al., 1978/1997: 427).

The sociocultural effects of this discursive practice can be summarized as follows:

i) the projection of Greece as a member of a much-needed front; an important gain, since Greece has long experienced a sense of alienation from potential partners in the international scene, compounded by problematic relations with its neighbours, and the difficulty of finding common ground – in terms of interests, policies and points-of-view – with its EU partners. In this text, Greece, the EU and the State Department are together projected as its 'protagonists' (Martin, 1986), that is, they are foregrounded as main actors, sharing the same discourse;

ii) at the same time, we see the powerful and threatening neighbour and rival (Turkey) presented as being the isolated party (an 'antagonist' in the text);

iii) importantly, the text's image of Greece as a country allied to others, and of Turkey as isolated, is established on purely *ethical* rather than political grounds, that is, by foregrounding the 'barbarism' of the 'assassination' rather than by constituting the reported event as a historical and political act.

The next question therefore, is how does the 'discourse of denunciation' achieve a set of moral judgements and construct political alliances ('protagonists' and 'antagonists' in the text) on the basis of these moral judgements?

b)   Western morality and civic nationalism: I respond to this question by identifying specific discourses which are articulated in the newsreading text under its recontextualizing principle. On the basis of the specific textual features referred to above, I suggest that two political discourses are traceable in the newsreading text: the first is a disciplinary discourse of western morality, and the second a civic discourse of nationalism.

i) A disciplinary discourse of western morality: This discourse circumscribes a field of statements from the agents of international politics. They enter the text through such expressions as: 'barbaric murders' (in anthropological terms, 'barbaric' is understood as a western concept which signifies the 'Other', i.e. culturally alien practices and values, e.g. Bhabha, 1994; Lekkas, 1996) and *the opposition between flag as a piece of cloth and the sanctity of human life*, which points to a different polarity of moral values. It is further reinforced through linguistic choices emanating from a political discourse in the Greek field, such as 'monstrosities of Attila'. Attila draws simultaneously on the name of the military operation of invasion in Cyprus in 1974, and on the name of the leader of the Huns, a 'barbarian' himself, who threatened the integrity of the Roman empire, the 'civilized' world of the 4th century AD.

The discourse of western morality sets up a cultural discrepancy between the

moral values of Greece–EU–US (the West) and the moral values of Turkey. Thus, Greece is positioned as the westerner (once again among allies), whereas Turkey is a cultural 'alien', an anthropological 'other' in this discourse. This is also a *disciplinary* discourse of western morality, because in addition to setting up a cultural opposition of moralities, it also evaluates these moralities, and stresses the difference between right and wrong, civilized and barbaric moral values. By virtue of the powerful position of the political agents which 'carry' this discourse, this disciplinary discourse of western morality is really a discourse of authority, which gives its powerful carriers the right to 'condemn', 'use a harsh language' and 'castigate' wrong morality (for discourses of authority in the English media, in the context of the Gulf War, see Fairclough, 1995b).

In this context, we see the same discourse being embedded in Tansu Chiller's warning against Greece (a relatively powerless participant in the diplomatic game), when she claims that she 'would break the arms of those who dare to haul down the Turkish flag' (here Turkey is the more powerful participant in the game). Notice that in this text the 'barbaric' and 'civilized' agents of politics are both drawing on the same discourse of discipline and authority, and articulating it in different contexts according to their respective positions of relative power.

ii) A civic discourse of nationalism: This is a marginal but clearly traceable discourse in this part of the text, which becomes more obvious in other genres of the broadcast. It is traceable in expressions such as 'occupation forces', 'death brigades of Denktas' (l.7 and 4; both ways of speaking recognized in the context of national liberation struggles against a conquering agent), 'rally of denouncing', 'demonstrator', 'mass funeral' (l.18 and 17; where 'rally', 'demonstrator', 'mass events' all suggest collective social action resisting an oppressive status quo). So what we have here is a projection of Greece or, more broadly (to encompass the Greek-Cypriots), of Hellenism, as a nation active in protesting against the Turkish monstrosities, and, as later versions of the same discourse show, in actively opposing the Turkish threat.

In this way, Greece is projected as being: *a) a united nation*, acting towards a common opponent (the 'occupation forces' or 'death brigades'), and with a just, moral cause (the 'cold-blooded assssination', the 'monstrosity'); *b)* a nation which is *defensive rather than aggressive* (it is the others who kill, and who occupy land by force); *c)* finally, as a nation which uses *legitimate and democratic means to protest* (a 'rally', a 'mass funeral', a demonstration vs assassinations).

I would suggest that we have here a consensual construction of the nation as an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983: 6–7), as 'a deep horizontal comradeship' beyond internal antagonisms, founded on Enlightenment values of sovereignty, democracy and freedom. This is a projection of Greece (Hellenism), through the 'civic discourse of nationalism', a form of nationalism proper to western democracies 'at their best', which is grounded on rationalized and naturalized practices of state institutions and the civic society. 'Civic' is here opposed to, for example, an *imperialist* or *ethnic* discourse of nationalism – the latter defined as a 'hot surplus' of nationalism that appeals to 'bloody loyalty'

under conditions of threat to the national unity.[4] This is a projection which again works to align Greece with the West, its cultural-moral values and political practices, and to single out Turkey as a cultural 'alien' and a political wrong-doer.

What is at work throughout the discursive practice of the newsreading genre is a proliferation of oppositional meanings, or what Laclau (1996: 208) would call an 'equivalential chain' on the basis of which national identity is construed: a semantic field that defines the self positively by negating a 'constitutive other', in this case Turkey (for the oppositional construction of Greek national identity see also Chouliaraki, 1999b; Danforth, 1995). The national other is negatively defined through choices in wording ('barbaric murders', 'occupation forces', 'death brigades of Denktas') and argumentation strategies (the representation of Chiller's discourse/speech), whereas the national self is asserted through drawing on the disciplinary discourse of western morality and though the construction of Greece as a democratic nation with a legitimate cause (see van Dijk et al., 1997: 168–72 for discourse structures in news reports which reproduce racist discrimination along the same oppositional principle; Anthopoulos, 1998 for racism in Greek press reports on Turkey).

To recap, the political events in Cyprus 1996 are placed in the discursive sphere of a 'civic' nationalism, and interpreted in terms both of radical cultural difference and of the hierarchy of moral values that this 'orientalist' discourse implies (civilized Greece vs barbarian Turkey). Indeed, if the generic properties of the news broadcast have changed to fit market demands, its basic political function remains the same: the construction of political consensus around the principle of national unity, which legitimates hegemonic meanings and excludes difference, or includes it in 'tamed', suppressed forms (Hall et al., 1978/1997: 425–6). The question that remains is what effects this marketized media discourse has in articulating political consensus.

MEDIATED PUBLICNESS: DEMOCRATIZATION OF RESPONSIBILITY OR AESTHETICIZATION OF POLITICS?

The institutional logic which selects and orders the news (its regulative discourse) obeys a political function on the one hand – the creation of a societal consensus – and on the other, a market function, which subordinates public information to entertainment. In the service of both its political and market functions, the regulative discourse capitalized strategically on the images of the killing, a visual text with enormous 'news value', which introduced a 'discourse of denunciation' as the recontextualizing principle of the newsreading genre – and of the whole of the broadcast. These shocking images of violent death and, importantly, their repetitive screening, did not enhance the informational capacity of the verbal text. In one sense, as Robins suggests (footnote 3), they created 'fantasmagoric' effects in turning the act of killing into a simulation of itself (thus 'taming' the ultimate horror of death); in another, complementary rather than oppositional sense, they worked to 'aestheticize' information, and thereby attract audience

numbers. Thus established, the 'discourse of denunciation' further recontextual-ized a disciplinary discourse of western morality with a civic discourse of nation-alism, to create consensus by projecting Greece as a civilized western democracy and Turkey as a cultural 'other'.

The terms of the construction of consensus are, clearly, the terms of marke-tized media. But the dominance of the populist discourse of denunciation had an important cost: in foregrounding the emotional element of protest against the unfairness of the killings, it excluded the political aspects or the diplomatic con-sequences of the events in Cyprus for all interested parties. Beyond this, in con-structing nationalist discourse on a moral basis, the polarity of civilized vs barbarian values, it failed to place the events within an explanatory framework, i.e. in their specific historical and political context. The political discourse which emerges from this practice is an *aestheticized* discourse which creates mythologies, grand narratives of both individual and collective identity. It aestheticizes indi-vidual identity by turning death into spectacle and heroizing the victim, and col-lective identity by placing the national self at the top of a cultural hierarchy (for the concept of 'aestheticization' see, for example, Harvey, 1989: 108–9; Lash and Urry, 1994; for the aestheticizing tendencies of mediated communication see, for example, Lury, 1996; Pleios, 1998).

To return to the problematic of the introduction, how could this type of dis-course possibly facilitate the argumentative process envisaged in Thompson's ideal of 'deliberative democracy'? Which resources are released in this newsread-ing genre, and, to make the same point again, in the whole of the broadcast, which could in Thompson's terms facilitate individuals to 'consider alternatives, to weigh up reasons and arguments . . . to form reasoned arguments'?

Social theorists agree that the unprecedented availability of mediated discur-sive resources cannot *by itself* be a catalyst for a radical break with one's local, experiential world, and for more 'globalized' subjectivities. In conditions of cap-italism, such resources are shaped in terms of the logic and privileging mean-ings of their contexts, and are increasingly tied to the market (see Lury, 1996 for links between capitalism and contemporary cultural forms). As a result, the late modern reflexivity of individuals – an effect of their contact with multiple information sources – goes with an unprecedented dependence upon mass-mediated hegemonic meanings, representations and social relations; in Thompson's own words, 'reflexivity and dependency are not necessarily opposed to one another' (1995: 214). Extending Lury's argument on the stylization of consumption (1996: 60–8) to media, the latter works as a market promoting 'commodity aesthetics', thus prositioning audiences as consumers rather than citizens – the visual text of the news under study being a case in point. This tendency promotes more 'individualization', i.e. the consumption of global resources in what Giddens (1991) calls 'life political' projects – projects of the self rather than projects that heighten a sense of global responsibility (see Chouliaraki, 1998b, 1999b for the life political practices of Greek audiences in interpreting this news broadcast; see Phillips, 1998a, 1998b for the appropria-

tion of political discourses on the environment in the consumption practices of Danish audiences).

A key issue, therefore, is to *disengage* media discourse from the logic of the free market or, more realistically, to re-articulate the commercial logic with the logic of 'public utility' of the news, in such a way that the latter is not subordinate to the former.

Thompson's (1995: 240–1) own suggestion for the establishment of a working framework for media institutions is useful in this respect, since it proposes a 'principle of regulated pluralism' which would ensure that 'diversity and pluralism are not undermined by the concentration of economic and symbolic power'. In my view, this type of regulation is a necessary condition for releasing the potential of mediated, deliberative democratic processes. However, it is not a sufficient one, in that it does not specify the conditions and processes under which a plurality of views and a proliferation of information can facilitate processes of 'deliberative democracy'.

It is on the basis of this consideration that we need to examine the relationship between 'individualization' and the 'democratization of responsibility', at the level of the *practices of discourse* that articulate the public, and the political, within the mass media. The potential for 'politicizing' reflexivity, for connecting 'life politics' to more public/politicized identities also depends upon the manner in which the media internally regulate the articulation of multiple discourses, and so facilitate deliberative practices among audiences.[5] This is particularly important in the light of the political function of news broadcasts – namely, providing discursive resources for shaping the social imaginary, the forms of collective identity produced by audiences (recall Hall et al.'s 'political consensus').[6]

In this light, a social theory of the media and democracy which advocates a change at the institutional level (the principle of 'regulated pluralism') should also take into account and theorize *a change in the discursive practices of the field of media itself*, both as a consequence of the media market disengagement and as another necessary condition for the development of deliberative democracy (though its sufficiency will clearly depend on a wide range of social processes which occur outside the media field itself).[7] By ignoring the discursive aspect, Thompson's own account of the media–democracy relationship is weakened precisely when it comes to the point of 'imagining' alternatives, of convincingly arguing the case for social change in the concluding part of *Media and Modernity*, 'Towards an Ethics of Global Responsibility'. There, again, he locates the potential for change in 'the increasing diffusion of information and images through the media' which 'may help to stimulate and deepen a sense of responsibility' (1995: 264). How? Thompson frames his response to this difficult question in terms of a rhetorical schema: the sense of responsibility may be 'precarious' but 'insignificant, certainly not'. Precariousness stems, among other things, from the 'fragility' of the sense of responsibility, and from the 'fleeting pang of conscience', both predicated as human attributes 'we all know' about. It also stems from the

manipulative and exploitative tendencies of media to mobilize 'sympathy ... on the part of viewing audiences'. In his concluding move, what comes closer to a response is the statement that appreciating the significance of responsibility and developing it 'into a form of moral-practical reflection' is 'the best – the only option we have' (1995: 265).

I find this conclusion to a book on media, modernity, and the democratic possibility distinctly thin. An adequate theorization of the discursive in his account of media would have enabled Thompson to formulate a view of change situated at the level of institutional practice: change as an effect of hegemonic struggles over meanings and representations which destabilize dominant discourses and re-articulate them in new, albeit always unstable, discursive formations (see Bernstein, 1990, 1996; Fairclough, 1992; Hall, 1978/1997; Laclau, 1996, for a variety of theories that converge on this understanding of the discursive). This view would further enable him to relate these practices to the audiences' hermeneutic practices in appropriating mediated discourses, and to see the articulation between the two domains as a key element in the reflexivity of late modern life and in deliberative democratic processes.

To return to the discourse perspective adopted in the broadcast analysis, for example, it is important to insist on the possibility of articulating national identity by use of a different set of discursive resources than those privileged in the television visuals, through the spectacular death of a national hero. As already shown, the principle of radical cultural difference is only one discursive option: an a-historical and an a-political version of national identity, based on an elaborate 'resemiotization' of a killing incident into an aesthetic project. What would be possible is a discursive practice which would allow for a flow of multiple and plural historical and political discourses that construe representations as specific socio-historical events rather than as spectacles; which would establish explanatory frameworks, both in terms of local circumstances and of the more stable conditions that frame reported events; and which would assess specific events by putting forward more than one interpretation, competing for legitimation in the medium itself – also in the case of sensitive political issues, such as that involving Cyprus. Once the role of the news in establishing political consensus has been granted, national identity can still be articulated on principles of 'own' and 'other' that recognize difference, but simultaneously facilitate rational debate and argumentation (an example of such alternative constructions is given in one audience discussion; see Chouliaraki, 1998b). Such (re-)articulations would themselves change the terms of political discourse, and re-configure the discursive practices through which consensus is achieved.

What I have argued in this article is that 'high theoretical' claims about the reflexive nature of late modern social practices *should be grounded on and assessed in the light of the specific nature and internal features of mediatized political discourse* (as well as in the light of the dialectic between the forms of this discourse and its appropriations by audiences, see footnote 6). This perspective presupposes a theorizing of the role of discourse, of those symbolic resources which constitute

knowledges about the social world, and of institutional processes in particular. In other words, a 'democratization of responsibility' goes hand-in-hand with a democratization of the field of media, not only in Thompson's institutional sense of safeguarding the plurality of images and information. Rather, a democratization of media should also be conceived as a *shift in the mode of discursive articulation*, a change in the recontextualizing principles that bring visual and linguistic texts together in particular television genres, towards a logic that historicizes and sociologizes the transient objects of media discourse. Such shifts would seek to facilitate connections between reflexive projects of the self and more public/political problematics, and to mobilize critical evaluation and opinion-forming: the very stuff of deliberative democracy. In this respect, I couldn't agree more with Coombe (1998: 296), when she states that: 'The social systems of signification through which a dialogic democracy constitutes itself must be available not merely to convey information – an unduly reductivist understanding of human communication – but to express identity, community, and social aspiration in the service of imagining and constructing alternative social universes.'

TRANSCRIPT OF NEWS BROADCAST EXTRACT
16 August 1996

Just after the opening part, there is a video of the shooting and killing of Solomon Solomou, up on the flag post of the Turkish flag, on the 'buffer zone' of Cyprus. Slow motion, solemn, requiem music. The video image merges with an image of the map of Cyprus in blue, placed at the centre of a set of shooting circles. 'Attilla Killers' appears at the bottom of the map. The video fades away with scenes from the funeral.

Newsreader: Good evening.
Into a rally of denunciation of the monstrosities of Attila was transformed the funeral of Solomon Solomou, who was assassinated in cold blood by the death brigades of Denktas.

At the same time, in Brussels, the Irish president of the European Union was condemning the two assassinations of Greek-Cypriots by the occupation forces, calling them barbaric murders.

Whereas, in Washington, the press representative of the State Department, Nicholas Burnes, used harsh language for the first time since Sunday, in order to condemn the assassinations and to castigate Tansu Chiller's statements, who had claimed that she would break the arms of those daring to haul down the Turkish flag. The protection of the flag cannot justify the incidents of the 15th of August, said Mr Burnes, adding emphatically that human life and its sanctity are, in any case, more important than the protection of a piece of cloth.

Let's now watch the reportage from yesterday's mass funeral of the young Greek-Cypriot demonstrator.

NOTES

1. Thompson has elsewhere proposed (*Ideology and Modern Culture*, 1991) a 'depth-hermeneutic' methodology for the interpretation of mass media as a particular symbolic form, where he emphasizes both the structuring of media messages and their relationship with power and ideology. There are differences between Thompson's approach and Critical Discourse Analytic approaches, though they could usefully combine (for the difference in analyzing the *discourse of the mass media*, a hermeneutic endeavour, and analyzing *mass media as discourse*, a discourse analytic one, see, for example, Torfing, 1998: 212–17). It is therefore striking that this problematic of Thompon's is not taken up in *Media and Modernity* (1995). Here the hermeneutic issue seems to refer exclusively to processes of audience reception, and the internal structuring of the message does not figure as an issue (apart from references to images as 'cynically manipulated and exploited' by the media; e.g. 1995: 264). It is not so much why the depth–heremenutic metholodology is not operationalized in the book's account of the media–modern self relationship – which is a social theoretical and not an empirically-based project. The question is rather why the hermeneutic problematic on mediated discourse itself as a symbolic process implicated with power and ideology does not figure as a particular dimension that deserves serious attention in a narrative of media and modern social life.

2. This understanding is based on Bernstein's theory of the systematic regulation of 'pedagogic discourse' (1990, 1996), which sees institutional communications as basically subordinating (recontextualizing) their primary potential (to instruct, in the case of pedagogy, or to inform, in the case of mass media) to regulation (a principle for appropriating them in the institutional logic). With respect to this, media discourse can be seen as a form of 'quasi-pedagogic discourse' (Bernstein, 1998; see also van Leeuwen, 1993 for recontextualization in print media texts).

3. Though the visual probably does subtler work than that: it simultaneously 'stirs' and 'protects' the psyche. As Robins (1994: 464) suggests, in intensely and repeatedly confronting the audience with 'borderline' experiences, such as the scene of death in this newsreading, television visuals ultimately have an 'anaesthetizing effect'. The very technological mediation of such images, their visualization and elaborate editing, works to cancel existential angst among audiences (the fear of death, the limits of human violence) by creating 'fantasmagoric effects' – by representing a reality which is simultaneously denied as reality and postulated as a simulated, detached and remote experience. As Goodheart (1990: 360 in Robins, 1994: 461) puts it 'by isolating the event and repeating it, its content, its horror, evaporates. What we have before us is its form and rhythm. The event becomes aesthetic and the effect upon us unaesthetic'. We might say that the television medium transforms death into an image of death (providing a 'safe' de-realized experience) and, at the same time, embeds or 'resemiotizes' this image of death within the medium's own discursive logic to its own particular effects.

4. See Billig, 1995: 47 for a critical discussion on Ignatieff's (1993: 6) distinction between 'civic' and 'ethnic' forms of nationalism, a distinction which problematizes the latter as a negative, unwanted cultural phenomenon (and a property of particular national groups), whereas it normalizes the former as a natural 'state of being' of advanced western democracies. See Chouliaraki (1998b, 1999a) for the blurring of the distinction in actual practices, whereby both discourses of nationalism (a 'civic' and the' hot surplus' variety) co-exist in different genres of the same broadcast.

5. This assumption rests on the position that there is a dialectic of media text and recep-

tion, whereby audiences appropriate media meanings in their own discursive frameworks (wherein lies the potential of oppositional readings and resistance to hegemonic representations) but, at the same time, media meanings are institutionally regulated, thus privileging certain representations of the social – in Morley's terms (1996: 282) 'the polysemy of the message is not without its own structure' (for an overview of the production–reception debate within media studies see Curran, Morley and Walkerdine, 1996: 251–306).

6. For empirical research on this see, for example, Philo (1990). However, research on audience reception of the broadcast under study also showed that national identity among two audience groups was inseparably related to the audience's position vis-à-vis the truth-claims of the broadcast: the audience legitimized the broadcast's nationalist discourse by appealing to the factuality of its visual texts, or challenged it and politicized it by rejecting the visual claims to truth. The plurality of audience readings, therefore, having been granted, it seems that the most significant function of the news discourse under study was not so much information per se, but rather its role *as an epistemological basis for the truth claims on which participants grounded their national identity* (Chouliaraki, 1998b, 2000).

7. One area, for example, which remains an open matter is how deliberative processes, fragmented and individuated as they are among audiences, can come to constitute what Fraser (1997: 90) calls 'weak public spheres', i.e. relatively stabilized multiple publics which are constituted in the course of opinion forming and collective undertaking, but have no decision-making capacities. And, further, how such publics could relate, in Fraser's terminology, to 'stronger' publics, where deliberative processes are linked to decision-making within and across institutions, and so secure effective interventions to and participation in the public sphere. Further research on mediated forms of public, including political, discourse, and the dialectic between the properties of this discourse and its appropriation by audiences, could well help illuminate aspects of this matter.

REFERENCES

Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso.

Anthopoulos, B. (1998) 'Pliroforisi kai Ratsismos' (Information and Racism), *Theseis* 63.

Beck, U. (1994) 'The Reinvention of Politics. Towards a Theory of Reflexive Modernization', in U. Beck, A. Giddens and S. Lash (eds) *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order.* Cambridge: Polity.

Bell, D. (1976) *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism.* New York: Harper and Row.

Bernstein, B. (1990) *Class, Codes and Control Vol. IV: The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse.* London: Routledge.

Bernstein, B. (1996) *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity.* London: Taylor and Francis.

Bernstein, B. (1998) 'Pedagogiki Kodikes kai Koinonikos Eleghos. Synentefxi me ton B. Bernstein' (Pedagogic Codes and Social Control. An Interview with B. Bernstein), I. Solomon, *Synchrona Themata.* Athens.

Bhabha, H. (1994) *The Location of Culture.* London and Oxford: Blackwell.

Billig, M. (1995) *Banal Nationalism.* London: Sage.

Bourdieu, P. (1997) *Sur La Television.* Paris: Liber-Raisons d'Agir.

Chouliaraki, L. (1998a) 'Regulation in "Progressivist" Pedagogic Discourse: Individualized Teacher–Pupil Talk', *Discourse and Society* 9(1): 5–32.

Chouliaraki, L. (1998b) 'Media Discourse and National Identity Among Greek Youth'. Unpublished Research Project, Institute of Nordic Philology, University of Copenhagen; also submitted to the General Secretariat for Youth, Athens, Greece.

Chouliaraki, L. (1999a) 'Media Discourse and National Identity. Death and Myth in a News Broadcast', in *Challenges in a Changing World – Issues in Critical Discourse Analysis*, R. Wodak and C. Ludwig (eds). Vienna: Passagen Verlag.

Chouliaraki, L. (1999b) 'National Identity in Late Modernity. A Case Study on Audience Reception', in R. Wodak and M. Reisigl (eds) *Racism in Discourse*. Vienna: Passagen Verlag.

Chouliaraki, L. and Fairclough, N. (1999) *Discourse in Late Modernity. Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Coombe, R. (1998) *The Cultural Life of Intellectual Properties. Authorship, Appropriation, and the Law*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press.

Curran, J., Morley, D. and Walkerdine, V. (eds) (1996) *Cultural Studies and Communications*. London: Arnold.

Danforth, L. (1995) *The Macedonian Conflict. Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Fairclough, N. (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity.

Fairclough, N. (1995a) *Critical Discourse Analysis. The Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1995b) *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.

Franklin, B. (1994) *Packaging Politics. Political Communication in Britain's Media Democracy*. London: Edward Arnold.

Fraser, N. (1997) *Justice Interruptus. Critical Reflections on the 'Postsocialist' Conditions*. London: Routledge.

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Cambridge: Polity.

Golding, P. and Elliot, P. (1979) *Making the News*. London: Longman.

Goodheart, E. (1990) 'Some Speculations on Don DeLillo and the Cinematic Real', *South Atlantic Quarterly* 89(2): 355–68.

Habermas, J. (1989/1997) 'The Public Sphere', in P. Marris and S. Thornham (eds) *Media Studies. A Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Hall, S. (1981) 'The White in their Eyes: Realist Ideologies and the Media', in G. Bridges and R. Brunt (eds) *Silver Linings*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J. and Roberts, B. (1978/1997) 'The Social Production of News', in P. Marris and S. Thornham (eds) *Media Studies. A Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1985) *Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity*. London: Blackwell.

Hjarvard, S. (1994) 'TV News: From Discrete Items to Continuous Narrative? The Social Meaning of Changing Temporal Structures', *Cultural Studies* 8(2).

Iedema, R. (1998) 'Institutional Responsibility and Hidden Meanings', *Discourse & Society* 9(4): 481–500.

Ignatieff, M. (1993) *Blood and Belonging*. London: Chatto & Windus.

Jensen, K.B (1995) 'Borgerlige ord: Modtagerens Perspektiv på Nyhedsmedierne i den Demokratiske Proces' (Citizens' words: Receivers' Perspective on News in the Democratic Process). Copenhagen: Statsministeriets Medieudvalg.

Jørgensen, W.M. and Phillips, L. (1999) *Diskurs Analyse som Teori og Metode* (Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method). Roskilde: Samfundslitteratur.

Laclau, E. (1996) 'The Death and Resurrection of the Theory of Ideology', in *Journal of Political Ideologies* 1(3): 201–20.

Lash, S. (1994) 'Reflexivity and Its Doubles: Structure, Aesthetics, Community', in U. Beck, A. Giddens and S. Lash, *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Cambridge: Polity.

Lash, S. and Urry, J. (1994) *Economies of Signs and Space*. London: Sage.

Lekkas, P. (1996) *I Ethnikistiki Ideologia* (The Nationalist Ideology). Katarti: Athens.

Livingstone, S. and Lunt, P. (1994) *Talk on Television. Audience Participation and Public Debate*. London: Routledge.

Lury, C. (1996) *Consumer Culture*. London: Routledge.

Marliere, P. (1998) 'The Rules of the Journalistic Field. Pierre Bourdieu's Contribution to the Sociology of the Media', in the *European Journal of Communication* 13(2): 219–34.

Martin, J. (1986) 'Grammaticalising Ecology: The Politics of Baby Seals and Kangaroos', in T. Threadgold et al. (eds) *Language, Semiotics, Ideology*. Sydney: Association for Studies in Society and Culture.

Meyerowitz, J. (1985) *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behaviour*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Morley, D. (1996) 'Populism, Revisionism and the "New" Audience Research', in J. Curran, D. Morley and V. Walkerdine, (eds) *Cultural Studies and Communications*. London: Edward Arnold.

Phillips, L. (1998a) 'Mediated Communication, the Environment and Consumption: Discursive Constructions of Ecological Problems and Political Action'. Occasional Paper 66. Institut for Interkulturel Kommunikation og Ledelse, Handelshøjskolen: Copenhagen.

Phillips, L. (1998b) 'Den Medierede Kommunikation af Expertviden: Nærvær på Afstand?' (The Mediated Communication of Expert Knowledge: Proximity at a Distance?) in H. Christrup (ed.) *Nærværskommunikation*. Roskilde: Samfundslitteratur.

Philo, G. (1990) *Seeing and Believing. The Influence of Television*. London: Routledge.

Pleios, G. (1998) 'Exatomikefsi kai Tileoptiki Epikoinonia stin Isteri Neoterikotita' (Individualization and Televized Communication in Late Modernity) in *Epitheorisi Koinonikon Erevnon* 95. (The Greek Review of Social Research No. 95).

Poster, M. (1996 [1990]) *The Mode of Information. Poststructuralism and Social Context*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Robins, K. (1994) 'Forces of Consumption: From the Symbolic to the Psychotic', *Media, Culture & Society* 16: 449–68.

Schlesinger, P. (1991) *Media, State and Nation: Political Violence and Collective Identity*. Sage: London.

Thompson, J. (1991) *Ideology and Modern Culture*. Cambridge: Polity.

Thompson, J. (1995) *The Media and Modernity. A Social Theory of the Media*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Torfing, J. (1998) *New Theories of Discourse*. London: Blackwell.

Van Dijk, T. (1988) *News as Discourse*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Van Dijk, T. (1991) *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge.

Van Dijk, T., Ting-Toomey, S., Smitherman, G. and Troutman, D. (1997) 'Discourse, Ethnicity, Culture and Racism', in T. van Dijk (ed.), *Discourse Studies 2: Discourse as Social Interaction*. London: Sage.

Van Leeuwen, T. (1993) 'Generic Strategies in Press Journalism', in *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics* 10(2): 193–223.

Wodak, R. (1997) 'Das Ausland and Anti-Semitic Discourse: The Discursive Construction of the Other', in St. H. Riggins (ed.) *The Language and Politics of Exclusion*. London: Sage.

LILIE CHOULIARAKI is a lecturer with research responsibilities at the Institute of Dialectology, University of Copenhagen. She is currently working on a Discourse Analytical project on 'Media and Democracy', funded by the Danish Research Council for the Humanities. She has published on media and the sociology of education, and is co-author, with N. Fairclough, of *Discourse in Late Modernity* (Edinburgh University Press). ADDRESS: Institute of Dialectology, University of Copenhagen, Njalsgade 80, 2300 Copenhagen 5, Denmark. [email: liliec@hum.ku.dk]