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**From Qualitative to Quantitative Analysis
in Political Discourse:
A Computer-Assisted Application**

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**FROM QUALITATIVE TO QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS
IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE
A COMPUTER-ASSISTED APPLICATION**

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FROM QUALITATIVE TO QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE: A COMPUTER-ASSISTED APPLICATION

Summary

This paper addresses the problem of qualitative analysis of a large set of empirical data. The limitations of traditional content analytical techniques and semantic text grammars are discussed. I present a new method, a discursive grammar, which matches qualitative to quantitative methods of coding and analysing textual data. The method is computer-assisted and offers a wide possibility of application in various types of textual sources.

1. Introduction

The increasing volume of work on methodology in social sciences shows the interest and need for more effective methods in analysing data. Efforts to devise quantitative schemes suitable for qualitative data date from several decades now. An important step forwards has been made by the introduction of computers in the data processing. Still some crucial matters like relational organisation of complex data and flexibility in coding remain unanswered. My concern is with data from textual sources (newspapers, books, interviews, life stories). I investigate the possibility to code and analyse large sets of textual data maintaining both content and contextual information. I use the term contextual to refer to the relationship between the content, the agent-source and the agent-target of a text. Content, on the other hand, refers not only to the meaning of the text but also to the social cognition embodied in it in the form of interpretive schemata.

"Classic" methods such as traditional content analytical schemes and recently developed ones like semantic text grammars are discussed in the following paragraphs. The scope is to retain some useful elements of these schemes and apply them in a different formulation which allows us to overcome the disadvantages of the earlier mentioned methods.

The methodological construct is presented together with its application on PC on a data base management system. Its implementation on a specific research topic provides an illustrating example for the coding scheme and procedure. Advantages of the method and its further development for application on other research fields are addressed in the epilogue.

2. An assessment of traditional content analysis

The methodology first used for quantitative treatment of qualitative data has been content analysis (Krippendorff Kl. 1980; Holsti O.R. 1969; Berelson B. 1952; Berelson B. & Lazarsfeld P.F. 1948). Semantic content analysis, namely subject-matter analysis (frequency counts of specific issues, problems, or simply character strings), assertion analysis (frequency counts of the linking between evaluative assessments and specific persons or objects) and attribution analysis (frequency counts of specific social and/or psychological features), provides quantitative information on a text. Texts can be compared in terms of content analytic scores such as occurrences and co-occurrences of words or segments of phrases. Emphasis scores (Pirro and McTavish 1990) have been introduced as indices of over- or under-emphasis of subject or idea categories, with respect to the norm of expected category use, as well as scores for sets of related categories.

Content analytical schemes dispose of flexible structures allowing the researcher to build his/her own analytical framework. Words or segments of phrases are classified into subject or idea categories. These categories are determined either by the scope of the analysis or by information inherent in the text or they are created with the aid of a specific "dictionary" developed in previous research.¹ It is the researcher's task to draw the line between the data to be processed and the contextual information to be retained from the wider set of information available. Definition and interpretation of the context builds upon general dimensions supposed to reveal the social meanings of the text. The danger is that these may be too broad; for instance, when the emphasis on specific categories is hypothesized to characterise social contexts such as institutions, social groups, organizations or other socially defined situations, the emphasis scores of different categories can explain all and nothing. They are all-encompassing and can fit to too large a number of cases. On the other hand, if the explanatory dimensions bear on the interests of the specific research they may fall into the trap of anticipating the results. Then the analysis is at best biased or at worst a mere tautology between hypotheses and findings.

The natural division of the data in units (eg. interviews, articles, narratives) often

¹ Widely used dictionaries of this type are the Harvard Social-psychological dictionary (Stone et al. 1966, 1974), the Lasswell Value dictionary (Peterson and Brewer 1965, Lasswell 1968), the Institutional Rhetorics dictionary (Cleveland 1972, and others) and the Verbal Style dictionary (Hart 1984).

provides automatically the contextual boundaries. In other cases, the context may be created artificially in order to best serve the scope of the analysis.

Content analysis has been developed to provide a solid and, after the introduction of computer-assisted techniques, handy methodological tool. Recently developed computing packages for content analysis² carry out frequency counts of words or segments of phrases, classify them into categories, perform key-word-in-context or co-occurrence searches and also more complex statistical analysis such as cluster or factor analysis.

For all their advantages in demanding simple preparation for the raw data to be put in and their high automation, content analytical methods remain descriptive in their nature. They lack any explicit specification of the relationship between the categories in which the content is coded and the sources or targets of the message in the text. "Context" is meant as the shared meaning and/or social definition of a situation. It provides orientation and suscitates expectations for subsequent action and interaction. However, there is no indication about the direction and the modes of communication with respect to the different agents participating -physically present or not- in the interaction. Content analysis suggests that individuals or groups become aware of the meaning of the situation by the use of typified ideas/words/subjects. Hence it creates a link between the content (ideas, subjects, language features) and the context (character of the interaction but also agents participating actively or passively, directly or indirectly, relations of status and power among them)³ by means of descriptive text information. The latter is subsequently used for explanatory analysis of features of the situation such as emphasis on ideas, subjects or different linguistic styles supposed to characterise one social context or another.

Holsti (1969) has argued that analysis of content concerns questions of communication relations between a sender and a recipient. According to the same scholar, operationalization

² Textpack, University of Mannheim, Germany; Spad.t, C.I.S.I.A., Fontenay-St-Cloud, France, MCCA 8.3, Minnesota Contextual Content Analysis Computer Program, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, U.S. are some of the most widely used computer programs today.

³ I understand context as a dynamic set of elements which incorporate a socially shared meaning. That meaning in turn determines to a large extent actions and action expectations in that context. Hence, context ought not to be seen as a static set of conditions or features but as the link between the content and its production in society. The relationships between the interacting, competing or collaborating social agents play an extremely important role in the production and communication of messages. Therefore, they are the ones to be linked to the content and not any abstract, even though "social", definition of a situation.

of content analysis can be based on three basic types of questions: a) what, how and to whom something is said b) why it is said and c) with what effects. However, one fails to see how these questions have been or can be answered by means of traditional content analysis. Holsti himself developed (1969) a computer-assisted model for evaluative assertion analysis⁴. He reduced the text to assessments of "complexes of qualities" and "complexes of performance" based on an initial syntax coding which indicated the agent-action-target relationship. The complexes of qualities and those of performance were operationalised in the following triplets: attitude object-connector-evaluative term and attitude object1-connector-attitude object2. The relational structure of the scheme was without doubt a considerable contribution towards a more comprehensive analysis than mere counting of content elements. Still it was grounded on a semantic differential dictionary which provided the tags on which to code the evaluative terms. Inevitably, the scheme was heavily theory-bound. The coding norms reflected and were determined by the goals of the analysis.

The level of aggregation of the analytical categories in content analysis is also bound by the theoretical assumptions of the research. Paraphrasing W.J.Paisley (1969: 140) I would agree that "if the goal of the analysis is simple description, then the analyst is bound by a cartographer's obligation not to omit significant features from his map. (...) If the goal of the analysis is inference, then the choice of content elements will be governed by the logic of any connection between them and the tagged categories. This is a validity problem, and content elements should be chosen provisionally, then tested against external criteria". However, in case alternative hypotheses emerge during the coding, disaggregation of data might be implausible. An optimising method of coding and analysis should therefore allow for the maximum flexibility possible so that the data collected can be used for investigation of secondary theoretical concerns.

Content analytical methods allow only for purely quantitative treatment of words or short segments of text. They open the way for further statistical analysis but an investigation of the interpretive packages built in communication has to date been completely neglected.

⁴ Holsti proposes the notion of evaluative assertion analysis as this was developed in Osgood et al. 1956 and Osgood 1959a.

2.1 Beyond traditional schemes in content analysis

Leaving aside the initial "simplistic reliance of content analysis on counting qualitative data"⁵, mass communication research (Lasswell H.D., Lerner D. & De Sola Pool I. 1952) has shifted to more sophisticated approaches like that proposed by Gerbner (1969; Gerbner G., Gross L., Signorielli N., Morgan M. & Jackson-Beeck M. 1979) concerning the *cultural indicators* traced in media communication⁶. This approach mainly, if not only, concerns the media-effects on the public. These are traced via Institutional Process Analysis (IPA), via Message System Analysis (MSA), and via Cultivation Analysis (CA). The first (IPA) refers to the production of the TV programs looking at the pressure groups involved and their decision making process. The second (MSA) concerns a thorough analysis of the content of those programs as indicators of the prevailing issues and points of view which attract public attention. Cultivation Analysis starting from the results of the other two investigates their impact on attitude, opinion, preference formation. It is obvious that the approach adopts an one-way, namely source-target perspective. It relies on a deterministic assumption that "the media do things to people". Pressure groups involved in the mass media economy are viewed as external to the rest of the public. Power relations are investigated only among those pressure groups while the power of the people's reactions and feedback to the media is neglected. The approach does not cast any light to factors such as social cognition, social structure and intergroup relations influencing the media impact on attitudes, tastes and preferences.

The subject of cultural indicators has been addressed also by Swedish scholars, more precisely by the Swedish Symbol System 1945-1975 Research Program (CISSS) (Rosengren K.E. et al. 1977; Rosengren 1980; Namenwirth 1969; 1973; 1977; Namenwirth & Bibbee 1976; Weber R.P. 1979). The aim was to build a broad sociological approach and treat questions such as to what extent does economic change influence social change and vice

⁵ Krippendorf Klaus 1980, p.17.

⁶ For the theoretical proposal see Gerbner G. (1969) Toward "cultural indicators": the analysis of mass mediated public message systems, in Gerbner G. et al. (eds), *The analysis of communication content*. N.York: Free Press, p. 123-132. An application of the concept is made by Gerbner himself in Gerbner G., Gross L., Signorielli N., Morgan M. and Jackson-Beeck M. (1979) *Violence Profile no 10: trends in network television drama and view conceptions of social reality, 1967-1978*. Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania.

versa. For the change in social values and symbols to be measured a set of standardized instruments, namely the cultural indicators, was built. These indicators were planned to measure important aspects of the symbol system in a specific culture and relate them to each other and to broader economic, political and social trends. Some examples of this research are:

"The project on domestic policy especially investigated the values of *freedom* and *equality* on the basis of content analysis of editorials of five leading Swedish newspapers. From this, it appeared that the policy developed from a liberal to a socialist one (at the end of the 60s) with, after 1975, a tendency to return to a liberal policy.

(..) With the aid of editorials from newspapers, the project of foreign policy investigated those geographical areas to which attention had been paid in Parliament during a certain period. From this, it appeared that the distant areas orientation increased drastically during the period from 1963 to 1965. Before this period attention for these areas had been rather small, after that period the attention remained rather large. This points to an internationalization of daily life.

(..) the project on advertising examined the way in which the public is addressed by advertisements; from 1965 onwards the more informal "du" has won grounds strongly, which is being reflected in spoken Swedish. This could be interpreted in terms of increased equivalence."⁷

The problematic arising by such an approach is the representativeness of the cultural indicators chosen. The extent to which the frequency of appearance of a value or idea in the print media of a specific type reflects a shift towards or away of that value or idea. The mere fact of paying attention to distant geographical areas does not necessarily imply an internationalization of policies. The correlation assumed between such qualitatively different elements is spurious. Hence, the diagnostic value of cultural indicators as indices of social change is highly debatable. Furthermore, the approach does not take into account the discursive character of media communication, i.e. who utters the message, to whom the message is addressed, which symbolic representations can be linked to which subjects. The contextual variables which influence the content, the style of the communication and the symbolic representations used in it remain also out of account.

Both cultural indicator approaches described above remain purely quantitative and insensitive to the communicative structure of the message. They end up as value or subject

⁷ For the quotes see Reijnders N. & Bouwman H. 1984, p.43, emphasis in the original.

scores presumed to capture the substance of a specific cultural environment. To my mind, cultural indicators are handy, methodologically robust but short-sighted instruments for building sociological research.

Psychological applications of content analysis have gone more in-depth using the Thematic Aptitude Test stories (tests de nature thematique) (Ghiglione R., Beauvois J.-L., Chabrol Cl. & Trognon A. 1980) which relate the issues and their structure (co-appearances more or less frequent than if they were random) with the interaction process⁸. Small group interaction processes have also been used to analyse the content of verbal communication (Bales R.F. 1950), the analyst practically intervening in the process. Such methods, however, are applicable only to small-scale research and provided that group interaction and study take place simultaneously.

3. One step forward: Semantic text grammars

The shortcomings of content analysis have recently been overcome by the creation of hierarchically and relationally organised coding schemes, the semantic text grammars. Their point of departure is linguistics. The latter have initially led to the construction of Sentence grammars which introduce syntactical structures as schemes for analysis of the content of a text. The system of rules conditioning the phrase-structure⁹, i.e. a sentence grammar, is the platform on which to code the various elements of the text without using any specific theoretical assumptions.

The same principle by analogy underlies the concept of *semantical macrostructures* (Dijk Van T.A. 1980; 1985), i.e. the fairly simple bits of information which language users formulate in order to summarize larger and more complex units of discourse. Hence, the view of natural language as a set of words structured in phrases which can be constructed on

⁸ "Le but de cette phase de l'étude était de dépasser le niveau des représentations et de l'idéologie atteint avec les entretiens, pour essayer de préciser comment les étudiants... vivaient et se situaient par rapport aux principaux aspects de la relation" (Ghiglione R., Beauvois J.-L., Chabrol Cl. & Trognon A. 1980, p.68).

⁹The syntax at the origin of each language provides the transformational rules which allow us to infer from different *surface* structures the common *deep* structure underlying them and, thus, rewrite and code various complex structures on the basic scheme.

the basis of a few prototypical schemes¹⁰ is applied to the text as a complete semantical unit made up of sentences organised around one or more topics. If one of these topics is characterised dominant for a specific text then it can be assumed that sentences follow a specific relational structure within the text according to its main subject. In this light, sentences are to the text what words are to phrases.

What remains to be discovered is a general structure applicable to all kinds of text just like syntax is valid for all phrases. In text grammars this structure is borrowed by semantics. It consists of the fundamental semantic triplet of subject - action - object (Franzosi R. 1989). Textual data as that contained in narrative or action discourse can be adequately represented in that canonical form. Additional information on one of the three basic elements can be inserted as a *modifier* of the actor or the action. Comments or verbal reactions of the actors which do not explicitly make part of the semantic triplet fall into a separate category of "comments" or simply are not coded.

It has been argued that three sorts of formulations are found in discourse (Dijk Van T.A. 1972; 1982; 1983; 1985). The first are **local**, focusing to a limited number of phrases, establishing order; determining sequence and relations within a relatively small segment of a text. The second are the **superordinate** structures which give birth to the macropropositions summarizing in a few words or simple clauses the dominant topic, the gist of the text. The third and most important for text grammars are located in between the former two. The semantic formulations which pertain the organisation of the discourse linking the top-level macropropositions (eg. titles, subtitles) to the microstructures bearing directly on the text are the **global** schemata. They organise the text so that it be semantically coherent, conform with the cognitive and communicative practices shared in the society where the text is produced and circulated. These schemata may be subjective, biased, distorted in order to serve a specific purpose explicit or implicit in the communication. Nonetheless, they make sense and permit the unsuspecting reader or interlocutor to infer a comprehensive meaning.

The nature (eg. narrative, interview, news report, commentary) of a text conditions

¹⁰ An argument followed by many linguists; see in particular Lyons J. 1970 for the generation of phrases in a language.

which global schemata are in use within it. A story narrative, for example, may be organised around several action topics which culminate at the main event or action representing the gist of the story.

In brief, semantic text grammars provide the structure and the functionally relevant categories which map the organisation of a text. These elements are not common for all kinds of written communication but since they are semantically defined, the data falling into the same category will be semantically equivalent. Text grammars have been used to date to develop coding schemes for collective action events (Franzosi R. 1989, 1990) or for content analysis of narrative discourse (Mandler J. 1978; Rumelhart D. 1975). However, implementation of the semantic grammar scheme on texts that do not refer to action or events is impossible. As it has been pointed out by scholars who have elaborated semantic grammars¹¹, texts which do not follow the rudimentary structure of agent (subject)-action - agent (object) can neither be coded nor analysed using semantic text grammars.

4. A discursive grammar

The need for a different methodological tool when dealing with political or ideological texts (eg. news commentaries, editorials, public statements and declarations, personal opinion accounts) is to be met by the method proposed in this article. I call it a **discursive grammar** because it relies on the discursive character of texts expressing opinions and/or commentaries. All texts are different forms of written communication. There is always an author who has produced a given text and, explicitly or implicitly, the text is addressed to an "audience"; a(n imaginary) recipient of the content of the text. Texts are not static products of cognition. They have a dynamic character. Texts are segments of a discourse directly related to their context (in which they are produced) by means of their authors and their recipients. The text is one expression of a dialogue between its source and its recipient. It embodies the power and status relationships between the latter two. This communication relationship between the source and the recipient of the text is what I call the discursive

¹¹ "Simple structures such as the canonical noun phrase/verb phrase form can adequately represent the syntactical constructs of factual stories ... The canonical form, however performs quite poorly in representing the more complex syntactical constructs likely to be found in *verbal reactions and comments*." (Franzosi R. 1989, p.275-276, emphasis by the author).

character of texts. The set of general rules which define the structure of the communication relationship and the various forms it may take (eg. explicit or implicit, direct or indirect) is called a discursive grammar. It is a grammar because it defines the elements to be located in the text, the relationships between them and the forms that each element may take. The method aims to decompose and recompose the text in a way similar to that of a grammar organising a language. A language grammar defines the basic syntactical structure of a sentence, namely the triplet subject-verb-object. Thus, the reader can recognise which word fills the function of the verb and then examine the specific forms it takes and the various expressions in which the same verb may be used. The unsuspected language user can always decompose a sentence in its syntactical elements and then study their relationships within the sentence as well as within the whole text. Similarly, the discursive grammar defines the fundamental socio-cognitive structure of the text, i.e. the triplet: source of the message - the message/content of the text - target (recipient) of the message. Thus, the analyst of the text can decompose the text in these three elements. The (discursive) grammar allows the analyst to study each of the elements separately. Not only the content of the text but also the power and status positions of the source and the recipient of the text, in a given context, can be analysed. These offer an understanding of the content as a link between two social agents engaging in a discourse. The *interlocutors* are not present physically. Still the discourse may be public if, for instance, the text is published in a book, a newspaper, or a leaflet, or private if the text is a personal letter or, finally, semi-public like an internal company memorandum or a note between colleagues.

The grammar assigns a conceptual and functional role to each of the elements of the discursive triplet source-content-recipient of the message. The elements falling in the source and recipient/target categories are interchangeable; their roles may be reversed. The recipient of one message¹² can become utterer of another, given the interactive nature of communication. Both roles are, however, of the same nature because they link the text to a wider field of discourse where these actors are located. This is particularly significant for

¹²The terms message and text are used here alternatively. Message expresses best the role that the speech has as a vehicle of communication between the different social agents. On the other hand, text brings directly to the raw material, texts of various types with which discourse analysis is concerned.

texts that form part of public discourse like news articles, editorials or political propaganda. Party leaflets, for example, used in election campaigning contain messages addressed to the electorate or to the party adversaries. At the same time, one party may be target of the messages of its opponents. Communication in textual form can also take place between sub-actors within the same party; the leadership towards local party committees, or the party candidates to their supporters. For all this variety in actors who are potential sources or targets of a message, their role in the discursive structure of the text is of the same type.

Speaking in content analytical terms, a discursive grammar links the text to its context. Information on the agents of the message permits to locate them in a broader social space and form some idea about the discursive universe¹³ in which the message has been produced. Thus, the message is assigned some context-specific features and meaning. The social definition of the context gives us some guidance for the activity likely to take place in a situation. McTavish and Pirro (1990: 248) argue that different social contexts are characterised by typified usage patterns of specific words and word groups.

Discursive grammar goes beyond the shared meaning of a specific situation. It seeks to decipher and code the relationships between the agents interacting through the text. Contextual information is used to reconstruct the discursive structure of a message. The relationships between the various sources and recipients/targets of the communication are represented in the coding scheme. Content and context elements are coded for each pair of "interlocutors" following the direction of the communication as it is represented in the raw text. Discursive grammar not only takes into account the subjects/values/linguistic features characterising a specific situation, it also investigates their link to the discourse agents and the role of these features in the interaction between the agents.

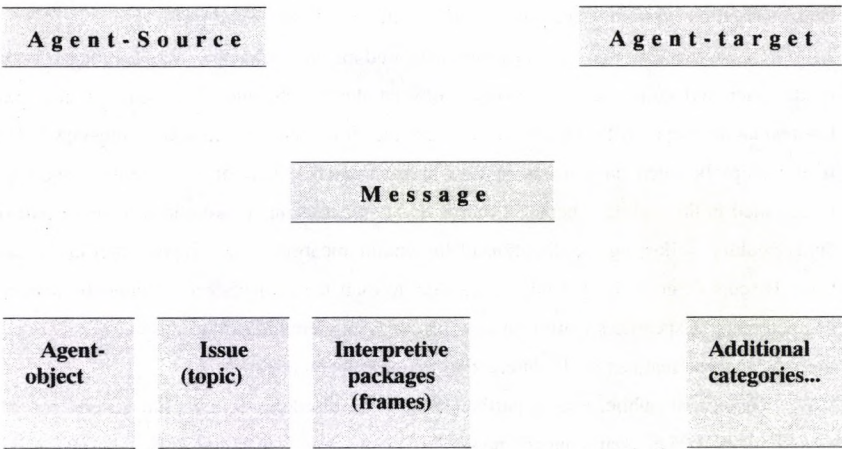
Given that public, and in particular political, discourse follows the general scheme described above, i.e. agent-source - message - agent-target (see Figure 4.1), this scheme can fit many different situations. Still it captures the direction of the communication and it

¹³The term *universe* here indicates a set of conditions, agents and meanings which characterise a specific situation. A *discursive universe* refers more specifically to a communication and interaction process. It indicates that communication and interaction take place under specific circumstances which imply different actors playing socially defined roles. The circumstances also indicate the social representations and packages of symbols activated by the agents of discourse and the public in order to make sense of the communication.

reproduces the structure of the discursive space in which the message is embedded.

The message represents the content of the text, i.e. the argument put forward or the opinion expressed, and is analysed in three main categories (see Figure 4.1). The first regards the agent who is the object of reference of the text, namely the social/economic/political group or the personality about whose action and/or ideas the text gives information. The group or person is attributed capacities or psychological features or is the object of evaluations. It happens often that the agent-object of an argument or a comment is not the agent to whom it is addressed. The letter of a reader to the director of a newspaper, for example, may comment on a governmental policy. Its agent-object is the governing party while its agent-target may be the newspaper as a potential pressure group.

Figure 4.1



The second element to be coded is the topic of the message (see Figure 4.1); the policy issue, the situation, the problem or idea it concerns. This category is the equivalent of thematic analysis in traditional content analytical schemes. It follows the traditional technique of a set of tagged categories defined by the analyst. They largely depend on the type of discourse represented in the text. Political or ideological discourse, for instance,

would entail policy issues; eg. finance, education, social welfare, event-issues; eg. government formation, or value-issues which are referred to as governing principles; eg. partyism of the State, *revanche* politics or corruption. Some previous knowledge of the material can be very helpful in defining these categories. However, spare categories may be left open for adding new ones during the coding.

The interpretive packages inherent in the communication process are coded (see Figure 4.1).¹⁴ They are schemata of interpretation based on social cognition. Their role is the one of organising experience according to prior knowledge and related social representations. The bits of social cognition and collective memory they activate, bring about the viewpoint of the agent-source of the message and guide the text processing and understanding¹⁴. They lead to specific *frames* (Goffman E. 1974) which attribute meaning to the textual data. Frames function as a "tool-kit" of symbols, stories, rituals and world-views which people may use in varying configurations to answer different types of questions.

An interpretive schema consists of a core, called a frame in methodological jargon, which is its central organising idea guiding the understanding of whatever is at issue. The package offers a number of condensing symbols that suggest the core frame and positions in shorthand. Thus, the package may be displayed as a whole with a deft metaphor, a catch-phrase or other symbolic device. These devices¹⁵ help in coding each package under a relevant tag in a package index. A frame needs not be developed in details or in all its main components to become visible. It is possible that a message is characterised by one specific frame but it may also be organised around competing or converging frames. Such a co-occurrence brings in evidence specific features of the discourse between specific actors or indicates links between symbols or representations that were not expected initially.

The content of the text can be further analysed in terms of additional categories which

¹⁴ "A goal of well written text is to assure that only allowable mappings are attempted. Such text is sprinkled with various cues to guide the reference processes." (Metzger D. (ed) 1980, p.96)

¹⁵ Gamson and Modigliani provide a typology of devices used to give prominence to various interpretive packages. They distinguish between framing devices: a) metaphors, b) exemplars, c) catch-phrases, d) depictions and e) visual images and reasoning devices: a) roots (causal analysis), b) consequences (a particular type of effect) and c) appeals to principle (a set of moral claims) (Gamson & Lasch 1983; Gamson & Modigliani 1989).

may be introduced in the scheme (see Figure 4.1). For instance, the message may be coded in terms of socio-psychological categories such as specific strategies used between the actors-sources of influence messages to confront each other. The application of the scheme on a social-psychological study will be presented in the following paragraphs.

5. A discursive grammar for the analysis of political discourse

The point of departure in developing a discursive scheme for the coding of textual data has been the need to analyse party campaigning discourse in the Press. The specific study concerned the Greek political parties and their campaigning strategies and styles of behaviour between June 1989 and April 1990, a period in which three national elections took place (June 18, 1989; November 5, 1989; April 8, 1990). The data available were all sorts of commentaries and propaganda which each party addressed to the electorate or to its adversaries through the newspapers. Needless to say that semantic text grammars did not fit for the task since the data to be coded and analysed were the commentaries much more than the events. Traditional content analysis did not fit the purpose of the analysis either since it failed to take into account the discursive nature of newspaper articles. Thus, a discursive grammar was created to meet the need for a flexible but relationally structured coding scheme.

The discursive scheme was applied as follows: **Sources and targets of the texts** were the political parties (see figure 5.1) and the sub-actors within them, like the party rank-and-file, the local party committees, the party as organisation and each party- leadership or the supporters of each party to the extent that they appeared explicitly as sources or targets of the textual messages¹⁶.

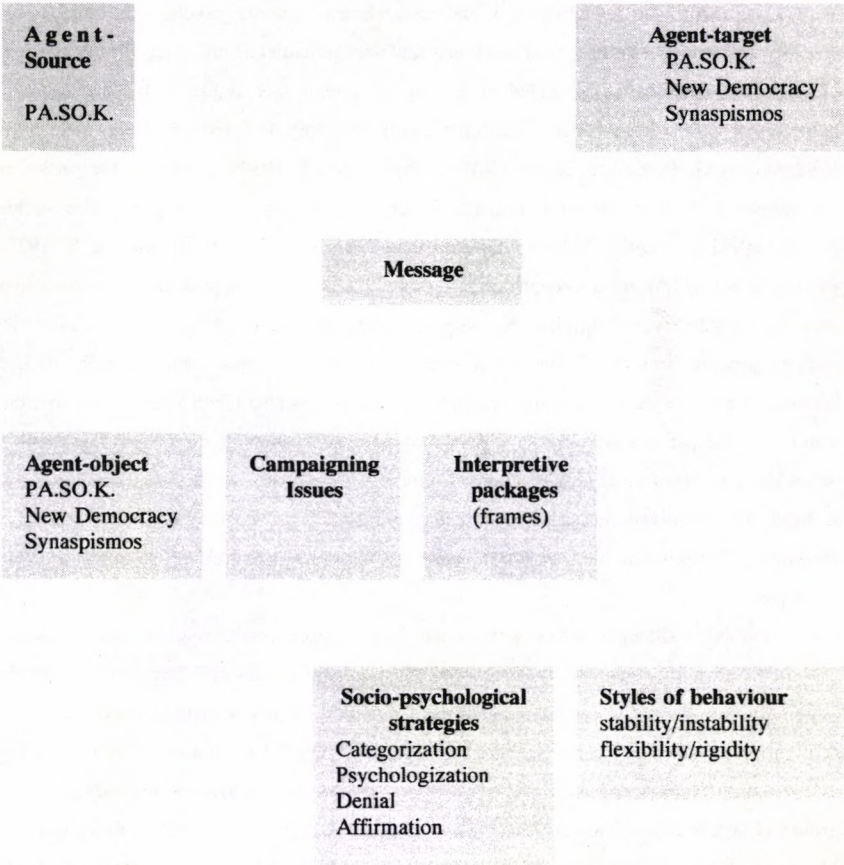
The content of the textual material found in the Press, i.e. the message contained in each article, was coded according to the following categories (see figure 5.1). First, **the agent-object of reference**; the categories provided under this tag were the same as those of the agents-sources or the agents-targets¹⁷. Secondly, **the issues** discussed in the articles.

¹⁶see appendix I, under headline "paragraph" the description of "Agents-sources of the message" and of "Agents-targets of the message".

¹⁷see appendix I, under the headline of "paragraph" the "object of the message".

These consisted of the policy issues relevant for the specific campaign¹⁸.

Figure 5.1



The news reports, the arguments and/or comments uttered by the parties were embedded in various **interpretive frames**. These were viewed as symbolic packages inherent

¹⁸ see appendix I at "Issues" for the way they are coded and appendix II for an indicative sample of the issues index used.

in the political culture of the country and/or related to the specific circumstances under which each election took place¹⁹.

The theoretical background of the research was a social-psychological model on majority and minority groups, their behaviour and their potential of influence. Thus, two sets of analytical categories were added to the coding scheme (see figure 5.1): **the styles of behaviour** (Moscovici S., Lage E. & Naffrechoux M. 1969; Moscovici S. 1979; Mugny G. 1982; Mugny G., Perez J.A., Kaiser C. 1984; Papastamou S. 1984) applied by the parties in the course of their pre-election propaganda or post-election bargaining and **the socio-psychological strategies** (Mugny G. & Papastamou S. 1976-77; Papastamou S. 1979; Papastamou S. 1986) used to confront each other. Party behaviour was analysed along two dimensions; stability and rigidity. Stability was understood in synchronic terms, namely as pushing forward firm, consistent and coherent positions on various topics at each specific instance of the campaign. Stability in diachronic terms was also taken into account, i.e. the stability of the party positions over a period of time. The estimation of a rigid or flexible behaviour was based on the style adopted by the party in promoting its policy and ideology. A rigid style involved refusal to negotiate, adoption of the extreme position within the spectrum of the possible ones, rejection of any communication and/or collaboration with the adversaries.

The party strategies which were coded, were categorisation, psychologisation, denial and affirmation. Categorisation means the division, not necessarily physical but mainly imaginary and symbolic, of the population to members of one's own group of reference (ingroup) and members of the adversary group (outgroup). The strategy of categorisation involves a differentiated, biased, positively or negatively, attitude towards individuals and/or groups (Clark R D & Maass A 1988; 1989; Hogg M A & Turner J C 1987; Kelly C 1988; Martin R 1988a; 1988b; 1988c; Ng S H & Cram F 1988; Oakes P J & Turner J C 1980; Schaller M 1991). Such a strategy can be activated through reference to existing real differences (eg. categorising people according to their income, their education, their place of

¹⁹see appendix I under "framing packages" for the way they are coded and appendix II for a sample of the index used to code the interpretive packages encountered in the texts.

origin or other criteria) or through spurious division into different groups, i.e. introducing a division of people in groups according to features they do not possess.

Psychologisation means the establishment of a causal relationship between the ideas, the convictions or the arguments of a group or of an individual and its psychological features (Papastamou S 1986a; 1986b; Papastamou S & Kaiser C 1986; Papastamou S, Mugny G & Kaiser C 1980) (eg. they believe in socialism because they are all selfish, he wants to become Prime minister because he is a revengeful and mean person, they do not form a coalition government because they are foolish). The strategy of denial involves the absolute rejection of the adversary's ideas by declaring them false, irrational, contradictory to factual reality (Moscovici S & Mugny G 1987; Moscovici S, Mugny G & Perez J A 1984-85; Mugny G & Perez J A 1986). Both these strategies can be used to confront claims and ideas in disaccord with one's own beliefs.

Affirmation concerns the statement and confirmation of ideas and/or facts which are not real but they are produced by one individual or group in order to enhance its own position and undermine the position of the adversaries. These statements may refer to an event which has a negative value for the adversary (eg. affirming the defeat of the adversary in the coming elections as an event which has already happened) or a positive value for one's self (eg. stating that the president of one's own party is the next Prime minister)²⁰.

In the context of party campaigning categorisation, psychologisation, denial and affirmation are analysed as strategies used between the parties against each other.

These categories were added in the scheme because of the specific interest of the study to the social-psychological features and mechanisms underlying party discourse. However, they did not alter the fundamental structure by means of which the texts were read and coded. If the scope of the research involves different analytical concepts than those introduced above, these can be perfectly substituted by the new ones. As long as the discursive nature of the text is respected, the grammar can be enlarged or tightened following the research interests.

²⁰ Affirmation is a new concept, for the first time and tentatively introduced in my thesis. A more analytic introduction to it is found in Triandafyllidou A., *The genetic model of Social Psychology and its application to political reality*, p.45-49 & p.105-107, Unpublished manuscript, April 1992, Florence, E.U.I.

5.1 The computer-assisted application : Matching quantity with quality

The coding scheme for the specific research was implemented into a computing application on a data base management system. This was absolutely necessary because of the large set of the data and in order to allow for statistical treatment later on. The application program defined three levels of coding : the article as aggregate unit, the paragraph as the main unit of coding and analysis and the sub-unit of comments which allowed for a direct linking to the raw data.

The article unit provided a level of aggregation of the paragraphs necessary given the size of the database. It also contained the identifying information and the title of the article. The paragraph was selected as the basic unit of analysis because it is usually characterised by coherence in the topics and agents referred within it. Rare is the case that more than one agents will address different messages towards other agents within the boundaries of the same paragraph²¹. Still when such was the case the paragraph was coded as two separate units for the sake of richness and reliability of data.

The coding scheme unfolded in its integrity within each paragraph and the elements found in the text were retained by typing in the relevant codes. The coding was divided into sections and the relationship between the sections was specified. Thus, the coder had simply to identify the elements fitting in the sections and put them in by assigning them numbers, namely the coding values. The program provided the opportunity for the coder to put in a small segment of the original text, a comment, whenever a coding value was typed in. Thus, raw text was brought in the coding directly and identification numbers were explicitly linked to the lower-level data.

The three-level structure of the scheme preserved the hierarchical links within the original text while it allowed for an explicit definition of the relationships between the elements coded. The segments of the raw data typed in allowed for a quick validation of data without a need to go back to the newspapers. Even though the data coded was complex and rich, the database management application made it easy to handle and ready to be processed by statistical packages.

²¹ For the paragraphs as units of discourse see Dijk Van T.A. 1982.

5.2 An example

An example of coding is provided here using an article taken from the Athens daily "Apogevmatini" of June 27th, 1989²². The article was an editorial and it appeared under a daily column titled "Edo pou ta leme". It was published a few days after the elections of June 18, 1989 in which no party gained an absolute majority of seats in Parliament. That period was characterised by intense inter-party negotiations for the formation of a provisional coalition government. "Apogevmatini" was a clearly right-wing newspaper, supporting and being supported by the conservative party "New Democracy" (or "N.D."). The government was eventually formed by New Democracy and "Synaspismos", i.e. the Coalition for the Left and the Progress which was a pre-election coalition generated by the union of communist and other left-wing parties. However, when the article was written, the president of N.D. had just failed in gathering an absolute majority of votes in Parliament and the mandate was next to be given to the president of the Socialist party, namely PA.SO.K. (Panhellenic Socialist Movement). In the article the Left (Synaspismos) was blamed for not trusting N.D., for being unrealistic and unjust in its demands in order to enter a provisional governmental coalition. "Synaspismos" was also held responsible because in the meantime the Socialists (PA.SO.K.) remained in office as an administrative government.

This article was chosen to illustrate the logic of the **discursive grammar** and the specific coding scheme described above. The article was briefly content analysed using a traditional Content Analysis method and then using the discursive grammar method so that a comparison of the two options be possible. Being an editorial; a comment on a political situation and its implications, the text did not refer to any real events. It dealt with the ideological similarities and differences, the proposals for coalition and it criticised party behaviour using political, moral or emotional arguments.

5.2.1 - The Content Analysis

The content analysis was done by paper-and-pencil, given the very small size of the

²²For the text of the article translated in english see appendix III.

sample²³. Character strings which appeared more than twice in the text were selected. Idea categories were formed after the initial frequency counts, for words which seemed to express the same idea, value or property. The final list of words taken into account for the analysis were the following:

FREQ.	WORDS or TAG-CATEGORIES
(6)	Mitsotakis (president/leader of "New Democracy")
(5)	the Left "Synaspismos"
(4)	unfruitful stance, tactics of repeating its old mistake, its mistake, because of it (where "it" refers to "Synaspismos")
(4)	people, the people, of the people
(4)	purification (catharsis) (refers to purification of scandals)
(4)	the gang of P.A.S.O.K., the government of scandals, "Avrianotobristes" (synonym to vulgar, immoral, "yellow" politics in the Press jargon of that period)
(4)	give, provide, put at one's disposal
(4)	was afraid, fears, hesitate, dare not
(3)	government
(3)	45%, 13% (numerical percentages)
(3)	ministry, ministry of..
(3)	agree, give hands

Re-grouping the words that appeared less than twice in the text, a complementary list of tag-categories was formed:

FREQ.	TAG-CATEGORIES
(3)	healthy, courage, sincerity
(2)	concrete, faithful
(2)	endangered, lost
(2)	preservation, guarantees
(2)	pay, sacrifice
(2)	officially, administrative

²³see appendix IV for the full list of words appearing in the article.

Some significant words or segments of phrases were also picked up from the text even though they appeared only once and they did not fit any other words or categories:

FREQ.	WORDS or SEGMENTS OF PHRASES
(1)	the so-called "Right"
(1)	Nationalist Socialism
(1)	"travels together"
(1)	M.Theodorakis
(1)	"accords of the backstage"
(1)	"the fourth phase"

A quick glance at the list of the most frequent words or word categories in the text provided us the agents involved, namely "New Democracy" and "Synaspismos" or "the Left". The immediately following occurrences were "the people", hence it could be assumed that the whole article concerned the electorate; the "catharsis", which seemed to be a central theme in the negotiation between the parties; the "gang of PA.SO.K." or "the government of scandals", so it was concluded that the source of the article was against "PA.SO.K.". Frequent nouns provided us some fundamental information about the situation, the agents involved and the supposedly main topics. The list of occurrences continued with "fear", "give, provide", and "unfruitful stance, mistake". These words seemed difficult to decipher because there was no information to whom they referred or to whom they were addressed.

A key-word-in-context analysis, namely looking at the entire line in which the word appeared, did not offer a significantly better understanding for their meaning. However, when the context was extended up to three lines (15 words approx. extending to both ends equally) the message of the article became clear: "The Left" was "afraid" of collaborating with "N.D.", while "Mitsotakis" "offered, provided, gave" proposals or guarantees for such a collaboration. The stance of "Synaspismos" was eventually criticised as "unfruitful, erroneous".²⁴

The above example raised three important problems with respect to traditional content

²⁴The scores of occurrences or co-occurrences and KWIC searches could subsequently be computed and used for further analysis which was not performed here. The scope of the example, namely to cast light on the differences between the content analysis and the discursive grammar methods did not concern such an analysis. On the other hand, statistical treatment is possible for both methods after the initial coding and analysis.

analysis: First, its purely quantitative nature and unrelational structure. Counting the occurrences of an agent, of a value or of a subject does not provide any information about the relationship between them. The content oscillates in a communication vacuum and asks for context information to become meaningful. Contextual information is inherent in the text but the content analytical technique to relate it to the main points of the content is simply KWIC analysis. This, however, leads to a conclusion only if the abstract of text included is sufficiently large to rebuild, to some extent, the whole situation. Such a procedure is implausible for large sets of textual data. It requires an enormous expenditure in time and computer facilities, running always the risk that the word or segment of phrase picked up as significant was not eventually a key-word. Secondly, in forming the tag categories under which similar concepts, ideas, speech-actions²⁵ the analyst must necessarily have some previous knowledge of the material. Otherwise, decisions on putting "preservation" together with "guarantees" or "Peristeri" together with "Kokkinia"²⁶ would be either impossible or absolutely hazardous. Furthermore, and this is the third important drawback of traditional content analysis, the performance of tag-coding and decisions on their relevance for the analysis entails the danger of a strong hypothesis-bias. In building the tag categories and relating the various words or text segments, the analyst is very likely to be guided by his/her predictions. Thus, the findings are eventually determined by the initial hypothesis.

A deeper insight into the textual data is gained by picking up some words or text segments which appear in the lower ranks of the frequency counts but seem of a particular ideological, symbolic or emotional value. These text segments like "the so-called 'Right'", "travelling together", "M.Theodorakis" or "backstage agreements" reveal some important symbols or topics found in the text. A qualitative analysis of the specific cases opens new directions for the research. In this light, a complete list of all the words or segments of phrases occurring in the text, as those provided by most content analytical programs today,

²⁵The term speech-action refers to verbs, adjectives or nouns which express some sort of intellectual or emotional action or event, eg. think, provide, offer, feel and others.

²⁶"Peristeri" and "Kokkinia" are popular suburbs in the east side of the town of Athens inhabited mostly by working class people. The former Communist party and later Synaspismos traditionally get high percentages of votes in these areas.

can be useful.

5.2 II - Discursive Grammar Analysis

The same article which was content-analysed above is presented in this paragraph under the light of a discursive grammar method of text analysis. The coding followed the logic described in chapter (4) (Discursive Grammars) and the scheme introduced in chapter (5) (Discursive Grammars for the analysis of political discourse).²⁷

The article was divided in six paragraphs-units of analysis. For each unit the main coding categories, namely the agent-source of the text, the agent-object, the styles of behaviour, the strategies, the framing packages, the issues and, finally, the agent-target were identified and typed in. Short segments of text were put in in the appropriate comment-windows, so that a validation of the coding was done immediately after, through the printouts²⁸. Thus, it was clear that source of the article was in all six paragraphs a journalist of the right-wing newspaper²⁹. The message was addressed to a specific agent-target only in paragraph 4, where the journalist asked "...why does not the Left tell us that...?"³⁰. In the other paragraphs the target was left implicitly the public or the electorate. The objects of each paragraph varied significantly. The first paragraph referred to "the government of scandals, now officially "administrative"" (app.V. commvar O2, parano 1); the second concerned "the Left" (parano 2), the next one referred to "Mitsotakis" (parano 3). In the fourth paragraph the object was again "the Left", "Synaspismos" (parano 4), while in the fifth paragraph the text talked about "Synaspismos" and "New Democracy" together (parano 5). The last paragraph referred back to "the Left" (parano 6). The styles of behaviour of the agent-

²⁷The input data is provided in appendix V.

²⁸see appendix V: the article number (artno) and the paragraph number (parano) were provided as identifiers. Next is put the comment variable (commvar) and the text typed in (commtext).

²⁹see appendix V for commvar=AS10, where commvar means comment variable and AS10 represents a journalist or a political commentator partisan of "N.D."

³⁰see appendix V, for parano=4 and commvar=AT18. The comment text typed in is: "...why doesn't it tell us...?" ("it" referred to "the Left").

source and/or the strategies the source addressed against its agent-object were similarly coded. The framing packages (comment variables representing the various frames from the framing packages index were called F1, F2, ..., F26) used and the issues addressed in each paragraph (comment variables called I1, I2, ..., I28) were also coded for each unit of analysis. In brief, for every single paragraph a representation of the discourse incorporated in the article was performed. The coding scheme (chapter 5 & appendices I & II) provided the categories to be coded and raw text was put in to support the coding values.

The above procedure assured a high coding reliability with the help of quick validity tests which were available through the comment texts. Content and contextual information in its relational structure as in the original text was preserved. The output data at the level of paragraph were numerical values suitable for statistical analysis. The computer program used, i.e. dbase4, permitted all types of queries on the data, like the frequency of occurrence of N.D. and SYN. together as possible allies in government or the frequency of use of specific framing packages eg. the corruption package related to the Socialist party (PA.SO.K.).³¹

This *discursive* coding left no margin of uncertainty on any bit of information traced in the original text. The speech-action context of the specific article, namely the agents and issues involved were taken into account, and at a more detailed level than content analysis which is performed with respect to entire articles. This offered a desired disaggregation of the information for a thorough analysis of the discourse between the parties. Elements deriving from social cognition and of a symbolic value, namely the interpretive framing packages, were identified. These different parts of the content and the context were put together in the coding scheme, which reorganised the basic structure of speech. The categories of coding and analysis were defined by the scopes of the analysis. This study aimed at a social-psychological insight into party campaigning, hence, the variables introduced were the styles of behaviour and the strategies as well as the framing packages. However, the basic structure remained unchanged after the coding and the same scheme could be used for other theoretical applications with a simple substitution of the styles, strategies or frames

³¹These functions were not presented here because they would be useful only for a large set of textual data and not for a single article used to illustrate the method.

with other analytical categories. Thus, the method maintained a considerable degree of flexibility with respect to specific theoretical assumptions and research interests.

In the light of the example introduced above, the general advantages of a discursive grammar are discussed in the following chapter.

6. The advantages of using a discursive grammar

6.1 What is gained by using a computer application

As pointed out earlier, coding schemes deriving from a discursive grammar allow for hierarchically and relationally structured data. The possibility to use a database application for such schemes brings numerous advantages for the researcher.

Data remains rich and comprehensive still being ready for statistical treatment. The distinction between hierarchical levels in the coding allows for a coupling of qualitative elements (text, segments of phrases) with quantitative methods (simple statistical treatment is available within the database application, while the data is ready for transfer to statistical packages for further analysis)³².

There are practically no constraints as to the form in which textual material is available. It needs not be in machine readable form. The language of the texts is also of little relevance provided that the segments of text typed in as "comments" can be transliterated in latin characters.

Data reliability is very high when using computer-assisted techniques in the coding. The application program allows for a priori definition of acceptable values for each variable. Thus, a first control of the input is done automatically. On the other hand, validation of the data is accessible through the comments corresponding to the values coded in the main coding unit. Retrieval of information within each data level is ready-to-use within the application. Such retrieval is relational and selective concerning some of the variables and some of the values coded.

³² Database management systems like dbase3+, dbase4 or foxpro2 provide basic statistical functions like sum, average, counting or grouping of variables. On the other hand, they "communicate" with largely used statistical packages like SPSS, SAS or CSS. Database files can be automatically converted to files readable by these packages without any additional preparation by the analyst.

An additional advantage of computer-assisted discursive grammar schemes is their low expenditure of time and money. Creating a database management application does not require advanced programming skills. On the other hand, most database management systems are user-friendly guiding the coder and the analyst in his/her use of the application.

6.2 General advantages of discursive grammars as coding schemes

The flexibility of the scheme concerns the general character of its initial structure. The discursive link between agent-source, message and agent-target can be traced in various forms of texts referring to an immense variety of topics. The definition of the categories within each of the three constitutive elements depends on the specific research. The categories regarding the agents-sources or targets are in most cases contextually defined. The field of discourse usually provides information about the agents-producers of communication. In the application aforementioned, agents were determined by the very topic of the research, namely the study of party campaigning.

The analytical categories concerning the content of the text are general and context-free. The coding of the object of reference and the topics concerned point out the focus of the textual message. Still, given the discursive nature presupposed to characterise the text the category of interpretive packages is added. These are considered necessary for a comprehensive analysis of the content of communication; of public communication in particular. Their inclusion in the scheme remains optional and dependent on the analyst's interest. The schemata of interpretation are conditioned by the situational context and the specific circumstances in which a text is produced and/or communicated. An exhaustive account of the categories of interpretive packages may be produced beforehand when the analyst is familiar with the data set. Otherwise, they may be determined by the theoretical presuppositions underlying the research or simply be left as *open* variables.

Open options are acceptable for all categories in the scheme. Thus, when a detailed knowledge of the discursive field is not available from the beginning of the coding, readjustments are possible.

7. Conclusions

In this article, I have discussed the need for a comprehensive and flexible scheme for

the coding and analysis of textual data. The focus is in particular on texts in form of commentaries, interviews, personal opinions, which do not conform with a basic semantic structure of subject-action-object.

A discursive grammar is proposed as a suitable tool for coding both content and contextual information. The discursive nature of the text is captured in the basic triplet of the scheme: agent-source of the message - content of the message - agent-target of the message. Within the message its semantic attributes are coded, namely its object of reference and the topic it deals with. The interpretive schemata are added as analytical category in order to link the content of the message with the discursive universe in which it is embedded.

The advantages that this method presents with respect to traditional content analysis methodology is that it provides functionally relevant categories for the coding of the data. The relationships between the categories are explicitly defined. Relational and hierarchical structure of the information is maintained. Besides content is also analysed in its component and topics are linked to the general discourse by means of the schemata put forward for the interpretation of the message.

The discursive grammar defines two levels of analysis: one on the level of discursive relationships as these appear in the text. The second concerns the characteristics of the content of the message. Both levels are general, thus, flexible enough to encompass all sorts of text which does not directly refer to action. Thus, discursive grammars are seen as complementary to the semantic text grammars. They apply to text a discursive syntax instead of a semantic one. This might not add much to the theory of discourse analysis but it can be very fruitful as a method combining quantitative with qualitative data. Furthermore, discursive grammar is easily transferable to computer application programs (database management applications). This makes of it a low-expenditure, handy and analyst-friendly tool for the social scientists.

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(The research concerned the three larger political parties in Greece in the period between April 1989 and April 1990)

Identifiers : Newspaper (2 col.) 1.1 Epikerotita
1.2 Avriani
2.1 Apogevmatini
2.2 Eleftheros Tipos
3.1 Rizospastis

Date (8 col.) - acceptable values between 01.06.89 and 10.04.90

Page (2 col.)

Article (4 col.) - article number

Paragraph (2 col.) - paragraph number within each article

Notes (40 col.) - Title of the article or comments (up to 40 chars.)

Agents-sources of the message (18 col.) (variables AS1-AS18, values 1 or 2) :

Parties: P.A.S.O.K.	Sub-agents: leadership
New Democracy	candidates
Synaspismos	supporters
	journalists-commentators
	government
	party as organisation

value: (1) explicit reference of the actor-source
value: (2) implicit reference of the actor-source

Agent-object of the message (2 col.) (variables O1 & O2 - values 1-3 & 1-6 respectively): (categories same as for the agents-sources of the message)

value: (1) PA.SO.K.	(1) leader
value: (2) N.D.	(2) candidate(s)
value: (3) SYN.	(3) supporter(s)
	(4) journalist(s)-commentator(s)
	(5) party as government
	(6) party as organisation

Styles of behaviour (2 col.) (variables S1 & S2, values 1-5):

Stability - Instability
Rigidity - Flexibility

five degree coding scale: value (1) very stable (1) very rigid
value (2) stable (2) rigid
value (3) neutral (3) neutral
value (4) unstable (4) flexible
value (5) very unstable (5) very flexible

Strategies of the parties (3 col.) (variables ST1-ST5, values 1-5) :

- Categorisation
- Psychologisation
- Denial

Discursive grammar

Affirmation

five degree coding scale: value (1) very positive

value (2) positive

value (3) neutral

value (4) negative

value (5) very negative

connotation in the use of the strategy towards some agent.

Framing packages (28 col.) (variables F1-F28, values 1 or 2) : an index of framing schemata is derived from a pilot-study of the data - five options are initially left open for eventual additions.

value: (1) positive aspect of the frame used

value: (2) negative aspect of the frame used

Issues (29 col.) (variables I1-I29, values 1-6) : an agenda of policy issues is constructed through a pilot study on the data and with the help of general background information on the pre- or post-election circumstances.

value: (1) supportive - retrospective reference of the issue

value: (2) supportive - programmatic reference of the issue

value: (3) criticising - retrospective reference of the issue

value: (4) criticising - programmatic reference of the issue

value: (5) neutral - retrospective reference of the issue

value: (6) neutral - programmatic reference of the issue

Agents-targets of the message (19 col.) (variables AT1-AT19, values 1 or 2): Categories are the same as for agents-sources or agents-objects. One category is added: the electorate or the people as general agent-target.

APPENDIX II

Index of the framing packages

- 01 Health - Illness : eg. ill, old, unable, weak
- 02 Sexuality (positive or negative connotation): private life, sexism, abnormal couple, political anomaly
sharing one's life, caring
- 03 Catharsis - corruption (as state of affairs in society): eg. need for catharsis, purification of the
polity, transparency in public actions -contrasted to- embezzling money, theft, illegal practices,
falsification of the elections
- 04 Social justice, leftness - Frugality, exploitation, capitalism: social justice, equity - capitalist
exploitation, pseudo-socialists
- 05 Real Left - Pseudo Right: honest consistent Left, historical credits (past class struggles) - dogmatic
Left, supporting the return of conservatism
- 06 Governmental power - Lack of power and office: speaking as if one were already elected,
programmatic discourse before one comes in office - confessing inability to influence the
decision making, distancing from the power positions
- 07 Realism - Unrealism: realistic strategy, brought Socialism in power - losing the historical
opportunity, stuck to unrealistic ideas
- 08 Success - Failure, Winners - Losers
- 09 Future - Past
- 10 Development, prosperity - Crisis, calamity: development, progress, prosperity - crisis,
underdevelopment, decline, economic or political or governmental chaos
- 11 Patriotic, national reconciliation - anti-patriotic, national discord: national pride, defense of the
national interest/independence - reference to past political events, deserter, unfaithful, betrayer

- 12 Democratic - Authoritarian: individual freedom, democratization of the State, democratic practices within the party, democratic tradition - dogmatic political beliefs, authoritarian attitude and practices in government or within the party
- 13 Morality, honesty - Immorality, dishonesty: honest, sincere - amorism, immoral, liar, hypocritical attitude
- 14 Stability, consistency - Instability, inconsistency (as a political behaviour and/or personality feature): trustworthy, responsible - unstable, changing opinion all the time, inconsistent, irresponsible attitude
- 15 Balanced, reserved - Unbalanced, confused (as emotional state or personality feature): calm, clear, balanced - fear, disillusionment, panicking, extreme spontaneity, exaggerated enthusiasm, embarrassment, insane, unhappy
- 16 Impartiality, objectivity - Revengeful attitude (as political principle or personality feature): government of and for all Greek citizens, objective judgement - revengeful, mean person or behaviour
- 17 Altruism - Egoism: sacrificing personal interest for the common interest - extreme ambition, power obsession, self-centered person
- 18 Peaceful - Violent (behaviour or person) : peaceful demonstration, calm climate in the campaign - aggressivity, vandalism
- 19 Politicized - De-politicized: thinking citizens, political argumentation - de-politicized manifestation, like a "fiesta", shouting crowd
- 20 Clever - Stupid, foolish (person)
- 21 Separation of party and State mechanisms and functions - Partyism, nepotism : correct, impartial governing practices - abuse of the State apparatus, mandarins of the administration, extreme partyism
- 22 Participation in the commons, courage - Absence, cowardness: active, involved in politics, criticising, proposing, indicating ideas/policies - absent, afraid to criticise, afraid to contradict the government/the majority
- 23 Dignity - Vulgarity (as political attitude/practice)
- 24 Reference to animals positive - negative (metaphors using animals to accentuate personality traits and specific behaviours)
- 25 Progressive - Conservative (use of the traditional political cleavage): a majority of the progressive democratic forces, progressive policies - conservatism

The issue index

- 01 Catharsis
- 02 Military in politics
- 03 Scandals (private life of politicians)
- 04 Scandals (embezzlement of public money)
- 05 Environment
- 06 Foreign policies
- 07 Education, culture, sports
- 08 Ideology/political values
- 09 National reconciliation
- 10 Social health and welfare
- 11 Economic policies and finance
- 12 Peace
- 13 New elections
- 14 Class distinction and opposition
- 15 Electoral law
- 16 Democratization
- 17 Papandreou's state of health/personal life
- 18 Popular sovereignty
- 19 Single-party majority government

- 20 Election campaigning - OR - Reactions to government formation, plans/actions
- 21 PASOK intra-party politics
- 22 ND intra-party politics
- 23 SYN intra-party politics
- 24 Formation of government after the elections
- 25 Feminist issues

APPENDIX III

TALKING ABOUT IT (By Yiorgos Leontaritis)³³

In spite of our hopes the mandate was eventually returned by Mr.Mitsotakis since the position of the Left impeded it from being fruitful. I am in fact afraid that the commandment of the people, which was the catharsis, runs the danger of being wasted. So, although the possibility was there to get rid of the PASOK gang, because Synaspismos insisted for the "fourth phase", the government of the scandals, keeps sitting comfortably on the power seat even though it is now officially called "administrative" government. The Left following this strategy (it is sad but it is a fact) repeated its old mistake, which was summarized in the famous slogan "What if Plastiras, what if Papagos", with the difference however, that it did not realise that today, in the position of "Plastiras" was Mr.Mitsotakis.

In the press conference that Mr.L.Kirkos gave, he condemned the "backstage agreements"... Absolutely right... But the proposals of Mr.Mitsotakis towards Synaspismos were net and clear. Not only that. He gave more than he was asked for. He provided them with all the guarantees they desired in order to apply a specific program which concerned the catharsis. He offered them the key-ministries for the catharsis and the elections: the ministry of Justice and the ministry of Internal Affairs. He put in their disposal the mass media so that they the situation remains under their absolute control. The same with the large public sector enterprises. Furthermore, they would be able to control the government for the respect of the agreement and it they would be able, in case they noted any inconsistency, to overthrow it.

As Mr.Mikis Theodorakis very correctly pointed out, which other government has ever offered more to the Left? Mitsotakis gave them so much, more than they would ever dare dream of.

Does not he have the right to be the Prime Minister in this phase, when in fact he disposes the 45% (at least) of people's vote? Mr.Kirkos said: "Mr.Mitsotakis should not ignore the result of the elections...". But it is Synaspismos who wants to ignore the election result!

Synaspismos overlooks the fact that the people brought New Democracy to the first position among the other political parties and it is from N.D. that it expects the catharsis. The 13% will impose its will on the 45%? Where is then the famous democratic sensitiveness about which the Left is always so preoccupied? Why does not it tell us simply that it is afraid to appear in Peristeri and in Kokkinia, afraid that they will accuse it to "travel together" with the so-called "Right"? Or is its fear due to the "Avrianotobristes"³⁴?

Since N.D. and Synaspismos totally agree that "Avrianotobristes" is the contemporary "Nationalist

³³Article from newspaper "Apogevmatini", 27.06.89, p.6, bottom right of the page, editorial (the translation is done by the author concentrating on the meaning and the symbolic references of the text more than on a literal translation).

³⁴"Avrianotobristes" refers to the readers of the PASOK partisan newspaper "Avriani" and those supporters of PASOK who favour Mr.Tobras ex-deputy of PASOK and ex-General Director of O.T.E. (National Telecommunication Services)

Socialism"³⁵, which has to be crushed, no matter what the sacrifice may be, why, then, cannot these two healthy political forces of the country give hands and fight against it ("Avrianotobrismos")? Mr. K.Mitsotakis gave his hand with courage and sincerity. Why does the Left hesitate mumbling justifications without any substantive argument? It is because of the Left that A.Papandreou still holds the position of the Prime Minister. The stance of the Left is not merely an immense political mistake. It is a mistake which will be paid, unfortunately, by all Greek people.

APPENDIX IV

A list of all the words of the article in descending order of frequency of appearance is appended here. Articles, prepositions, auxiliary verbs, prefixes, conjunctions have been eliminated from the list unless they appear connected with some noun, adjective or verb.³⁶ Punctuation marks were not taken into account. Case and word endings were ignored, except for proper names, so that verbs, nouns or adjectives of the same root were coded under the same tag.

FREQ.	WORD
(6)	Mitsotakis (leader of "New Democracy")
(5)	the Left
(5)	"Synaspismos"
(4)	unfruitful stance, tactics of repeating its old mistake, its mistake, because of it (where "it" refers to "Synaspismos")
(4)	people, the people, of the people
(4)	purification (catharsis) (refers to purification of scandals)
(4)	the gang of P.A.S.O.K., the government of scandals, "Avrianotobristes" (synonym to vulgar, immoral, "yellow" politics in the Press jargon of that period)
(4)	give, provide, put at one's disposal
(4)	was afraid, fears, hesitate, dare not
(3)	government
(3)	45%, 13% (numerical percentages)
(3)	ministry, ministry of..
(3)	agree, give hands
(2)	"what if Plastiras, what if Papagos", at the position of "Plastiras" (references to post-war greek politics, Plastiras and Papagos were leaders of the progressive and conservative wing respectively in the early 1950s)
(2)	L.Kirkos (general secretary of "Synaspismos")
(2)	elections
(2)	absolute control, to control
(2)	Prime Minister

³⁵"Nationalist Socialism" is the term used in Greece to refer to the fascist regimes of the period between the two World Wars. Mussolini and Hitler regimes are the "national socialist" regimes *par excellence*.

³⁶The words figuring in this list are translated from greek. For the sake of fidelity to the original text, the latter is provided in appendix III. Translation was done by the author of the paper.

Discursive grammar

- (2) New Democracy
- (2) it keeps ignoring, it overlooks
- (2) Peristeri, Kokkinia (popular suburbs of Athens)
- (2) contemporary, today
- (2) to fight, to crush
- (2) political mistake, error
- (2) mandate
- (2) net, clear

All following words or text segments appear only once in the text:

FREQ.	WORD
(1)	hopes
	runs the danger
	lost
	possibility
	insisting
	"4th phase" (refers to the constitutional procedure for government formation when no party possesses an absolute majority of seats in Parliament)
	power
	officially
	administrative
	"backstage agreements"
	proposals
	comfortably
	guarantees
	program
	concrete
	mass media
	faithful
	preservation
	the accord
	inconsistence
	reverse
	M.Theodorakis (ex-deputy of the Communist party, at that time supporting N.D.)
	have dreamt of
	right
	outcome
	bring up
	first party (first in the election percentages)
	its will
	famous
	democratic
	sensitiveness
	be cut
	not tell us
	more simply
	appear
	"travels together"
	the so-called "Right"
	Nationalist Socialism
	sacrifice

healthy
political powers
courage
sincerity
A. Papandreou (Prime minister at that period and president of P.A.S.O.K.)
consists of
immense
pay

APPENDIX V

The aggregate level of the output data; **the article**:

ARTNO³⁷ 116
NEWSPAPER 21
DATE 27/06/89
PAGENO 6
TYPE 02
NOTES Title: Edo pou ta leme
(title: talking about it)

Output data from **the comment-windows**: segments of the initial text typed in to "justify" the relative values coded.

Paragraph no 1.

ARTNO³⁸ 116
PARANO 1
COMMVAR AS10 (=Agent Source no 10, i.e. journalist of New Democracy)³⁹
COMMTXT apo to G.Leontariti: commenting (direct speech)
(from G.Leontaritis: commenting (direct speech))

ARTNO 116
PARANO 1
COMMVAR O2 (=Object no 2, i.e. specification of sub-agent within the party)
COMMTXT i kivernisi ton skandalon tora tipika "ipiresiaki"

³⁷ARTNO = number of article, NEWSPAPER = an arithmetic value signifying the specific newspaper, DATE = date of the newspaper issue coded, PAGENO = number of page on which the article is, TYPE = type of the article following a predefined index: (01) event report, (02) editorial, (03) reader letter or interview, (04) headline or very short article announcing the article that follows on another page, (05) political commentary, comment on events, (06) speech, interview or interview report, (07) political (party) advertisement or negative publicity against an adversary, (08) picture/graphics), NOTES = the title of the article or a brief note about the article.

³⁸ARTNO = number of article (main identifying variable), PARANO = number of paragraph within each article, COMMVAR = comment variable, see the variables identified in the coding scheme in appendix I, COMMTXT = comment text, brief segment of text taken from the original in order to validate the coding of the specific value for each variable.

³⁹See also appendix I, p.22 for the definition of the variables.

Discursive grammar

(the government of scandals now officially "administrative")

ARTNO 116
PARANO 1
COMMVAR ST1 (=Strategy no 1, i.e. Categorization)
COMMTEXT tin pasokiki simmoría, kivrínisi ton skandalon ki as legete "ipiresiak
(the gang of PASOK, the government of scandals even if it is called
"administrative")

ARTNO 116
PARANO 1
COMMVAR F3 (=Frame no 3, i.e. catharsis-corruption)
COMMTEXT ipirhe i dinatotita apallagoume apo pasokiki simmoría-kivrínisi skanda
(there was the possibility to get rid of the gang of PASOK-government
scanda)

ARTNO 116
PARANO 1
COMMVAR I20 (=Issue no 20, i.e. pre-election campaigning)
COMMTEXT exetias emmonis SYN gia "4i fasi" kivrínisi skandalon exakolouthi exou
(because of the insisting of "SYN" (Synaspismos) for the "4th phase"
government of scandals keeps having)

ARTNO 116
PARANO 1
COMMVAR AT19 (=Agent-Target no 19, i.e. the electorate in general)
COMMTEXT no reference

Paragraph no 2.

ARTNO 116
PARANO 2
COMMVAR AS10 (=Agent Source no 10, i.e. journalist of New Democracy)
COMMTEXT apo ton G.Leontariti. commenting
(from G.Leontaritis: commenting)

ARTNO 116
PARANO 2
COMMVAR O2 (=Object no 2, i.e. specification of sub-agent within the party)
COMMTEXT i Aristera
(the Left)

ARTNO 116
PARANO 2
COMMVAR ST4 (=Strategy no 4, i.e. Affirmation)
COMMTEXT lipiro alla gegonos Aristera epanelave lathos "Ti Plastiras ti Papagos
(sad but a fact the Left repeated mistake "what Plastiras, what Papagos)

ARTNO 116
PARANO 2
COMMVAR F7 (=Frame no 7, i.e. realistic vs. unrealistic attitude)
COMMTEXT epanelave paleo tis lathos-den katalave simera "Plastiras" itan Mitsot
(it repeated its old mistake-it did not understand today "Plastiras" was

Discursive grammar

Mitsot)

ARTNO 116
 PARANO 2
 COMMVAR I20 (=Issue no 20, i.e. pre-election campaigning)
 COMMTEXT lipiro alla gegonos Aristera epanelave lathos "ti Plastiras ti Papagos
 (sad but a fact the Left repeated mistake "what Plastiras what Papagos")

ARTNO 116
 PARANO 2
 COMMVAR AT19 (=Agent-target no 19, i.e. the electorate in general)
 COMMTEXT no ref.

Paragraph no 3.

ARTNO 116
 PARANO 3
 COMMVAR AS10 (Agent Source no 10, i.e. journalist of New Democracy)
 COMMTEXT apo ton G.Leontariti: commenting
 (from G.Leontaritis: commenting)

ARTNO 116
 PARANO 3
 COMMVAR O2 (=Object no 2, i.e. specification of sub-agent within the party)
 COMMTEXT Mitsotakis

ARTNO 116
 PARANO 3
 COMMVAR S2 (=Style no 2, i.e. rigid vs. flexible style of behaviour)
 COMMTEXT edose perissotera apo osa tou zitisan-egiisis-protasis xekathares
 (he gave more than they asked him-guarantees-clear proposals)

ARTNO 116
 PARANO 3
 COMMVAR F13 (=Frame no 13, i.e. moral, honest vs. immoral, dishonest person)
 COMMTEXT tous edose egiisis-eleghoun tin kavernisi gia tirisi simfonithenton
 (he gave them guarantees-they control government for the preservation of
 what was agreed)

ARTNO 116
 PARANO 3
 COMMVAR I24 (= Issue no 24, i.e. the government formation after the election)
 COMMTEXT protasis Mitsotaki pros SYN xekathares-edose perissotera ap'osa tou zi
 (the proposals of Mitsotakis to "SYN" clear-he gave more than they asked)

ARTNO 116
 PARANO 3
 COMMVAR AT19 (=Agent Target no 19, i.e. the electorate in general)
 COMMTEXT no reference

Paragraph no 4.

ARTNO 116
 PARANO 4

Discursive grammar

COMMVAR	AS10 (see above)
COMMTXT	apo ton G.Leontariti: commenting (from G.Leontaritis: commenting)
ARTNO	116
PARANO	4
COMMVAR	O2 (see above)
COMMTXT	i Aristera, o Synaspismos (the Left, Synaspismos)
ARTNO	116
PARANO	4
COMMVAR	ST2 (=Strategy no 2, i.e. Psychologization)
COMMTXT	fovithike mi tis poun oti sinodipori me Dexia (it feared they might tell it that it travels together with the Right)
ARTNO	116
PARANO	4
COMMVAR	F12 (=Frame no 12, i.e. democratic vs. authoritarian attitude)
COMMTXT	SYN agnoi apotel.eklogon-pou pai i dimokrat.evethisia tis Aristeras; (SYN ignores election results-where did the democratic sensitiveness of the Left go)
ARTNO	116
PARANO	4
COMMVAR	I20 (see above)
COMMTXT	giati de mas lei oti apla fovithike mi tis poun oti sinodipori me Dexi (why does not it tell us that it simply was afraid they might tell it that it travels together with the Right)
ARTNO	116
PARANO	4
COMMVAR	AT18 (=Agent Target 18, i.e. SYN. as a party/political organization)
COMMTXT	..giati de mas lei oti... (i Aristera) (..why doesn't it tell us that... (the Left))
<u>Paragraph no 5.</u>	
ARTNO	116
PARANO	5
COMMVAR	AS10 (see above)
COMMTXT	apo ton G.Leontariti : commenting (from G.Leontaritis: commenting)
ARTNO	116
PARANO	5
COMMVAR	O2 (see above)
COMMTXT	ND kai SYN (ND and SYN)
ARTNO	116
PARANO	5
COMMVAR	ST1 (=Strategy no 1, i.e. Categorization)
COMMTXT	ND-SYN simfonoun oti "Avrianotobrismos" ine o sikhronos ethnikososiali

Discursive grammar

(ND-SYN agree that "Avrianotobrimos" is the contemporary nationalist socialism)

ARTNO 116
PARANO 5
COMMVAR F1 (=Frame no 1, i.e. health vs. illness)
COMMTXT giati i 2 igiis politikes dinamis de mporoun na...;
(why cannot the two healthy political forces..?)

ARTNO 116
PARANO 5
COMMVAR I8 (=issue no 8, i.e. success/winners vs. failure/losers)
COMMTXT ND-SYN simfonoun oti "avrianotobr." ine sighronos ethnikosocialismos
(ND-SYN agree that "Avrianotbr." is contemporary nationalist socialism)

ARTNO 116
PARANO 5
COMMVAR AT19 (see above)
COMMTXT no ref.

Paragraph no 6.

ARTNO 116
PARANO 6
COMMVAR AS10 (see above)
COMMTXT apo ton G.Leontariti
(from G.Leontaritis)

ARTNO 116
PARANO 6
COMMVAR O2 (see above)
COMMTXT i Aristera
(the Left)

ARTNO 116
PARANO 6
COMMVAR ST3 (=Strategy no 3, i.e. Denial)
COMMTXT giati i Aristera distazi kai psellizi anousies dikeologies;
(why does the left hesitate and mumble justifications without any substance)

ARTNO 116
PARANO 6
COMMVAR ST4 (=Strategy no 4, i.e. Affirmation)
COMMTXT i stasi tis apoteli politiko lathos terastio-tha to plirosi k'o laos
(its stance is an immense political mistake-the people will also pay it)

ARTNO 116
PARANO 6
COMMVAR F22 (=Frame no 22, i.e. participation in commons/courage vs. absence/cowardness)
COMMTXT giati i Aristera distazi kai psellizi anousies dikeologies;
(why does the Left hesitate and mumble justifications without any substance?)

Discursive grammar

ARTNO	116
PARANO	6
COMMVAR	I20 (see above)
COMMTEXT	i stasi tis Aristeras ine politiko lathos-tha to plirosi k'ellin.laos (the stance of the Left is a political mistake-the greek people will also pay for it)
ARTNO	116
PARANO	6
COMMVAR	AT19 (see above)
COMMTEXT	no reference

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