

Who Blames: Police or Protesters?: A Corpus-based Study of Ideological Bias in Anti-government Protest News

Akkarapong Worarattapong¹ / Supakorn Phoocharoensil²

¹English Language Teaching, Language Institute, Thammasat University

²Associate Professor Ph.D., Advisor, Language Institute, Thammasat University

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Abstract

In 2020, Thailand's anti-government protest attracted considerable public interest. Media representation of the protest and key people who are involved can shape how people perceived individuals or occurrences. This research was carried out to study how the prominent social actors—police and protesters—are represented by two news outlets, Prachatai English and Bangkok Post. Because the protest movement was new at that time, all available online news articles regarding the protest movement were manually collected. This generated two corpora: Prachatai English Corpus (PCT) and Bangkok Post Corpus (BKP) composed of 136 and 364 news articles respectively. Using a corpus-based approach to discourse analysis, the results of collocational analysis and a close examination of concordances revealed that both news outlets described the police and protesters differently. Dissimilarities in portrayals can be argued to derive from the differing ideologies held by the news outlets in which Prachatai English seems to support the protest while Bangkok Post does not. The concept of ideological square was adopted in the discussion to display the bias in media representation.

Keywords: Thailand anti-government protests, ideological square, corpus-based, discourse analysis, social actors

Introduction

In 2020, Thailand saw an important political movement for democracy which was led by and participated in by a majority of Thai students. This political protest attracted the most public interest since 2014 when a coup d'état was organized to overturn the government of Yingluck Shinawatra, who is the sister of former prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra. The emergence of pro-democracy protests stemmed from a range of factors. Regarding ideological concepts, the principles of democracy did not come to its full realization. The government under Prayuth has been referred to as practicing dictatorship. The status of Prayuth as the prime minister together with his legislative bodies was questioned owing to the system of a House of Senators which were appointed. A new constitutional draft was hence demanded by the protester.

Societal elements are the primary components of the political movement. Different types of oppression have been carried out: the kidnapping of persons who hold opposing political ideas, the accusations leveled against many activists, and the detention of those who spearhead the protest movement are all examples of direct oppression. Indirect oppression could be seen from the demands for equality on a variety of social issues, ranging from student rights to gender equality.

The role of news coverage is undeniably important: “News is a representation in this sense of construction; it is not a value-free reflection of ‘facts.’” (Fowler, 1991, p.4). News can be used politically to create or spread a particular notion or group of beliefs. As it demonstrates the cumulative impacts of media

power, a contemporary method to discourse analysis combines corpus linguistics into research, opening up new perspectives on news analysis. This study uses a corpus-assisted discourse analysis to examine how the police and protesters are portrayed, as their involvement in clashes or strikes are common in all demonstrations. As bias in news is continually present and could lead to misrepresentations of a group people reported in news, the main objective of the study was to determine how **POLICE** and **PROTESTERS** as the key social actors were represented in news reports on the 2020 Thai anti-government protests in which the movements are considered novel and few studies related to the movements had been conducted.

Literature Review

News discourse

News discourse could be viewed as playing an influential role in society, as mentioned by Bednarek and Caple (2012), who wrote that people “may modify our behaviour, ideas and beliefs, based on what we have read or heard and, in this way, we navigate our paths through our lives as members of a particular social group.” (p .6). The term “ideological brokers” are often used to define media as it carries the function of reproducing discourses of dominant social order (Fairclough, 2015)

As discourses can be produced, reproduced or even constructed, discrepancies can potentially occur: there have also been differences over the way events have been covered in news stories produced by mainstream and non-mainstream media. This is true in Thailand’s protest events. There was a lack of news coverage on television regarding an incident in February 2021 where police were reported to have fired rubber bullets at protesters, despite the widespread circulation of photos of the incident on the internet. Some news outlets were also accused of

misreporting the events, which led to public outrage on social media platforms like Twitter, and the trending of hashtags calling for a boycott of mainstream channels. The hashtags read #แบนสื่อช่องหลัก (banning mainstream media channels) or #แบนช่อง3 (banning Channel 3) as “netizens called out the news channels for allegedly misreporting clashes at the pro-democracy rally” (Maneechote, 2021)

This mismatch of news reports is illustrative of the significance of news discourse, as news coverage can be seen as a construction process where people, events, or places can be constructed to serve ideologies held by news outlets. A representational element of news coverage marks the characteristic of news coverage: a semiotic code that imposes values on what it represents. (Fowler, 1991) Therefore, from a critical perspective, news is not just a report of events, but rather has a functional role in shaping perceptions. This take into news reports is then suggestive of potential bias. According to Van Dijk (2000), ideological bias centers around the conception of the association between social groups. It presumes the boundary which draws a separation between ‘Us’ and ‘Them’. It can be assumed that the “others” are more prone to be represented negatively whilst the information regarding ‘us’ will be positive. Van Dijk's (2000) conceptual framework for distinguishing ideology amongst opposing parties is presented as ideological square. Emphasizing positive elements about Us, highlighting negative elements about Them, highlighting negative elements about Us, and downplaying positive elements about Them describe the four guiding principles.

Representation of social actors

As news has constructive and discursive power through its representation, social actors could be the key topic to the examination of news discourse: police officers and protesters are the groups of focus in this study as they appear quite

frequently and significantly in the news coverage, as suggested by collected data. This research utilizes the concept of social actors proposed by Van Leeuwen's (2008) chapter "The representation of social actors" in *Texts and Practices*, which engages an array of types of social actors under the principle of critical discourse analysis (CDA), aiming at exploring how social actors within a collection of related categories are represented.

According to data analysis, the present study engages the following concepts in discussion: exclusion which includes suppression and backgrounding, role allocation which includes activation and passivation, assimilation which covers aggregation and collectivism, and functionalization.

The inclusion and exclusion of social actors in representations can be done "to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended." (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.38) Social participants could be excluded in order to spread a message. Exclusions appear in two different forms: suppression and backgrounding. Backgrounding is less drastically implemented when social actors are not identified as the explicit carriers of a given activity, but suppression is the radical erasure of social players.

Role allocation describes who will play the part of the actor or the recipient of that specific action, as denoted by the terms, "agent" and "patient," respectively. One could argue that representations involve both activation and passivation. Passivation occurs when social actors carry out an activity or reap its benefits, whereas activation is linked to factors that are dynamic in an activity.

Assimilation refers to when a person is depicted in a group which may be further divided into collectivization and aggregation. Social actors, in terms of aggregation, are viewed as statistics, serving the purpose of defending actions or

regulating social customs by expressing the views of the majority of people in conjunction with data obtained from polls, surveys, or research. “We” and “community,” are examples of how collectivization is accomplished.

Functionalization refers to the activity that social actors engage in, including their profession or role. Identification requires knowing who they are forever. Classification, relational identification, and physical identification are three further divisions that might be made.

It is to be noted that it can be challenging to discuss the entire set of representations of social actors; nevertheless, the mentioned representations of social actors were used in analyzing the data.

Research Methodology

Using corpora to study discourses

A corpus-based approach to discourse studies has seen widespread adoption in the field of linguistics. It is frequently described as the union of qualitative and quantitative paradigms in a broad sense. Corpus linguistics uses a huge database of data to find representative samples of a language, demonstrating a close relationship with statistics. Discourse analysis, on the other hand, dives deeper into the text, exploring the meaning beyond just the individual sentences. This distinct dissimilarity was stated by Leech (2000, p. 678-680, as cited in McEnery et al., 2006) as “corpus linguistics is essentially quantitative; while DA focuses on the contents expressed by language, corpus linguistics is interested in language per se” (p.111)

The study of news discourse and corpus data are complementary, as news is the place where discourses are reproduced. Fairclough (2015, p. 45) explained that “the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of

particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader and so forth.” A corpus-assisted discourse analysis contributes to exploration and discovery of patterns and messages hidden across a range of texts, which might not be obviously found in a single text.

Several research studies on representations in news coverage relating to protests have been conducted. One of the most popular corpus-based studies on the protest movement is the representation of the Sunflower movement in Taiwan which was presented differently by the two news outlets: The China Post and Taipei Times. Brindle (2015). Collocates and concordances were the tools of analysis of the words that appeared frequently in his study. Through the analysis of the collocate *Taiwan*, The China Post depicted the protests negatively. For example, *hurt Taiwan's economy* was discovered in “the prolonged demonstration is likely to hurt Taiwan’s economy, which only began to show improvement recently”. The protest was represented negatively as it contributed to “a detrimental effect on the Taiwanese economy”. The reason behind this contrast is attributed to the different values placed on the democracy movement held by news outlets of Taipei Times and The China Post.

Description of the corpus

There were two corpora created through which online news articles were collected: Prachatai English Corpus (PCT) and Bangkok Post Corpus (BKP). The collected pieces of news were categorized by folders and named with the publication date and the headlines respectively. The period of data collection commenced on October 2020 to March 2021. In terms of corpus size, Prachatai English corpus (PCT) comprises 136 news articles, calculated as 115,812 tokens and 101,424 words.

Bangkok Post corpus (BKP) comprises 364 news articles, as of 181,070 tokens and 160,382 words.

POLICE in Prachatai English (PCT) shows the frequency per millions of 6,604.40 calculated from the raw frequency of 769 while in Bangkok Post (BKP), **POLICE** is calculated as the frequency per million of 7,516.43 from 1,361 as of the raw frequency. **PROTESTER** in Prachatai English shows the frequency per million of 4,438.23 calculated from the raw frequency of 514. In Bangkok Post (BKP), **PROTESTER** has the frequency per million of 6,047 calculated from the raw frequency of 1,095.

Data Collection Procedure

To illustrate the steps of data analysis, a wordlist was created in Sketch Engine and **POLICE** had the highest instances per millions which was 7,516.43 in BKP. The search term was **POLICE** in Sketch Engine. In the BKP, **POLICE** had the frequently pre-modified collocate *riot*. The collocation *riot police* suggested that **POLICE** was represented with the role they are engaged in referred to as functionalization. Concordances of *riot police* were then further explored to observe how they were represented. The concepts of social actors by Van Leeuwen's (2008) along with other discursive constructions were adopted in data analysis of **POLICE** and **PROTESTER**.

Results

Representation of police in the Prachatai English corpus

The collocational analysis of **POLICE** in Prachatai English Corpus reveals that **POLICE** was referred to as *crowd control police, riot police, and riot control*

police. Through the lens of Van Leeuwen (2008), **POLICE** in PCT was then functionalized with the type of task or job those police officers are associated with: those who are present in the protest scene in order to control the crowd.

To further explore how **POLICE** is represented, concordance analysis of *crowd control police* and *riot control police* was performed. It was discovered that *crowd control police* were quantified and aggregated, presenting as a large group of officers. Several illustrative examples include *over 100 crowd control police*, *several hundred crowd control police*, and *around three units of crowd control police*. Aggregation of crowd control police depicts **POLICE** as a large group of people in force which adds to the portrayal of forceful entities.

In (1) and (2), *crowd control police* was described as a large aggregation of people which “can be seen at every site” and “took control of Sam Yan intersection.” Concordances (1) and (2) support the idea of a heavy group of forceful entities.

- (1) A heavy presence of *crowd control police* could be seen at every site.
- (2) At 17.45, several hundred *crowd control police* arrived at the scene and took control of Sam Yan intersection.

Besides the image of **POLICE** as a large forceful group, the *crowd control police* were activated as the obvious actors of a protest event in which they were also portrayed with violent equipment. In (3), despite the format of media as live video, the caption still shows tranches of *crowd control police* “carrying firearms”. The line, furthermore, reveals a questioning tone implying that the action is contradictory to the statement made by police authority. In (4), *crowd control police* was described as having “some kind of gun” and was taking “control of the area” which adds to the

negative portrayal of police as forceful and prone to present a danger to the protesters.

- (3) Live footage of *crowd control police* carrying firearms contradicts a statement by Pol Lt Gen Phukphong Phongpetra, the Metropolitan Police Chief, that the police did not use tear gas or rubber bullets against protesters on 13 February.
- (4) In live footage from Prachatai (at around 02.05.38), *crowd control police* officers can be seen carrying some kind of gun while taking control of the area in front of the Supreme Court at around 21.20 on 13 February.

Two instances in which *riot control police* and *riot control police* were modified with aggregates and numerates were found: “around 200-300” and “units of” as in (5) and (6).

- (5) There were also around 200-300 *riot police* stationed behind the containers
- (6) At 19.00, units of *riot control police* were seen behind barriers and razor wire near Sanam Luang.

Concordance analysis of *riot police* shows a negative portrayal of **POLICE** as a foregrounded and violent actor. According to Van Leeuwen (2008), foregrounding refers to the process in which the actor is described as prominent in a situation. In (5), the *riot police* was reported carrying out a number of violent acts of shooting, pushing, kicking, and beating with batons.

- (7) Sainam said that he was shot by a rubber bullet as he was helping another protester up, and that the *riot police* then pushed him to the ground, kicked him, and beat him with batons.

The representation of **POLICE** in Prachatai English Corpus shows that *crowd control police* and *riot police* were modified and aggregated with numbers

several times. A closer study of concordances showed that the Prachatai English outlet tended to numericize and aggregate *crowd control police* as evidenced by 6 out of 17 concordances. Regarding violent representation, 3 out of 7 concordances were discovered. According to the available data, the representation of *crowd control police* is suggestive of a negative portrayal. Therefore, the outlet emphasized the negative side of police.

Representation of police in the Bangkok Post corpus

The image of **POLICE** in BKP, however, was differently produced. The frequent modifiers of **POLICE** include *riot, national, Bangkok, Chana Songkhram*. The collocate *national* constitutes the *national police chief* that is the official rank of police officers. This was rarely found in the PCT.

Comparable to the PCT corpus, the use of numeratives and aggregation was also found in BKP corpus where *crowd control police* was modified with numerical modifiers, such as “15 companies”, “about 450”, or “two companies of”. The striking difference is, however, there were no weaponized items involved.

The occurrence of the *national police chief* in the BKP corpus is of importance as it shifted the attention of action inherent in protest events to another event of a press conference. According to Van Leeuwen’s social actor (2008), the modifier is a type of denominating **POLICE** with honorifics. In addition to this, the role of **POLICE** is not highlighted with violent actions comparable to that present in PCT. In (8), for example, the police authority, “national police chief Pol Gen Suwat Jangyodsuk” defended that the action was not meant to cause harm against protesters. The concordance (9) also supported the positive representation of **POLICE** as they were asked to follow the measures.

- (8) *National police chief* Pol Gen Suwat Jangyodsuk said police actions were not intended to disperse the protesters but to arrest those who physically assaulted an officer.
- (9) “*Riot police* have been instructed to strictly follow crowd-control measures and not to take any excessive action that is beyond the scope of the law,” he [Pol Lt Gen Pakapong] said.

It can be seen that the act of **POLICE** is subsumed and backgrounded to police actions and it can be inferred that the action occurred because the protesters initiated the action first, as “those who physically assaulted an officer” There are also many cases in which the police were implied as the receiver of the action when exploring the collocation *riot police* (132.55 i.p.m.). The numeratives were also then found but the representation of *riot police* in BKP differs from that of PCT. **POLICE** was passivated or received the action. In (10), the *riot police* were described as those who faced “metal bolts”, “glass marbles”, and “oil paints”. In a similar way, *riot police* in (11) were attacked by protestors who “threw smoke bombs and bags of paint”.

- (10) Demonstrators also used slingshots to fire metal bolts and glass marbles at *riot police*, and splashed oil paint on officers’ faces, which caused irritation to their mouths and eyes.
- (11) Protesters then threw smoke bombs and bags of paint towards rows of *riot police* on the other side.

According to data analysis in both corpora, it can be observed that unlike the representation of **POLICE** in PCT corpus, BKP corpus tends to represent **POLICE** in a less negative light. Using the ideological square, the negative quality

of **POLICE** was undermined by verbal defense of the national police chief authorities, along with the seemingly passivated role of **POLICE** in relation to more aggressive protesters.

Representation of protester in Prachatai English corpus

The marked representation of **PROTESTER** in PCT is how the protesters were dominantly referred to as *pro-democracy protester* in which the relative frequency for *pro-democracy protesters* is 327.28 i.p.m.. This contributes to the portrayal of **PROTESTER** as the supporter for democracy. The protest movement was regarded as a struggle for democracy. It can be confirmed as there was reference to the gender movement of LGBTQs as well as in one of the headlines: “Thai LGBTQs and pro-democracy protesters march for equality.” Therefore, the inclusion of subjects with gender equality reflects the viewpoint that Prachatai English outlet seems to place the protest as a movement towards the principle of democracy.

Another collocation which sparks interest is *peaceful protester* (34.54 i.p.m.) in Prachatai English corpus. This paints a positive image of **PROTESTER**. Analysis of concordances support the positive portrayal of **PROTESTER** while highlighting the negative representation of **POLICE**. In (12), the collocation of *peaceful protesters* was an object of the action, “use of force on”. This highlights the hostile relationship between the protesters and the police, as the police used force against peaceful protesters. In addition to the descriptive element of peace, **PROTESTER** was also described as *unarmed protesters* which yielded similar representation of protesters being peaceful. The phrases “the use of water cannons against and unarmed protesters” in (13) and “treating unarmed protesters” with such equipment as “chemical-laced salvos from water cannons,” “tear gas,” and “rubber bullets.” in (14) exemplify the unpleasant images of **POLICE**.

- (12) “She also mentioned that one of her upperclass men was also arrested, and that the authorities has yet to explain their use of force on *peaceful protesters* and what chemical was used in the water”
- (13) She said that the state seems to have learned nothing, as the use of water cannons against *unarmed protesters* is an excessive use of force and that some of the officers themselves also got hit with the water cannons.
- (14) However, the Thai government has “imposed excessive restrictions” against peaceful protest as well as treating *unarmed protesters* with chemical-laced salvos from water cannons, tear gas, and rubber bullets

The analysis of the data in PCT revealed that the Prachatai English outlet tended to shed positive light upon the **PROTESTER** by representing them as a group fighting for democracy, and were those receiving violent acts from their counterpart **POLICE**. This adheres to the idea of highlighting the negative things of the other group while emphasizing the good things of **PROTESTER**.

Representation of protester in Bangkok Post corpus

The representation of **PROTESTER** in BKP differs greatly from that of PCT. The protester, according to the BKP corpus data, was referred to the most as *anti-government protesters*. This reflects the perspective of the Bangkok Post news outlet to the protest as calling for the change of government. However, the collocation *pro-democracy protester* was also found. Closer examination of the collocation shows a different portrayal of *pro-democracy protester*. It can be clearly seen that the *pro-democracy protester* was regarded as those who “vandalized police property” in (15) and the protest held by them “turned violent” (16). This creates an image of violent protesters.

- (15) Pol Col Siriwat Deepor, a deputy police spokesman, said on Thursday police would press charges against *pro-democracy protesters* who vandalized police property during their rally near Ratchaprasong intersection on Wednesday evening.
- (16) A rally by *pro-democracy protesters* outside the 1st Infantry Regiment in Bangkok turned violent on Sunday as police fired rubber bullets, water cannons and tear gas at demonstrators trying to approach the barracks.

In the BKP corpus, the analysis of *anti-government protesters* reveals significant information: the association to the monarchy. The protesters were tied to the issue of the monarchy, as found in the allegation of lèse-majesté and defamation to the royal institution. In (17), protesters were involved with the royalty as it implied by “an attempt to politicize the higher institution.” In (18), the anti-government protesters’ action was regarded as “disrespectful”.

- (17) Mr. Jatuporn, who has always advised the anti-government protesters against any attempt to politicize the higher institution, said early this week it was ill conceived to stage a protest so close to the anniversary of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej The Great's death on Oct 13.
- (18) The group submitted a petition to army chief Apirat Kongsompong asking him to look into disrespectful behavior by anti-government protesters to the monarchy.

The involvement of royal institutions found in BKP can be argued, in relation to ideological square, as highlighting negative aspects of anti-government protesters. The group can be said to be touching upon the untouchable taboo subject

of the monarchy. This is because a large number of Thai citizens pay homage to the monarchy. Used as a tool to press charges against the protesters, royal defamation law, *lèse-majesté*, opens further discussion of the freedom of speech. That is to say, beyond cultural implication, the law itself has been questioned by protesters as a violation of freedom of speech. This issue has been widely discussed, not only domestically but also internationally. Freedom House targeted the restrictions faced by pro-democracy protest movement as shown below:

“Thailand has a vibrant civil society, but groups focused on defending human rights and freedom of expression, and promoting democracy, continue to face restrictions, criminalization, and prosecution, including under sedition and *lèse majesté* laws.” (*Thailand: Freedom in the world 2022 country report.*)

In addition, analysis of *anti-government protester* reveals a significant message of defending the police authorities which resonates with the idea discovered in the analysis of riot police, which affirms that live bullets were not used in the scene as in (19). The action of police in (20) was described as ‘security measures’ which could potentially blur the image of violent acts.

- (19) Earlier in the day, Pol Maj Gen Yingyos Thepchamnong, spokesman for the Royal Thai Police, dismissed a rumor spreading among the *anti-government protesters* that the police were considering using live bullets to kill them.
- (20) Pol Lt Gen Pakkapong Pongpetra, commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Bureau (MPB), said that police had come up with security

measures to handle *anti-government protesters* when they gather in front of the court on Wednesday.

It can be seen that *pro-democracy protesters* as presented in PCT corpus were mainly viewed in association with royal defamation and this reinforces a positive portrayal of the social actor **POLICE**. Analysis of *anti-government protesters* also shows how the lexical choices could play a role in diminishing the action as implied by the use of “security measures” and “rumor”.

Representation of **PROTESTER** in both corpora was obviously different. The positive aspect of **PROTESTER** was emphasized in the PCT, while the negative side of **PROTESTER** was highlighted in the BKP.

Discussion

Collocational analysis and a closer look into concordances from the corpus data of PCT and BKP inform that the representation of social actors **POLICE** and **PROTESTER** differs greatly in many ways.

POLICE in PCT was represented as a forceful and armed aggregation of officers heavily present in the protest scene. On the other hand, BKP, according to the collected data, opted to shift the focus of the event to the verbal defense made by high-ranking police officers expressing the idea that hardly any weapons were utilized. The role of *riot police* was to fulfill security purposes.

PROTESTER, in PCT, was viewed as those who fight for democracy as suggested by the functionalized modifier of *pro-democracy* and was the subject of violent acts initiated by the police officers' side. BKP, however, named the protesters

as *anti-government* and presented them as those who were the violent starter of the actions.

Both Prachatai English and Bangkok Post's incongruously constructed depictions of **POLICE** and **PROTESTER** help to support the idea that news coverage acts as a platform for debated ideas and ideologies. Additionally, it may be claimed that the ideologies represented by two news outlets differ. The target audience for Prachatai English can be claimed to be those who support the anti-government movement. Bangkok Post, on the contrary, aims to reach readers who might disagree with the movement. The reasons behind divergent representations were discovered and explained through the prism of an ideological square that centers on the interaction between groups: those who are different from 'us' are more likely to be portrayed unfavorably. This concept facilitates the explanation why PCT placed more attention on the negative aspects of police behavior, whereas BKP downplays bad aspects by defending police conduct.

The results of this research were in similar direction as that of the cited Bridle's (2015) study on the Sunflower Student Movement. Ideological incongruence was found when social actors were depicted as in response to the interests of news outlets, which show inclination of support towards the people or the government. It is worth mentioning that news outlets in previous researches were impacted by external forces, such as the influence of China, which is not the same as the situation in Thailand. This research mainly dealt with the news media present in Thailand, showing results that contrasting ideologies persist even within the same community.

Recommendations

Implications

By applying the results of the study to the context of news reading, critical thinking ability of readers are to be encouraged. Besides passively gaining information directly from the news outlet, an awareness of the potential bias and representation which are adhered in news helps readers in evaluating the truth of a text. Another important implication is that the adoption of a corpus tool can disclose language patterns especially with regards to collocations. More essentially, the coexistence of two-words can yield more meaningfulness beyond the use of frequently used words. Applying the results to the context of language learning, learners can realize the implications or lexical choices, as exemplified by pro-democracy or anti-government protestors. Both collocations can refer to the same group of people but with different connotative meanings. Another pedagogical implication relates to encouraging the instruction of not only evaluative but also literal meaning. Besides uncovering bias in news, this study aims at fostering readers' critical thinking skills.

Further studies

In future research, a variety of news types could be supplemented to give more insightful details on the representations of the social actors. More news pieces can be collected. The corpus size of both corpora can be expanded to result in both confirmation and refutation of the main representation of the social actor. To provide a wide variety of perspectives from the international presses. International news outlets as BBC or CNN can be used to unveil the ideologies pertaining to that particular culture.

Normalized frequency is used in this research to explore frequent social actors, specifically in the corpora. To study the representations of social actors globally further, a reference corpus such as the NOW Corpus (News on the Web), which targets at a web-based newspapers and magazines, could be utilized. A comparative study of a built corpus which is highly specialized to the more general corpus may provide compelling findings.

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Authors

Mr. Akkarapong Worarattapong

Language Institute, Thammasat University, Thraprachan Campus,

2 Prachan Road, Bangkok 10200 Thailand

Tel.: 065-059-9491 Email : akkarapong.wor@gmail.com

Associate Professor Dr. Supakorn Phoocharoensil

Language Institute Thammasat University

Tel.: +66(02) 613-3101-3 Email : supakorn.p@litu.tu.ac.th