

CIVIL SOCIETY AS POLITICAL NARRATIVE CONCEPT IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE NEWS REPORTS AND OPINION ARTICLES

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Abstract: *In the 21st century, civil society represented by non-governmental organizations and activist movements has become an influential actor, along with governments and the business sector. Mass media play an important role in shaping citizens' awareness and attitudes towards actions initiated by activist groups, yet mass media representations of civil society have not been analyzed so far. The research approaches English-language mass media texts (news reports and opinion articles) that cover civil society and its activity as narratives and civil society as a political narrative concept. In other words, the sample of articles consists of recurring stories about a conflict in which civil society representatives confront their opponents in an attempt to eliminate a social problem with varied outcomes. The findings suggest that representations of civil society in news reports and opinion articles are complementary. News reports depict civil society by covering events straightforwardly and factually, with headlines being succinct narratives with predetermined slots and the main body adding more details. Opinion articles aim to explore social processes in depth to show their complexity: they contain several interrelated narratives on different levels (personal, local, and national) and resort to retrospect to present civil society as a permanent political actor.*

Keywords: *civil society, narrative, political narrative concept, mass media, genres of news reports and opinion articles*

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Introduction

Attempting to erase injustice, civil society has scaled up its influence from local to global and has become an influential political actor in the 21st century (e.g., worldwide protests organized by #MeToo, BlackLivesMatter (BLM), Just Stop Oil, etc.). It is through global media coverage, a new public sphere of the 21st century, that activists have risen to power (Bondarenko, Kaptiurova & Orlova, 2021; Kapranov, 2024). Activism has embraced the whole world: long-term demonstrations initiated as a reaction to a particular injustice on one continent spread worldwide. ‘Relocated’ to the digital environment, mass media are the key to the global interconnection: for instance, #MeToo protests sparked after the news of sexual abuse by American film producer Harvey Weinstein in 2017, BLM started in 2012 after reports of the acquittal of George Zimmerman in the shooting death of Travon Martin and swept anti-racist protests after the death of George Floyd in 2020, etc. Mass media coverage primes people to join activist movements and, therefore, impacts political and social processes. Some research into the mass media’s mirroring, altering, or even creating versions of reality for their audiences has been carried out (AlOteibi, Haider & AlSaed, 2023; Cheshmedzieva-Stoycheva, 2017; Gorchev, 2021), however, the narrative of activism and activists in English-language mass media discourse has not yet been explored.

Theoretical framework

Civil society is considered a participant in a tripartite model of modern societies, where it interacts with or confronts the state and/or corporate bodies to protect/promote the interests of marginalized social groups (see Kaptiurov, 2024). Mass media texts format their reports of interactions between activist movements and the other two actors in the model into narratives, i.e., a set of at least two states linked chronologically and causally to make up an event (Prince, 1987, p. 53).

The modern public sphere has become a “marketplace” of ideas, so governments as well as other political actors “must learn how to compete with or harness a plethora of voices” (Miskimmon, O’Loughlin & Roselle, 2013, p. 69) and turn mass media into a platform to deliver a strategic narrative, i.e., “a story line used to forge consensus and influence audiences to understand complex events in a way that supports a particular stance and its associated actions” (Blas, 2023, p. 47). ‘Strategic narratives’ define, construct and explain causes of social conflicts and motives of the parties involved:

Different episodes are narrativized, put into cause–effect sequences, and given meaning with regard to an overall narrative given to the conflict. Both characterization and narrativization are subject to dispute and contestation, and used for the legitimation of claims and actions (Roselle, Miskimmon & O’Loughlin, 2014, p. 79).

This type of narrative is rooted in facts and predetermined scripts, deprived of ambiguities, relates to beliefs, and evokes predictable reactions from audiences (Steblyna, 2019, p. 100).

Strategic narratives are developed in numerous contexts and through various texts that shape a certain worldview in audiences. Thus, Wertsch (2002) argues for ‘schematic narrative templates’, namely cognitive models that “concern abstract, generalized functions” and “underlie several different specific narratives, each of which has a particular setting, cast of characters, dates, and so forth” (op. cit., p. 57). An attempt to extract such templates has been made by Hansen (2020), who examines stories on migration and suggests that they fall into the antagonistic neo-nationalist and humanitarian discourses of inequality and discrimination, on the one hand, and the agonistic discourse based on equality, on the other hand. Other studies of the migration narrative support Hansen’s research, e.g., Nedelcheva (2017) and Cheshmedzhieva-Stoycheva (2017), who explored Bulgarian and British mass media.

The term ‘political narrative concept’ put forward by Zhabotynskaya (2017, p. 30) bridges ‘narratives’ and ‘concepts’ and provides the necessary theoretical framework to explore CIVIL SOCIETY concept in mass media discourse. According to Zhabotynska (2017, p. 32), the political narrative concept is construed from information of numerous texts where this concept is recurrent. The body of texts unfolding the political narrative concept forms a metatext of peculiar referential and relational coherence. These texts contain a recurring set of characters who interact with each other in a certain way within a certain temporal and spatial framework (Zhabotynskaya, 2017, p. 32-33). A political narrative concept presupposes an iconic sequence of events as well as axiological connotations (Zhabotynskaya, 2017, p. 33). In other words, it combines factual and discursive, evaluative information: numerous messages may present the same fact differently to influence the addressee’s attitude to the fact (op. cit.).

The recurrent tripartite model in mass media texts about civil society organizations and their activity suggested by Kaptiurov, (2024) justifies approaching CIVIL SOCIETY as a political narrative concept since these texts feature permanent relations (usually confrontation of a various scope and intensity) between three permanent participants (activists, state authorities, and marginalized people).

Methodology and research questions

The research aims to elaborate on the way CIVIL SOCIETY is presented in English-language mass media as a political narrative concept.

The study draws on the corpus of 507 articles from British and American mass media (BBC, The Guardian, The New York Times, and Fox News) covering non-governmental organisations’ (NGOs’) activities and leaders between 2014-

2024. The articles fall into two genres: 399 news reports and 108 opinion articles (80% and 20% of the sample, respectively). Different functions of the genres, namely to inform and to shape the audience's opinion, entail differences in their volume, structure, and analytical depth. News reports are short, factual texts with high narrativity, whereas opinion articles are investigative and speculative, which reserves space for literary creativity. The specificity of the two genres results in peculiar methods of their analysis.

News reports were studied with the help of componential analysis, which facilitated distinguishing their essential textual components (e.g., headline and main body) and presenting them as a pattern of permanent slots.

At the first stage of studying opinion articles, componential analysis was used. Yet, it was not enough to reveal the complex representation of CIVIL SOCIETY concept in this genre. Hence, Critical Discourse Analysis was applied to show how the mass media texts embed multiple narratives in the macro sociolinguistic context and reveal their overlapping.

Results and discussion

Representation of CIVIL SOCIETY in news reports

News reports are constructed as short factual texts, with headlines as self-sufficient and informative components. The sample supports the observation that headline patterns contain “empty “slots” or positions which are open to be filled by various elements to produce specific occurrences” (Iglíkova, 2017, p. 72). The headline patterns may be divided into ‘person-focused’ and ‘event-focused’. In the sample, the ratio is 1:4, namely 102 person-focused and 297 event-focused headlines.

Person-focused headlines contain names of activists, if they are well-known (e.g., Greta Thunberg, Carola Rackete, etc.):

1. *Greta Thunberg's Atlantic crossing: 'Why I wanted to help'*

There may also be common nouns (*protester, activist*) to refer to less famous people:

2. *Activists sentenced over milk pouring stunts*

3. *Greyhound protesters overturn compensation order*

In approximately two-thirds of the headlines, lexemes that denote activists function as subjects of passive predicates, which presents civil society as controlled by the opponent (government, police, etc.):

4. *Italy migrant rescue boat: Captain Carola Rackete freed*

5. *Hong Kong: Pro-democracy activist Tony Chung jailed under security law*

6. **Greta Thunberg interrupted at climate protest after changing the topic to the Israel-Hamas war**

There are ‘grey areas’ where formally active constructions imply passive meanings. For example, in (7), the verb *learn* is used in the active voice, yet its subject is an experiencer, not an agent and, in addition, the phrase *learn fate* implies the subject’s helplessness:

7. *Climate activists learn fate for red powder attack on US Constitution at National Archives*

As mass media cover events organized by NGOs and lasting for several days or months, event-focused headlines specify the current stage of a protest. It may be its climax (activists’ action):

8. *Extinction Rebellion: **Activists block** four London bridges*

9. *Climate change: Young people across Europe **protest by skipping school***

10. *Climate protesters glue themselves to John Constable masterpiece*

11. *Violence breaks out after **anti-Israel agitators surround LA synagogue, clash with Israel supporters***

Long-lasting events result in a chain of reports that highlight how the movement embraces the world. In 2019, *Fridays for Climate* movement was such a case. Headlines of BBC news reports go as follows:

12. Jan 24: *Climate Change: Young people **across Europe** protest by skipping school*

13. March 15: *Climate strikes spread **worldwide** as students call for action*

14. May 24: *School strike for climate: Protests staged **around the world***

15. September 20: *Climate strike: Thousands protest **across UK***

The regularity of such news reports emphasizes the continuity and globality of narrated events: the youth climate movement is marching the planet and winning over ever more supporters.

The finale, crackdowns on protests or sanctions against activists are outcomes of the narrative, verbalized in headlines:

16. *Extinction Rebellion: Seventy **arrested** at climate change protests*

17. *Police **arrest** 170 at NSW Rising Tide protest as activists temporarily block coal ships*

18. *Activists **sentenced** over milk pouring stunts*

There are ‘grey areas’ between event- and person-focused headlines as well, since headlines featuring an activist group may hardly be ‘person-focused’:

19. *Moms for Liberty* warns ‘hate group’ label is ‘putting targets’ on backs of parents: ‘Very concerned’

Yet it is irrefutable that the headline presents the NGO as a human agent capable of a verbal action (*warns*) and an emotion (*very concerned*).

In general, headlines of news reports, be they event- or person-focused, tend to verbalize the narrative’s ‘skeleton’, filling in such slots as characters (activist(s) and their opponent(s)), action, purpose and outcome. Some components may be implicit and rely on audiences’ background knowledge. In (17), the headline delivers succinctly the following narrative: “*Rising Tide* activists (agent) blocked coal ships (action). Police (opponent/agent) arrested (action) 170 activists (patient)”. The headline presents the events in a reversed order: the outcome (*Police arrest*) precedes the cause (*block coal ships*). The headline relies on lexical markers that activate the audience’s background knowledge and help identify the activists’ purpose: *Rising Tide* is an environmentalist movement, *coal* activates the dichotomy ‘fossil fuels: alternative energy sources’ and the assumption that coal causes air pollution:

17. *Police arrest 170 at NSW Rising Tide protest as activists temporarily block coal ships*

Some headlines are meant to attract audiences’ attention and create suspense by outlining an event in general. These headlines draw on audiences’ expectations and urge to check whether the expectations are met. For example, in (20), there is no explicit nomination of the next target selected by eco activists; it only quotes their threat:

20. *Climate activists have new target in mind for major summer protest: ‘Make their lives miserable’*

Thus, taking into account activists’ creative protest methods, readers are likely to look for detailed information in the article. Despite its ‘vagueness’, this headline also fits the narrative pattern as it fills in the slots of characters: climate (purpose) activists (agents) plan protest (action) to make the opponent (patient) miserable (outcome).

Narratives in news reports do not unfold chronologically. Texts tend to start with outcomes (or the latest event in the sequence) followed by previous events delivered chronologically. Hence, (21) starts with reporting on the police raid of Last Generation activists’ houses and then informs of the activists’ actions that caused persecution as well as citizens and state officials’ attitudes to the activists’ actions:

21. *German police raid climate activists who blocked traffic*

The same reversed chronology is observed in article (22): the painting is returned to the museum (outcome), then there is information of Just Stop Oil

activists' protest that consisted of gluing themselves to the frame of Van Gogh's masterpiece.

22. *Van Gogh's Sunflowers back on display after oil protesters threw soup on it*

This pattern is found in the article about a refugee from Côte d'Ivoire (23), who became the chairman of a Welsh language campaign group, *Cymdeithas yr Iaith*: the article begins with informing of his election and then tells his life story: from his confrontation with Côte d'Ivoire's regime and escape to the present-day life in Cardiff. It should be noted that the positive outcome is rare for the civil society narrative, which makes this report distinct from the majority.

Hence, the analysis confirms that CIVIL SOCIETY may be approached as a political narrative concept, since it is represented in a multitude of news reports with recurrent referential and relational coherence and may be generalized in the following way: activist/NGO acts to eliminate a social problem – their opponent hinders – activist/NGO wins or loses.

Representation of CIVIL SOCIETY in opinion articles

Opinion articles aim at interpreting facts and shaping audiences' outlook on causal relations between them. An opinion article usually consists of an introduction that contains facts to familiarize the reader with an event, person, or phenomenon. Then, a journalist typically provides quotes from interviews with people involved, dwells on controversial aspects, compares reports and views on the event provided by participants or observers, suggests analogies, etc. In a way, opinion articles may combine features of literary works with those of philosophical, sociological, psychological, and historical research. Due to volume constraints, only one article, *This Italian Town Once Welcomed Migrants. Now, It's a Symbol for Right-Wing Politics* by Jason Horowitz published in the New York Times on July 7, 2018, (25) is selected from the sample as typical of the genre.

The article gives insight into CIVIL SOCIETY concept by delving into a conflict in the Italian town of Macerata. In the text, the crime committed by Luca Traini, a 28-year-old Italian from Macerata, who killed and injured several migrants, fired into the office of the Democratic Party, tried to shoot a pub manager and then “climbed the steps of a Fascist-era monument, wrapped himself in an Italian flag and straightened his arm in a Fascist salute”, reveals a divide in the local community. The journalist weaves the thriller of a story to describe what triggered the crime:

On the morning of Feb. 3, Mr. Traini went to the gym, heard a news report about Ms. Mastropietro on the radio and, according to his lawyer, went insane with a desire to kill drug dealers. He returned to his mother's house

and retrieved his Glock handgun. Armed with 50 bullets, he took off in his Alfa Romeo 147, music blasting.

The journalist argues that the “shooting rampage” combined political protest with personal vendetta: Traini revenges on migrants for the murder of a young Italian girl allegedly killed by a drug dealer from Nigeria, he protests against the Democratic Party’s pro-migration policy and gets even with the pub manager who fired Traini as a bouncer.

Yet, Traini’s story is only one of several in the article. The journalist alternates between telling about nationwide events and personal stories. Thus, Traini’s plot line is causally bound with the story of the murdered Italian girl, with the lives of several migrants, with the anti-fascist activity of Macerata’s mayor Romano Carancini as well as with the mayor’s ideological rival and Traini’s leader, Italian Interior Minister and right-wing politician Matteo Salvini.

Luca Traini’s story, namely his transformation from “*a chubby kid*” into a weight lifter who keeps Mein Kampf and a black flag with a Celtic cross in his room, is only one of many life stories of the Lost Generation. According to one interviewee, many locals approve of Traini’s actions: “*If you ask most people about Luca Traini, they will tell you, ‘He did well, but he should have killed them.’*” She added that **Italy owed him a debt of gratitude for “having revealed a problem...”**

The national level of the conflict is represented by Matteo Salvini’s right-wing ideology and its congruence with Italians’ reactions: he condemns Traini’s violent act, but is quick to relate it to “*unchecked immigration*” that “*brings chaos, anger*” and “*drug dealing, thefts, rapes and violence.*”

There is another story, that of Italian leftist youth trying to raise the alarm about right-wing radicalization:

In the university, founded in 1290, **left-wing students** warned that a group of **hard-right students** in the humanities department were espousing the works of Julius Evola, the spiritual and intellectual godfather of Italian Fascists and Italy’s post-Fascist terrorists.

On the national level, liberal ideas are expressed by Romano Carancini, Macerata’s mayor, who attempts to integrate migrants into the town’s community: **Romano Carancini, the city’s affable mayor from the center-left Democratic Party, spent the winter preparing a dossier called “Friendly Macerata” as part of a campaign to become Italy’s 2020 capital of culture.**

However, the anti-fascist views of civil society groups, their actions and projects are consistently described as ‘the past’ against the national background trend towards tougher migration policies: this idea is expressed in the very headline, *This Italian Town Once Welcomed Migrants. Now, It’s a Symbol for Right-Wing*

Politics, that contrasts the past and the present tenses (*welcomed : is*) and is boosted with the contextual antonyms *welcomed :: right-wing politics*. This is inferred from the change in people's attitudes in the main body of the article and is verbalized with the verbal past forms (*had, won, boasted*) that describe Macerata as a tolerant town. Tolerance is said to have been the community's gene, yet now the present-tense verbal form introduces the noun *tensions*:

It [Macerata's population] **had a reputation for tolerance** and, in 2013, **won** national recognition for its **integration efforts**. The former bishop once **boasted** about the “**welcoming spirit**” encoded “**in the DNA of the city.**” (...) But that version of Macerata **seemed more in the past tense**. Macerata's new bishop, handpicked by Pope Francis, observed recently that “**all the tensions rising in the country are now visible in this city.**”

Salvini, who used to represent marginalized views (a metaphorical “blemish”), has grown into the mainstream ideology:

Only a few years ago, **Mr. Salvini**, the interior minister, seemed like **an old blemish on Italy's fresh new skin**. He led the Northern League, a regional separatist party **seemingly out of step with the national mood**. (...) By 2016, **Mr. Salvini was on the rise**.

He enjoys grass-roots support. To show this, the journalist tells about the politician's visit to the market:

He walked through a market in Milan, **receiving the warm regards of Italian fruit vendors** and pointing disapprovingly at the foreigners selling cloves of garlic. He stopped into a bar and talked about whether he wanted to leave the euro (“Definitely yes, tomorrow morning”) or whether Russia had paid for his support (“It's geopolitical and free”). **Several times, people interrupted to encourage him. “Do what you say you'll do,” one woman said.**

He and many Italians oppose not only Italy's liberal elite, but also that of the European Union: “... *he railed against the elite and against the mainstream media...* (...) *He had once disparaged evil bureaucrats in Rome. Now he turned his ire on Brussels.*”

Narratives of migrants are controversial. The journalist offers a glimpse of their lives: he tells about a class of the Italian language given by a volunteer to an 18-year-old Senegalese. This story is replete with humanness, simplicity, and innocence: the adult migrant is described as a language beginner making his first steps:

Inside the Caritas reception center, **Ibrahim Diallo, 18, from Senegal**, spent a recent afternoon practicing conjugation of the verb “to be” with

a young Italian woman, Luigina. “Io sono Ibrahim; tu sei Luigina,” he said. “Noi siamo a Macerata.”

Other personalized episodes describe migrants as innocent and helpless victims whose lives are disrupted by hard-right radicals and Italy’s anti-migrant policy:

Omagbon Festus, 33, **was walking to the grocery store** when **Mr. Traini** pulled up next to him. Mr. Festus said he saw “a pure white Italian man” **pointing a pistol** before **he felt the bullet that shattered the bone in his left forearm.** “I crossed the Sahara and the Mediterranean,” said Omagbon Festus, one of the people who was shot on Feb. 3. “And this happened to me in Europe?”

As a social group, migrants are depicted from Salvini’s perspective where they are involved in crime and violence and cause unemployment in Italy: *He [Salvini] accused undocumented migrants of taking jobs from young Italians and advocated extreme measures, including “a mass cleansing, street by street, neighborhood by neighborhood.”*

The narratives of today take root in history: the journalist provides historical analogies of the events in Macerata and Europe in general. Hence, Italy is metaphorically called “*Europe’s laboratory for political change*” and “*the birthplace of Fascism*”, a country that “*flirted seriously with communism*”. He juxtaposes Europe’s present-day “*heaven*” to its “*bloody*” history adding ruefully that “*people forget*”. Yet, reporting a conversation between two activists reveals two opposite interpretations of historical events rather than short memory: the local leader of Salvini’s party says about the holiday held to commemorate the end of Nazi occupation, “*It’s not a holiday for us*”. The idea of the profound divide in Italian society is expressed by a volunteer, who explains some people’s resistance to embracing migrants by saying, “*some parts of the population aren’t ready*”.

These narratives depict Italy’s civil society as a fractal, where two opposing nationalist and liberal strategic narratives are consistently reproduced at the personal, communal, and state levels. Individuals interact with each other and unite into activist organizations to fix injustices in ways congruent with their opposing strategic narratives promoted to the national level and winning over new supporters. The clash between the narratives and the function of mass media as a surreptitious opinion shaper is inherent in the description of an anti-fascist street ceremony and volunteers offering lunch for residents and migrants in front of “*newsstands selling local papers headlined “Pamela: Torture and Crime, The Secrets of the Nigerians.”*”

Conclusion

The research confirms that CIVIL SOCIETY is presented in English-language mass media as a narrative concept, yet news reports and opinion articles differ significantly in the way they depict the concept.

A peculiar feature of news reports is their ‘headlines narratives’, which follow a pattern with the slots reserved for participants (civil society members and their opponents), their goal-directed action(s), and outcome. The main body of news reports is also marked with high-scale narrativity, though the ordering of reported events is reversed: from the current situation (outcome for the time being) back to the initial situation and participants’ actions that bring them to where they are at the moment of publication. News reports shape the slots in CIVIL SOCIETY political narrative concept as follows: activists act to eliminate a social problem and confront their opponents who respond by persecuting the activists.

Opinion articles are woven with overlapping narratives of several civil society representatives and, thus, embed them in a complex sociopolitical context, where they oppose each other. People’s ‘close-up’ stories are combined with zooming out, i.e., flashbacks to history or a switch from the local to the global. Artfully enhanced by juxtaposing, contrast and metaphors, this story-telling technique presents CIVIL SOCIETY political narrative concept as omnipresent in all social strata and, therefore, multi-dimensional and fractal.

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Appendix

	Author and Title	Media	Date	Link
1	<i>Baggs, M. Greta Thunberg's Atlantic crossing: 'Why I wanted to help'</i>	BBC	Dec 4, 2019	https://bbc.com/news/newsbeat-50659318
2	<i>Activists sentenced over milk pouring stunts</i>	BBC	Dec 12, 2024	https://bbc.com/news/articles/cm2vejejrj7o
3	<i>Grant, J. Greyhound protesters overturn compensation order</i>	BBC	Aug 5, 2024	https://bbc.com/news/articles/cn9lll0d555o
4	<i>Italy migrant rescue boat: Captain Carola Rackete freed</i>	BBC	Jul 2, 2019	https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-48838438
5	<i>Hong Kong: Pro-democracy activist Tony Chung jailed under security law</i>	BBC	Nov 23, 2021	https://bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-59390728
6	<i>Wehner, G. Greta Thunberg interrupted at climate protest after changing the topic to the Israel-Hamas war</i>	Fox News	Nov 12, 2023	https://foxnews.com/world/greta-thunberg-interrupted-climate-protest-changing-topic-israel-hamas-war
7	<i>Price, S. Climate activists learn fate for red powder attack on US Constitution at National Archives</i>	Fox News	Nov 25, 2024	https://foxnews.com/us/climate-activists-learn-fate-red-powder-attack-us-constitution-national-archives
8	<i>Extinction Rebellion: Activists block four London bridges</i>	BBC	Apr 15, 2022	https://bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-61120179
9	<i>Climate change: Young people across Europe protest by skipping school</i>	BBC	Jan 24, 2019	https://bbc.co.uk/newsround/46988771
10	<i>Climate protesters glue themselves to John Constable masterpiece</i>	BBC	Jul 5, 2022	https://bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-62038615
11	<i>Betz, B. Violence breaks out after anti-Israel agitators surround LA synagogue, clash with Israel supporters</i>	Fox News	Jun 23, 2024	https://foxnews.com/us/violence-breaks-out-after-anti-israel-agitators-surround-la-synagogue-clash-israel-supporters
12	<i>Climate Change: Young people across Europe protest by skipping school</i>	BBC	Jan 24, 2019	https://bbc.co.uk/newsround/46988771
13	<i>Climate strikes spread worldwide as students call for action</i>	BBC	March 15, 2019	https://bbc.com/news/world-47581585
14	<i>School strike for climate: Protests staged around the world</i>	BBC	May 24, 2019	https://bbc.com/news/world-48392551
15	<i>Climate strike: Thousands protest across UK</i>	BBC	Sept 20, 2019	https://bbc.com/news/uk-49767327

	Author and Title	Media	Date	Link
16	<i>Extinction Rebellion: Seventy arrested at climate change protests</i>	BBC	Apr 17, 2022	https://bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-61133235
17	<i>Police arrest 170 at NSW Rising Tide protest as activists temporarily block coal ships</i>	The Guardian	Nov 24, 2024	https://theguardian.com/australia-news/2024/nov/24/police-arrest-170-at-nsw-rising-tide-protest-as-activists-temporarily-block-coal-ships
18	<i>Activists sentenced over milk pouring stunts</i>	BBC	Dec 12, 2024	https://bbc.com/news/articles/cm2vejrk7o
19	Hill, B. <i>Moms for Liberty warns 'hate group' label is 'putting targets' on backs of parents: 'Very concerned'</i>	Fox News	Jul 12, 2023	https://foxnews.com/media/moms-for-liberty-warns-hate-group-label-putting-targets-backs-concerned-mothers
20	Richard L. <i>Climate activists have new target in mind for major summer protest: 'Make their lives miserable'</i>	Fox News	Apr 23, 2024	https://foxnews.com/politics/climate-activists-new-target-mind-major-summer-protest-make-lives-miserable
21	McGuinness D. & Kirby, P. <i>German police raid climate activists who blocked traffic</i>	BBC	May 24, 2023	https://bbc.com/news/world-europe-65693412
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24	Horowitz, J. <i>This Italian Town Once Welcomed Migrants. Now, It's a Symbol for Right-Wing Politics</i>	New York Times	Jul 7, 2018	https://nytimes.com/2018/07/07/world/europe/italy-macerata-migrants.html