

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MEDIA TEXTS

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NEW ADVANCES IN CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MEDIA TEXTS

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1. INTRODUCTION¹

We present in this volume several studies that focus on various types of media discourse and that provide an overall view of new advances in mass communication research from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis. The reader will find papers in this volume about news discourse, advertising discourse, television discourse, film discourse, and so on. Historically, Critical Discourse Analysis originated as evolving from Critical Linguistics, which was developed in the late 1970s by several theorists at the University of East Anglia, and whose intention was to isolate ideology in discourse, and to show how ideology and ideological processes are manifested as systems of linguistic characteristics and processes. Critical Linguistics has developed into Critical Discourse Analysis. The main innovation incorporated by Critical Discourse Analysis is the integration of the role of audiences in the interpretation of discourse and the extension of the scope of analysis beyond the textual, extending it to intertextual analysis. In this chapter we sketch previous work about the language of media and the main postulates of Fairclough's framework for studying media discourse (§ 2), we present one of the most important concerns of Critical Discourse Analysis, i.e., ideology in media texts (§ 3), and the last section is a summary of contributions to Critical Discourse Analysis of mass communication in this volume (§ 4).

2. THE ANALYSIS OF MEDIA DISCOURSE

Fairclough (1995) provides one of the most influent frameworks for studying media language from the orientation of Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough is convinced of the linguistic and discorsal nature of media power. The language of media

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has been the object of analysis by other disciplines and theories, among others, linguistics and sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, cultural-generic analysis and semiotics (Fairclough 1995: 20-32).

The use of language in the media may be of interest to linguistics for its own sake, as evidence, for example, of particular types of grammatical structure or particular intonation patterns. For instance, newspapers headlines have distinctive syntactic properties which determine their grammatical oddity, and have long attracted the attention of linguists (Mardh 1980). Media language can also be studied sociolinguistically, and this point of view has been adopted by Bell (1991). In a number of studies he has carried out linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis in ways that illuminate the sociocultural analysis of news media, although much of his work is typical of 'variationalist' sociolinguistics. He focuses upon correlations between variable linguistic features and variable aspects of social context.

Conversation analysis has developed by a group of sociolinguists known as 'ethnomethodologists'. Although conversation analysis has concentrated mainly upon informal conversation between equals (for instance, telephone conversation), more recent work has paid attention to institutional types of discourse, including media discourse. For example, many studies are about media interview (Heritage 1985; Greatbatch 1986; Hutchby 1991).

Semiotic studies treat analysis of texts as a key component of cultural analysis of media. The main contributions of this perspective are those of Hartley (1982) about news discourse. Hartley focuses upon the semiotic codes and conventions which underlie both linguistic and visual aspects of news stories. Analysis of visual codes attends to different modes of presentation on television (the 'talking-head', use of graphics and still photographs, various types of 'actuality' or film report) as well as the framing of picture, camera movements and the sequencing of shots. The main assumption is that choices among options available within visual codes carry social meanings. A typical concern of semiotic analysis is upon ideologically potent categories and classifications which are implicit in news texts, and upon alternative or competing categories which are absent, 'suppressed'. For instance, according to a common observation, news stories are personalized, insofar as individual personality is widely evoked in news stories, whereas the category of social (specially class) subject is correspondingly suppressed.

Critical Linguistics, the more influent theory on Critical Discourse Analysis, departs from Functional or Systemic Linguistic Theory developed by Halliday (1978, 1985). This approach is functionalist because language is supposed to carry out three functions: ideational (language represents events, states, and so forth), interpersonal (language is used between speaker and hearer, between writer and reader) and textual (language is organized into texts). According to this theory, coding events in language implies choices among the models which the grammar makes available, and that such choices are potentially ideologically significant. From a syntactic point of view, transformations such as nominalization and shifting into passive may be ideologically motivated, as far as these transformations entail that the agent is backgrounded or even suppressed, and consequently the concrete responsible of the events is omitted. This resource is very frequent in media discourse, for instance, when the agents of po-

wer (policemen, for example) are involved in negative events. Another important concern of Critical Linguistic is the role of vocabulary choices in processes of categorization (for instance, from an ideological point of view is very different talking about a *terrorist* or a *freedom fighter*). Finally, the interpersonal function allows the study of modality, i.e., the degree of truth of a clause for the speaker or in relation with the speaker and the hearer. The concept of modality is used to cover features of texts which express speakers' and writer's attitudes towards themselves, towards their interlocutors and towards their subject matter (Fowler *et alii* 1979: 200).

Social semiotics is a development of Critical Discourse Analysis which has incorporated visual semiosis, which permits to treat adequately multimedia or multimodal discourse as television or cinema. The main contributions are Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996, 2001). For a summary of these theories see Sancho in this volume.

Media discourse has attracted the attention of the analysts of the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (at the University of Birmingham). These studies explore the cultural and social imports of ways in which media genres such as interview or 'chat' are currently evolving (Montgomery 1990, Tolson 1990).

As a basis of his framework for analysing media texts, Fairclough (1995: 33-34) proposed a set of desiderata, which attempt to improve the precedent approaches to media discourse:

1. One focus of analysis should be on how wider changes in society and culture are manifest in changing media discourse practices.
2. The analysis of media text should include detailed attention to their language and 'texture' and it also include detailed analysis of visual images and sound effects.
3. Text analysis should be complemented by analysis of practices of text production and text consumption, including attention to transformations which texts regularly undergo across networks of discourse practices.
4. Analysis of texts and practices should be mapped on to analysis of the institutional and wider social and cultural context of media practices, including relations of power and ideologies.
5. Text analysis should include both linguistic analysis and intertextual analysis in terms of genres and discourses. Texts are commonly hybrid intertextually, and such hybridity is manifest in heterogeneous linguistic features.
6. Linguistic analysis of text should be conceived multifunctionally, and be oriented towards representation and the constitution of relations and identities as simultaneous processes in texts, and the important relationships between them. This multifunctionality of the analysis refers to the functions established by M.A.K. Halliday (ideational, interpersonal and textual), that in Fairclough's framework are treated as representations, identities and relations.
7. Linguistic analysis of texts involves analysis at a number of levels, including phonic, lexical, grammatical, and macrostructural/schematic.
8. The relationship between texts and society/culture is to be seen dialectically. Texts are socioculturally shaped but they also constitute society and culture, in ways which may be transformative as well as reproductive.

A summary of Fairclough's proposal and the main approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis of media texts can be found in Sancho (in this volume).

3. IDEOLOGY IN MEDIA DISCOURSE

One of the main subjects of investigation in Critical Discourse Analysis is the presence of ideology in texts. This emphasis on ideology is a heritage of Critical Linguistics. Fairclough (1995: 14) understands ideology as "meaning in the service of po-

wer?”. Ideologies are propositions that generally figure as implicit assumptions in texts, which contribute to producing or reproducing unequal relations of power, relations of domination. They may be implicit, for example, in the presuppositions (taken-for-granted assumptions) of texts.

According to Verstergaard & Schröder (1985: 145-146), ideological processes treat a phenomenon as so self-evident as to exempt it completely from critical inspection and to render it inevitable. These beliefs remain unquestioned because they are represented as unquestionable. Ideology is openly available for all to see and is invisible because of its obviousness. In this sense, ideology is present in texts as these assumptions that remain untold, but are presupposed.

Van Dijk has made a profound study of ideology in the last years and Van Dijk (1998) constitutes the most complete exposition of his concept of ideology. The originality of Van Dijk’s contribution to the study of ideology and, especially, to its expression in discourses as a medium for their understanding, creation and production lies in the formulation of a socio-cognitive paradigm, which makes up the triad cognition/ideology/discourse and is translated into the delimitation of ideologies as an axiomatic basis of social representations shared by a group and its members, that is, they are jointly mental and social phenomena.

In fact, after revising the different theories, idealist and materialist, which have attempted to address the origin, structure and reproduction of ideologies, Van Dijk has built a complex theory to explain the acquisition, uses and real modifications of ideologies. This paradigm is stated in these postulates:

- Ideologies as belief systems demand support and a cognitive component.
- Ignoring the cognitive component of ideologies entails an unsuitable theory for their restrictive character.
- Ideologies have a social character, of group, for they are types of shared mental representations.
- Ideologies are reproduced through their everyday use by social members in observance of social practices in general and discourses in particular.

The most relevant consequences of this theory are stated especially in the fact of establishing assumptions in the discourses production and interpretation, either monological and dialogical, and in the interrelationship of the set of sequences of producing and interpreting activity of individuals and groups with respect to ideologies, belief constructs organized in agreement with certain categories. On the other hand, these ideologies derive in the consecution of representations of reality which are translated into discourse-textual devices which entail the development of actions aimed at ruling the behaviours of receivers/consumers by means of their peculiarity emerged from the interaction of pragmatic, semantic modules and grammatical and typological formulation or of discourse genre.

Classical Marxist analyses of ideology suggest that the dominant ideology in a given period is usually the ideology of those who control the means of ideological reproduction, namely, the ruling class (Van Dijk 1989: 24). This may imply that certain dominated groups or classes may develop biased conceptions of their socio-economic position (“false consciousness”), which in turn may lead them to act against their own interests. Conversely, the dominant groups or classes tend to conceal their ideology

and interests, and will aim to get their ideology generally accepted as a "general" or "natural" system of values, norms and goals. Instead, Van Dijk (1989: 24-25) does not use terms such as "false" to denote "biased" ideologies, since he considers that all ideologies, including scientific ones, embody an interest-dependent (re)construction of social reality. As we have told above, discourse and communication play a central role in the (trans)formation of ideology. Indeed, it is crucial to examine who, and by what processes, controls the means and institutions of ideological (re)production, such as the media or education. For instance, in the news media, the strategic control of knowledge is exercised through restricted topic selection, and more generally by specific reconstruction of social and political realities. This process is governed by a system of news values and professional ideologies about news and newsworthiness, which serves the interests of various elite actors, persons, groups, classes, institutions, nations or world regions (Van Dijk 1989: 26).

4. CONTRIBUTIONS TO CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MASS COMMUNICATION IN THIS VOLUME

The aim of Sancho's paper is to provide an overview of the main approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis of media communication. Critical Discourse Analysis resulted from the evolution of Critical Linguistics, which in turn has its origins in Halliday's Functional Grammar. However, there is not a unique school of Critical Discourse Analysis, but diverse tendencies which share their preoccupation for studying discourse as social action, their critical intention, the attention to text and, in contrast with Critical Linguistics, the consideration of intertextual analysis and the audience's role in interpreting texts. The theories that Sancho sketches in this paper are Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model, Wodak's discourse sociolinguistics, Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis and Kress & Van Leeuwen's Functional Social Semiotics as well as their theory about Multimodality.

The other works included in this volume are about different media discourses. Most contributions in this volume are focused on news discourse, and these contributions treat a variety of subjects. The Iraq war constitutes an international event that has attracted the attention of mass media and public opinion as well as that of the researchers in Critical Discourse Analysis.

Clark's article is based on the analysis of BBC news elaborated by "embedded" reporters, following the invasion and initial occupation of Iraq in 2003. The analysis demonstrates that, behind the apparent neutrality of the news, an increasing criticism of the invasion appears. This critique is clearly expressed by the use of diverse discursive strategies that put in doubt the veracity of the declarations of coalition members, and show, in opposition to the "official" discourse, the hostility of the Iraqi people to the invaders, the suffering caused among the civil population and the logistic and organization problems of the invading troops that generate, in turn, more problems. At the same time, the analysis expresses clearly how news differs between the Iraqi regime, identified as guilty and in consequence criticized, and the Iraqi population, both civil population and regular soldiers identified in both cases as victims of the conflict.

Another contribution to the study of journalistic discourses generated by the Iraq war is Dirks's article, which analyses the editorials and opinion articles of a variety of international journals, specifically British, German, and US-American quality press. The author shows the discursive strategies of the newspapers and columnists to position themselves supporting the imminent conflict or in opposition to it, especially those arguments derived from the governmental *spin doctors* (both supporting or against the war). Analyses of the main arguments and conceptual metaphors in connection with the respective presentation practices give initial insights into the trans-/cultural genre patterns of the papers' editorials. Their prototypical antithetical repertoires tend to become increasingly persuasive, the more they deviate from worldwide opposition to the Iraq war. The shortage of arguments that support the war and the abundant use of ellipsis to ignore opposite opinions stand out.

Ramalho's work examines journalistic texts published in *Veja* and *Istoé* on the preparation and North American and Western European invasion of Iraq. She starts from the perspective of the "ideological analysis of intertextuality operation", defined by the constant and constituent interrelationship between discourse and social practice. Considering that, it is intended to reveal the assumptions, which constitute the action or social practice of journalistic production by Brazilian professionals, as the complex interaction of structural determinations of the media communication system, in this case written. This interaction leads to the construction of discourses in which the content of the information, the discourse logic, and the symbolic expressive mechanisms imply the expression of the dominant ideology of the USA in the case of *Veja*. On the other hand, in *Istoé* the linguistic-discursive resources served specifically as transformers and challengers of the power asymmetry. In conclusion, this work defends and verifies the effectiveness of the method and model of textual analysis, selected at the moment of constructing and interpreting the existing interaction in intertextuality, which entails social and discourse practice.

The last work focusing on the Iraq war is presented by Villanueva & Ruiz. Their paper applies the *topoi* theory to lexical analysis and describes different speeches of Bush, Blair, Aznar and Dominique de Villepin in order to determine the orientation criteria supporting or opposing the military intervention in Iraq. In contrast to the two-pole structure that comes from the speeches of Bush and Blair (based on morality in case of Bush and on a negative description of the regime of Saddam Hussein in the case of Blair), from which stems the need to act militarily as a naturally good solution avoiding the dangers inherent in the continuation of the negotiations, the speech of Villepin, shaped reticularly, constitutes a logical exercise of description of the situation from which arguments appear that work as a refutation of the previous speeches and prove the existence of the implicit *topoi* in the above mentioned speeches.

Very close to the Iraq war geographically and politically is the Kurdish conflict in Iraq, which is the subject of Sheyholislami's contribution. The paper compares the vision offered by the American press of the Kurdish conflict in Iraq at two clearly differentiated dates (1988 and 1991) from the point of view of American foreign policy (in 1988 Iraq was allied with the USA due to its conflict with Iran, in 1991 Iraq was an enemy of USA immediately after the invasion of Kuwait). The author starts from the analysis of different news stories in *The New York Times* journal concerning the

situation of the Kurds in Iraq in order to discover to what extent the mass media offer information slanted in a coincidental sense with the interests of the USA Administration. The results show clearly the radically different vision that *The New York Times* offers on the two selected dates. In 1988 this journal doubts the reliability of the declarations of the Kurds, the clash with the Iraqi Government is analysed as an internal conflict, it puts in doubt the existence of genocide caused by the use of chemical weapons and the Kurds are defined as "separatists". In 1991, on the other hand, the conflict is located in the Kurdistan, or "land of the Kurds", so that the existence of a conflict exceeding the sovereignty of Iraq is admitted. It reports profusely about the pursuit led by the government of Iraq to end the Kurds, especially concerning to the use of chemical weapons in the past, and the Kurds are defined as "refugees", obviously a positive category (especially if we compare it with the previous one of "separatist"). Finally, now it is the Iraqi government, and not the Kurds, which does not have credibility and whose information and declarations are constantly denied. In short, the article demonstrates a clear trend of mass media to thematic and ideological "synchronization" with the interests of foreign policy.

Alonso & Maddalena's paper, starting from the *problem-solution* analysis model (Tirkkonen-Condit), applied to opinion texts, analyses 60 articles of the journal *USA Today*, divided into 30 editorials in the journal and another 30 opinion articles that in a way are presented by the journal as contrasting. The analysis shows the different discursive strategies developed by the media to persuade readers. These strategies try to support, at the same time, *USA Today's* journalistic objectivity determined by its aseptic description and evaluation of a certain problem.

The main objective of Bös's work is to make a comprehensive overview of the uses of certain naming forms and to relate the naming practices of newspapers with a new conceptual frame. The selected and analysed compilation is made up of an example analysis of 36 newspapers, among which we find a random sample of six major national dailies, either newspapers (up-market), or popular publications, which with respect to the partner-economic status of their readership, but further distinguished into mid-market and down-market candidates. The conclusions drawn basically refer to certain aspects of communicative interaction, which are previously deduced from the alluded discourses, and more specifically, from these that referred to the public acceptance in which they support and they form the attitude of the general readership.

Carvalho's work describes discursive strategies of several journals, selected based on an ideological gradation, related to climatic change. According to the author, climate change is possibly the largest environmental challenge posed to humanity thus far. Because its causes are deeply entrenched in public policies and lifestyles, the problem calls for the mobilisation of both governments and individuals. Yet, climate change remains a deeply controversial issue and originates a wide variety of value-based claims and positions. Based on the idea that values and ethics are the product of historical and social construction, the paper proposes an assessment of the roles of the media in such processes. The analysis shows how discourse is a faithful reflection of an underlying ideology, which emerges in the selection of the news elements (what is included and what is not as a part of the information), in the interpretation and also

in the eminently anthropocentric vision of mass media.

Chaban's study starts from a double, but strongly related perspective (cognitivism and agenda-setting theory) of *priming* and *framing*, often used in contemporary studies related to the social analysis of mass media effects on the public. This methodology of analysis is applied to a little studied area, foreign relations, with a particularly attractive specific object of study in this case: the analysis of the image of the European Union among the public and the elites from New Zealand. The author handles a corpus of regional press and mainstream networks combined with personal interviews with different discussion groups belonging both to the general public and to the economic and political elites of the country. The analysis shows the lack of information about the topic (the European Union) in New Zealand mainstream media, about matters of an economic character basically related to agriculture and political protectionism traditionally developed by the European Union. In consequence, the general public demonstrates a scanty knowledge or interest about the raised question, which contrasts vividly with that of the elites, usually much more involved in this matter and more used to handling other types of information (monographs, reports, international matters), complementary to or substituting for the mass media, from whom they form a much richer vision of the European Union. The analysis admits, finally, that it is not possible to reduce the complex object of study of public opinion to a question of *framing* and news selection, although their value turns out to be obvious, at least indicatively, in the results of this work.

Holmgreen's study tries to approach to the use and application of metaphor in the financial press considering, as theoretical and practical assumptions, Van Dijk's theory of Critical Discourse Analysis for the global aspects related to texts and discourses and Lakoff & Johnson's thesis in what is referred to as the metaphor treatment. Starting from the previous assumptions, it is emphasized that metaphors have a relevant function in this type of media discourse as, on the one hand, they help to make complex socio-economical issues understandable to the public and, secondly, they help to promote and legitimize the ideological points of view of particular political groups. On the other hand, it affects the role of metaphor to construct and spread an economic-ideological paradigm in agreement with a dominant neoliberal thesis in the field of British economy.

Karaouza examines some of the linguistic devices that journalists use in order to shape public opinion in informing about an event at the University of Idaho: the arrest of the international student Al-Hussayyen, accused of fraud. She analyses two articles. One from *The Arbiter*, a student newspaper of the Boise State University (3rd March 2003) and another article from *The Daily Evergreen*, a university newspaper of the Washington State University of Pullman (7th March 2003). Karaouza studies how both newspapers deal with the same event in a very different way, so that they try to influence public opinion in a different manner by means of diverse linguistic devices. *The Arbiter* seeks to give a negative image of Al-Hussayyen and *The Daily Evergreen* a positive one. Firstly, Karaouza investigates the evaluative devices, as they are studied by Appraisal Theory, which fundamentally deals with attitudinal positioning (affects, judgements and appreciations) and with intertextual positioning (the resources of quotation or reference to the words or thoughts of others). Secondly, transitivity is analy-

sed, that is, the relations that the writer constructs between participants. A third linguistic device is thematization, i.e., which element is the point of departure in each clause. The last linguistic device studied is cohesion, particularly lexical cohesion, which includes lexical reiteration, that is, the more often repeated lexemes, and the cohesive chains, the relations established between the diverse tokens that participate in the event.

Le examines the cultural identities that *Le Monde* and *The New York Times* project of their respective national societies in their editorials on Russia. Starting from the Critical Discourse Analysis theoretical framework, Le analyses three aspects: language use, transmissions of beliefs and social interactions, even though she emphasises the first two aspects. Her linguistic analysis consists of a coherence analysis and a voice analysis. Linguistic Analysis provides the basis for analysing the transmission of beliefs. Both newspapers manifest their superiority towards Russia by criticising it heavily, but they emphasise this attitude differently: *Le Monde* tends to ignore Russia and *The New York Times* addresses Russia very often and tells it to build a new society according to the American concept of liberal democracy. Furthermore, both newspapers manifest their superiority towards the rest of the world. The comparison of both newspapers shows that both of them appear to justify their arrogant reputation, what has to be understood as an attitude of superiority or aggressive assertiveness. This accusation of arrogance is partially based upon an intercultural miscomprehension, but Le concludes that the impartiality displayed by these newspapers should begin with themselves, and in order to achieve impartiality they would first need to have a better awareness of the image they themselves are projecting.

Lean & Lee's paper analyses the ideological construction of the political leader Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, who was the fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia before his succession on the 1st of November 2003. The ideological impact of Mahathirism on Malaysia and its people has been widely recognized both by academics and political commentators. The analysis looks at a general characterization of newspaper discourse and it focuses on particular discursive strategies employed to conceal ideological meanings. Lean & Lee base their investigation on Critical Discourse Analysis as it was developed by Van Dijk, Fairclough and Fowler. They take from Van Dijk the importance of news schemata. According to Fairclough, texts, including media texts, are essentially intertextual. Finally, following Fowler, the choice of vocabulary is very important, that is, how groups and individuals are labelled in the media. A very important concept of this concern is *over-lexicalization*: society, including the media, applies an excess of labels to a particular type of person. Lean & Lee's investigation focuses on the local daily *The Star*. The data come from several newspaper articles published within the month preceding Mahathir's succession. The analysis of headlines, leads and photograph captions shows how the reading process and the interpretation of readers are guided in order to construct a positive image of the leader. With regard to quotation patterns, these also constitute a powerful tool with which to manipulate audience members' perception and interpretation, because the most frequent voices are those that are favourable to Mahathir, praising his political and personal facets, while those voices with negative feelings towards Mahathir (the opposition) are denied an equal percentage of media space to express their view. Over-lexicalization is addressed

to construct a positive representation of Mahathir, in diverse spheres. All these devices contribute to constructing an image of Mahathir as an infallible national hero.

Zullo's paper analyses the appearance of the terms *piquetes/piqueteros* and others related with these, insofar as the emergence of new discursive practices reflect processes of social change. The paper analyses the events in Cutralcó (1997) that resulted in a new form of social protest. The objective of the investigation is to give an account of these new forms of social protest, the *piquetes*, and the characteristics of this new social actor, the *piquetero*. By the term *piquetes* are understood groups of protesting people, specially in the strikes, and their members are called *piqueteros*. Specifically, the paper studies the representations of this new practice and its actors in the Argentinian press. The corpus analysed consists in a set of articles published in the two newspapers with highest circulation in Argentina, *La Nación* y *Clarín*. Zullo follows Critical Linguistics, and the texts are analysed at a syntactic-semantic level. She analyses every clause and classifies the various kinds of processes represented, either transactive or non-transactive and relational, as well as the types of participants, and in this respect she follows Hodge & Kress's theories. The different agents are related to certain types of processes. For instance, demonstrators and gendarmes are related to transactive actional processes and non transactive actional processes: *reprimir*, *enfrentar*, *encabezar*, *arrojar*, *replegarse*, *llevar*, *volver*, *avanzar*; the civil servants of the provincial and national government and those of the Courts are related to pseudo-transactive processes, such as *hacer declaraciones*, *designar*, *decretar*, *desmentir*, etc. As a conclusion, the terms *piquete*, *piquetero*, *hacer piquetes* acquire an informative relevance, insofar as, though they are terms already known, they reflect a new social practice. The *piqueteros* became agents of something, they succeeded in holding back security forces, they managed to make the authorities listen and to talk, to be afraid.

Björkqvall's and del Saz's papers focus on critical analysis of advertisements. The presence of images has acquired increasing importance during the history of advertising, so that most advertising texts show an interaction between verbal text (written and/or oral) and iconical text, and their analysis must be undertaken from a multimodal perspective as developed by Kress & Van Leeuwen.

The aim of Björkqvall's paper is to show how identities as model readers are offered to empirical readers in Swedish magazine advertisements, which are addressed to children, teenagers and young adults of both genders, male and female. He takes as a point of departure Umberto Eco's distinction between a model reader, which is understood by Björkqvall as a type of more or less complete identity offered in the advertisement, and an empirical reader, who is anyone reading the text. Björkqvall takes into account consumer culture, in which social practices, ideals, values and identities are offered as commodities, and the gender system, which establishes a division between men and women, starting from the idea that men are the norm. In his paper, Björkqvall demonstrates that these identities, which are offered to the empirical readers, are gendered. Considering the multimodal nature of advertising texts analysed, his paper is based on Functional Social Semiotics (Halliday, Hodge & Kress) and on Critical Discourse Analysis (for instance, Fairclough; Chouliaraki & Fairclough). He takes from Functional Social Semiotics the idea that verbal as well as visual language potentially realizes three (meta)functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual. With regard

to the Critical Discourse Analysis, he takes principally the concept of intertextuality. The application of these models of analysis to the corpus leads to the conclusion that model readers constructed by advertisements aimed at males and females are different. The model reader in advertisements targeted at boys is presented as active, successful and leadership oriented. By contrast, the model reader constructed in the advertisements targeted at girls tends to be more passive, and needs the commodity to obtain a readjustment (to become somebody) or an improvement. Furthermore, female characters are represented through a male gaze.

Del Saz's paper analysis shows how women are still portrayed as sexual objects, which reinforces the male audience as the dominant group and leaves women in a weaker situation. From a methodological point of view, Del Saz combines Kress & Van Leeuwen's multimodal analysis and Sperber & Wilson's relevance theory, specially its application to advertising undertaken by Tanaka. She takes from relevance theory the concept of covert communication, in which the speaker communicates information without making manifest this communicative intention. There are two levels in advertisements: on the one hand, one can offer information about the product, normally by means of the linguistic message; on the other hand, a reward is offered for the purchase of the object. At this last level, one appeals to the audience member's emotions, and benefits are offered that are, at first sight, unrelated to the product itself. In addition, at this level, non-verbal modes of communication are used, such as music or images. Starting from this theoretical framework, del Saz's work focuses on the detailed analysis of a TV advert for a deodorant, namely *Lynx* (in United Kingdom) and *Axe* (in Spain), which is precisely characterized by the limited presence of strictly verbal message. The author analyses the interaction between the images and the song text, which accompanies them. Women are portrayed as active subjects insofar as they are represented as seducers, temptresses and the initiators of the relation, but at the same time are represented as objects. This representation of woman suggests that they are easily manipulable by men, who in turn see them as parts rather than wholes. Men, on the contrary, are portrayed as indirect seducers and in control of the situation. Summing up, implicitly and covertly, the advertisement studied shows woman in a materialist manner and in an inferior position related to men, who are the dominant group.

Television discourse is the subject of two contributions in this volume. The main target of Martinez's work is to extend the theoretical and practical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis to address the issue of integrating the sociological and linguistic messages. For this, the specific production of a Boston television channel has been studied with the purpose of analysing the representation of ethnic property in a certain type of media discourse. The methodology has an interdisciplinary character, which combines elements of discourse analysis of interpersonal communication and the study of means with the aim of establishing an approach, which surpasses the dimension of communicative investigation and influence, from qualitative perspectives, in the role of minorities as objects and receivers of media communication.

Minelli's paper takes Functional Grammar and Critical Discourse Analysis as its theoretical assumptions to study the representation of science and scientists in television information in Brazil, considering it as a cultural device producing intercultural

communication problems. From there, it tries to highlight the dynamics of social action that underlie media representation of science. In addition, it entails the expression of cultural identities at the time that dominant ideological impositions that come as much from the dominant scientific communities as from the media owners and from the media professionals, who construct the informative and communicative agendas.

The last contribution in this volume is focused on film discourse. Guillamon & Belmonte's paper, starting from the consideration of the film as a "textual space", proposes a psychological and semiotic approach to Buñuel's film *Viridiana*, with the purpose of establishing, as critical readers, a production of sense referred to the representation, in its multiple forms, of gender violence which, in this film, constitutes the construction of a subjectivity, masculine and feminine, through the dialectics between "object-victim" and "subject-executioner". In short, through the semiotic analysis and interpretation of the text, the speech construction of a model of psycho-social sexist behaviour is exposed and reported, according to which, the feminine, the woman, only exists in *Viridiana* as an object of desire, a victim of gender violence as much in the state of order as in the state of chaos.

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AN OVERVIEW OF THE CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS APPROACH TO MASS COMMUNICATION

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of the main approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis of media communication. Critical Discourse Analysis resulted from the evolution of Critical Linguistics, which in turn has its origins in Halliday's Functional Grammar. However, there is not a unique school of Critical Discourse Analysis, but diverse tendencies which share their preoccupation for studying discourse as social action, their critical intention, the attention to text and, in contrast with Critical Linguistics, the consideration of intertextual analysis and the audience's role in interpreting texts. The theories that we sketch in this paper are Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model, Wodak's discourse sociolinguistics, Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis and Kress & Van Leeuwen's Functional Social Semiotics as well as their theory about Multimodality.

Keywords: Mass media, Socio-cognitive model, Discourse Sociolinguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, Functional Social Semiotics, Multimodality.

1. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MASS COMMUNICATION: MAIN APPROACHES¹

The attempts at constituting a mass communication theory have been characterized as interdisciplinary. Mass communication has been the theoretical object of several disciplines: sociology, psychology, anthropology, semiotics and, of course, to the extent that language is always present in every media text, linguistics.

The discourse and language of the media are addressed increasingly by linguists. One of the most innovative approaches, which is now generating a great deal of literature, is Critical Discourse Analysis. Broadly speaking, Critical Discourse Analysis studies and analyses written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. As Sheyholslami (2006) points out, it examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts.

In this chapter I will present the basic theoretical principles of some of the approaches to mass communication by Critical Discourse Analysis. For a brief presentation of this theoretical framework, see Fairclough & Wodak (1997) and Sheyholslami (2006).

Historically, Critical Discourse Analysis originated as evolving from Critical Linguistics, which was developed in the late 1970s by several theorists at the University of East Anglia, and whose intention was to isolate ideology in discourse (Fowler *et*

¹ I am grateful to Isabel Guerrero for the translation of some parts of this chapter.

alii 1979; Fowler & Kress 1979), and to show how ideology and ideological processes are manifested as systems of linguistic characteristics and processes. This school had, as a main source, Systemic Functional Linguistics founded by M.A.K Halliday (1978, 1985). Halliday conceived language as social semiotics, and he had a functional view of language. Thus, he proposed that language simultaneously performs three macro-functions: the ideational function (language represents the experience that the speakers have of the world and its phenomena), the interpersonal function (language reflects the experience of speaker's own attitudes and evaluations about those phenomena and establishes a relationship between speakers and listeners) and the textual function. This last function allows speakers to produce texts that are understood by listeners and, furthermore, it connects discourse to the co-text and context surrounding the discourse itself.

Critical Linguistics understood that language is an integral part of social process (Fowler *et alii* 1979: 189), differently from sociolinguistics, which viewed society and language as separated elements. Another central assumption of this school, based also on Hallidayan Functional Linguistics, is the fact that the choices speakers make regarding vocabulary and grammar are consciously or unconsciously principled and systematic, and these choices are ideologically based.

Critical Linguistics has developed into Critical Discourse Analysis. As Sheyhoulislami (2006: 2) points out, this evolution implied the integration of the role of audiences in the interpretation of discourse and the extension of the scope of analysis beyond the textual, extending it to intertextual analysis, the presence of other texts in the texts analysed. However, this evolution has not resulted in a unitary theory or paradigm, so we may find several tendencies, although there is an overall conceptual and theoretical framework in the diverse orientations that permit us to include these under the Critical Discourse Analysis approach.

In the following pages, we will outline the contributions of Van Dijk (§ 1.1), Wodak (§ 1.2), Fairclough (§ 1.3) and Kress & Van Leeuwen (§ 1.4), that, besides their important influence, may provide the reader, not familiar with the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, an overview for the understanding of the papers included in this volume.

1.1. VAN DIJK'S SOCIO-COGNITIVE MODEL

Van Dijk was one of the first and principal practitioners of textual grammar, but his academic evolution led him to apply his discourse analysis theory to media texts, mainly concentrating on the representation of ethnic groups and minorities, specifically starting from the analysis of media news (Van Dijk 1988).

However, his first contributions were concentrated on the way minorities were treated in everyday conversation. Van Dijk and his followers recorded and analysed a large number of interviews or spontaneous conversations taking place in Amsterdam and San Diego (Van Dijk 1984, 1987a). These investigations revealed that the conversations analysed were quite typical at every level. For instance, concerning the topics, there are a very limited number of subjects triggered when people speak about 'foreigners'. Typically, these subjects were Cultural Differences, Deviations (crime, vio-

lence, etc.) and Menaces (economical, social, cultural), so that they reflect and reproduce majority stereotypes and prejudices. Regarding the local coherence relations between clauses, people normally use specific semantic 'movements', such as Negators of Apparent Negation ("I have nothing against black people, but...") and Negators of Apparent Concession ("Not all black people are criminals, but..."). These movements imply a Positive Auto-representation ("We are not racist", "We are tolerant") of the Us and the Negative Presentation of the Others, expressed in the negative part following the connector *but*. Another of Van Dijk's interesting findings is the fact that in the narrative structure of stories about minorities there is a lack of resolution, in such a way that subjects interviewed focused on the complication, usually a negative one, as though in their mental schemas about ethnic events, white people do not see a "solution" to the "foreigners problem". These stories, consequently, become Complaint stories in which the personal experiences related in the stories are the premises of negative conclusions such as: "They don't want to adapt", "They just live here at our expense", etc. Finally, the style, rhetoric and other formal properties of these conversations complete this negative treatment of minorities in everyday conversation. For instance, the use of pronouns clearly underlines the social distance (Turkish neighbours are referred to as "they" or "these people", instead of more neutral expressions such as "my Turkish neighbours"). In these conversations it is observed that people tend to stammer, make mistakes or correct themselves when they have to name the Others, instances of a fluidity gap revealing that they are addressing a delicate topic, where people debate between keeping their positive Auto-representation and their expressing their discomfort about the Others.

Van Dijk points out that the way minorities are referred to in everyday conversation may influence media discourse, insofar as the professionals working in the mass media are usually members of the same majority interviewed in Van Dijk's investigations just summarized. However, more important than the influence of everyday conversation on minorities in media discourse is the influence of media texts on minorities in the audience, and this idea is supported by two facts (Van Dijk 1984, 1987a). First, people interviewed often refer explicitly to the mass media as a source of their opinions. Second, it is commonsense that the scope of mass media is much more important than that of an individual person, so that a biased opinion expressed in a media text may reach a wider audience. Thus, mass media plays an important role in the maintaining (and even sometimes in the worsening) the ethnic status quo, and even in reproducing racism (Van Dijk 2006: 9). In fact, the treatment of minorities in media texts is the same as that of everyday conversation, as we will see later.

In the analysis of media texts, Van Dijk focuses not only on the textual and structural level, but also on the analysis and explanation of the production and reception or comprehension of media texts. The objective of Van Dijk's analysis of mass media is to demonstrate the relationships between the three levels of news text production (structure, production and comprehension processes) and their relationship with the wider social context that surrounds them. These relationships are identified at two levels. First, microstructure, i.e., semantic relations between propositions, syntactic, lexical and other rhetorical elements that provide coherence in the text and other rhetorical elements such quotations, direct or indirect reporting as a means of provi-

ding factuality to news. Second, macrostructure, the main contribution of Van Dijk's theory, which comprises the thematic/topic structure of the news stories and their overall schemata. Thus, themes and topics are realized in the headlines and lead paragraphs, and the superstructure schema characterizing the news follows a regular narrative pattern: summary (headline and the lead paragraph), story (situation consisting of episode and background) and consequences (final comments and conclusions).

Van Dijk's research on racism in the media has generated many publications in which he demonstrates how media texts, especially news texts, reproduce racist prejudices. For instance, Van Dijk (1987b) analyses the representation of "ethnic events" in news programmes in some Western countries such as United Kingdom, the United States, West Germany and The Netherlands. In this paper he arrives at several conclusions about the treatment of minorities in news media. In general, he asserts that the way in which news media deal with minorities are systematically related to several characteristics of the social and cognitive contexts of the news, i.e., with journalists' production and readers and spectators' uses of the media. First, the data furnished by content analysis shows that mass media pay very limited attention to ethnic minorities, unless these minority groups are involved in violence, illegality, delinquency or a "strange" cultural behaviour, implying a component of deviation. The topics communicated by news media reproduced ethnic stereotypes and prejudices and, in general, show minorities as "problematic people". Conversely, the press hardly ever explains the causes or context of these problems nor explains it in terms of white racism.

Secondly, minorities rarely appear as main agents, unless they are suspected or accused of a negative action. This coverage is explained by the fact that there are very few journalists among the minorities and by the fact that ethnic prejudices make the journalists think that minority groups are less credible.

Thirdly, Van Dijk notes that topics about minorities are generally negative, and stylistic associations are usually biased. Informative values (negativity as a criterion for an event to become a new) and ethnic prejudices of press professionals result in ethnic groups and ethnic situations being perceived and depicted in a biased way. Immigration is not considered a normal or natural phenomenon, but a permanent menace, a conflict between Them and Us. Furthermore, minorities are represented as playing a role that deviates from the norm (they get hold of our houses and jobs, they do not adapt nor want to do so, etc.). These assertions are usually implicit. On the other hand, topics that are absent from the press are still more revealing: the problems experienced by ethnic groups are ignored: for example, racism, prejudice and discrimination, immigrant status, employment and employment conditions, education, public health, minorities culture and politics are absent, which is understandable considering that minorities are rarely used as a reliable source of information and the fact already mentioned that very few journalist belong to a minority group.

Fourthly, journalists are, as other components of the middle classes, members of a dominant group that expresses, manifests, legitimates and, consequently, reproduces a consensual and dominant ideological spectrum of their own class and ethnic group. Mass media in general and news media in particular play a central role in the production of the mechanisms of ethnic attitude and racism. Although mass media do not ever indicate to the audience what they have to think nor do, all the members of

the audience necessarily agree with the opinions transmitted by the media, it is also true that most people can only access information about ethnic groups through the mass media. So, for example, only a relatively small number of people are susceptible to being potential victims of an act of violence perpetrated by a member of a minority group. However, Van Dijk points out that his previous studies about everyday conversation show not only that people are increasingly afraid of delinquency and violence, but also that they explicitly associate these feelings to the existence of minority groups and quote mass media as a justification for their prejudices.

Increasingly, Van Dijk's research has considered discourse analysis as an ideological analysis. From Van Dijk (1995):

[...] ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies" (1995: 17).

What distinguishes Van Dijk's approach from others in Critical Discourse Analysis is the importance that he attaches to cognitive analysis. For this author, socio-cognition mediates between society and discourse, and social cognition is "the system of mental representations and processes of group members" (1995: 18). Ideologies are mental systems that organize socially shared attitudes, and these mental systems are social representations functioning as "models which control how people act, speak or write, or how they understand the social practices of others." (1995: 2). From this perspective, it is very important in Van Dijk's approach that mental representations are often articulated in such a way that they set up Us (defined in positive terms) against Them (defined in negative terms), and much of his research in recent years has focused on the analysis of several discourses to find out what resources are employed to construct this dichotomy (for example, how native people construct their own image as Us and that of the immigrants as Them in ordinary conversation, as we saw above). Van Dijk's (1998) is the most exhaustive exposition of his concept of ideology (see Bernardo *et alii* in this volume).

1.2. WODAK'S DISCOURSE SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Wodak and her colleagues of the Vienna School of Discourse Analysis have developed a theory of discourse based on sociolinguistics in the Bernsteinian tradition, and on the ideas of the Frankfurt School, especially those of Jürgen Habermas. Wodak (1996: 3) points out that:

Discourse Sociolinguistics [...] is a sociolinguistics which not only is explicitly dedicated to the study of the text in context, but also accords both factors equal importance. It is an approach capable of identifying and describing the underlying mechanisms that contribute to those disorders in discourse which are embedded in a particular context –whether they are in the structure and function of the media, or in institutions such as hospital or a school –and inevitably affect communication.

Wodak (2002: 14) insisted on interdisciplinary and the eclectic nature of Critical Discourse Analysis, insofar as problems in our society are too complex to be studied from a single point of view. So, an integration of diverse theories and methods is required for the understanding and explanation of the object under investigation. In a

similar way, Van Dijk (2006: 13) claimed the necessity of interdisciplinarity, and he explicitly quotes linguistics, poetics, semiotics, psychology, sociology, anthropology, history and mass communication research as disciplines that must be borne in mind in Critical Discourse Analysis.

Wodak (2002: 18) indicated three main research focuses in the Vienna School of Critical Discourse Analysis. The first one is the investigation of language in institutional settings such as courts, schools and hospitals (Wodak 1996; Muntigl, Weiss & Wodak 2000). A new focus on the necessity for an historical perspective is also introduced (the Discourse Historical Approach). A second important research focus of this school is the study of sexism, and especially racism and anti-Semitism (Wodak *et alii* 1990, Mitten 1992, Gruber 1991). Thirdly, and naturally connected with the other two issues, there is the study of identity constructions and changes of identities at national and transnational levels.

Wodak's work on the discourse of anti-Semitism in 1990 is the basis of her Discourse Historical Approach, in which "historical" is a crucial term. The historical context of discourse has a significant impact on the structure, function and context of anti-Semitic utterances (Wodak *et alii* 1990). This method was developed to trace in detail the constitution of an anti-Semitic stereotyped image (or "Feinbild"), as it emerged in public discourse in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim (Wodak *et alii* 1990, Mitten 1992, Gruber 1991). With the intention of studying discourse about the "Waldheim affair", "context" was unravelled into various dimensions. Effectively, context was analysed from three different perspectives (linguistics, psychology and history), and the research team was made up of analysts coming from these three disciplines. Initially, every team arrived at different results, as a consequence of the diverse theories and methods used, but ultimately the team developed its own categories that led to the "Discourse Historical" Approach (Wodak *et alii* 1990).

In this method, language manifests social processes and interaction and constitutes those processes (Wodak & Ludwig 1999: 12). Wodak & Ludwig consider that viewing language from these perspectives implies three consequences. First, discourse "always involves power and ideologies" (1999: 12). Second, "discourse [...] is always historical, that is, it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events happening at the same time or which have happened before" (1999: 12). Third, any approach to discourse analysis has to bear in mind interpretation, so that readers and listeners, depending on their background knowledge and information and their position, might have different interpretations of the same communicative event (1999: 13). Wodak & Ludwig (1999: 13) affirm that "THE RIGHT interpretation does not exist; a hermeneutic approach is necessary. Interpretations can be more or less plausible or adequate, but they cannot be true" (emphasis in the original).

The Discourse Historical Approach developed, among other contributions, in a study on discourse about the nation and national identity in Austria. The construction of identities is the third principal focus of the Vienna School investigations. This was concerned with the analysis of the relationships between discursive construction of national sameness and the discursive construction of difference leading to political and social exclusion of specific out-groups. The findings suggested that discourses about nations and national identities depend on at least four types of discursive ma-

cro-strategies: constructive strategies (aiming at the construction of national identities), preservative or justificatory strategies (aiming at the conservation and reproduction of national identities or narratives of identity) and transformative strategies (aiming at the dismantling of national identities). Depending on the context, one aspect or other connected with these strategies is brought into prominence (Wodak 2002 18-19; for more details, see Wodak *et alii* 1998, Reisigl 1998; De Cillia, Reisigl & Wodak 1999; Wodak *et alii* 1999; Reisigl & Wodak 2001).

1.3. FAIRCLOUGH'S CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Critical Discourse Analysis developed by Norman Fairclough also has its origins in Hallidayan Functional Linguistics, although it has been influenced too by other critical theorists (Foucault, Gramsci, Habermas and others).

As an overall characteristic of media language, Fairclough (1995b: 10-11) points out conversationalization. In many media texts, for instance, in documentaries that deal with scientific or technologic subjects, the public language of these disciplines presents properties of conversational language, which belongs to the sphere of the private. Science and technology are part of public, institutional life, as indeed is the whole business of producing television programmes, but the programmes signalled are received and consumed overwhelmingly in private contexts, in the home, within the family. Public life and private life involve different ways of using language, and Fairclough finds this tension realized in a combination of private and public language in a large number of media texts (1995b: 8-9). So, Fairclough (1995: 10) judges that in contemporary mass media there are two identifiable tensions: that between information and entertainment, and that between public and private. These tensions are indicative of two tendencies: the tendency of public affairs media to become increasingly conversationalized and its tendency to move increasingly in the direction of entertainment, in order to become more "marketized". Fairclough (1995: 10-11) specifies:

Of course, a large part of media output is clearly designed as entertainment (drama, soap operas, comedy shows, quiz shows, and so forth), so what is involved here can be thought of as a shift in the internal structure of the media, a relaxation of the boundary between public affairs and entertainment within the media. This shift can be seen in more general terms as part of an intensified "marketization" of the media: because of increasing commercial pressures and competition, media are being more fully drawn into operating on a market basis within the "leisure" industry, and one part of that is greater pressure to entertain even within public affairs output.

One must bear in mind that, according to Fowler (1991: 57), this conversationalization has an ideological function, that of naturalizing the terms in which reality is represented. However, Fairclough (1995: 13-14) claims that it represents also some degree of cultural democratization: conversationalization in some documentaries helps to democratize technology, making it more accessible to people.

In Fairclough's approach to Critical Discourse Analysis there are three focuses in analysing any communicative event or interaction: text (e.g. a news report), discourse practice (e.g. the process of production and consumption) and socio-cultural practices (e.g. social and cultural structures which give rise to the communicative event). We will summarise these three focuses in the following pages.

1.3.1. *Text*

The first analytical focus of Fairclough's model is text. Its analysis includes linguistic analysis of vocabulary, grammar, semantics, the sound system and writing system and cohesion-organization above the sentence level as well as the organization of turn taking in the case of media shaped in a dialogue form (Fairclough 1995: 57). His approach also follows the functional analysis of Halliday, and he finds in any sentence the articulation of the three functions cited above, relabelled as follows (Fairclough 1995: 58). First, representations, which may carry particular ideologies, related to ideational function. Second, particular constructions of writer and reader identities (who is highlighted, which status and roles does anyone play, and so forth), related to interpersonal function. Thirdly, a particular construction of the relationship between writer and reader (as, for example, formal or informal, close or distant), related to textual function. Regarding representations, Fairclough (1995: 103-104) points out:

The focus [...] is upon how events, situations, relationships, people, and so forth are represented in texts. A basic assumption is that media texts do not merely "mirror realities" as is sometimes naïvely assumed; they constitute versions of reality in ways which depend on social positions and interests and objectives of those who produce them.

In these representations, following Hallidayan Functional Linguistics, the choices that are made at various levels in the process of producing texts are very important: what is included and what is excluded, what is made explicit or left implicit, what is foregrounded and what is backgrounded, what is thematized and what is unthematized, what process types and categories are drawn upon to represent events, and so on. These choices imply certain ideologies and relations of domination. This is especially clear in the case of what is present or absent. Fairclough (1995: 106) establishes a scale of presence, running from "absent" to "foregrounded": absent-presupposed-backgrounded-foregrounded. If something is presupposed, it is in a sense present in the text, but as part of its implicit meaning. If something is explicitly present in a text, it may be informationally backgrounded, or informationally foregrounded. In any text we find a combination of explicit meanings -what is actually "said"-and implicit meanings- what is left unsaid, but taken as given, as presupposed. Thus, the presuppositions of a text are part of its intertextuality: presupposing something implies that there are other texts that are common ground for oneself and one's readers, in which what is not presupposed is explicitly present, part of the "said" (Fairclough 1995: 107). Presuppositions are very important in ideological analysis, insofar as ideological meanings remain usually unsaid.

In representations in texts, there are two major aspects to be considered: the structure of propositions and the combination and sequencing of propositions. Firstly, in the structure of propositions there are choices of vocabulary (whether one calls a violent death a killing, a murder, a massacre or calls it, metaphorically, a holocaust or an extermination), but there are choices which are partly a matter of grammar, the grammar associated with participant types. A process may be represented as an action, an event, a state, a mental process or a verbal process, and every type of process may imply the participation of various actors, which in turn implies certain ideologies. For

instance, it has been found that some newspapers systematically foregrounded the involvement of the police in violence and other forms of undesirable social behaviour, so that linguistically they do not appear as actors of these acts (Fairclough 1995: 109-110). In a similar way, the use of nominalizations usually implies that some or all the participants are omitted, and the abundance of nominalizations in a text, besides the omission of responsibility, make the text very abstract and distant from concrete events and situations. Secondly, Fairclough analyses the combination and sequencing of propositions and, following Van Dijk, distinguishes local coherence relations from clauses and global text structure. Local coherence in texts, may be established by explicit markers (conjunctions or sentence linking) or may remain implicit. Anyway, relations of coherence between clauses and sentences are not objective properties of the text, but relations that must be established by people interpreting it. Texts are structured in ways that predispose interpretation in one way rather than another; texts address a sort of ideal interpreter who will give the text the "preferred reading" (Fairclough 1995: 122). This ideal interpreter is familiar with a particular pre-constructed script or frame.

As we pointed out above, the other processes present in a text are identity constructions and social relation constructions. Concerning the identities, in the news texts the categories are reporters, audiences, and various types of "other participants", mainly from the public domain (politicians, trade unionists, religious leaders, scientists and other experts, etc.) (Fairclough 1995: 126). It is also important to take into account the absences. For instance, whereas politicians are a well-defined and salient category, capitalists (those who dominate the economy) significantly are not. The other aspect is relations: between reporters and audiences, between various categories of "others" and audiences, and between reporters and politicians, experts, and other categories of "others". The understanding of these relations is very important for the understanding of power and domination relations in contemporary societies, and also of the changes that are developing. Fairclough (1995: 126) emphasizes "the diversity, multiplicity, and variability of identities and relations in the media". This diversity does not refer to the obvious diversity of identities among different programmes, but within a programme type such as news. This is motivated by the diversity of participants that are involved in different sorts of activity within the one programme, but also a single participant may have a complex identity in the sense that she/he may individually have to negotiate a number of activities successively or simultaneously within a programme, but even a particular single activity may involve a multiplicity of simultaneous social purposes. For instance, a presenter may be trying to simultaneously manage the roles of purveyor of authoritative information and entertainer, while also trying to project herself or himself as an "ordinary person", like the audience (Fairclough 1995: 127).

Finally, the construction of relations and identities entails a concern for the different set of linguistic features of texts, namely those associated with the interpersonal function in texts. These include the linguistic systems of mood and modality, that is, on the one hand, the choice between declarative, interrogative, and imperative clauses and sentences and, on the other, the stance of speaker or writer to the "message" –the degree of affinity with or commitment to a proposition expressed by a speaker or writer, for instance. They also include what Fairclough broadly refer to as "in-

teractional control features”, including turn-taking (the way in which talking turns are distributed in, say, an interview), exchange system (organization of, for instance, interviews in terms of question-answer sequences), control of topics and topic change, and formulation (ways in which earlier parts of a text or interaction are paraphrased). And they include features of texts that are relevant to “politeness” in the sense in which that term is used within pragmatics (Fairclough 1995: 128).

1.3.2. *Discourse practices*

Concerning discourse practices of a community, Fairclough (1995: 55) defines these as its normal ways of using language and understands them in terms of networks, which he calls orders of discourse, following Gramsci (1971). In a particular type of discourse, there is an alternation between twin and complementary focuses, communicative events (for instance, a particular newspaper editorial) and the overall structure of the order of discourse, the configurations of genres and discourses, and the way it evolves in the context of social and cultural changes and the relations with other socially adjacent orders of discourses (Fairclough 1995: 62-63).

The mediating position of media discourse between public and private explains that media discourse may shape socially adjacent orders of discourse as well as being shaped by them (Fairclough 1995: 64). For instance, the cultural salience of television formats justifies its influence in a variety of public domains. So, the celebrity-interview format may be used in higher education for introductory books on the thinking of prominent figures and media discourse provides models of conversational interactions in private life, although originally the first was a simulation of the latter.

Discursive practices may be creative or conservative. A consequence of creativity is hybridism and heterogeneity in the nature of contemporary media texts that Fairclough (1995: 61) attributes to the nature of the times:

We are living through a period of rapid and continuous change in society and culture, the media play a significant role in reflecting and stimulating more general processes of change, and the practices of the media are correspondingly in constant flux. This includes the discursive practices of the media. The general point to emphasize is that creativity in discursive practices is tied to particular social conditions –conditions of change and instability.

Fairclough’s concept of creativity, however, must be deprived of individualistic connotations: discursive creativity is an effect of social conditions, not an achievement of individuals who have particular (creative) qualities. Intertextuality, which we refer to in the following lines, is an aspect of the heterogeneity of media texts.

On the other hand, Fairclough distinguishes two facets in discourse practices: institutional process (e.g. editorial procedures) and discourse processes (changes experienced by text in the process of production and consumption). In this analytical framework, Fairclough’s approach concedes a crucial importance to the concept of intertextuality, which refers to Bakhtin (1986):

Intertextual analysis focuses on the borderline between text and discourse practice in the analytical framework. Intertextual analysis is looking at text from the perspective of discourse practice, looking at traces of the discourse practice in the text. (Fairclough 1995: 16)

Whereas linguistic analysis is descriptive in nature, intertextual analysis is mo-

re interpretative (Fairclough 1995: 16). Fairclough (1992: 84) defines intertextuality as "basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth". There are two types of intertextuality (Fairclough 1992: 85): manifest intertextuality, in which other texts are overtly present in a text by means of explicit signs such as quotation marks, and constitutive intertextuality, which refers to the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of elements of orders of discourse, i.e., the structure of discourse conventions that go into the new text's production.

1.3.3. *Socio-cultural practices. Other concerns of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis*

The third dimension of media critical discourse analysed by Fairclough is socio-cultural practice, i.e., the socio-cultural context of a communicative event. The socio-cultural practice in turn includes three aspects: economic (economy of the media), political (power and ideology of the media) and cultural (issues of values).

There are other aspects of mass communication that have attracted special attention: access to the media, economics of the media, politics of the media, and practices of media text production and consumption.

The access to media is an important concern because not everybody has an equal access to the media. According to Fairclough (1995: 40):

[...] media output is very much under professional and institutional control, and in general it is those who already have other forms of economic, political or cultural power that have the best access to the media.

In relation to the economy of the media, one must bear in mind that the media have a product to sell, and their product is the audience of interest to advertisers (Sheyhislami 2006: 10), and, consequently, the mass media "are very much open to the effects of commercial pressures" (1995b: 42). Related to this advertising function of the media is the issue of the concentrated ownership of mass media, which has an important influence on media discourse. The impact of concentration of ownership:

[...] manifest itself in various ways, including the manner in which media organizations are structured to ensure that the dominant voices are those of the political and social establishment, and in the constraints on access to the media [...] (Fairclough 1995: 43)

With regard to the politics of the media, many critics have argued that the commercial mainstream media work ideologically and are in the service of the powerful, the elite, and the state (Sheyhislami 2006: 10). Following Thompson (1984, 1990), Fairclough (1995: 14) understands ideology as meaning "in the service of power", more concretely, "[...] ideologies are propositions that generally figure as implicit assumptions in texts, which contribute to producing or reproducing unequal relations of power, relations of domination". They may be implicit, for instance, in the pre-suppositions, i.e., taken-for-granted assumptions of texts. Fairclough (1995: 44) asserts that media discourses "contribute to reproducing social relations of domination and exploitation", though in exceptional occasions media may contradict the interests of the states (for instance, in the case of the Vietnam war).

Fairclough and other analysts take up again the concept of hegemony to ex-

plain the power of influence of mass media:

Hegemony is relations of domination based upon consent rather than coercion, involving the naturalization of practices and their social relations as well as relations between practices, as matters of common sense - hence the concept of hegemony emphasizes the importance of ideology in achieving and maintaining relations of domination. (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 24)

Another aspect that must be taken into account is the practice of media text production and consumption. Production involves a set of institutional routines, such as news gathering, news selection, writing, and editing. Consumption mainly refers to the ways in which the audience member reads or sees, and comprehends the text. As it is known in the press profession, the process of selection of news is not determined by the nature of the events, but by the news production and institutional practices, in such a way that “the world of the Press is not the real world”, but a partial one, which is “skewed and judged” (Fowler 1991: 11), as the agenda-setting hypothesis developed in the area of social studies on mass media from the 60s has demonstrated. Selection by journalists and the media implies also choosing the sources of information, for example, who is interviewed, who is quoted directly or heard in news, or whose discourse is, instead, just reported or summarized. Contrasting with official sources, ordinary people are used as sources in order to speak about their personal experience, but not to express opinions (Fairclough 1995: 49). This dependence on officials as sources of information contributes to continue their status quo and their hegemony.

The consumption of texts by the audience has been the object of many debates by researchers on Critical Discourse Analysis. As a matter of fact, this issue arose early in the mass communication research and has influenced its evolution a great deal from the hypodermic theory in the 30s to the agenda-setting hypothesis and other theories focusing on the cognitive effects of mass media, which have developed since the 60s until now. Discourse analysts make assumptions about how audiences read and comprehend texts, and even interpret texts as readers would do it.

As Sheyholislami (2006: 12) points out, the central question is to what extent a discourse analyst knows how the audience consume media discourse, how and what they comprehend and what sorts of impacts the texts may have. Anyway, Sheyholislami (2006: 12) indicates that nowadays all analysts, including Critical Discourse Analysts practitioners, agree that different audiences may interpret a text differently. However, the fact that Critical Discourse Analysis bases its hypothesis about readers' comprehension on their own interpretation has been the target of major attacks by other analysts, insofar as their predictions about audience member's interpretation come from the text itself, whereas different audience members may interpret the same text differently.

Sheyholislami (2006: 12) points out that analysts have at least two reasons to think this way. First, readers are not trained to be critical readers of texts (Fowler 1991: 11; Van Dijk 1991). Second, audiences interpret texts according to their background knowledge and the information that they already have about the subject in question (Van Dijk 1993: 242), which, in turn, usually come from their previous experience with the mass media. So, describing and analysing media discourse is a useful tool to help us in making assumptions about the impact of the media on audiences.

According to Fairclough (1995: 16) texts are not meaningless without the interpretation of readers. Instead, he asserts:

It strikes me as self-evident that although reading may vary, any reading is a product of an interface between the properties of the text and the interpretative resources and practices which the interpreter brings to bear upon the text. The range of potential interpretations will be constrained and delimited according to the nature of the text. (1995b: 16)

1.4. KRESS & VAN LEEUWEN'S FUNCTIONAL SOCIAL SEMIOTICS AND MULTI-MODALITY

1.4.1. *Functional Social Semiotics*

Functional Social Semiotics has its theoretical basis in Functional Grammar by M.A.K. Halliday; its purpose is to describe semiotic resources (Jewitt & Oyama 2000: 134-136). The term *resource* is opposed to that of *code* as it was understood by the semiology of the School of Paris, whose founder was R. Barthes, a semiology that was still very anchored in its linguistic origins. For Barthes and his followers, the semiotic systems were codes, sets of rules, which connected signifiers and signifieds. The authors of Functional Social Semiotics agree with the fact that some systems may work like that (driving code, for example), but others, such as modern art or even cartoons, are ruled by creative invention, the influence of examples and conventions, etc.

It is thus convenient to speak of resources, which is a more flexible concept. A semiotic resource is, for example, the point of view, which allows people, things and places to be represented from above, from below or at eyelevel, or from the front, from a side or from behind. These distinct possibilities open a potential of meaning without necessarily associating each of those points of view with a determined meaning. For instance, if you represent a building from below, the building will probably appear as something that has an enormous power over the observer. Besides, we have to clarify that we are referring to symbolic meanings, which are not real. So, they can be used to give false images of reality.

Semiotic resources have a historical nature: they were invented in the context of some specific interests and purposes. The artificial perspective supposed that pictures became "windows over the world", as Panofsky stated (quoted by Jewitt & Oyama 2000: 136), in a way that they represented a particular subjective point of view. It is not by chance that it emerged in Italy during the Renaissance, a historic moment in which subjectivity and individuality became important social values.

Functional Social Semiotics, to the extent that it takes part in Critical Discourse Analysis, is not an end in itself, but an instrument for critical investigation. For instance, investigations have been made about sexual health campaigns in Great Britain (e.g. Jewitt's work, quoted by Jewitt & Oyama 2000) and Jewitt analysed the different semiotic resources that are used to preserve the stereotyped forms of masculinity and femininity (which are the visual resources showing masculine figures as active and feminine as passive).

Kress & Van Leeuwen's Functional Social Semiotics of visual communication also follows the functionalist tradition opened by M.A.K. Halliday. The theory is functionalist in the sense that it considers that visual resources have been developed with

the aim of exercising a specific semiotic function. Their theoretical framework consists in the application of Halliday's language macrofunctions (1978) to visual communication. Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) established diverse kinds of meaning according to each of Halliday's functions. The different types of meanings are communicated through different semiotic resources. So, there are semiotic resources expressing representational meaning, interactive meaning and compositional meaning.

- 1) Representational meaning (ideational function). The representational meaning comes from participants (abstract or concrete; people, places or things) that appear represented in a picture. Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) distinguish between two basic structures of representational meaning.
 - a) Narrative structures. Participants are involved in actions, events or action processes. Certain pictorial genres have an obvious narrative character, for example, those with religious, mythological or historical themes. Narrative structures are also frequent in advertising even in those modalities that use a unique fixed picture. Someone normally appears doing something: for example, in a perfume advertisement the picture of a hugging couple frequently appears. In this type of structure it is important to analyse the roles the different participants perform, that is, which attitudes, active or passive, they have.
 - b) Conceptual structures: In this case the participants are represented in terms of their more generalized, stable or timeless 'essence'. So, they are not represented making something, but being something, meaning something, belonging to some category or having some category or component. There are diverse conceptual structures:
 - Classifying structures, which gather different people, places or things in the same picture, proposing that they have something in common (for instance, a photograph showing a group of Muslim immigrants in contrast to a urban occidental landscape).
 - Symbolic structures, which define the meaning or identity of a participant. Here Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) borrow from Panofsky's iconography. The identity or the meaning of a participant is established by some symbolic attribute. Symbolic attributes are recognised through a series of features: they are represented with more care and detail than normal compared to similar works, or they are given an especially conspicuous place in the composition, or made extra conspicuous by lighting, contrasts in tone or colour, etc., they are pointed out with a gesture, they seem to be out of place or are associated with a conventional meaning, that is known in a specific place and epoch, and so forth. For example, in some Renaissance pictorial representations of the Virgin and the Child, an apple often appears, its symbolic character being indicated by signalled features. The apple represents original sin, as in Adam and Eve's story told in the Genesis.
 - Analytic structures. They relate some participants to others according to the structure whole-part. Maps are typical analytic structures, as they are defined by being formed of parts.
- 2) Interactive meaning (interpersonal function): Pictures can create particular relationships among observers and the world represented in the picture. We have to consider three aspects regarding interactive meaning:
 - a) Contact: Represented characters can maintain contact with the observer or remain distant, which allows us to distinguish two kinds of pictures:
 - There are a large number of pictures that show people looking at the observer. This way they make contact with the observer and establish a relationship (imaginary) with her/him. Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) call them "demand pictures" as they ask the observer for something, symbolically.
 - If this imaginary contact is missing, the observer looks at people represented in a distant and impersonal way. Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) call these pictures "offerings", as they offer information without having contact between the people represented and the observer.
 - b) Distance: Pictures can approach the observer to people, places or things or they can keep the observer far from them. Proxemics studies the personal distance in human quotidian relationships. In order to describe distance in pictures, the terminology of film and television can be used (close-up, medium shot, long shot, etc.). If we see people in a close-up shot, we establish an intimacy relationship, since this is the way we normally see those

people we have a certain intimacy or familiarity with. The close-up shot reveals the individuality and personality of the person represented.

Otherwise, if people are represented from a certain distance, we are representing them as we normally see strangers, people we do not have any contact with. They are seen in general terms, in an impersonal way, like types rather than like individual beings.

- c) Point of view: We have already described that the fact that people, things or places represented from one or other point of view entail different meaning potentialities. For instance, a front view representation, which, as we have said, represents involvement, can increase the observer's identification with the represented characters. Otherwise, a profile representation establishes a longer distance or lack of involvement.
- d) Modality: Modality makes reference to reliability or veracity of the picture. In front of what we observe, a question emerges about whether the thing represented is something real, or, if, on the contrary, it is a lie, a fiction, something different from reality. For example, in an intuitive way we attribute a different degree of veracity to a photograph and to a comic, to a documentary and to a fiction film. Pictures can represent people, places and things as if they were real or as if they were not (as imaginations, caricatures, fantasies, etc.). Jewitt & Oyama (2000: 151-153) distinguish between two criteria when establishing the level of reality:
 - Naturalist Modality, which establishes that a thing appears more real when the coherence between what is seen in a picture and its referent in reality is greater. This explains that we consider a photographic portrait as being more realist than a portrait of an expressionist painter.
 - Scientific modality: is based not on appearances but on the essence of things, in deeper and more abstract realities. In accordance with this modality, it is considered that scientific representations as graphics or diagrams have a high degree of objective reality.

Modality is a resource more related to the interpersonal function than to the ideational one, because it does not express absolute truths or falsehoods, but, on the contrary, it produces shared truths aligning audience members with some statements and distancing them from others.

- 3) Compositional meaning (textual function): Compositional meaning gives account of the organisation of the elements in the picture. Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996: 181-229) study the following semiotic resources of the compositional meaning:

- a) Information value: the placement of elements in the space of the picture implies different informative values. In societies using Roman writing the direction of reading of a text (left to right, from top to bottom) implies different information values:
 - In the horizontal axis, the left-right placement creates a “given-new” structure. The “new”, placed on the right, is presented as problematic, questionable, the information “at issue”, while the “given”, placed on the left, is presented as commonsensical and self-evident. In other cultures, of course, the distribution of information is different as the order of reading is also different from the occidental one (in Arab or Japanese culture).
 - In the vertical axis, what is placed on the top is represented as the Ideal and that represented at the bottom is the Real. The “Ideal” means that information is represented as an idealized or generalised essence of the information; hence this is the most salient part. The “Real” presents more specific information (details), more realistic (for example, the use of photographs as documentary proof, or maps or graphics) or more practical information (practical results, instructions for the action). Though both positions imply an ideology, the top part implies a more important ideological charge, insofar as it is the most salient part. In those multimodal texts, which combine picture and verbal text, both types of messages can occupy alternatively one position or the other, and different communicative and ideological consequences follow from these positions.
 - Visual composition can be structured in accordance with the dimensions of the centre and the margin. Typical examples of this structuring are Byzantine paintings (divinity occupies a central position around which the other elements are organised) or children drawings. If something is represented as a centre it constitutes the nucleus of the information to which the other elements subordinate somehow. The margins are the secondary dependant elements. In medieval triptychs information is organised according to this pattern: the centre shows the main religious theme, such as the

- crucifixion or the Virgin with Child, and lateral panels show saints or donors.
- b) Framing: framing represents the elements of the composition as separate identities, which form a set, as connected or disconnected entities:
 - Disconnection can be obtained in different ways, which have in common the fact of establishing visually meaningful contrasts between the represented elements; by the use of frames or borders which separate the elements, by empty areas among elements, through the contrast of colour and form, etc.
 - Connection is obtained with similarities or colour or form rhythms, with vectors connecting elements (visual lines that relate some elements to others), by the absence of borderlines or blanks among the elements, etc.
 - c) Saliency: With this term reference is made to the fact that some elements can be represented in a way that attracts the attention of the eye more than others. This is obtained in different ways: by size, by the contrast of colours, by tonal contrast (chiaroscuro: a clear element will stand out on a dark background, as a dark element will stand out on a clearer background), etc.

1.4.2. Multimodality

As was expected, the evolution of Kress & Van Leeuwen led them to concentrate on the fact that most forms of actual communication are multimodal, i.e., they integrate several modes of communication. The question comes from afar in European tradition of semiotic studies. Barthes (1964) focused on the fact that, although it is a generally accepted assessment that we live by an image-based civilization, especially from the development of mass media, in which image has a prominent presence, it is no less true that language is present in all of these media. So, he claimed the necessity for studying the interaction between visual message and verbal message. However, the concept of multimodality proposed by Kress & Van Leeuwen has a wider scope: the media texts we usually face are not exclusively made up of the integration of visual and verbal components. For instance, a movie includes diverse modes of communication such as visual, verbal (mostly oral, but also written), sound, music, and other modes of communication.

Kress & Van Leeuwen's (2001) point of departure is the observation of the predominance of monomodality for a long time in Western culture. Kress & Van Leeuwen (2001: 1) signal that the most highly valued genres of writing (literary novels, academic treatises, official documents and reports, etc.) come entirely without illustration, and have graphically uniform, dense pages of print. In a similar way, paintings nearly all use the same support (canvas) and the same medium (oils), whatever their style or subject and in concert performances all musicians are dressed identically, and only conductor and soloists are allowed a modicum of bodily expression. This monomodality also characterizes the disciplines that study any mode of communication:

The specialised theoretical and critical disciplines which developed to speak of these arts became equality monomodal: one language to speak about language (linguistics), another to speak about art (art history), yet another to speak about music (musicology), and so on, each with its own methods, its own assumptions, its own technical vocabulary, its own strength and its own blind spots. (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001: 1).

This monomodality has begun to reverse more recently, and not only have various forms of communication become multimodal (mass media such as comic strips, cinema, radio, video-clips, as well as official documents produced by corporations, universities, government departments, etc. or the avant-gardes of "high culture" –performances, installations), but also the desire for crossing boundaries has inspired

twentieth-century semiotics. Effectively, the main schools of semiotics sought to develop a theoretical framework applicable to all semiotic modes, from folk costume to poetry, from traffic signals to classical music, from fashion to theatre (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001: 1). A desire for establishing an overall discipline capable of giving an account of every mode of communication is the basis for the early brief allusion to semiology in Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale* (1916) and, above all, it has inspired the development of European trends of semiotics since the 60s, for instance the school of Paris headed by Barthes or the Italian semiotics school founded by Eco.

Kress & Van Leeuwen (2001: 2) do not agree that in multimodal texts every mode of communication has a specific task or function (for instance, in a film images provide the action, sounds a sense of realism or music a layer of emotion):

Instead we move towards a view of multimodality in which common semiotic principles operate in and across different modes, and in which it is therefore quite possible for music to encode action, or images to encode emotions. (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001: 2)

So, the communicator faces the choice between expressing a determined meaning by different modes of communication: "Shall I express this with sound or music?", "Shall I express this visually or verbally?". Thus, Kress & Van Leeuwen consider that there is not only a unified technology, but also a unified and unifying semiotics. For instance, the semiotic resource labelled as "framing", which in visual communication allows to express unity or separation between visual elements, as we saw above, can be found also in another modes of communication (magazine layouts, people working in an office, the seats in a train or restaurant, music where there can be discontinuities or continuities, etc.).

Kress & Van Leeuwen (2001: 20) define multimodality this way:

[...] as the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event, together with the particular way in which these modes are combined –they may for instance reinforce each other ("say the same thing in different ways"), fulfil complementary roles, [...], or be hierarchically ordered, as in action films, where action is dominant, with music adding a touch of emotive colour and sync sound a touch of realistic "presence".

Their view of communication is a process in which a semiotic product or event is both articulated or produced and interpreted or used. Consequently, for these authors the production and use of designed objects is a form of communication (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001: 20).

In their theory on multimodal discourse they distinguish four strata: discourse, design, production and distribution. The basis of this stratification is the distinction between the content and the expression of communication, which includes that between the signifieds and the signifiers of the signs used. As a result of the invention of writing, the content stratum could be further stratified into discourse and design and as a result of the invention of modern communication technologies, the expression stratum could be further stratified into production and distribution.

1.4.2.1. Discourse

As many other critical analysts of discourse, Kress & Van Leeuwen define discourse as a socially constructed knowledge of (some part of) reality:

By “socially constructed” we mean that they have been developed in specific social contexts, and in ways which are appropriate to the interests of social actors in these contexts, whether these are very broad contexts (“Western Europe”) or not (a particular family), explicitly institutionalised contexts (newspapers) or not (dinner-table conversations), and so on.” (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001: 4)

Any discourse may be realised in different ways. For instance, the “ethnic conflict” discourse of war (e.g. several conflicts in Africa or those of ex-Yugoslavia) may be realised as (part of) a dinner-table conversation, a television documentary, a newspaper feature, an airport thriller, and so forth. In other words, discourse is relatively independent of genre, of mode and (somewhat less) of design. However, discourses can only be realised in semiotic modes, which have developed the means for realising them (Kress & Van Leeuwen: 4-5).

1.4.2.2. Design

Kress & Van Leeuwen consider that design stands midway between content and expression. It is the conceptual side of expression, and the expression side of conception. According to Kress & van Leeuwen (2001: 5):

Designs are (uses of) semiotic resources, in all semiotic modes and combinations of semiotic modes. Designs are means to realise discourses in the context of a given communication situation. But designs also add something new: they realise the communication situation which changes socially constructed knowledge into social (inter-) action.

For instance, writers of thrillers in a setting of “ethnic conflict” realise the “ethnic conflict” discourse of war, but at the same time they realise a particular mode of interaction in which it is their purpose to entertain an audience of a particular kind. In doing so, designs may be conventional or innovative and ground-breaking, just as discourse may either express common sense, or be innovative and perhaps even subversive. Finally, Kress & Van Leeuwen (2001: 6) assert that the same design may be realised in different media. The same story may become a mainstream movie or an airport thriller. Of course, quite different skills are required for actually writing the book or producing the movie.

1.4.2.3. Production

Kress & Van Leeuwen (2001: 6) define production in the following terms:

[it] refers to the organisation of the expression, to the actual material articulation of the semiotic event or the actual material production of the semiotic artefact. A whole other set of skills is involved here: technical skills, skills of the hand and the eye, skills related not to semiotic modes, but to semiotic media.

They use the term “medium” in the sense of “medium of execution” (the material substance drawn into culture and worked over cultural time), the sense in which artists use it when they speak of the medium of “oil”, of “tempera on paper”, etc. It applies of course also to media, which do not produce traces that last beyond the moment of articulation, such as speech or music.

1.4.2.4. Distribution

According to Kress & Van Leeuwen (2001: 21), distribution refers to the technical "re-coding" of semiotic products and events, for purposes of recording (e.g. tape recording, digital recording) and/or distribution (e.g. radio and television transmission, telephony). For instance, musical performers may need the technicians who record the music on tape and disc for preservation and distribution.

Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001: 7) point at the fact that distribution tends to be seen as not semiotic, in the sense that it does not add any meaning, but it merely facilitates the pragmatic functions of preservation and distribution. For instance, just as it is the performer's job to be faithful to the intentions of the composer, so it is the recording and sound-mixing engineers' job to achieve "high fidelity". But any different communicative situation implies differences in meaning. The public's home is not a concert hall, and acoustically perfect halls do not exist. Introducing orchestral music into the home and being able to hear the same performance over and over already fundamentally changes the meaning of music, for example through the loss of "aura" of which Walter Benjamin (1977) wrote (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001: 7).

Kress & Van Leeuwen notice that the terms used (design, production, distribution) might suggest an exclusive concentration on the producers, but they also bear in mind interpretation. Every instance of communication demands an "interpretative community" (2001: 8) and interpreters must have specific semiotic knowledge at any level that the authors distinguish. For instance, at the level of distribution, it is important for the interpreter to know if he is dealing with a reproduction or with an original, and this fact has consequences relevant to his interpretation. At the level of design and discourse the role of interpreter must be borne in mind, and in this case Kress & Van Leeuwen agree with the assumption that a certain type or design (e.g. a movie conceived for entertainment) has not to be necessarily interpreted this way (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001: 8). The degree to which intention and interpretation will match depends on context: a traffic signal will be interpreted according to the intention of the producer at a crossroad, but it will be interpreted very differently if we look at it displayed as an *objet trouvé* in an art gallery.

Another aspect that must be considered is the degree of division between the different strata studied by Kress & Van Leeuwen. For instance, there is a scale starting from everyday conversation, where speaker is responsible for every stratum, and the speech of professional voice-over specialist, where the division of labour is maximised. Every stratum involves different people and different skills, although it is also necessary for some of this people to know (part of) the skills of other strata. For instance, the scriptwriters have to know something about television production so as not to write things, which can not be filmed or are too expensive to film.

Finally, Kress & Van Leeuwen (2001: 10-11) study the use of signs of resources, which are transferred from a certain communicative context to another one. They distinguish two principles. One of these is *provenance*, "where signs come from":

The idea here is that we constantly "import" signs from other contexts (another era, social group, culture) into the context in which we are now making a new sign, in order to signify ideas and values which are associated with that other context by those who import the sign. (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001: 10).

They propose a musical example, the use of sitar by the Beatles in the 60's. The use of this instrument implied meanings, which, in that 'psychodelic' culture, were associated to the sitar's country of origin, India: meditation, drugs for expansion of consciousness, etc. These meanings are related to the Barthesian concepts of "myth" and "connotation".

The second principle is experiential meaning potential. Kress & Van Leeuwen (2001: 10) define this concept as follows:

[...] the idea that signifiers have a meaning potential deriving from what it is we do when we produced them, and from our ability to turn action into knowledge, to extend our practical experience metaphorically, and to grasp similar extensions made by others.

Kress & Van Leeuwen propose as an example the sound quality of "breathiness", which we associated with our daily experience to situations when we are out of breath, for example, and when we are unable to control our breathing due to excitement. Hence "breathiness" can become a signifier for intimacy and sensuality, for instance in singing styles or in the speech in television commercials for products that can be associated with intimacy or sensuality. The idea of "experiential meaning potential" is close to the view of "metaphor" elaborated in Lakoff and Johnson (1980), who discovered the importance of metaphor as a means for the speakers to conceptualize unknown, more abstract and unfamiliar concepts starting from realities that are better known, more concrete and more familiar.

2. CONCLUSION

As a conclusion of this section, I repeat Sheyholislami's in his paper on Critical Discourse Analysis on mass media. Sheyholislami (2006: 13) judges that the principles assumed by the main practitioners of Critical Discourse Analysis can be summarised as follows:

- 1) Language is a social practice through which the world is represented.
- 2) Discourse/language use as a form of social practice in itself not only represents and signifies other social practices but it also constitutes other social practices such as the exercise of power, domination, prejudice, resistance and so forth.
- 3) Texts acquire their meaning by the dialectical relationship between texts and the social subjects: writers and the readers, who always operate with various degrees of choice and access to texts and means of interpretation.
- 4) Linguistic features and structures are not arbitrary. They are purposeful whether or not the choices are conscious or unconscious.
- 5) Power relations are produced, exercised and reproduced through discourse.
- 6) All speakers and writers operate from specific discursive practices originating in special interests and aims which involve inclusions and exclusions.
- 7) Discourse is historical in the sense that texts acquire their meanings by being situated in specific social, cultural and ideological contexts, and time and space.
- 8) CDA [Critical Discourse Analysis] does not solely interpret texts, but also explains them.

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DODGING THE BULLETS AND THE BRICKBATS: THE «EMBEDDED» VOICE IN THE IRAQ WAR

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Abstract: The 2003 war in Iraq introduced the practice of “embedding” reporters with coalition forces, which led to some controversy concerning the particular relationship it occasioned between the military and media. The BBC’s coverage was denounced in some quarters as being anti-interventionist, which led to a commission being appointed to investigate the claims. The present study is based on a corpus of BBC embed reports, in which there appears to be a conscious effort to avoid bias and report opposing viewpoints. However, by combining the quantitative techniques of Corpus Linguistics and the qualitative methodology typical of discourse analysis, an inherent ideological position can nonetheless be gleaned. The findings are often in contrast with those of the commission’s report.

Keywords: Iraq war, news reporting, Corpus Linguistics, Appraisal Analysis

1. INTRODUCTION

The 2003 war in Iraq introduced the practice of “embedding” reporters with the coalition forces. Technological advances, such as video-phones and fast satellite uplinks, made possible live reports of military action, with their fuzzy green images. It was compelling viewing, but it also led to criticism and controversy, mainly concerning the particular relationship it occasioned between the military and the media. The inevitable question was whether journalists embedded with coalition forces might consciously or unconsciously project the military’s view of events.

The embedded reporter programme is generally attributed to PR expert Victoria Clarke, Assistant Secretary of Defence for Public Affairs (Loeb 2003), in close collaboration with the Secretary of Defence, Donald Rumsfeld. Appearing before the National Security Council, Rumsfeld argued that allowing journalists to report live from the front lines would provide access to news of events, both “good and bad - before others seed the media with disinformation and distortions, as they most certainly will continue to do” (McIntyre 2003).

The programme led to a previously unknown level of media access, and military briefings were backgrounded as embedded reports offered independent accounts of events. It was generally expected that these reports would provide a limited, necessarily ‘narrow’ view of events, which would be televised within a wider context of information and imagery. For various organisational and technical reasons, this did not happen and reporters embedded with coalition forces were quickly recognised as a reliable and fast source of information, compared with the MoD’s Forward Transmission Unit (FTU), which was generally deemed a failure (Cardiff Report 2004: 8-9, 18-19).

Since the war, several studies have been carried out regarding the efficacy and effects of embedded reporting, mostly in mainstream media studies. These include sociological research, aimed at evaluating the effects on the public of embedded reporting, and its proximity to the action. Other reports have been based on content analyses (such as the Pew Research Centre, 2003). One of the most complete reports, conducted by the Cardiff University School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies, was commissioned by the BBC and was released 6 November 2003. The research team analysed over 1,500 TV and radio reports of the war and also interviewed nearly 40 reporters, editors and MoD and Pentagon personnel directly involved in the programme, as well as the public. The research group's observations included the view that reporters generally maintained an 'objective' position, most reports were not judgemental, reports were twice as likely to show Iraqis happy and enthusiastic about the invasion than not, and all major broadcasters adopted the Government's pro-war stance (Cardiff Report 2004). However, the present research, analysing the language of the embedded reports, reveals some further, and at times contrasting, observations.

The present study, based on a corpus of BBC news services, discusses the reports from embeds in Iraq in the light of the controversy raised about reporter impartiality and objectivity in the context of studies of media discourse, in particular those regarding the ideological stance inherent in journalism (see for example Fairclough 1995, and Van Dijk 1998). In the opinion of the authors, embedded reporting was designed to keep public opinion on the side of the US forces and "to minimise the possibility for analysis or criticism of policy, politics, or reasons for war" (Cardiff Report 2004: 22), which clearly raises some important issues about the impartiality of the media, and the media's role in moulding public opinion.

This analysis investigates stance and ideological positioning in the reports and the construction of *us* and *them*, and in unpacking the reports aims to map which particular aspects of the opposing 'sides' are depicted, and how. Several questions were explored: what does the language reveal about the extent of the objectivity, or impartiality, of the reports? What does the language reveal about ideological stance? In particular, how are the opposing sides portrayed? The Appraisal theory of Martin (2000) is used to explore these questions.

The reports may be seen to be objective according to the common-sense notion of 'true to reality' or 'factual'. The factuality of the reports is not in doubt and the reports attempt to cover both 'sides', the coalition and Iraq. Nor is there the suggestion that reporters exploited their proximity to the action to pursue personal ideologies. However, while objectivity can be considered as conveying 'facts' and reporting 'both sides' (despite the obvious difficulties inherent in doing this), there is more to the question than this. Factuality and balanced coverage should not be confused with how these reports were packaged and presented to the viewer. In discussing how journalists "maintain balance and impartiality in their coverage of news", Greatbatch (1998: 164) uses the term 'neutrality' to describe the style of reporting which makes it difficult to apply formal charges of bias or distortion. However, maintaining a 'neutralistic' stance does not guarantee that a report escapes accusations of bias. Although direct expressions of opinion may be avoided, the reporter voice is nonetheless evident, mediating and interpreting events, a presence which is constructed through the

use of various more or less obvious journalistic devices including the employment of 1st person pronouns, intensification, explicit and implicit value judgements and opinions, mental processes, and “loaded” or “non-core” vocabulary (Carter 1988, cited in Iedema *et alii* 1994). Van Dijk (1988: 84-86) also discusses the linguistic strategies which journalists can adopt to enhance the effect of propositions which they want or intend the audience to accept as true and plausible.

The picture which emerges from this corpus is the construction of a reporter voice which is largely detached from the coalition, and is not entirely impartial, in that evaluative language is used to clarify ideological stance. This linguistically constructed subjectivity thus provides a vehicle for the formation and/or consolidation of audience opinion, also allowing the development of a position, contrary to expectation, not entirely aligned with the Government pro-war stance.

2. CORPUS

This study was based on a corpus of the reports from journalists embedded with coalition forces in Iraq broadcast during the BBC 10.00 pm news, reports which were included in the Cardiff commission corpus. A comparison between BBC news services on randomly selected days also shows that most reports were recycled in several services, and were presented within a context which differed little between services. It considers the reports from journalists embedded with both American and British troops and those of one independent, or unilateral reporter.

The corpus covers a period of 28 days from 20 March to 17 April 2003, which coincided with the height of the war and immediate post-war period (there is no data for 26 March), and comprised c. 25,000 words.

Embedded reports amounted to an average of 19.7% of total news airtime. An average of 5:51 minutes of each 30 minute news service was dedicated to embedded reports, underlining the high profile attributed to them. The corpus includes 69 reports for a total of 2 hours 45 minutes 29 seconds. The single reports ranged in length from 0:43 seconds to 4:08 minutes, with an average of 2:21 minutes. About 75% of embed airtime was given to edited reports, while 25% of airtime was (purportedly) live exchanges between the reporter and studio anchor.

3. METHODOLOGY

The corpus was transferred from the original video tapes to digital audio files using *GoldWave* digital audio editor software (version 5, GoldWave Inc.). The *Voice-Walker* (version 2.0.0, 1999) digital audio transcription utility was then used to transcribe from the audio to *MS Word* format. The resulting transcription of about 25,000 words was analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively, that is by combining the two research methodologies with the aim of achieving an empirical dimension to introspection (Haarman *et alii* 2002).

The quantitative analysis, based on the framework of corpus linguistics and the use of *Wordsmith Tools* concordancing programme (version 3, M. Scott) was used as an initial approach to the large quantity of data. The corpus was compared

with corpora of newspaper editorials and reports to create keyword and comparative data, given that the quantitative analysis of any discourse type means little unless it is comparative (Partington 2004: 19).

Discourse studies in the past have made little use of corpus techniques. This may be in part due to a fear that these techniques strip language of important features of the context of production (Partington 2004: 3). This fear was echoed by Billig (1989: 206) when he pointed out that “this sort of methodology can count words, but it cannot interpret them”. However, the nascent methodology of corpus assisted discourse studies (CADS) augments the potential to refer systematically to aspects of the discourse which may otherwise be neglected, especially when dealing with large quantities of data (Partington *et alii* 2004). For instance, although the present research concerns the language and linguistic devices of the embedded report, thus concentrating on only one dimension, the further dimensions and contextual value of the image and sound in a medium such as TV cannot be ignored, and remain available to the analyst. CADS techniques permit the researcher to manoeuvre back and forth between the quantitative overview and various more detailed informational levels.

On the other hand, Wilson (1993) argued that Discourse Analysis is very thorough and comprehensive, but also very time-consuming, especially if having to deal with unwieldy quantities of data. CADS allows a dual approach, that is the possibility to move between the quantitative results and data produced by the software and the more traditional, qualitative readings of the contextualised data (Hardt-Mautner 1995: 24). The alternative view, namely restricting oneself to corpora of a limited size, leads to the objection of researcher interference in text selection and limits the scope for analysing temporal aspects. The corpus used in the present research, covering a month of reports, cannot be analysed in smaller chunks since it is a developing situation, as will be discussed below. No single chunk can be considered representative of the whole.

The qualitative analysis was concerned with the issue of impartiality, and in particular the language of Appraisal. The *SFL coder 463* software (M. O'Donnell) was used to investigate and track ideological positioning and the construction of authorial stance, within the framework of the Appraisal model of Martin (2000) and White (2000) which is, in turn, based on the Interpersonal mode of Halliday's Functional Grammar (Halliday 1994). The software makes it possible to automatically segment the text, which can then be semi-automatically coded or tagged according to a previously-established paradigm defined by the user.

The present research is part of a much wider project investigating the reporting of the Iraq war in US, Britain and also Italy.

4. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The subjectivity of authorial voice in the embedded reports can be traced by analysing the language of Appraisal (Martin 2000). The term Appraisal covers the language features used to negotiate emotions, judgements and valuations, as well as the resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations (Martin 2000: 145). The theory is based on the Systemic Functional Linguistics interpersonal mode (as outlined

by Halliday 1974), and explores how text, verbal or written, which may appear to be objective can work in favour of some values and against others, by appealing to systems of culturally determined values.

The patterns of Appraisal motifs built up through the corpus align reporters with their audience around a set of values to produce a common sense of shared ideologies. Thus, an expert reporter can unconsciously spread Appraisal meanings, or evaluative language, across the whole text, drawing the audience to a particular point of view or interpretation which will seem to be the most ‘natural’ (Butt *et alii* 1999: 121).

The value of dealing with a corpus covering a month of reports lies in being able to trace the appraisal motifs across the entire period. In this light, the Appraisal framework can be used to explore how interpersonal positioning and authorial voice are constructed in the language of embedded reports, to outline underlying value systems and the communicative strategies used to construct ‘objective’ views (White 2000).

4.1. ATTITUDINAL POSITIONING

One level of the Appraisal model, Attitudinal positioning, considers how participants and processes are assessed by reference to emotional responses or ideologies (see White 2000 for a discussion). It can be found in the words and utterances which lead to positive and/or negative evaluations of people, states of affairs and events, which in turn consolidate the ideological stance of the speaker. The reporter’s opinion and/or ideology may be explicitly stated (Explicit or Inscribed Attitude; see White 2000) or be less direct, although still evident even to a non-expert audience, by lexical choices (typically the use of adjectives or adverbs, but also inherently evaluative verbs and nouns) which guide the audience into taking a particular ideological stance.

In line with the findings of the Cardiff Commission, an overt or explicit evaluative stance, where Attitude is a feature of single words, or explicit speaker/writer opinion, appears to be largely absent from the corpus in the present study. The suggestion is not that reporters revert to devious strategies to present hidden evaluations, nor that reporters are intent upon maintaining a stance, or that evaluation is inevitably present. While ‘neutralistic’ reporting, to use Greatbatch’s (1998) term, may safeguard the reporter from claims of taking a stance, the lexical and grammatical choices made will necessarily realise a meaning (Iedema *et alii* 1994: 70).

Entire stretches of language which are presented as a factual or informative description of events without any interpretation in terms of standards of behaviour may be unpacked to reveal indirect, implicit meanings and judgments, known as tokens. These tokens are an interaction between meanings which relate to events, actions and conditions as they are seen to exist in the external ‘real’ world (Iedema *et alii*, 1994) and which can express values within a socially shared context (Implicit or Evoked Attitude). Despite an apparently factual meaning, these tokens have the capacity to evoke judgemental responses, which depend on the ideological values, and interpersonal responses of the audience and imply that the author makes similar evaluative responses to the same event.

The potential rhetorical effect of tokens is highly subject to reader position

and ideological perspective, which means that there may be as many interpretations as there are interpreters, and there may also be active resistance by the reader. It also means, as Trew (1979) pointed out, that the same event can be represented in different ways, each of which causes a different response; it is therefore the language rather than the event which triggers value judgements. Fairclough (1993: 75) underlines that meaning potential is a “complex of various overlapping and sometimes contradictory meanings”; that is, texts are open to various interpretations, although the audience will effectively reduce this range. He also argues (Fairclough 1993: 65) that ideological values are not inherent in a discourse type, however “different discourse types in different social domains or institutional settings may come to be politically or ideologically *invested* in various ways”, which, in turn, may consciously direct (or not direct) the audience.

The BBC embed reports would seem to favour a limited range of readings – questioning the coalition’s involvement in Iraq – while at the same time other readings (such as the pro-war/pro-intervention view) are disfavoured, a result which conflicts with the Cardiff Report findings. An analysis of Attitude must necessarily consider socio-cultural aspects of the context and participants, if not, it risks being incomplete or misleading (Eggins & Slade 1997: 124). What may appear as a statement of fact can incorporate attitudes which become clear only when the participants’ ideological and cultural stance is taken into consideration. Therefore this discussion of the linguistic aspects can only be considered a partial picture which must be enhanced by an analysis of the visual images and audio, from which it cannot be divorced.

In this paper, the notations of Martin and White are used. When the words “judgement” and “appreciation” refer to the technical, linguistic terms they appear in capitals, the symbol “t-” denotes a token of evoked JUDGEMENT and the symbols “+”, “-” and “?” denote positive, negative and unclear JUDGEMENT which, for clarity, have then been placed in square brackets “[]”.

5. “TAKING SIDES”

The *us/them* dichotomy is fundamental to the construction of stance in Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk 1988). In the BBC corpus, this distinction is not clear-cut, and a complex network of dichotomies becomes evident: Coalition forces vs. Iraqi army, Westerner vs. Iraqi, pro vs. anti war, UK vs. US, and possibly even BBC vs. UK Government. The reporter is embedded with *us*, but it becomes clear that he does not necessarily endorse the *us* view. Some interesting features become apparent about how the embedded reporter views the ‘sides’.

5.1. THE COALITION

The Coalition is portrayed primarily in terms of its military supremacy but also, to a limited extent, its moral fibre. The military strength can be traced in two fields of the Appraisal model, APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT, both of which are concerned with the objective ‘appraised’ rather than the subjective ‘appraiser’. However, as both White (2000) and Martin (2000) point out, the distinction between JUDGEMENT

and APPRECIATION becomes blurred when there is some ambiguity as to whether it is human behaviour being assessed or states of affairs which may be the result of that behaviour. In describing reporter partiality, these two aspects are deliberately conflated as the main concern is how the coalition is portrayed rather than whether it is behaviour or an entity which is being appraised.

Martin describes APPRECIATION as “the institutionalisation of feeling in the context of propositions” (Martin 2000: 159). It regards how the speaker reacts positively and negatively to performance, products, processes and states of affairs, and is an important attitudinal resource for reporters for it can encode personal evaluations of the content or message, in this case the coalition war ‘performance’. APPRECIATION is expressed on various levels, including grammatically, through the use of adjectives and adverbs, but also nominalization, and in the use of lexical items which encode descriptive evaluations of events (Eggins & Slade 1997: 127). Initially the military action is mainly agentless, in terms of positive APPRECIATION:

this was like the *fireworks of lethal power* (20.03.03)
this was a *charge through the desert* (21.03.03)
this was simply a *great push* (21.03.03)
Never has a mechanised force moved *so fast and so far* (22.03.03)
rocket propelled grenades and machinegun fire *just bouncing off these tanks* (20.03.03)

This positive APPRECIATION is also very often attributed to coalition commanders, e.g. *the commander...said...that progress north had been rapid and dramatic* (24.03.03). However, while the positive APPRECIATION is being undermined, the focus falls on the agents/actors and hence JUDGEMENT, both positive and negative.

Although APPRECIATION is limited to evaluation of the event, the ‘behaviour’ of the actors can be evaluated (positively or negatively) by reference to social norms and ideology, ethics or moral values (Eggins & Slade 1997: 130) in the area of JUDGEMENT. Martin (2000: 155) describes JUDGEMENT as the “institutionalisation of feeling in the context of proposals”. The language expresses criticism and praise of human behaviour as actions, deeds, beliefs and motivations (White 2000), and is closely related to social and ideological values. JUDGEMENT comprises two areas: Social Esteem (Normality, Capacity and Tenacity) and Social Sanction (Veracity and Propriety); (Iedema *et alii* 1994; also Martin 2000: 156).

In this corpus there is an interesting interplay of JUDGEMENT. It is almost entirely Implicit or Evoked, where tokens trigger a judgemental response to what appears superficially to be factual information. According to Martin’s Appraisal model, Capacity is concerned with judgments about competence and ability. The Coalition’s presence in Iraq is voiced initially in terms of its military strength and potential, although BBC reporters rarely expressed this coalition potential in terms of the forces themselves. We hear of their movements and positions rather than their actions against the Iraqis.

hundreds more British troops have been pouring in (21.03.03)
relentlessly ... forces are rolling towards Basra (22.03.03)
Americans are streaming towards Baghdad (24.03.03)
Thousands of troops positioned to the west and south (27.03.03)

This [+capacity] remains a potential military supremacy and rarely regards actual fighting. In the few cases where it does, the passive form is usually found, thus distancing the agents from the action e.g.: [*pockets of fighting*] *are dealt with quickly and efficiently* (22.03.03). Alternatively, the construction is ergative: *Position after position smashed* (27.03.03).

The recurring theme of the coalition capacity, or military potential, is not countered by any reference to Iraqi capacity. There is no binary opposition of *our* and *their* Capacity, Tenacity or Propriety. That is, the Coalition military capacity appears to exist in isolation, and thus is left open to interpretation as unjustified. The Iraqi capacity is almost entirely absent, however their [-propriety] is indirectly proposed, to a very limited extent, to justify the coalition Capacity.

Within the first few days, the initial military supremacy accorded the coalition forces quickly degenerates. The coalition's overall positive capacity is questioned from two points of view; the military and the organisational, that is the coalition's ability to impose law and order. Within day 5, the reporter voice begins to cast doubt on the coalition's attempts to instil civil order, e.g.: *The British have been trying to win hearts and minds* (25.03.03).

In the same period, the reports also reveal, again implicitly, the coalition's inability to take control of Iraq swiftly and effectively, e.g.:

In the end the Iraqis are defeated (23.03.03)

That's *not really the way the allies want* this war to go (24.03.03)

What is rapidly becoming the battle for Basra (25.03.03)

Although commanders don't like calling it a siege, *that's effectively what it's become* (27.03.03)

The Iraqis were pushed back *but not defeated*. *Neither was the city taken* (27.03.03)

And as an example of accurate insight, it is reported that: one commander said to me "get ready for a long haul, this could go on for a year or so"(24.03.03).

In the same period, the reporter uses propositions attributed to Legitimated Persons (LP), usually named military authorities, to effectively distance himself from, and hence question, the claims of [+capacity]. While the utterance is represented as true or reliable, it is not necessarily convincing, although the quoting verb "say" suggests neutrality. (White 2000). e.g.:

They say they're in charge here (22.03.03)

Americans say Iraqis no longer can coordinate any large scale attacks (04.04.03)

In other cases the reporter takes no responsibility for, or 'disendorses' (White 2000) the proposition, which is typically found in the use of quoting verbs such as "claim", e.g.:

Americans claim to have taken this town on Friday, yet 3 days later they were still facing fierce fighting here (23.03.03)

They insist they are in control (23.03.03)

At most the reporter is remaining neutral, however a sensitive reading suggests that an indication of doubt and non-acceptance is being conveyed to the audience, especially as there is no reporter or authorial responsibility for the utterance (see White's discussion of Responsibility, 2000).

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After less than a week, the view has shifted to an overt negative stance regarding the coalition’s efforts to take control. While this can be viewed as objective, or an example of ‘reporting the facts’, the implications for orienting the audience appear fairly clear. Producing a picture which passes as ‘honest reporting’ can instead become a veiled antiwar message to a primed audience. A distinctly negative stance towards coalition capacity regarding military action, is found e.g.:

It hasn’t been quick and it hasn’t been easy (22.03.03)
Still trying to crush... resistance (23.03.03)
the Iraqis were ...not defeated, neither was the city taken (27.03.03)
They admit they are nowhere near to capturing it and they’re trying to work out what to do next (28.03.03)
It’s painfully slow (29.03.03)

As Iedema (1994: 28) points out, the presumption of some knowledge and sharing of mental processes is a journalistic strategy reflecting the reporter’s interpretation of the situation, rather than a purely ‘objective’ view.

The American *nightmare* is troops getting bogged down in small-town Iraq (23.03.03)
Britain and America are *finding out* fast that this war will be no walk-over (23.03.03)
...had *hoped* there’d be an uprising (23.03.03)
They are *in a dilemma* (28.03.03)

The capacity of the coalition to impose civil order is questioned after their entry into Baghdad and Basra. The construction of supreme military strength contrasts sharply with this negative capacity.

Rather typical of the way this war is developing (27.03.03)
That is a theory, it sounds fine in theory. So far in practice it hasn’t happened, so we’re still waiting (28.03.03)
All the same the problems are still in place and the effort to sort them out has only just begun (12.04.03)
They’ve got a very long way to go before they’ve got Baghdad back to normality (14.04.03)
Dictatorship has been swept away, but ...other problems are piling up (15.04.03)
[Americans] just can’t seem to stop looting like this (16.04.03)

The coalition is also presented in terms of Propriety - the area of right and wrong, good and evil, where judgements are made according to a shared code of ethics (Eggins & Slade 1997: 131). “To comply is to be judged favourably [...] To defy [...] is to attract terms such as immoral, evil etc.” (Iedema *et alii* 1994: 201). Reporting of coalition [+propriety] is scant and restrained, compared with Capacity, and is limited to reasonable treatment of prisoners and humanitarian issues. Comments in both these areas are rarely contextualised and carry little evaluative weight, tending to remain matter-of-fact and neutral. This neutrality is however attenuated by the use of hedging. Humanitarian issues, for example, are seen in neutral terms:

the British have brought in food and water for the desperate people of Az Zubayr (31mar)
They want to bring humanitarian aid supplies in starting very soon (23.03.03)
The aim is to get humanitarian aid to the people of Basra (27.03.03)

When it comes to treatment of prisoners, the hedging, and thus reporter voice, is more evident:

Some of the wounded were treated by British troops (21.03.03)
So far [prisoners] have been given water and they'll also be given rations (22.03.03)
Some of the injured Iraqi soldiers have been treated by US medics (24.03.03)
British troops *seem* to look after [prisoners] well (22.03.03)

It is particularly clear in the following case: *They dig graves for those they've killed instead of captured.* (24.03.03), where apparent [+propriety] may be better interpreted as [-propriety].

When the effects of the war on civilians is reported, there is a shift in the coalition's [+propriety]. The situation is not presented as coalition [-propriety], but rather as civilian [+tenacity], which is discussed below.

In the construction of the 'players', we find the coalition's military potential contrasted with the [-propriety] of the Iraqi regime. However, no causal link is supplied; no attempt is made to present Iraq's [-propriety] or 'immorality', or any other aspect, as justifying the invasion in explicit terms, as discussed below. Nor is the coalition entering Iraq presented in terms of [+propriety] or 'honourable' and in the interests of the people of Iraq. There appears to be no attempt to justify the invasion in any way.

In this construction of 'sides' there is little binary opposition. The coalition's [+capacity] is not constructed against Iraqi [-capacity] in terms of 'winning'. Nor is it posited explicitly against Iraqi [-propriety] in justifying the war.

5.2. THE IRAQIS

The Iraqis are presented in a more complex system. A clear distinction emerges in the embedded reports between civilians and forces, and a further distinction is made between the "regime" (Saddam Hussein, higher political figures, and specialised forces) and "ordinary soldiers", that is the regular army, poorly equipped, and possibly being forced to fight.

The regime is portrayed very much in negative terms, while soldiers occupy a middle ground, sharing some of the negative attributes of the regime, but also some of the more morally sound attributes of civilians.

In contrast with the coalition, for fairly obvious reasons, Iraqi capacity, or military strength, is presented in the reports as an unknown entity, at most limited to a response to Coalition actions: *What hasn't come back yet is any determined Iraqi response* (20.03.03). As the war progresses, Iraqi responses are also marked positively, although only in the light of the regime: *Loyalists scoring some small successes* (28.03.03). The [+capacity] of the regime is thus acknowledged, although not presented as a response to the coalition invasion. Rather, it is reported as an extension of their [-propriety], with suggestions of 'ferocity', with its inhuman connotations: *Opposition...has been much more ferocious than had been expected* (22.03.03), and obstinacy:

The Iraqis are making any more incursions *difficult* (21.03.03)
Despite a strong bombardment Iraqi regular troops *refused* to give up (22.03.03)
They're proving very difficult to *dislodge* (30.03.03)
Fighters are still *holding out* (02.04.03)

The strongest picture emerging of the Iraqis is in terms of the [-propriety] of

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the regime – its apparent immorality and evil, although any attempt to explicitly present Iraq’s ‘immorality’ as justifying the intervention is conspicuously absent. Iraq’s [-propriety] is expressed in terms of immorality in unfair play, and the use of civilians, directly or indirectly, e.g.:

oppressing the population (24.03.03)
Using civilians as human shields (25.03.03)
civilians scattered as Iraqi fighters opened fire on them (27.03.03)
targeting their own people (27.03.03)
deliberately trying to get civilians caught in the crossfire (30.03.03).
classrooms have been turned into arsenals of weapons (01.04.03)

The regime is portrayed in negative terms, which is predictable to accompany their [-propriety]. Members of the regime are referred to as *Fanatical zealots*, *Fedayin militia diehards*, *Fighters* or *militia men loyal to Saddam*, *Regime’s security forces*, *loyalists*, *paramilitaries*, and *henchmen*, amongst others.

The distinction made between the regime and ordinary soldiers is evident in their representation and is acknowledged in the reports: *One of the principal roles of the Fedayin is to make sure that the regular army fight* (24.03.03). The term “soldiers” is used to refer to the poorly equipped regular army, who are accorded the same term “soldiers” as the coalition forces, with the word “fighter” being reserved for the regime. The reports are, on the whole, sympathetic towards soldiers, who are portrayed in terms of their [+tenacity] and [+normality]. These areas of JUDGEMENT regard an evaluation of the reliability and resolve of the target. This is the area of heroic resilience, perseverance, dependability and courage and is found only in the positive sense. These ordinary troops are an enigmatic presence and share the [?capacity] of the regime and the [+tenacity] of civilians. Their reaction to events is not judged negatively and their behaviour is reported as ‘normal under the circumstances’. For obvious reasons, their point of view is almost entirely absent (Cardiff Report p. 12), although considerable empathy is expressed. The audience is informed of these soldiers’ presumed feelings and thoughts, rather than their capacity.

Iraqis began surrendering...*no doubt relieved*...the war is over almost before it’s begun (21.03.03)
some soldiers,...came out with a white flag of surrender *nervously* giving themselves up (21.03.03)
Iraqi soldiers *trying* to desert (23.03.03)
A *sad bedraggled* bunch with no shoes and hands tied behind their backs (23.03.03)
Some Iraqi soldiers *were lucky*, an unknown number of others weren’t (27.03.03)

The corpus reveals an interesting comparison in reporter judgment of the removal of military uniform, which also contributes to the distinction between regime and soldiers. When members of the regular army desert, their behaviour is considered ‘normal’. *As for the Iraqi soldiers...some just got rid of their uniforms and hid* (10.04.03). The act of deserting is not adjudicated negatively, in fact the use of “just” implies comprehension. This contrasts sharply with the regime or specialised forces, again referred to as “fanatics” and “fighters”, who in adopting mufti are seen as conspiring in some immoral act, e.g.:

fighters are now wearing civilian clothes (28.03.03)
Streetfighters...often in civilian clothes (24.03.03)
Fanatical zealots, often dressed in civilian clothes (24.03.03)

It is interesting to note that “soldiers” *take off* their uniforms, while the “regime” *put on* civilian clothes.

The other view of Iraq we find is that of the civilians, or ordinary people. They are seen in terms of [+tenacity], that is their courage as victims (the evaluation shared with soldiers, see fig 2). The plight of civilians is recognised explicitly in the embedded reports:

Civilians appeared to be among the casualties (21.03.03)

What we are not hearing in all of this is ordinary Iraqi people. And what they make of the war intended to liberate them (27.03.03)

The innocent are getting caught in the battle (27.03.03)

Those who are suffering the most in this city are the innocent, the eternal victims of war (28.03.03)

People...have started to flee...and who can blame them. (28.03.03)

As mentioned above, the civilian situation is not presented in terms of coalition [-propriety], which would suggest that the coalition have failed in their moral obligation towards civilians, nor is there any explicit causal link between their suffering and coalition action. The reporter voice, however, is at times very clear: *[the] British insist they are trying to avoid civilian casualties, but the hospitals are filling up fast.* (27.03.03). The plight of the civilian population is also not directly attributed to Iraqi [-propriety], except for the examples cited above. Rather, the “ordinary people” are evaluated in terms of their [+tenacity]. That is, the effects of war are ‘inevitable’ and the audience is guided towards a positive evaluation of their courage; battle in general is seen as the cause of suffering. No direct causal link between civilian suffering and either the coalition or the Iraqi regime can be ascertained.

The Cardiff commission (p. 25) reports that “broadcasters *as a whole* tilted towards a depiction of the Iraqis as enthusiastic about the invasion” and that “despite the mixed reports coming from reporters on the ground, broadcasters were twice as likely to represent the Iraqi people as welcoming the invasion than as suspicious, reserved or hostile”. The corpus on which this study is based suggests otherwise: hostility and suspicion, rather than an open-armed welcome.

There was politeness here, *but little more.* (1.04.03)

The troops wave *but quite often no-one here waves back* (1.04.03)

People still have countless questions *and so far not too many answers.* (11.04.03)

They are delighted the Americans are here, *but distraught they're not intervening* to stop this mayhem. (11.04.03)

They love liberation; *they're not sure they like everything that comes with it* (12.04.03)

That *doesn't mean all of them are glad* the Americans are here (13.04.03)

In most cases the initial conjoin is countered by a contrastive (explicit or implicit) “but” where the second conjoin dampens the enthusiasm of the first. In the entire corpus there are just five cases of ‘enthusiasm’, however always fairly subdued, e.g.:

Many brought their families out *to wave* at the tank column (4.04.03)

Quiet delight that people are now living in a post Saddam world (22.03.03)

People *seem* to be losing their fear and we're getting a good reception (4.04.03)

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After the coalition’s arrival in Baghdad and Basra, and the ensuing wave of looting and civil disorder, the [+tenacity] of the ordinary people shifts towards [-propriety], coinciding with coalition [-capacity]. Civil unrest generally is attributed to the coalition’s inefficacy in controlling law and order, and the causal link is explicit, e.g.: *there seemed to be no plans at all for the peace as opposed to the war...just making it up as they go along the Americans, no plan for how to deal with the orgy of looting (17.04.03)*. The embedded reports take a poor view of looting and while the lack of policing may provide the opportunity, the reports imply that responsibility for looting lies in some ‘personal weakness’ or morally unsound behaviour, that is [-propriety].

A seething mass of people whose first instinct...is to grab everything they can (11.04.03)

It’s as though the act of acquiring is all that matters (11.04.03)

this orgy of looting (11.04.03)

looters...were still running amok and anxious to snap up the best of what’s left. (12.04.03)

The looters don’t seem very ashamed of what they’re doing. (12.04.03)

Arsonists and looters are still doing their best to burn down Baghdad (14.04.03)

6. CONCLUSION

The Cardiff report argues that no evidence was found in their study of embedded reports that supports the claims, which have been widely voiced, that the BBC coverage of the war in general took an anti-war line (Cardiff Report 27-28). However, the picture which emerges from the present research is of an anti-intervention position which seems not to follow the Government’s pro-war stance. An investigation of evaluative language used by BBC embedded reporters, in particular their construction of the parties involved, shows firstly that despite superficial objectivity and impartiality, authorial stance was evident. The ideology which became apparent does not appear to entirely coincide with the findings of the Cardiff commission. Reporters embedded with coalition troops were able to, and did, report freely; however ‘covering both sides’, that is the coalition and Iraq, (as far as it was possible) is not in itself ‘objective’, as the evaluative language shows. The findings of the present study based on the language of Appraisal outline how the ‘sides’ are portrayed, while also showing that the underlying ideology appears to be fundamentally anti-interventionist, although logically, this does mean taking a pro-Iraq stance.

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THE DE-/CONSTRUCTION OF WAR IN THE INTERNATIONAL OPINION-LEADING PRESS: THE CASE OF IRAQ (2003)

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Abstract: This article focuses on the question how did the British, German, and US-American 'quality' press present the reasons the US administration propagated to legitimate the Iraq war. Analyses of the main arguments and conceptual metaphors in connection with the respective presentation practices give initial insights into trans-/cultural genre patterns of the papers' editorials. Their prototypical antithetical repertoires tend to become increasingly persuasive, the more they deviate from worldwide opposition to the Iraq war.

Keywords: Iraq war, editorials of the quality press, Documentary Genre Analysis, interpretive explanation, arguments, metaphors.

1. OVERVIEW

A considerable amount of empirical work has already investigated media reports of single countries on specific wars. Most of the studies were published in English. Only recently did the German academic community start paying attention to this issue from a cross-cultural perspective. This is the starting point of a research project on the Iraq war which is financed by the German Foundation of Peace Research¹. Basically, the project aims at answering two main questions:

- How does the international 'opinion-leading' press of the USA (*New York Times*, *Washington Post*), of Britain (*The Independent*, *The Times*) as well as of Germany (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*) try to offer their readers a certain mode of orientation?
- In what way do the discourse cultures that are re-/produced by the respective papers create appropriate conditions for peaceful and/or martial complexes of specific practices and knowledge?

The analysis of the discourse cultures refers to news reports on the Iraq war including its pre-war and post-war phases in order to re-/construct discourse-specific genre types and patterns.

In my opinion, press discourses comprise all sorts of language-bound and pictorial presentation practices that are concerned with socio-political problems of general importance (cf. Wuthnow 1989, 1992). The textual de-/construction of the Iraq war is such a problem. From this premise follows that each text is to be understood as an intertext that relates to other texts and discourses from a synchronic as well as from a diachronic perspective (cf. Bakhtin 1986).

After having provided a brief outline of the research focus, the following sections will describe the cultural theory approach (§ 2) and its methodical operationalisa-

¹ For further information about the project see <http://www.bundesstiftung-friedensforschung.de/projektfoerderung/forschung/dirks.html>.

tion by the Documentary Genre Analysis (§ 3). Turning from the theoretical to the empirical side of the analyses, the fourth section categorises the pre-war activities in relation to their strategic functions, and the section thereafter presents the initial results of the research work in progress. The paper concludes by remarking on the long-term perspective of the project in terms of pragmalinguistic and political aspects.

2. A CULTURAL APPROACH OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA)

The research methodology is defined by a concept of a cultural theory that, to a great extent, corresponds to the CDA-description by Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak (1997: 258): With regard to the language use of the press, I consider the texts being published “as a form of social practice”. In accordance with Giddens (1984: 332-333), I refer to texts both as a medium and a product of a mutual, meaning-based relationing between structure and (written) agency (cf. “duality of structure & agency”). News language and press texts are identified as transmitters and producers of meaning with affectively loaded, pragmatic and cognitive dimensions in the context of superindividual, communicative (discourse) actions. To put this in a different way: In the process of acting journalists select and enact more or less automatically and unconsciously specific collectively shared orders of knowledge (cf. Mannheim 1952/1929: 13ff.), i.e. frames, scripts², and conceptual metaphors³. They are necessary for making sense of what goes on around us (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 185-186). In connection with a wide range of linguistic instantiations, such symbolic devices of knowledge enable journalists to develop, sustain and reproduce genre- and press-specific rules of action. Due to the dynamics of social change, the rules are always in the process of being altered: They may be transformed into new rules – which from their end are responsible for shaping new structures. Thus, every instance of political language use –mostly being a constitutive dimension of any political action– can make a significant contribution to reproducing and/or transforming social structures along with their cultural impact. Whatever patterns of meaning do arise from the language-related practices, including the application of different genres, they will help “to create a ‘common ground’ for communication between the media, the public, and policy makers” (Nerlich *et alii* 2002: 93). The symbolic and linguistic organisation of the press discourse at issue may even give us an idea of the collective ‘recipient designs’ (Schefflof & Sacks 1973), as they are assumed by the respective print medium.

The cultural heuristic is translated into three research strategies that try to

² I refer to the broader frame concept as defined by Goffman (1974) and Minsky (1980): In addition to structures of perception and lexical semantics, it comprises pragmatic contexts of experience as well. The cognitive and pragmatic features of a frame represent prototypical information, for example about its constitutive parts and functions, about its agents and sequences of action, i.e. its scripts (Abelson 1981; Schank & Abelson 1977). Whatever features are reified, they are related to each other through a complex hierarchical order.

³ “Metaphor works by appropriating one taken-for-granted field of knowledge and applying it to another” (Chilton & Schäffner 1997: 222). From a cultural perspective, this cognitive metaphorical approach –basically originating from Lakoff & Johnson (1980)– has to be supplemented by pragmatic and structural dimensions.

integrate the discourse history of the event at issue as detailed and as systematically as possible, as well as the journalists’ written practices and the rising of new text-based structural effects in the long run –an attempt that may come close to the discourse-historical method Ruth Wodak and her colleagues have developed.

- 1) For describing the socio-political history of the event at issue, it is necessary to collect all the background information available about Iraq and the warfare interests of the USA.
- 2) The second research strategy ‘*Deutendes Verstehen*’ (‘interpretive understanding’), as Max Weber (1988/1922) has coined it, aims at reconstructing the way the journalists try to define the situation (cf. Thomas 1928) – a research challenge which we also find elaborated in Ludwig Wittgenstein’s (1967) concept of ‘language game’ and ‘forms of life’, in the way he relates ‘meaning’ to use: Considering the journalists’ language use in a concrete situation gives us the opportunity to understand the meaning, the cultural frames and scripts that are included in the journalists’ texts. How do they try (here: on the basis of their news reports) to construct a match between the situation-specific exterior conditions and the interior conditions? The *exterior conditions* are analysed on behalf of the institutional rules, the cultural frames and the materialistic resources, particularly with regard to the discourse event at issue, but also the press-specific conditions (cf. the “contextual objects of adaptability”, as described by Verschueren 1995: 16) by taking into account their socio-historical development. The *inner conditions* are analysed on behalf of the (biographical) frames and scripts, the social and personal identities politicians are presented by. The way journalists frame the situations politicians are involved in usually provides explanatory cues about the politicians’ practices as well.
- 3) The third strategy that also originates from Max Weber focuses on the ‘*Ursächliche Erklären*’ (‘causal explaining’): It refers to causal-functional mutual relationships that journalists try to establish between the politicians’ practices and the effects that possibly have emerged from it. In order to follow this strategy, it is necessary to apply a theory of action and to formulate hypotheses of transformation, i.e. very cautious assumptions about the effects in relation to the action in a particular situation taking into account phenomena like ‘the invisible hand’ (Adam Smith) and ‘self-fulfilling prophecy’ (Robert K. Merton). The praxeological theory of action⁴, which I prefer, seems to come closest to the insights generated from our research data. The actions’ outcomes are of great interest, as they provide us with findings about press-specific genre types, about changes of journalists’ professionalism concerning their framing and action as well as with processes of modernisation in the political columns of the press.

To sum up the methodological side of the CDA-approach I follow, I mostly agree with the definition given, for example, by Norman Fairclough & Ruth Wodak (1997: 271) who say: “CDA is the analysis of linguistic and semiotic aspects of social processes and problems. The focus is [...] upon the partially linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures”. In my research heuristic, the social processes that are structured and enhanced by situation-bound inner and outer conditions are also understood as cultural processes, as long as the action taken results in crea-

⁴ The praxeological action approach argues that it is primarily on account of certain frames and scripts one has acquired in his or her lifetime that action is taken and certain practices are performed. Of course, the general superior goals of action like social approval, physical and mental well-being which can only be operationalised by particular ‘commodities’ (Michael & Becker 1976) may offer an explanation to the question: How come *that* action is taken one way and not the other way around (cf. Mannheim 1964: 134)? But from a praxeological point of view, the social practices being guided and accompanied by certain frames and scripts are of primary concern, because they elicit socially conventionalised (cf. scripts), interpretive and emotional knowledge (of experience) that builds the platform for the development of specific goals, expectancies, and interests (cf. Reckwitz 2003, Schütz 1972) –and not vice versa, as for example the rational choice approach and the ‘*homo oeconomicus*’ theory would argue. According to Clifford Geertz, the social practices re-/produce contingent ‘local knowledge’ that is rooted in a specific history.

tion, variation or reproduction of press-specific institutional, linguistic and semiotic rules. The cultural impact of social processes that manifests itself, for example, in particular press genres and policies can be reconstructed by contrasting analyses of the different papers from a synchronic and diachronic perspective. The outcome of this empirical work consists of the development of medium-range theories (Merton 1967; Esser 2002) that enable us to determine the borderlines of discourse cultures about the de-/construction of war with regard to a clearly defined field of research. The methodology applied for this purpose can be called a cultural theory approach.

3. THE RESEARCH METHOD: THE ‘DOCUMENTARY GENRE ANALYSIS’

The research heuristic is methodically operationalised with the help of the ‘Documentary Genre Analysis’ (Dirks 2005a). It is a synthesis of the Documentary Method (Mannheim 1964) and the Analysis of Communication Genres (Luckmann 1986, 1995). The methods comprise the analysis of three levels of meaning: the immanent meaning respectively of the inner text structure, the expressive meaning and the documentary meaning. Thus, my understanding of the modifier, ‘critical’ in the term Critical Discourse Analysis has its roots in the *first* Frankfurt School in the 1920s, when the Hungarian sociologist of knowledge, Karl Mannheim (1893-1947), lectured at the University of Frankfurt, before he had to flee from Nazi Deutschland to London. And I refer to the social constructivist school of Thomas Luckmann that is mainly associated with the sociology at the University of Constanze. An overlapping focus of the two schools is the collectively bound construction of people’s inner frames, what leads us again to the idea of cultural frames: As Mannheim pointed out in his theory of the Documentary Method, people become group members as a result of having recognised that they share the same social, very often language-related, practices with one another. This so-called “konjunktive Erkennen” (“connective recognition”, my translation) usually is triggered in a primordial way without any reflection on account of the spontaneous perception of shared practices (cf. Mannheim 1964: 133ff.). Of course, in the modern age we live in, there is (almost) never just *one* group a person belongs to, since everyone is a member of different groups at the same time. No matter which group we refer to, an outstanding feature of each group is the “konjunktive Erlebnisstrom”, the “stream of a connecting experience” (my translation) being supported and accompanied by overlapping cultural frames the group’s members like journalists or readers feel familiar with (cf. Mannheim 1980/1924: 211-213). However, it should be taken into account that group-specific cultural frames are always at risk of being fragmented and marginalised, if there are power elites who dispose of different cultural frames or if ‘new’ social practices emerge that lead to the formation of new (opinion-leading) groups. Against this background, CDA has the task to observe and document the continuous process of balancing different collective (and subjective) identities in relation to different situations and their socio-historic genesis (cf. Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 266).

In this process a journalist’s work is conceived in terms of producing texts that try to connect with the cultural frames and scripts of most of the paper’s readers. And according to the genre-based theory Luckmann has developed in the tradition of

Bakhtin and Volosinov, these texts can be regarded as somehow (proto-) typical cultural solutions for coping with (proto-) typical communicative problems on a meta-linguistic and content-based level. Whatever solution is mediated on behalf of a text, it has to fit to the respective situation and therefore can make a contribution to the social constructivist assumption of how social dis-/order is established (Günthner & Luckmann 2002: 223). From a cultural perspective (cf. § 2), this approach gives us the opportunity to determine the limits and prospects of specific meanings along with the choices and constraints of the respective written practices.

The data sample referred to in this article comprises the papers’ editorials in the pre-war phase that were published on the occasion of four *Critical Discourse Moments* (Chilton 1987)⁵ covering several days before and after the CDM at issue: the most important anti-war protests on February 15, 2003; the rather optimistic reports of the chief weapons inspector, Hans Blix, at the UN Security Council on March 5 and 7, 2003; the announcement of France and Russia on March 10, 2003 to veto against a Second UN Resolution; and the summit of the ‘coalition of the willing’ in the Azores on March 16, 2003⁶.

4. THE SITUATION OF THE PRE-WAR PHASE

Due to space constraints, I will present just a brief outline of the pre-war situation. It is structured in terms of the strategic functions as described by Chilton & Schäffner (1997: 212-3):

1. “Coercion”: The US administration has been deploying troops, tanks, and weapons in and around Iraq for about half a year. The purpose was to force Saddam Hussein to disarm totally and to guarantee the UN inspectors full access to all weapon arsenals. Almost from the beginning of the US-American threats, Prime Minister Blair has taken part in the so-called ‘coalition of the willing’.
2. “Protests”: The preparation of the Iraq war was accompanied by worldwide protests. The most important anti-war protests took place on February 15, 2003. Moreover, the governments of France, Russia, and Germany declared their opposition to war.
3. “Legitimation”/ “dissimulation”: In order to legitimise a war against Iraq, the US-American and the British Government propagated a long agenda of dissimulated information⁷ that in hindsight has become known as ‘spinning’; the so-called ‘spin-doctors’ are supposed to have published it in ‘dodgy dossiers’⁸ (cf. for example Bittner & Kleine-Brockhoff

⁵ Critical Discourse Moments function as focal points in a discourse. Characteristic features of CDMs are their highly interactive density, their lingual and pictorial construction of drama-like climaxes and a great variety of persuasive devices being elaborated in a very careful way that offers collective patterns of orientation to the respective co-communicators (cf. Chilton 1987; Dirks 1991).

⁶ Apart from other text genres of the press (front page articles, see Dirks 2005b, 2006a) that are analysed on the occasion of diverse CDMs between the first (01/2002) and the third ‘State of the Union Address’ (01/2004) of US-President George Bush, our data sample also comprises narrative interviews with selected journalists.

⁷ Some of the main documents in the spinning debate pro Iraq war are: Two threat analyses, released by the CIA in October 2002 (“National Intelligence Estimate”) and on 02/11/2003 („Worldwide Threat Briefing“), the “State of the Union Address”, held by US President Bush on 01/28/2003, and the speech of the US Secretary of State, Colin Powell, at the UN Security Council, on 02/05/2003.

⁸ e.g. Ashley (2003). Particularly the British media have highlighted the metaphorical frame “spinning“ due to first revelations about manipulated weapon reports: May 29, 2003, on Radio Four’s Today Programme, the BBC Correspondent, Andrew Gilligan, accused “spin doctors“ of the British Government,

2003: 3; *Washington Post* 22.10.2003, A27, 24.10.2003, p. 1): The ‘spinning’ concerns the alleged connections between Saddam Hussein and al Qaeda, being made responsible for the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001⁹. Saddam Hussein is accused of having tried to get hold of uranium in Africa for building nuclear weapons¹⁰. Another strategy of legitimisation refers to some ‘facts’ being put forward by the Anglo-American governments that are connected with claims about breaches with the UN resolution 1441: The Iraqi government is made responsible for having published incomplete weapons reports as well as of hiding numerous arsenals of weapons from the inspectors of the UN and the IAEA¹¹.

4. However, according to the UN-Charter (Ch. VII; Art. 2, No. 3-4), the Geneva Conventions and the constitutions of all democratic countries, none of these ‘arguments’ could justify a pre-emptive military strike, as long as the supposed weapons had not been used.

5. INITIAL RESULTS

5.1. TRANSCULTURAL GENRE PATTERNS

From the wide range of comment-specific language devices the following could be identified as prototypical transcultural dimensions of genre patterns or repertoires:

- The comments usually contain no introductory lead items. It is generally assumed that the discourse event at issue is known to the readers (cf. also Lüger 1995: 134).
- The comments are based on an argumentative core for or against war that is dominated by a specific evaluation with its respective norms. Usually, this core is supported by additional actions in terms of argumentation lines (immanent meaning) in order to create appropriate conditions for specific background ‘explanations’, opinions and attitudes to be carried through to the readers (expressive meanings). The papers’ argumentative main practices in the pre-war phase could be placed in the following positions for or against war:

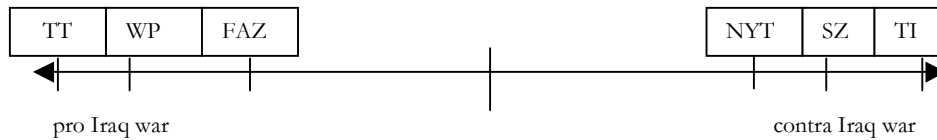
for example, of having ‘sexed up’ diverse weapon reports in order to create the impression that Saddam Hussein could mobilise WMD within 45 minutes. The preliminary climax of these revelations was the suicide of the weapons expert, David Kelly.

⁹ This claim was propagated, for example, by Colin Powell in his address to the UN Security Council on February 5, 2003 (cf. also CIA 02/11/2003). On June 16, 2003, the alleged connection between Hussein and al Qaeda was officially denounced by the US terror commission that investigated the circumstances of the attacks on 09/11.

¹⁰ Although the US diplomat Joseph Wilson who was asked by the CIA to substantiate this claim couldn’t find any evidence for it, members of the US administration seemed to ignore this finding (e.g. US President Bush in his “State-of-the-Union-Address“, 01/28/2003 and the Secretary of State, Colin Powell, in his address to the UN Security Council, February 5, 2003; cf. also CIA 10/2003). In July 2003, Wilson made his findings public; this triggered the so-called Nigergate (cf. Corn 2003). For further evaluations of different experts who unanimously come to the conclusion that Iraq did not dispose of the necessary resources for building atomic weapons, see Giessmann (2002: 35-6).

¹¹ A very detailed collection of counter-arguments and counter-proofs is enclosed in the data of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP 2004: 47ff.). The Deputy Defense Secretary, Paul Wolfowitz, was the first US-American politician who declared in an interview with the magazine *Vanity Fair* that the administration chose to focus on Saddam Hussein’s suspected weapons of mass destruction for bureaucratic reasons in the drive for war against Iraq: “The truth is that for reasons that have a lot to do with the U.S. government bureaucracy we settled on the one issue that everyone could agree on which was weapons of mass destruction as the core reason.” (<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2003/06/02/iraq/printable556471.shtml>). However, the US government took one and a half years until it completely withdrew the weapons disposal team from Iraq shortly before Christmas 2004 (*Tages-Anzeiger of Switzerland*, 14.01.05, p. 2).

Figure 1



- However, comments are mainly arranged as antithetical discussions that contain a specific selection of information in the shape of allusions and denials amounting to a monothetical, emotionally biased orientation about the discourse event, i.e. to a one-sided definition, explanation and evaluation of the issue.
- Furthermore, the paper’s preferred standpoint is formulated in the editorial. This is the place where the paper presents its proclaimed policy in line with particular political parties’ positions: Such alignments of policy frames are found for example between the WP-editorials and the Conservative Party of the USA, between the NYT and the US Democrats or between the FAZ and the conservative opposition in Germany (CDU), what can also be considered as a document for the paper’s fidelity towards the alliance partner USA¹². *The Times* has turned out to be a special case, since the paper did not treat the British Prime Minister as a member of the Labour Party, but rather as a politician who fitted well into the paper’s conservative pro-war profile, and this could easily be seen in Blair’s decision to join the US-American Iraq campaign.
- The papers’ political frame-alignment (Snow and Benford 1988) corresponds almost automatically to the construction of political outgroups whose members are usually blamed for the divide of the transatlantic alliance: The FAZ puts the blame for the rift predominantly on the German Chancellor, a Social Democrat, whereas from the US-American papers’ perspective particularly France and Russia are mentioned because of their veto threat against another UN Resolution. Although all papers –except the British *Times*– reproach the Bush administration for a too hasty war diplomacy, the liberal *Independent* is the only paper that strongly emphasises this argument without trying to neutralise or devalue it by diverting the readers’ attention towards ostensibly more important actors to be blamed.
- In contrast to editorials, (guest) comments (cf. op-eds) may contain ‘deviant’ views of less importance or a somehow risky argument giving voice to less preferred groups of interest (e.g. anti-war protesters in the FAZ and the WP). Papers like the German FAZ or the US-American WP very often include op-eds with absolutely opposing views on the situation at issue; they principally offer their readers a very heterogeneous range of opinions.

5.2. MAIN ARGUMENTS AND CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN THE PRE-WAR PHASE

The following survey presents the main lines of reasoning that prevail in the wake of the Iraq war. They convey the immanent and expressive levels of meaning¹³:

¹² Transgressing the immanent and expressive meanings of the comments towards their documentary impact it seems that particularly the WP and FAZ rather function as substitutes of and proponents for specific political positions to which they react and which they shape at the same time by creating ‘appropriate’ legitimising strategies.

¹³ The arguments have been analysed with the help of Toulmin’s (1958/1995) and Lüger’s (1995, 2002) methodical approaches as detailed as possible (cf. Dirks 2005a, 2006b). The different dimensions of each line of argumentation are put in square brackets. The extract of the main argumentations in the table is a result of minimal and maximal contrasting procedures (cf. Strauss & Corbin 1998) between each paper’s editorials as well as between the papers’ positions on the occasion of each CDM and between the CDM’s, taking as a preliminary terminus the beginning of the war. The arguments of the British press have been analysed in cooperation with Anne Schmidt (cf. Dirks 2006b).

Table 1: Main arguments in the pre-war phase

<i>Paper</i>	<i>Main lines of argumentation in the wake of the Iraq war</i>
All papers, except TT:	The divide in the Western alliance must be overcome as fast as possible [claim], because only a stable alliance is strong enough to guarantee democratic rules and security in the world [data].
The Times (TT, GB)	Above all, due to Hussein's possession of banned poisons and illicit nuclear materials that are well hidden and therefore will not be revealed, but also on behalf of the necessity to rescue the Iraqi people from a "particular vile dictator" (rescue frame) and because of "Iraqi intransigence and French posturing" that have repeatedly humiliated the UN and Britain [data], Britain doesn't need a "new legal basis for going to war" [claim], not least, because there is no chance of reaching a mutual consent with the European allies [warrant]. Moreover, the members of the UN Security Council have to be blamed for their "fruitless bickering" [backing].
Washington Post (WP)	As the "tyrant" Saddam Hussein rejected a "final opportunity" to disarm, as the United States feel directly threatened by Iraq due to 9/11, as Hussein's "illegal arsenal of weapons" and "his brutal regime" have threatened and destabilized the Middle East for two decades, as "military action" does not need approval of the UN, as France and Russia have hindered the Security Council from "act(ing) effectively" seeking to check "the United States' unrivaled power in the world" [data], waging a war (in order to disarm Iraq, to replace its regime and to "liberate the Iraqi people") is fully justified [claim] ¹⁴ , although Mr. Bush's "accelerated timetable" missed the chance of gaining more international support which his war aims would have deserved, although it is not clear, if the US can afford the war's costs and although there are many risks including that the "dictator" will "use his horrific weapons" [rebuttal].
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)	Due to September 11 documenting America's vulnerability, due to the WMD the "dictator" Saddam Hussein "disposes of or tries to get hold of", due to the US-American project of "establishing a new world order", but also due to the German and French governments' failure to reach common diplomatic ground with the US administration [data 1], the USA is about to wage a pre-emptive war of deterrence [claim 1 = data 2], although the US president was not able to explain to the world the necessity of a war and although high risks are at stake (negative prognostic framing ¹⁵), particularly a perpetuation of Islamic terrorist acts against Western countries [rebuttal], as neither any Muslim state nor the UN Council of Security support this war [warrant 1]. Once war has started [data 3], all we can do, is to hope for a quick end, to work towards a reconciliation of Europe and NATO and to re-stabilise the authority of the UN Security Council [claim 2], in order to secure safety and well-being for everybody [warrant 2].
New York Times (NYT)	War against Iraq can not be justified "without broad international support" [claim], as there is no proof for any connections between al Qaeda and Saddam Hussein, as there is a "vital need to disarm Iraq" [data], although "Mr. Bush's bellicose rhetoric" overstates the Iraqi threat [rebuttal], as diplomatic pressure has not fully been exerted on Iraq, as the UN will not support the war as long as the weapons inspectors have not been given enough time, and as "the concerns of friends" (the Atlantic alliance) about the "war resolution", even "the French intransigent opposition", should not be dismissed, as Mr. Bush "may be able to win a military victory against Saddam Hussein", but will need foreign assistance to rebuild Iraq [data], . Otherwise, "the rupture in the UN Security Council [data2] could lead to a serious breakdown in the system of collective security." [claim2]

¹⁴ Since 09/11/2001 the WP's editorials and op-editorials (guest comments that are supposed to express opinions beyond the mainstream; cf. Rendall 2001) have been analysed in a couple of studies. All of them come to the conclusion that the WP is in favour of waging a war against Iraq (cf. Massing 2002, Gitlin 2003, Rendall 2001).

¹⁵ cf. Snow and Benford (1988: 199).

“The de-/construction of war in international opinion-leading press: The case of Iraq (2003)”

Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)	As there don't seem to be any logically grounded reasons for the Iraq war (due to Bush's imperialistic and obsessive intention to topple Saddam Hussein in order to eliminate the alleged evil and to install a new regime), as most of the US-American allies and even the most important three European allies are opposed to it, as the Iraq crisis has turned into a threat to the Western community of values, as an invasion would bear great risks with probably worldwide effects on stability and security, and as the US-American troops cannot just be withdrawn without causing more terror (negative prognostic framing) [data], the war should not be conducted [claim], unless the UN and the Western allies have agreed upon a strategy in coping with the disarmament of Iraq that is justified by internationally sanctioned laws and would allow military force only as the ultimate option [rebuttal].
The Independent (IT)	The Iraq war should be averted at any cost [claim], as the international community hasn't sanctioned it and a rift in the transatlantic alliance and the UN is too high a price in the long run (negative prognostic framing of war by the 'cost benefit'-metaphor), as the disarmament of Iraq could be accomplished through more time for inspections and diplomacy, as war constitutes a failure of potentially catastrophic effects (e.g. the COST in Arab resentment and global insecurity), as there has been no proof of a connection between Saddam Hussein and al Qaeda, and as the US-American intention to topple Saddam Hussein in order to impose a new world order in Iraq seems to be an obsession that is solely enhanced by President Bush's "bullying, harsh and intemperate rhetoric" [data].

5.2.1. The mostly shared argument

The strong commitment of almost all newspapers to the cohesion of the transatlantic alliance (and the UN Council) at any price quite often is supported by appeals to prevent the ALLIANCE (AS BUILDING) from being *ruptured* and the UN DIPLOMACY (AS PERSON) from being *injured* (e.g. “died”, “the casualty”, “fatal breakdown” etc.). In addition, the German papers use creative metaphors like “diplomatic GAU” (“worst-case scenario”, FAZ 12.03.03, p. 1) or “geo-political earthquake” (SZ, 07.03.3, p. 4) that draw from the source domain of a worldwide natural catastrophe or escalation trying to illustrate the dramatic documentary meaning of the issue at stake.

5.2.2. Selective adaptations and omissions of the US-American spin

As we can gather from the arguments presented in the table above, the editorials of US-American and German papers include a wide variety of different ‘spinning’ arguments in favour of or in opposition to the Iraq war. The British papers rather react to the agenda setting of the British government, i.e. to the alleged threat of the Iraqi WMD –an argument that is repeatedly questioned by *The Independent* and that is mostly taken for granted in the other papers¹⁶. If we contrast the reasoning of the US-American and British governments (cf. § 4) with the editorials’ arguments, we find ar-

¹⁶ As not even one year after the Iraq war any of the WMD was revealed and since the poor quality of the ‘evidence’ ostensibly proving their existence came under increasing public debate, the NYT and the WP apologised to their readers for not having re-examined more carefully the allegations of the US government and of Iraqi defectors, although the papers’ editors knew that the information on WMD was controversial (NYT 26.05.2004, A10; WP 12.08.2004, front page).

ticles that simply reproduce parts of the official ‘spinning’ (WP, FAZ, NYT; TT: highlights moralistic, pre-modern frames of honour) or try to de-construct the ‘spinning’ with the help of counter-‘spinning’ arguments (TI, SZ, NYT). Moreover, all newspaper editors implement strategies of ‘de-topicalisation’ that to some extent ignore the official agenda of arguments, not least due to its diversity and controversial quality.

5.2.3. *The action theory applied in the editorials*

With the exception of the British *Times*, that observes and tries to take part in politics with the help of a rather situationist and interactionist action theory, all papers are somehow dedicated to a rational choice action theory that tries to position political actors in the context of particular interest groups with clear-cut goals (here: security, though at different prices) that have to consider the contingencies and unforeseeable long-term effects of any political action (e.g. “divisions in the Security Council ... benefit only Mr. Hussein.” NYT 07.03.03, A26). The way journalists seem to define and propose politicians’ actions in most cases is framed by the ‘cost benefit’- metaphor and its underlying structural metaphor POLITICS AS BUSINESS. In spite of this similarity, there is a significant difference in the papers’ coping with the contingencies of the political business: On the one side, the risks at stake (i.e. the potential *costs* in contrast to the chances, the potential *benefits*) are connected with arguments against waging a war being embedded in deontic modalities (e.g. The “great *mismatch* between *chances* and *risks* [with regard to the Iraq war] *should* encourage logically minded politicians to yield and to pursue a de-escalation.” SZ 03.03.03); at the same time, the editors of the respective papers SZ, NYT and TI acknowledge that Iraq would have never made any concessions of disarming (cf. a first benefit), if American troops were not massed near Iraq’s border and had not caused such an escalation (cf. costs). This argument can be interpreted as a face-saving act¹⁷ towards the US-American government that the three papers repeatedly urge instead of “simply going through the motions of diplomacy” to engage in serious diplomacy and to accept a solution of the Iraq crisis –e.g. total disarmament, but no war and regime change; this would enable all member states of the transatlantic alliance to agree without losing face (TI, NYT, SZ). On the other side, the potential of negative effects is hardly mentioned (WP) and/or played down by highlighting the intended positive effects, like the democratisation of Iraq and its liberation from the evil (“But Iraqis ... have much to *gain* from the downfall of a tyrant guilty of ...” WP 18.03.03, A28, cf. FAZ; TT: face-saving act).

5.2.4. *The strategy of personalisation*

Most of the papers’ comments are centred on personalised arguments (cf. the STATE-AS-PERSON-METAPHOR, see Lakoff 1992: 467ff.; 2003) and cognitive fa-

¹⁷ ‘Saving face’ (Brown & Levinson 1987: 61-2) symbolises people’s interest in maintaining a ‘commodity’ (cf. note 4) about the way of defending one’s identity, but also with the aim of reaching social approval and of gaining a personal benefit from it. In contrast, face threatening acts bear the risks of causing high (personal) costs.

llacies of perception (e.g. "The anti-war protesters imagined what consequences a war would ensue ..." SZ ed., 17.02.03, p. 4; "The moment of truth will probably come within a few days. That is clear to Saddam He is clearly hoping that clan loyalty ... will put up a dogged last-ditch stand." TT 17.03.03, p. 19) that enhance the emotionality of the meaning-based genre. The respective reasoning is based on ingroup/ out-group constructions that are coded with the help of contrasting norms legitimising or delegitimising the paper's standpoint. Some prototypical items are found in the WP coping with the CDM 'anti-war protests Febr. 2003' and in particularly stereotypical attributes of friends/ enemies: moral/ immoral, right/ wrong, "power politics" vs. "politics of sentiment", representing 'the good' vs. being responsible for the evil' (e.g. anti-war protesters are to blame for the sorrow of the Iraqi people). This binary constellation also includes the deconstruction and re-semantisation of notions like "morality" for warriors, "reactionary" for anti-war protesters etc. (cf. Dirks 2005a, 2006b).

5.2.5. *The conceptual metaphors in relation to pro- and anti-war positions*

The papers' legitimation strategies for or against a war correspond with the following conceptual metaphors that accompany and focus on particular facets of the arguments' documentary meaning impact:

Table 2: conceptual metaphors

<i>In favour of the Iraq war:</i>	<i>Against the Iraq war:</i>
	THE TRANSATLANTIC INGROUP AS A CONTAINER/BUILDING, COHESION IS UP IN THE TRANSATLANTIC BUILDING making it secure and strong (TI, SZ, NYT, FAZ, WP)
DIPLOMACY AS a DEADEND (TI)	DIPLOMACY AS A JOURNEY (TI, SZ, NYT, FAZ, WP)
	POLITICS IS rationally calculated long-term BUSINESS (cf. the 'cost benefit'- metaphor for a too risky calculation of possible gains and losses; all papers except TI), NOT A RISKY GAME (SZ, TI, also FAZ)
	POLITICAL ACTION IN TERMS OF THE ANTAGONISTIC, MOSTLY IRRATIONAL 'STATE-AS-PERSON' METAPHOR IS DOWN (SZ, TI)
ANY ACTION OF GOOD GUYS AGAINST BAD GUYS IS RIGHT: the 'just war' concept, DISARMAMENT OF A ROGUE STATE IS GOOD (TT, WP)	POLITICS AS LEGAL ACTION, PEACE AS DEMOCRATIC RULES OF SOCIAL ORDER, NOT OF SOCIAL DISORDER, i.e. OF WAR (SZ).
NATIONAL MORAL IS UP: Face-threatening acts cannot be accepted (TT).	

At first glance, it is surprising that there are so few conceptual metaphors clearly in favour of the Iraq war. Although the WP and the FAZ are not opposed to war, they rather consider it as an issue of appropriate timing that should not be ratified, unless the Western alliance supports it. In this antithetical discussion they share some of the conceptual metaphors with the other papers that do not support the Iraq war (particularly with regard to the Western allies). The orientational metaphor PEACE IS UP/PACIFISM IS DOWN is elaborated by most newspapers only once on the occasion of the anti-war protests in mid-February 2003 and therefore it is omitted

from the table above. Once war has started, most papers take it as a *fait accompli* that cannot be averted (anymore), but should come to a quick end with as little harm as possible. The German FAZ is one of the first papers that applies the concept POLITICS AS A RISKY GAME MUST COME TO AN END.

5.2.6. Domestic framings

The language devices applied usually are closely connected with domestic framings¹⁸: They are used to draw a borderline to virtually ‘foreign’ perspectives that are regarded as strange and deviant from the editors’ constructions of the reality of ‘Iraq’ and/or of one’s own country. The domestic framing is supported by the conceptual metaphors NATIONAL MORAL IS UP, INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IS BUSINESS WITH NATIONAL GAINS, SECURITY AS INTER-/NATIONAL CONTAINMENT. In some cases, it is backed by an historical identity framing (cf. Eilders & Lüter 2002: 107ff.): The FAZ reminds its readers of the belated international interventions against Hitler, the WP appeals to the myth of liberty which can be identified as one of the main ingredients of the American Dream. A characteristic feature of the ‘cost benefit’-analyses being performed in these frames is their under-complexity and the dramatisation of the selected argumentation items, particularly with regard to the US-American or inter-/national security interests and the definition of the situation in Iraq.

The dichotomies and domestic framings can be performed by a juxtaposition of separate discourse units in the same comment (WP), by superlative and relative attributes; by literary hybridisations or by quotations originating from famous authors (FAZ) (immanent meaning level).

5.2.7. Persuasive language patterns

Generally speaking, in the pre-war phase we can observe that the papers being in favour of the Iraq war (particularly the British *Times*, the German *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and the US-American *Washington Post*) take a much greater effort in applying persuasive language devices than the other papers. One main part of this practice includes the usage of multiple puns in the comments’ titles¹⁹ to avoid over-revealing references: There are metaphors and/ or other elliptic figures that may flout prototypical expectancies and cannot be understood, unless the comments are read and the writers’ beliefs are decoded (for such headings see for example “Sound and Fury”, WP 15.02.03, A32; “Immorality on the March”, WP op-ed, 19.02.03, A29; “‘Drumbeat’ on Iraq? A Response to Readers”, WP, 27.02.03, A26; “Geistige Schutz-zollpolitik” with regard to the anti-war protests, FAZ 21.02.03, p. 1; “Clear the Decks”, TT 17.03.03, p. 19; “Time to Choose” referring to the UN-Resolution 1441

¹⁸ Domestic framings are quite a familiar feature of media constructions about international interdependencies, either with regard to political news in general or war reports in particular (cf. e.g. Noakes 1998; Jaeger 2002; Cockburn 1998; Coles 2002).

¹⁹ For more details about the functions of headings see Hodgson (1998: 125).

the Security Council has to uphold, TT 13.03.03, p. 23). In opposition to the verbal sabre rattling of the London *Times* and the WP, the headings of the SZ-editorial ("Die neue Friedensbewegung"/"The new peace movement", 17.02.03, p. 4), and of the NYT-editorials ("Reuniting the Security Council", 18.02.03, A22; "The Coalition of the Willing", 19.02.03, A24) are rather descriptive and information-based. The *Independent* proceeds in a similar vein by declaring even its argumentative main action in the editorials' headings (e.g. "A second UN resolution should set final deadlines rather than authorise war", 06.03.03, A3; "A divided world stands on the brink of a war that could have been avoided", 18.03.03, A0; "After all the doubts, only one aim can justify this war: freedom for the Iraqi people", 21.03.03, A12).

Whether the persuasive devices belong to a general 'habit' of the papers in international conflict situations and therefore could be identified as genre patterns of editorials, is a question that will be answered in the process of contrasting further CDM-related findings. Drawing on a bridging hypothesis, all that can be assumed at the moment is that editors who share a minority or very controversial position (cf. the political constellations between a few countries being in favour of the Iraq war and the international majority of anti-war positions) obviously try to gain their readers' acceptance by applying more persuasive language techniques than editors from different papers, who do not need to defend a standpoint that matches with widely accepted opportunity structures in the public opinion-making. The following language devices seem to bear a comprehensively persuasive impact:

- Emphasis on domestic framings that presuppose or entail the making or caring of a national joint-interest group,
- Personalisation of lines of argumentation with the help of blaming strategies and adversary images (Saddam Hussein as the reincarnation of 'the evil'), closely connected with highly dramatised tales that try to legitimate the waging of a just war; extension of out-group formations to the anti-war movement being labeled by negative stereotypes, being 'de-topicalised' or ridiculed because of its allegedly narrow-minded goals (EMANCIPATION IS DOWN; part. WP, TT),
- Absolutely elliptic diagnostic framings (Snow and Benford 1988) of the political and military situation in Iraq as well as of the US-American war aims that in hindsight have proved to be part of short-cut argumentations relying on dubious evidence (see also note 16),
- Omission or highly selective prognostic framings with regard to the outcomes of the Iraq war (one-sided 'cost benefit'-analyses).

6. CONCLUSION

As we proceed in our research work the above stated trans-/ cultural genre patterns or repertoires will continue being substantiated and, if necessary, reshaped. In this context it is of the greatest interest, how changing circumstances – like the dissimulation of spinning arguments – have an impact on the editors' evaluations of the Iraq war and, as a consequence, on the linguistic devices applied. This focus of attention aims at calibrating the media's potentials in terms of a "modern form of reflexivity" (Giddens 1991) that could provide us with "a greater level of conscious intervention to control and shape language practices in accordance with economic, political and institutional objectives" (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 260). In other words: the "analytic act" could be transformed into "a political act [because]: Awareness matters. Being able to articulate what is going on can change what is going on – at least in the long run" (Lakoff 2003). Apart from the direct interpretative insights gained through

the research project and hopefully its political impact, this work aims at bridging the divide between linguistics and cultural studies.

ABBREVIATIONS

CDM	Critical Discourse Moment
FAZ:	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
NYT:	New York Times
SZ:	Süddeutsche Zeitung
TE:	The Independent
TT:	The Times
WMD:	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WP:	Washington Post

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LA INVASIÓN ANGLOSAJONA A IRAK EN EL DISCURSO DE LOS MEDIOS IMPRESOS BRASILEROS

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Resumen: En este artículo, hago un análisis crítico de dos textos periodísticos brasileños, publicados por las revistas *Veja* e *Istoé*, en febrero y abril de 2003 respectivamente, a propósito de la cobertura de la preparación y de la invasión anglosajona a Irak. Propongo un análisis ideológico del funcionamiento de la intertextualidad en los textos periodísticos, según Fairclough (2001), Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999) y Thompson (2002a, 2002b).

Palabras-clave: análisis crítico del discurso; discursos periodísticos brasileños; invasión anglosajona a Irak; intertextualidad; ideología.

Abstract: In this article, I critically analyse two Brazilian journalistic texts, published by *Veja* and *Istoé* magazines in February and April of 2003 respectively, concerning the coverage on the preparation and Anglo-Saxon invasion in Iraq. I suggest an ideological analysis of the functioning of the intertextuality in both texts, according to Fairclough (2001), Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999) and Thompson (2002a, 2002b).

Keywords: critical discourse analysis; Brazilian journalistic discourses; U.S-Iraqi invasion; intertextuality; ideology.

1. LAS PRÁCTICAS SOCIALES EN LA COMPLEJIDAD MODERNA

Las prácticas sociales están compuestas por momentos discursivos y no discursivos en articulación, que se refiere al hecho que todos los elementos de lo social continuamente entran en relaciones mutables unos con los otros, con el discurso desempeñando un papel clave en la constitución de esas relaciones. De esta forma, el papel de la articulación² es fundamental para la permanencia, instauración o transformación del poder hegemónico, hecho por agentes. La compleja articulación entre discurso y otros momentos de la práctica social, por ejemplo, es visualizada en los elementos internos del discurso –como las elecciones de las voces– los cuales se articulan en una relativa permanencia y pueden ser transformados.

Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999: 22) destacan que, en las sociedades modernas, las prácticas acostumbran a ser altamente complejas en sus formas y relaciones sociales de producción, y son, generalmente, organizadas a través de grandes distancias de tiempo y espacio. La práctica que se analiza en este trabajo se enmarca en esa complejidad moderna. Se trata de la interacción denominada por Thompson (2002b: 79) de “casi-interacción mediada”, que se refiere a las relaciones sociales establecidas

¹ El presente trabajo fue realizado con el apoyo del Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico y Tecnológico - CNPq – Brasil.

² *Articulación* se refiere a “toda práctica que establece una relación tal entre elementos, que la identidad de éstos resulta modificada como resultado de esa práctica” (Laclau & Mouffe 2004: 142-3).

por los medios de comunicación de masa.

La práctica social particular es la de la prensa brasilera, en que profesionales de la información aplican recursos simbólicos en la producción y distribución de la noticia sobre un conflicto en el Oriente. Esa producción simbólica implica disposiciones particulares de los sujetos envueltos en la actividad, cuyas experiencias, conocimientos o creencias son internalizados por el discurso.

2. EL PROBLEMA Y LA COYUNTURA

El problema discursivo, aquí tratado, se refiere, tanto a la actividad material de informar a la sociedad cuanto a la cuestión de la actividad reflexiva del ciudadano que participa de esa casi-interacción mediada, el cual muchas veces es privado de un debate esclarecedor, por ejemplo, sobre la asimetría de poder entre los grupos políticos de Irak y los de EUA y aliados, como también sobre la cuestión que la identidad (como la del “terrorista”) es una construcción en el terreno de la lucha por el poder.

Las prácticas que ahora analizamos se localizan en la sociedad en red. Según Castells (2001: 17), esa sociedad se caracteriza por la globalización de las actividades económicas; por su forma de organización en redes; por la flexibilidad e inestabilidad del empleo e individualización de la mano de obra; por una cultura de virtualidad real y por la transformación de las bases materiales de la vida —el tiempo y el espacio— mediante la creación de un espacio de flujos y de un tiempo intemporal como expresiones de las actividades y elites dominantes.

En ese escenario globalizante, surgen antagonismos originados de la lucha simbólica por la construcción de la identidad. La modernización globalizada que el proyecto neoliberal occidental propone no es aceptado por algunos pueblos musulmanes y significa, para muchos, la degradación de la cultura de ese pueblo. En esa tentativa de luchar por la identidad propia en un mundo casi padronizado por estilos de vida creados por occidente, surge la identidad defensiva del fundamentalista musulmán.

Por tanto, la coyuntura en que se ejecuta la invasión bélica a Irak, que envuelve muchas prácticas e intereses de las elites mundiales, como los EUA; de las prácticas e intereses de los que se opusieron a la guerra, como pacifistas, multilateralistas, anti-americanos, y la oposición internacional liderada por Francia y por la Federación Rusa; y el movimiento social islámico, que surge como una reacción contra la modernización intangible (capitalista o socialista), los efectos negativos de la globalización y el colapso de proyecto nacionalista pos-colonial (Castells 2001: 35).

La invasión a Irak fue una respuesta tiránica de los EUA a la acción defensiva de los fundamentalistas islámicos en 2001 contra los principales símbolos del poder económico, político e militar de los EUA (Demant 2004: 289). Aún en 2001, los EUA persiguieron a los seguidores de la al-Qaeda en Afganistán y destruyeron sus campos; en febrero 2003, los EUA acusaron a Irak de conspiración con fundamentalistas musulmanes, la administración de Bush insistió en un cambio del régimen político en Irak y, en marzo, se dio inicio a la invasión anglosajona. Los textos periodísticos brasileños reflejan esa intrincada lucha hegemónica entre lo local – global, inherente a las prácticas sociales en cuestión.

3. EL ANÁLISIS DE LA INTERTEXTUALIDAD

A continuación, intentaré identificar en los textos marcas de articulación de esas prácticas y de los momentos en el discurso de la prensa brasileña por medio del análisis de la internalización de la ideología dominante o resistencia a ella, según Thompson (2002a), y del análisis de la intertextualidad manifiesta, según Fairclough (2001).

El estudio de Thompson (2002a: 81) sobre los modos por los cuales la ideología opera auxilia a análisis del grado de internalización de la ideología dominante en las formas simbólicas, ocasionada por la articulación de las prácticas sociales. De esta forma, es posible detectar en la intertextualidad, como propuso, construcciones semióticas al servicio del poder hegemónico o al servicio de la superación de la asimetría de poder, de que hoy sufre el grupo político medio oriental. Primero propongo presentar y analizar el reportaje *El Califato del Miedo*, publicada por *Veja* seguido de *Bush da las Cartas*, publicado por *Istoé*.

El termino intertextualidad está siendo usado aquí como Fairclough (2001: 114) lo define:

[...] la propiedad que tienen los textos de estar llenos de fragmentos de otros textos, que pueden ser delimitados explícitamente y que el texto puede asimilar, contradecir, hacer eco de él irónicamente, y así por delante.

Ese es un campo muy rico para el Análisis del Discurso Crítica porque posibilita el acceso a la articulación entre las prácticas sociales y entre sus momentos en determinado evento discursivo. Las marcas explícitas analizadas en este trabajo se reducen al uso de las comillas; de la presuposición; de la ironía y de la representación del discurso.

El título del reportaje *O Califado do Medo (El Califato del Miedo)* nos muestra dos *modus operandi* de la ideología y una marca de intertextualidad. *O Califado*³ (*El Califato*) sustentado por una supuesta opresión religiosa en Irak es representado como existencial y naturalizado, por medio del uso del artículo definido, que acciona una presunción, un conocimiento tomado como tácito. El título suministra indicios de una racionalización que buscará legitimar la guerra de Bush contra Saddam, además de la creación de un enemigo a ser combatido por medio de esa racionalización.

En los moldes de Thompson (2002a: 81), el locutor, por medio del modo general de operación de la ideología de la legitimación, emplea una estrategia de construcción simbólica denominada racionalización, a través de la cual se construye una cadena de raciocinio que procura defender o justificar la guerra y, así, persuadir a la audiencia que ella es digna de apoyo.

En otro *modus operandi*, la fragmentación, el locutor construye un enemigo externo, que es retratado como malo, peligroso y amenazador y contra el cual los individuos son llamados a luchar. La representación del discurso de autoridades en este texto es utilizada por el locutor para garantizar la validez de la construcción de la

³ *Khalifa*: representante del Profeta después de su muerte, que combina las funciones religiosa y política de la comunidad musulmana (Demant 2004: 393).

racionalización favorable a la guerra. Como en el siguiente párrafo:

- (1) **O ditador** tirou proveito dos doze anos de sanções econômicas internacionais para contrabandear petróleo e ampliar **ainda** mais **sua fortuna, estimada em 6 bilhões de dólares pela revista americana Forbes**, que anualmente publica uma lista dos homens mais ricos do mundo (p.68).
(*El dictador sacó provecho de los doce años de sanciones económicas internacionales para contrabandear petróleo y ampliar aún mas su fortuna, estimada en 6 billones de dólares por la revista americana Forbes, que anualmente publica una lista de los hombres más ricos del mundo*).

La intertextualidad manifiesta está presente en la presuposición que Saddam es un dictador y que posee una amplia fortuna y también en la representación del discurso de autoridad de la revista *Forbes*. El locutor parece que se posiciona imparcialmente, pero apenas encuentra apoyo en la voz del otro para defender sus propias opiniones. Se nota el *modus operandi* de la fragmentación por diferenciación, cuando el locutor enfatiza distinciones y divisiones económicas entre los iraquíes. Esa estrategia de construcción simbólica desune los iraquíes, fragilizándolos y descalificándolos.

El pasaje (2),

- (2) **Relatos** recolhidos pelo Comitê contra a Repressão e pelos Direitos Humanos no Iraque, organização de **dissidentes iraquianos** com sede em Londres, **mostram** a existência de um comportamento-padrão (p.68)
(*Relatos recogidos por el Comité contra a Represión y por los Derechos Humanos en Irak, organización de **dissidentes iraquíes** con sede en Londres, **muestran** la existencia de un comportamiento-padrón*),

también operacionaliza la diferenciación, cuando cita la presencia de disidentes, y utiliza un argumento de autoridad inanimada de relatos que *muestran* que lo que el locutor enuncia es verdad, por medio de una afirmación. El desplazamiento y el tropo en forma metafórica, estrategias del *modus operandi* de la disimulación, pueden ser percibidos en el próximo pasaje, bien como la nominalización/ pasivización, estrategia característica del modo general de la reificación:

- (3) Em nenhum momento é permitido ver o corpo da vítima. O atestado de óbito pode indicar queimadura, afogamento ou qualquer outro tipo de **'acidente'** como causa da morte. **O envenenamento** com tálho ou chumbo **foi comprovado** em vários casos. Para manter **essa máquina de horror** azeitada, o regime conta com o **aparato repressivo mais sofisticado do planeta** (p.70).
(*En ningún momento es permitido ver el cuerpo de la víctima. El certificado de muerte puede indicar quemadura, ahogamiento o cualquier otro tipo de "accidente" como causa de la muerte. **El envenenamiento** con talio o chumbo **fue comprobado** en varios casos. Para mantener **esa máquina de horror** aceptada, el regime contra con el **aparato represivo mas sofisticado del planeta**).*

El desplazamiento consiste en el empleo de un termino utilizado de forma común para referirse a un determinado objeto o persona, para referirse a algún otro. Es de conocimiento público que los EUA mantienen presencia militar en todo el mundo. Johnson (2000: 04) afirma que centenas de millares de soldados norte-americanos, equipados con el armamento mas avanzado del mundo, incluyendo, a veces, armas nucleares, están basados en mas de sesenta y un complejos militares en diez y nueve países de todo el mundo. Siendo así, el país que cuesta con el aparato represivo mas

sofisticado del planeta no es Irak.

El tropo consiste en un uso figurativo de las formas simbólicas para disimular relaciones de dominación. En el caso de la metáfora *esa máquina de horror*, los gobernantes de Irak son representados como poseedores de características negativas, pero que son abiertamente contestables. Además de tratarse de un caso de presuposición, según el cual el gobierno de Irak es amenazador y un riesgo para la humanidad, como lo quiere el presidente de los EUA. Mientras, los EUA son, reconocidamente, el mayor asesino de encarcelados del mundo democrático.

La reificación es un modo general que consiste en la eliminación o ofuscación del carácter socio-histórico de los fenómenos. Ese puede ser expresado por la nominalización y por la pasivización, que apagan los actores y la acción y tienden a representar procesos como cosas o acontecimientos que ocurren en la ausencia de un sujeto que produce esas cosas. La frase “*El envenenamiento con talio o chumbo fue comprobado en varios casos*” contiene la presuposición de que los gobernantes de Irak natural y constantemente envenenan ciudadanos iraquíes, y dos estrategias que eliminan el carácter socio-histórico de los procesos de *envenenar* y *comprobar* y presentarlos como permanentes, recurrentes y naturalizados en la política iraquiana.

Un último recurso lingüístico de ese pasaje para ser comentado es la presencia de la ironía. El locutor atribuye el discursos a la supuesta voz de Saddam (*‘accidente’*) y la distancia de suya propia voz a través del uso de comillas y de la falta de combinación entre el significado aparente y el contexto situacional, de la manera a marcar la baja afinidad del anunciador con el punto de vista que presenta.

Thompson (2002a: 91) distingue las formas simbólicas ideológicas de las formas simbólicas contestatarias y considera de igual importancia el estudio de esas últimas. Al contrario de aceptar pasivamente las formas ideológicas y la relación de dominación que ellas intentan sustentar, la revista *Istoé* contesta, denuncia esas formas y relaciones; las ridiculiza e intenta desechar la fuerza de las expresiones ideológicas.

Las voces de los gobernantes de los EUA son contestadas en la materia periodística *Bush dá as Cartas (Bush da las Cartas)*. El título de la materia desafía el tropo utilizado por George Bush para definir el silencio de Saddam como respuesta a las amenazas de ataque bélico, descalificando la guerra. Las *cartas* del título critican la metáfora de Bush, en discurso para la prensa, según el cual “el juego habría terminado” y con él plazo para Saddam entregarse.

En el trecho (4),

- (4) Depois da arrasadora vitória no Iraque, os EUA refazem o **‘eixo do mal’** e **ameaçam** a Síria, **acusada** de ter armas químicas e de abrigar ex-cúpula dirigente de Saddam (p. 67) (*Después se la arrasadora victoria en Irak, los EUA rehacen el ‘eje del mal’ y amenazan a Siria, acusada de tener armas químicas y de abrigar ex-cúpula dirigente de Saddam*),

otra metáfora del presidente de los EUA es claramente contestada por las comillas, que atribuyen el términos a una voz externa. En el pasaje anterior (3), cuando se enuncio la *máquina del horror*, por ejemplo, no había marca de distanciamiento del locutor, lo que sugiere que es baja la afinidad del locutor del segundo reportaje con el discurso de Bush.

Maingueneau (1997: 90) aclara que

[...] las intenciones del autor no son visadas, pero las comillas están relacionadas al conjunto de movimiento de la enunciación y, además de esos, a la formación discursiva en la cual él se inscribe.

La voz de los gobernantes de los EUA es problematizada por el uso del verbo representador *amenazar*, que denuncia el empeño de ese gobierno en imponer miedo y, por tanto, generar terror. El término *acusada* hace ecos a otra voz, que atribuye a alguien más la imputación que recae sobre la Siria y, al mismo tiempo, hace pensar la lectura “Los EUA acusaron a la Siria de tener armas químicas y de albergar la ex-cúpula dirigente de Saddam”.

Como se ve, la ambivalencia de la atribución del discurso puede servir a funciones diferentes en el texto. Puede fundir las voces del representador del discurso y representado como demostración de la alta afinidad del primero con el segundo, pero también puede fundirlos por propósitos contestatarios y como la marca de baja afinidad del anunciador.

En el pasaje siguiente (5), los discursos pueden ser reconocidos solamente en función del movimiento de la enunciación: probablemente pertenecen al secretario beligerante las palabras *captura, grupo de Saddam, arsenal escondido y la declaración que “las tropas americanas ya están en la región”*. Por tanto, todas las otras pueden ser del locutor, pero la ambivalencia del discurso indirecto es usada para crear una imagen de caricatura de Rumsfeld:

- (5) **Rumsfeld fez sugestão, mais ou menos velada, de que as tropas americanas já estão mesmo na região** e é só abastecer os tanques, blindados e aviões com a farta gasolina local e rumar para a **captura da turma de Saddam** e seu **arsenal escondido** na Siria do presidente Bashir al-Assad (p. 68).
(*Rumsfeld sugirió, mas o menos de forma velada, que las tropas americanas ya estan en la región e es solo abastecer los tanques, blindados y aviones con la suficiente gasolina local y dirigirse para la captura del grupo de Saddam y su arsenal escondido en Siria del presidente Bashir al-Assad*).

En (6),

- (6) **Os iraquianos responsáveis pelas armas de destruição em massa** são indivíduos que não podem ser aceitos na Siria. Damasco deve rever não apenas isso, mas também **sua política de suporte a grupos terroristas, fez coro** o secretário de Estado Colin Powell (p. 68).
(*Los iraquíes responsables por las armas de destrucción en masa son individuos que no pueden ser aceptados en Siria. Damasco debe revisar no apenas eso, sino también su política de suporte a grupos terroristas”, hace coro el secretario de Estado Colin Powell*),

el desafío a las voces de los gobernantes de los EUA es viabilizado en el texto por la representación de sus discursos. Es posible rescatar las palabras de Rumsfeld con base en las presuposiciones de Powell: hay iraquíes envueltos con armas de destrucción en masa y Siria ofrece soporte político para los responsables por las supuestas armas. Completa, aún, la imagen de caricatura, la selección por el verbo *hace coro*, que sugiere apenas venganza comandada por Bush y no un posicionamiento político serio de los secretarios.

Ni todas las voces que componen los reportajes fueron analizadas, pero vale la pena resaltar que en *Veja* no hay representación de la voz de los gobernantes de los EUA, al contrario de la *Istoé*.

Tabla 1: voces representadas

Reportaje “El califato del miedo”(Veja)	Reportaje “Bush da las cartas”(Istoé)
Naciones Unidas	Donald Rumsfeld
Revista <i>Forbes</i>	EUA
Ibrahim al-Marashi, Investigador del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de California	George W.Bush
Disidentes iraquíes con sede en Londres	Washington
Kenneth Pollack, director de asuntos del Golfo en el Consejo de Seguridad Nacional del gobierno Clinton e investigador del Instituto Brookings	Condoleezza Rice, consejera de Seguridad Nacional de la Casa Blanca
Exiliados iraquíes	Colin Powell
Periodista americano Mark Bowden	Siria
Analistas del regimen iraquiano no nombrados en el texto	Haitham Kilai, ex-embajador sirio en la Organización de las Naciones Unidas
Irak	Investigador del instituto de estudios del Oriente Medio, Robert Fisher
Daniel Pipes, historiador norte-americano/Relatos	Gerente financiero de la al-Qaeda, Kahalid Sheik Mohammed.

Aunque pueda parecer inesperada tal composición, una vez que las creencias de la segunda revista parecen no ser las hegemónicas, los propósitos disciplinadores o transformadores de las articulaciones entre prácticas sociales y elementos del momento discursivo solo pueden ser identificados en el evento discursivo contextualizado en una coyuntura mas amplia de relaciones.

Los primeros resultados de este análisis muestran que, en la articulación entre las prácticas sociales y sus momentos, el discurso de la revista *Veja* internaliza la ideología hegemónica de los EUA y, así como George Bush, sustenta la legitimidad de la invasión anglosajona a Irak y considera a Saddam una amenaza universal. A intertextualidad en *Veja* sirvió a un propósito disciplinador e ideológico. En el caso de *Istoé*, el recurso lingüístico sirvió a propósitos transformadores y desafiadores a la asimetría de poder.

Por consiguiente, es necesario analizar qué voces son seleccionadas y controladas por la prensa y cómo y con que intención se usan. Para la teoría social del discurso, el evento es tan importante porque la agencia humana, en el momento de la actitud responsiva, potencialmente, puede rearticular y desarticular las estructuras y transformar, en la lucha hegemónica, las prácticas sociales de dominación.

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FORMAS TÓPICAS E IDEOLOGÍA EN EL DISCURSO SOBRE LA GUERRA DE IRAK

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Resumen: En este trabajo intentamos desvelar la dimensión ideológica de los discursos sociales a través de un análisis lingüístico de los procesos de construcción del sentido que subyacen en la producción y en la recepción de los textos. El estudio que presentamos ahora es el resultado de un análisis del discurso oficial sobre la guerra de Irak a partir de un corpus constituido por las declaraciones de los portavoces políticos de EEUU, Gran Bretaña, Francia y España.

Palabras clave: Formas tópicas, análisis del discurso, discurso social, Irak, ideología.

Abstract: This work attempts to show the ideological dimension hidden behind the social discourses by conducting a linguistic analysis of the processes of construction of meaning implicit in the production and reception of texts. The present study is the result of an analysis of the official discourse about the Iraq war. This analysis is based upon a corpus constituted by the official statements of government representatives from USA, Great Britain, France and Spain.

Keywords: Topoi, discourse analysis, social discourse, Iraq, ideology.

Ese discurso doble que, fundado en la creencia, imita a la ciencia, superponiendo la apariencia de la razón al fantasma social de la dominación, está dotado del poder de hacer sobrevenir las realidades que pretende describir, según el principio auto-realizante: presente en las mentes de los responsables políticos o económicos y de sus públicos, sirve de instrumento de construcción de las políticas públicas y privadas, al mismo tiempo que de instrumento de evaluación de esas políticas. Como todas las mitologías de la era científica, la nueva Vulgata planetaria se apoya en una serie de oposiciones y de equivalencias, que se sostienen entre sí y se responden. (Pierre Bourdieu: *Loïc Wacquant*¹)

1. INTRODUCCIÓN

Aunque el punto de vista que adoptaremos aquí será lingüístico, creemos sin embargo que pensar o analizar cómo circula el pensamiento a través del discurso de los textos no puede hacerse sin tener en cuenta que *pensamiento-discurso y acción social* constituyen una unidad compleja con múltiples interacciones. Intentaremos, pues, desvelar la dimensión ideológica de los discursos sociales a través de un análisis lingüístico de los procesos de construcción del sentido que subyacen en la producción y en la recepción de los textos. La circulación social de los textos implica procesos de catego-

¹ Texto original: «Ce discours double qui, fondé dans la croyance, mime la science, surimposant au fantasma social du dominant l'apparence de la raison (notamment économique et politologique), est doté du pouvoir de faire advenir les réalités qu'il prétend décrire, selon le principe de la prophétie autoréalisante: présent dans les esprits des décideurs politiques ou économiques et de leurs publics, il sert d'instrument de construction des politiques publiques et privées, en même temps que d'instrument d'évaluation de ces politiques. Comme toutes les mythologies de l'âge de la science, la nouvelle vulgate planétaire s'appuie sur une série d'oppositions et d'équivalences, qui se soutiennent et se répondent» *La nouvelle vulgate planétaire (Le Monde Diplomatique, V-2000: 6-7* <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2000/05/BOURDIEU/13727>).

rización en los que se integran lo lingüístico y lo cognitivo. La tipicidad y el carácter gradual de las representaciones categoriales constituyen propiedades estructurales del conocimiento humano identificables a través de los procesos de interpretación. En el caso de la organización del “léxico mental”, los campos tópicos, que definiremos más adelante, representan para el análisis lingüístico una operativización de estas propiedades cognitivas generales observables en los fenómenos de interpretación léxica. El presente trabajo supone una aplicación de la *teoría de los topoi* al análisis del léxico, pero adoptando, lo que no suele ser frecuente en el marco de esta teoría, un punto de vista textual y discursivo. Ello implicará un movimiento interactivo entre la coherencia local y la global, cuyo objetivo es describir por qué mecanismos los topoi juegan un papel de operadores argumentativos en la construcción de las redes semánticas que sustentan la coherencia global del texto.

La investigación a que nos referiremos en este texto tiene como antecedentes dos trabajos anteriores. Por una parte, el análisis de los fenómenos semántico-discursivos que subyacen a la construcción de valores en el discurso de la prensa escrita (Villanueva 1997) y, por otra, el análisis de las formas tópicas que son invocadas por la argumentación en el discurso de artículos científicos y de divulgación en el campo de la medicina (Villanueva 2000; 2001). El estudio que presentamos ahora es el resultado de un análisis del discurso oficial sobre la guerra de Irak a partir de un corpus de declaraciones de los portavoces políticos de EEUU, Gran Bretaña, Francia y España.

2. MARCO TEÓRICO Y OBJETIVOS

Según la actual concepción tópica del conocimiento, la memoria está organizada en campos graduales y el razonamiento natural se basa en reglas de inferencia también graduales: *los topoi*. Los topoi corresponden a enunciados estereotípicos y a reglas no-estrictamente lógicas de inferencia gradual que se presentan como admitidas y cuya dimensión connotativa las aproxima a los topoi aristotélicos. Los topoi activan lugares comunes compartidos y jalonan la construcción de las isotopías semánticas de los textos. El locutor debe hacer suyas, en principio, estas opiniones para obtener finalmente la adhesión a las nuevas proposiciones o valores.

Según la Teoría de la Argumentación en la lengua, los topoi se despliegan ante el locutor como guiones semánticos acerca de los cuales el enunciadador identifica/niega/rechaza....en suma: se pronuncia. Un *Campo Tópico* está constituido por un conjunto de puntos de vista posibles en torno a un topos y la dinámica textual pone de manifiesto su funcionamiento recursivo (Bruxelles, Ducrot & Raccah 1995), determinado por la orientación argumentativa del discurso.

La hipótesis que subyace a esta concepción es que la lengua cristaliza en las palabras ciertos puntos de vista sobre la realidad de la que habla el discurso. En la presente investigación, se trata de comprobar la hipótesis según la cual los *topoi intrínsecos o léxicos* de la palabra «Guerra» son convocados por la argumentación y asociados con otros semas vecinos para construir nuevas relaciones o redes semánticas que actualizan y difunden nuevos *topoi* esta vez *discursivos* o *extrínsecos*, contruidos por la propia argumentación, y que conservan algunos de los rasgos que sirven para delimitar la argumentación interna de la palabra, llamada tradicionalmente significación descriptiva.

La argumentación externa es el resultado de la combinación de los elementos de la argumentación interna, u orientaciones argumentativas inscritas en el léxico, y la forma tópica convocada por el discurso.

Figura 1: La argumentación externa

Argumentación externa = Elementos de la argumentación interna + Forma tópica convocada por el discurso

Nos planteamos pues mostrar los mecanismos discursivos a través de los cuales se da la construcción y reconstrucción de valores a partir de las virtualidades argumentativas de las palabras, y mostrar el movimiento de decohesión y de reconstrucción de nuevos valores gracias a asociaciones cotextuales. Nuestros Objetivos pueden formularse del siguiente modo:

- Identificar los topoi discursivos: enunciados estereotípicos y topoi graduales
- Describir las redes semánticas y sus entornos discursivos para desvelar las *nubes tópicas* que hacen posible un fenómeno de contagio de valores (Galatanu 1999: 50)
- Analizar los mecanismos de construcción de la coherencia semántica y su relación con la deconstrucción y construcción de valores.
- Desvelar los rasgos ideológicos de los discursos mediante una identificación de los modelos contextuales y sociocognitivos (Van Dijk 2000: 106-119)

3. DESCRIPCIÓN DEL CORPUS: FUENTES, CARACTERÍSTICAS Y PERTINENCIA

Los textos han sido obtenidos a partir de la base de datos de las páginas Web de *Le Monde Diplomatique* y de *El País digital*. Nos limitaremos en esta ocasión a las declaraciones oficiales relativas al debate previo, a los comienzos de la guerra y al inicio de lo que se denominó “la postguerra”. Se trata del periodo de tiempo comprendido entre los meses de febrero y abril de 2003. Algunos datos cronológicos avalan la pertinencia de este período de tiempo:

- 15 de febrero de 2003: Bush recibe a Aznar en su rancho de Crawford en Texas.
- 7 de marzo de 2003: EEUU, Reino Unido y España copatrocinan un borrador para una segunda resolución de la ONU en la cual debía constar que Saddam había “incumplido” la previa resolución 1441
- 14 de Marzo de 2003: Bush anuncia en el jardín de la la casa Blanca su Hoja de Ruta para la Paz en Oriente Próximo. Poco después el portavoz de Bush anunció una cumbre con Blair y Aznar en las Azores “para revisar esta diplomacia que ha llegado a su fin” (*El País*, 23/04/2004)
- 16 de Marzo de 2003. Declaración de las Azores
- Noche del 19 al 20 de marzo 2003: bombardeo norteamericano y posterior entrada, el 20 de marzo, de las tropas de la 1ª División de la marina de EEUU en Irak por la frontera de Kuwait.
- 2-9 de abril 2003: toma de Bagdad y derribo de las estatuas de Saddam Hussein. Conversaciones telefónicas entre Bush y Aznar (*El País*, 23/04/2004)
- 8 de abril de 2003: Declaración conjunta de Bush y de Blair difundida por la Secretaria de Prensa de la Casa Blanca.

La pertinencia del corpus se ha acotado no sólo con criterios temporales sino también textuales y genéricos (Rastier 2000: 5). Los textos completos, que permitirán como veremos un movimiento de recontextualización de los resultados, pertenecen:

- al *dominio discursivo* de la práctica política,
- a los *campos prácticos específicos* de las comunicaciones oficiales en órganos institucionales y de los comunicados de Gabinetes de Prensa institucionales,
- a los *géneros* de alocuciones, declaraciones y, en el caso del subcorpus de contraste correspondiente a las intervenciones del entonces presidente Aznar, el debate parlamentario.

Globalmente el corpus principal consta de 5692 palabras y está integrado por

los textos siguientes:

- Declaraciones del ministro francés Dominique Villepin ante el Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas (3503 palabras): 5 de febrero (1341 palabras), 14 de febrero (1964 palabras) y 10 de abril de 2003 (198 palabras).
- Declaración conjunta de las Azores, efectuada por EEUU, Gran Bretaña, España y Portugal, el 16 de marzo de 2003 (526 palabras).
- Alocución del presidente Bush a la nación difundida por la Secretaria de Prensa de la Casa Blanca, el 19 de marzo de 2003 (581 palabras).
- Declaración oficial de Jacques Chirac difundida por la oficina de prensa del palacio del Elíseo, el 20 de marzo de 2003 (294 palabras).
- Declaración conjunta de Bush y de Blair difundida por la Secretaría de Prensa de la Casa Blanca, el 8 de abril de 2003 (788 palabras).

Nos referiremos asimismo a un subcorpus de 2547 palabras que hemos utilizado como elemento de contraste para una confirmación de la existencia de correlaciones semánticas sobre las que se construye la *doxa* o sistema axiológico sobre la guerra de Irak, en el caso de las llamadas fuerzas aliadas.

- Discurso del primer ministro británico Anthony Blair sobre la operación “Zorro del desierto”, realizado el 17 de diciembre de 1998 (1747 palabras).
- Declaraciones del Presidente Aznar en el Congreso de los días 19 de febrero, 6-15 y 18 de marzo de 2003, extraídas de las reproducciones entrecomilladas de sus discursos aparecidas en *El País digital* (800 palabras).

La suma de palabras del corpus y el subcorpus da un total de 8239 palabras.

4. HIPÓTESIS DE TRABAJO. RESULTADOS DEL PRE-ANÁLISIS Y METODOLOGÍA

A nivel estrictamente léxico la palabra “Guerra” tiene un valor axiológico bivalente (Buena, mala/justa, injusta) (Galatanu 1999: 45) (ver anexo 1). Cualquier discurso acerca de la guerra implica, pues, un posicionamiento axiológico:

Figura 2: Posicionamiento

Rasgos semánticos estructurales intrínsecos <+ juicio>

La búsqueda inicial con el programa *Monoconc Search* en torno a la palabra “Guerra”, realizando una búsqueda que incluyera en torno a tres líneas de texto, nos hizo constatar la escasa incidencia de la misma en las declaraciones oficiales de nuestro corpus. Así, un primer resultado de este pre-análisis aportó el dato sorprendente de que la palabra “Guerra” sólo aparecía en contados casos en el subcorpus de las declaraciones de Blair sobre la *Operación Zorro del desierto* de 1998 y en el discurso de Bush. En ambos discursos la palabra “Guerra” aparecía siempre asociada en un contexto próximo con Saddam Hussein, a quien se hace responsable de la acción militar y a quien se califica mediante evaluaciones axiológicas negativas:

- (1) This action, of course, could have been avoided. Since the Gulf [war], the entire international community has worked to stop *Saddam Hussein* from keeping and developing nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. (Blair)
- (2) *Saddam Hussein* has no intention of abiding by the agreements he made. Resolution 687, bringing to an end the Gulf [war], made it a condition of the cease fire both that Iraq destroy its weapons of mass destruction and...(Blair)
- (3) In this conflict, America faces *an enemy who has no regard for conventions of [war] or rules*. (Bush)

En el discurso de Dominique Villepin, la palabra “Guerra” aparece en contextos que abren nuevas formas tópicas asociadas con alternativas a la guerra y con la

paz. En este caso “Guerra” se da en contextos en los que aparecen de manera significativa semas de espacio (“espace”, “chemin”) y de tiempo (“rapide”, “long”) relacionados con la paz y con el trabajo de los inspectores de las Naciones Unidas:

- (4) L'usage de la *force* ne peut constituer en effet qu'un dernier recours. Pourquoi aller à la guerre s'il existe encore un *espace* non utilisé dans la résolution 1441?
- (5) Ayons le courage de mettre les choses à plat. - Il y a deux options : - l'option de la guerre peut apparaître a priori la plus *rapide*.
- (6) Mais n'oublions pas qu'après avoir gagné la guerre, il faut construire la *paix*. Et ne nous voilons pas la face : cela sera *long* et difficile, car il..
- (7) Personne ne peut donc affirmer aujourd'hui que le *chemin* de la guerre sera plus *court* que celui des inspections. Personne ne peut affirmer non plus qu'il pourrait *déboucher*.

Así pues, lo que aparecía como relevante para reorientar la búsqueda guardaba relación con rasgos tópicos intrínsecos o léxicos de la palabra “Guerra” (*enfrentamiento o conflicto violento, enemigos, origen, duración y efectos de la guerra, declarar la guerra, firmar la paz, negociar la paz, guerra justa/ injusta, etc.*), pero también con nuevas formas tópicas convocadas por la argumentación y que eran el resultado de los puntos de vista enfrentados en torno al topos de Guerra (Cf. Anexo I).

Para desvelar estas nuevas formas tópicas y su funcionamiento recursivo en el discurso, y teniendo en cuenta los datos de nuestro rastreo previo con el programa Monoconc, reorientamos nuestra búsqueda teniendo en cuenta no sólo la aparición exacta del término “Guerra” sino sus correlatos semánticos y sus reformulaciones parafrásticas. Asimismo hemos tomado en cuenta el contexto próximo de la argumentación en el que la palabra “Guerra” o sus correlatos semánticos aparecen como antecedentes o como consecuentes.

Los objetivos concretos de la búsqueda han estado pues orientados a verificar los siguientes aspectos:

- a) la incidencia y el contexto próximo de los correlatos de la palabra “guerra” y su justificación: “conflicto”, “acción (militar)”, “operación (militar)”, “fuerza (empleo de) (militar)”
- b) la incidencia y el contexto próximo de la palabra “paz”
- c) la incidencia y el contexto próximo de términos relacionados con el tiempo y la duración: “rápida”, “corta”, “larga”; “difícil”
- d) la formulación y el entorno discursivo en el que aparecían los oponentes: “Irak”, “Saddam Hussein”, “régimen de Saddam”, “los aliados”, “las fuerzas internacionales”, “enemigo(s)”.

Nuestra hipótesis, teniendo en cuenta los resultados del pre-análisis, era que en torno a estos núcleos léxicos podríamos reconstruir y formular las formas tópicas convocadas por los dos discursos opuestos en torno a la guerra. Dado que el objetivo final era desvelar el funcionamiento ideológico de los topoi en la construcción de la coherencia del discurso, la última fase de nuestra investigación consistió en resituar en el marco global del texto las formas tópicas detectadas para establecer su funcionamiento recursivo en la argumentación. Presentaremos brevemente el análisis de algunos resultados.

5. TOPOI Y ARGUMENTACIÓN EN EL DISCURSO SOBRE LA GUERRA DE IRAK. ANÁLISIS DE ALGUNOS RESULTADOS

5.1. POLIFONÍA Y CAMPOS TÓPICOS

Uno de los resultados fue que en torno a las palabras “conflicto”, “acción

(militar)”, “fuerza (empleo de) (militar)” aparecían con una incidencia significativa las palabras “amenaza” y “defensa”. Hemos elegido, pues, estas unidades léxicas para ejemplificar nuestro proceso de análisis de las formas tópicas que convocan y que permiten articular dos discursos argumentativos ideológicamente opuestos.

- (8) “En quoi *la nature et l'ampleur de la menace* justifient-elles le recours immédiat à la force II?” (Réunion du Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies au niveau ministériel sur l'Irak, Discours de M. Dominique de Villepin, New York, 5 février 2003)².

Esta pregunta de Villepin retoma mediante una estrategia polifónica la tesis contraria, es decir la utilizada por Bush y por Blair en sus discursos sobre la guerra de Irak en distintos momentos históricos:

- (9) *We have no option but to act.* Our objectives in this [military] action are clear: to degrade his capability to build and use weapons of mass destruction and to diminish *the [military] threat he poses* to his neighbours (“Discours du premier ministre britannique Anthony Blair sur l'opération Renard du désert”, 17/12/1998)³.
- (10) The [threat] is *now*, and it is a [threat] to his neighbours, to his people and to *the security of the world*. If, therefore, he is not stopped now the consequences to *our future peace* are real and fundamental. We cannot *responsibly* let that happen (“Discours du premier ministre britannique Anthony Blair sur l'opération Renard du désert”, 17/12/1998).
- (11) We will eliminate the [threat] posed by *Iraq's weapons of mass destruction*, deliver humanitarian aid, and *secure the freedom* of the Iraqi people. (« Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair on Iraq », 08.04.2003)⁴
- (12) My fellow citizens, at this hour, American and coalition forces are in the early stages of [military operations] to disarm Iraq, *to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger*. On my orders, [coalition forces] have begun striking selected targets of military importance to undermine *Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war*. (Alocución del presidente Bush a la nación, 19.03.2003)⁵.
- (13) There is *no realistic alternative* to [military force]. (“Discours du premier ministre britannique Anthony Blair sur l'opération Renard du désert”, 17/12/1998).

El topos implícito de la tesis de Bush y de Blair y que queda revelado por la estrategia retórica de Villepin puede ser formulado de manera *gradual*:

Figura 3: Topos gradual A

<p>Topos gradual A: A MAYOR AMENAZA, MÁS JUSTIFICACIÓN DE LA GUERRA</p>

Este topos se basa en la activación de un *Campo Tópico Elemental* constituido por el *Campo Conceptual*⁶: CAPACIDAD DE DEFENDERSE, que se deriva de las instrucciones de la palabra “amenaza” (riesgo, lo que nos hace correr un peligro), y de la evaluación correspondiente. Un *Campo Tópico* se distingue de un concepto o *Campo Conceptual* en que el primero corresponde a una visión parcial (en los dos sentidos del

² <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actu/article.asp?ART=32124>.

³ *Le Monde Diplomatique* <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr>.

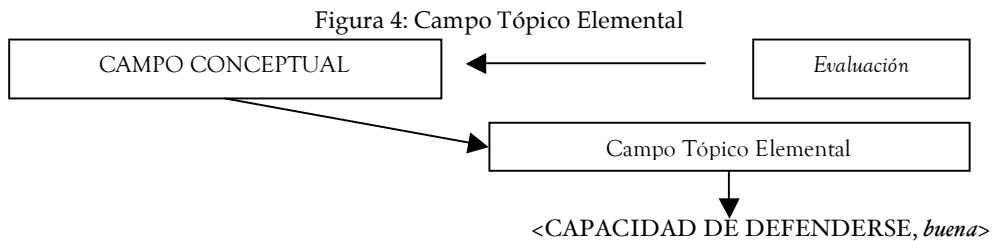
⁴ <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/04/iraq/20030408-1.html> Office of the Press Secretary April 8, 2003.

⁵ *Le Monde Diplomatique* <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr>;

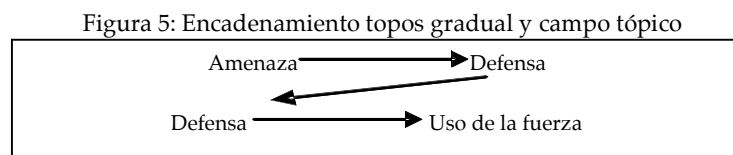
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030319-17.html>.

⁶ Siguiendo la formulación convencionalmente aceptada, utilizamos las mayúsculas para los campos conceptuales.

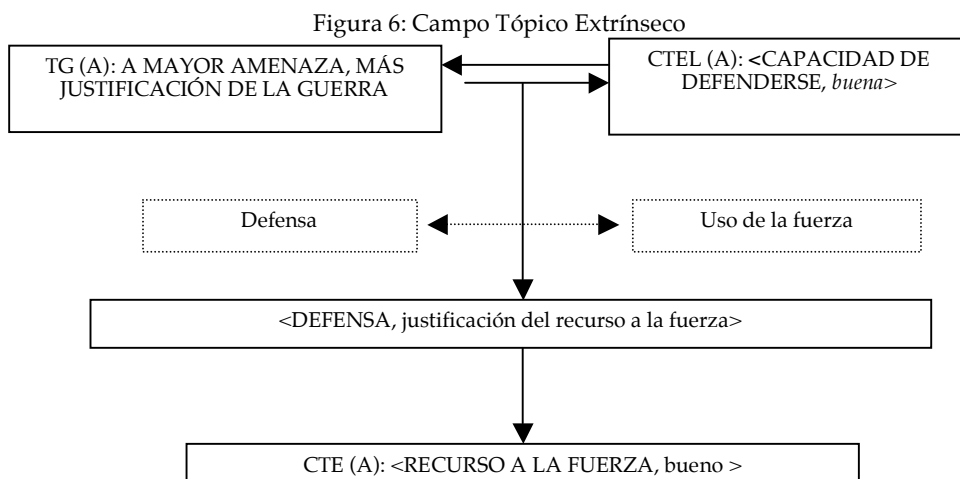
término) del objeto de discurso, visión determinada al menos en parte por la orientación argumentativa de este discurso. En este caso el *Campo Tópico elemental* es:



La palabra *defensa* entraña instrucciones del tipo: la defensa es una protección, la defensa es una reacción ante una situación de peligro o ataque, etc. En ellas podemos reconocer las características de los *Campos Tópicos* asociados con “defensa”. Pero la puesta en relación del topos gradual A con el campo tópico elemental está poniendo en juego un topos implícito según el cual el *Campo Conceptual* de DEFENSA se mediría en función del *Campo Tópico* de “Recurso a la fuerza”. Se trata en realidad de la construcción de un topos discursivo o extrínseco que sirve como encadenamiento de base de la argumentación del texto y que combina el topos gradual con el campo tópico, de manera implícita, a través de encadenamientos semánticos que enlazan “Amenaza-Defensa-Uso de la fuerza”. El encadenamiento corresponde al esquema siguiente:



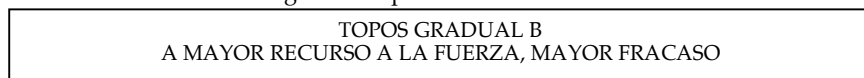
En cuanto a la construcción de un *Campo Tópico Extrínseco* (CTE) a partir de la combinación de un *Topos Gradual* (TG) y de un *Campo Tópico Elemental* (CTEL), podría esquematizarse como sigue:



Esta es la base implícita de las argumentaciones de Bush y de Blair, y Villepin la hace explícita en su propia argumentación para rebatirla. La efectividad del Topos Gradual A: “A mayor amenaza, más justificación de la guerra” es que combina aspectos tópicos intrínsecos o léxicos con otros topoi dinámicos o extrínsecos contruidos por la propia argumentación sobre la necesidad de la guerra. En la práctica discursiva es así como los topoi intrínsecos se combinan con otros topoi y principios argumentativos que un determinado grupo social toma como garantes ideológicos.

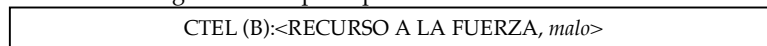
Villepin construye su argumentación en torno a un topos B, que le permitirá contraargumentar el topos A

Figura 7: Topos Gradual B



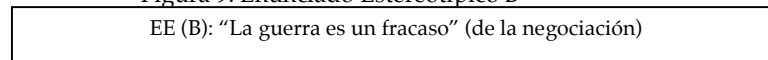
Este topos entraña un *Campo Tópico Elemental B*:

Figura 8: Campo Tópico Elemental B



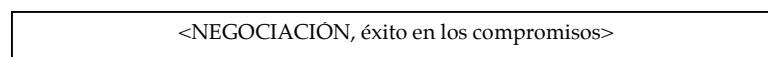
La combinación del *Topos Gradual B* con el *Campo Tópico B* está en la base del *Enunciado Estereotípico B*, sólo parcialmente explícito:

Figura 9: Enunciado Estereotípico B⁷



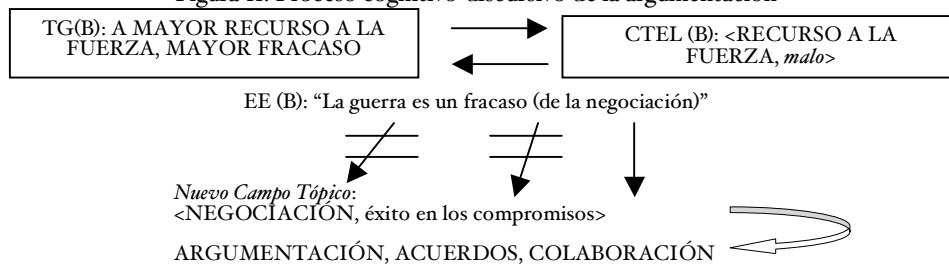
El topos implícito “Negociación” es el que hace posible correlacionar “Éxito” con “acuerdos”/“compromisos” y oponer este *Campo Tópico* al de “Fracaso”, “guerra/ recurso a la fuerza”. Mediante estas nubes tópicas se construye un *Nuevo Campo Tópico*:

Figura 10: Nuevo campo tópico



El proceso cognitivo-discursivo de la argumentación puede esquematizarse del modo siguiente:

Figura 11: Proceso cognitivo-discursivo de la argumentación



⁷ Discours du premier ministre britannique Anthony Blair sur l’opération Renard du désert 17 décembre (17/12/1998), *Le Monde Diplomatique* <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr>.

5.2. ARGUMENTACIÓN TÓPICA Y CULTURA DEL DEBATE

Villepin construye su argumentación en torno a la redefinición del *Campo Conceptual* del USO DE LA FUERZA (ver anexo 2). Esta redefinición axiológica negativa implica buscar alternativas como reacción ante una amenaza. Alternativas que abren el espacio y el tiempo de los acuerdos y de la colaboración.

Veamos algunos ejemplos:

- (14) *L'usage de la force ne se justifie pas aujourd'hui. Il y a une alternative à la guerre: désarmer l'Iraq par les inspections.*
- (15) *un usage de la force: serait si lourd de conséquences pour les hommes, pour la région et pour la stabilité internationale qu'il ne saurait être envisagé qu'en dernière extrémité.*
- (16) *la guerre est toujours la sanction d'un échec.*
- (17) *L'usage de la force ne peut constituer en effet qu'un dernier recours. Pourquoi aller à la guerre s'il existe encore un espace non utilisé dans la résolution 1441 ?*

Villepin moviliza el topos de “Negociación” a través de palabras como “compromisos” y “cooperación” que correlaciona con “inspección” y “éxito”.

- (18) *nous n'excluons pas la possibilité qu'un jour il faille recourir à la force, si les rapports des inspecteurs concluaient à l'impossibilité pour les inspections de se poursuivre.*
- (19) *le succès des inspections suppose que nous aboutissions à une coopération pleine et entière de l'Iraq.*
- (20) *L'Iraq doit fournir une liste détaillée des experts ayant assisté en 1991 aux destructions des programmes militaires. La France attend bien entendu que ces engagements soient durablement vérifiés. Au-delà, nous devons maintenir une forte pression sur l'Iraq pour qu'il aille plus loin dans la voie de la coopération.*
- (21) *Donnons par conséquent aux inspecteurs des Nations Unies le temps nécessaire à la réussite de leur mission.*

Aparece aquí un nuevo encadenamiento argumentativo que va a oponer los discursos de unos y otros. Se trata del *Campo Tópico* de “Tiempo”, en torno al cual se construyen dos topoi opuestos. Nuevamente Villepin recurre a una estrategia de cita de las posiciones de Blair y de Bush:

- (22) *Il y a ceux qui croient que la poursuite du processus d'inspection serait une sorte de manœuvre de retardement visant à empêcher une intervention militaire. Cela pose naturellement la question du temps imparti à l'Iraq. Nous sommes là au centre des débats. Il y a de notre crédibilité et de notre esprit de responsabilité.*

En efecto, Bush y Blair elaboran en sus discursos un campo tópico en el que el aumento de plazos de tiempo se relaciona con la ineficacia, y ello porque facilita la mentira y la reorganización del adversario, del que se construye un perfil negativo: no se puede confiar en su palabra, es un fuera de la ley (“outlaw”), malvado y mentiroso (“serial breaker of promises”) que no respeta las reglas morales. La rapidez se pone así en relación con la eficacia, la responsabilidad y la obligación de actuar.

He aquí algunos ejemplos extraídos del discurso de Blair durante la operación Zorro del desierto⁸ que confirman este esquema sociocognitivo:

- (23) *If, therefore, he is not stopped now the consequences to our future peace are real and*

⁸ Discours du premier ministre britannique Anthony Blair sur l'opération Renard du désert 17 décembre (17/12/1998), *Le Monde Diplomatique* <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr>.

- fundamental. *We cannot responsibly let that happen.*
- (24) Our quarrel is with him alone and *the* [[evill] *regime which he represents. There is no realistic alternative to military force.*
- (25) He used the *time* both for further *prevarication and the dispersal of his* [[military] *capability.*
- (26) And the reason for that *obstruction, for breaking his word,* is also now clear. It is his desire to develop these[[weapons]] of mass destruction. He has not for one instant yielded up that *malign intent.*
- (27) *He is a serial breaker of promises.*
- (28) *We*[[act]] *because we must.*

Bush argumenta en el mismo sentido⁹:

- (29) In this conflict, America faces an *enemy who has no regard for conventions of* [[war]] *or rules.*
- (30) Now that [[conflict]] has come, *the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force.* And I assure you, this will not be a campaign of half measures.
- (31) The people of the United States and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an *outlaw regime* that [[threatens]] the peace with weapons of mass murder. *We will meet that threat now,* with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard and Marines, *so that we do not have to meet it later* with armies of fire fighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities.

Y lo mismo hace también Jose M^a Aznar:

- (32) No creemos que estemos ante un asunto ni de [[tiempo]] ni de plazos salvo que a alguien le parezca que 12 años no es un plazo suficiente. Para nosotros *el tiempo y el plazo no es un problema.* (*El País*, 19.02.2003)
- (33) Sadam Husein es una [[amenaza]]. Ha sido una amenaza para su pueblo, al que gobierna y ha gobernado por el *terror*, y no dudó en *masacrar* a su población. (ibidem)
- (34) En países como el nuestro es importante tener muy en cuenta la [[amenaza]] que hoy supone un *terrorismo fanático*, dispuesto a ampliar estos medios de destrucción masiva, y la disposición de ciertos Estados a facilitárselos. (ibidem)
- (35) *Hoy es el último día* que el dictador Sadam Husein tiene para cumplir voluntariamente lo que de otra manera se hará cumplir. Para eso o para salir de su país poniendo fin a la *tiranía* interna y a sus [[amenazas]] a la comunidad internacional. (*El País*, 18.03.2003)
- (36) Durante más de un siglo, cualquiera en España se consideraba con derecho para no respetar las [[reglas]], y de ahí vinieron dos cosas: que nada era respetado en el interior del país y que el país no era respetado en el exterior. Esta situación cambió hace 25 años, cuando se establecieron unas *reglas del juego que se cumplen.* (ibidem)

Frente a estas posiciones, Villepin construye un espacio argumentativo en el que la alternativa de las inspecciones se despliega en torno a nociones de espacio (“chemin”, “voie”, “impasse”, “étape”) y de tiempo (“terme”, “délai”). No se ha agotado el tiempo sino que estamos en el marco de un proceso en curso (“encore”, “avancer de jour en jour”). En cuanto a la rapidez y a la duración del proceso, se utilizan parámetros de medida que oponen la guerra rápida a la paz duradera. La argumentación de Dominique de Villepin construye nuevos enunciados estereotípicos: “El camino más largo es el más seguro” y nuevas formas tópicas en torno al “Elogio de la lentitud”, a la “Solidaridad” y a la “Responsabilidad colectiva”. Veamos algunos ejemplos¹⁰:

⁹ Bush à la nation (19/03/2003) *Le Monde Diplomatique* <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr>.

¹⁰ Intervention du Ministre des Affaires étrangères Dominique de Villepin, au Conseil de sécurité des Na-

LE CHEMIN LE PLUS LONG EST LE PLUS SÛR

- (37) La France attend bien entendu que ces engagements soient *durablement* vérifiés. Au-delà, nous devons maintenir une forte pression sur l'Iraq pour qu'il *aille plus loin dans la voie de la coopération*.
- (38) Personne ne peut donc affirmer aujourd'hui que le *chemin* de la [[guerre]] sera plus *court* que celui des *inspections*.
- (39) Si cette [[voie]] devait *échouer* et nous conduire à l'*impasse*, alors nous n'excluons aucune option.
- (40) la [[voie]] des inspections peut être *efficace*.
- (41) la *voie* d'un désarmement efficace et [[pacifique]] de l'Iraq. Au bout du compte, ce choix là n'est-il pas le plus *sûr et le plus rapide*?
- (42) l'option des *inspections* n'a pas été conduite jusqu'à son terme et peut apporter une *réponse efficace* à l'impératif du désarmement de l'Iraq.

ÉLOGE DE LA LENTEUR

- (43) il y a l'alternative offerte par les inspections, qui permet *d'avancer de jour en jour* dans la [[voie]] d'un désarmement efficace et pacifique de l'Iraq.
- (44) Il y a deux options: - l'option de la [[guerre]] peut apparaître a priori *la plus rapide*. Mais n'oublions pas qu'après avoir gagné la guerre, il faut construire *la paix*. Et ne nous voilons pas la face: *cela sera long et difficile*.

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- (45) La règle de droit et de la justice. La conviction de la France est que nous pouvons réussir sur ce [[chemin]] exigeant, dès lors que nous restons *unis et solidaires*.
- (46) C'est bien là le [[chemin]] de la *responsabilité collective*.

Nos hallamos, pues, ante dos concepciones tópicas contrapuestas del conflicto que se articulan en torno a ciertos núcleos léxicos que combinan rasgos de la argumentación léxica interna con rasgos tópicos construidos en cada caso por la argumentación del discurso ideológico.

6. FORMAS TÓPICAS, IDEOLOGÍA Y VALORES

La argumentación en torno a la guerra construye dos discursos claramente opuestos que se asientan en modos diferentes de conceptualizar el conflicto. Estos modelos socio-cognitivos, que veremos con más detalle en el apartado siguiente, encuentran su fundamento argumentativo en formas tópicas estereotípicas constituidas en reglas de inferencia. Hacer explícitas dichas formas tópicas permite sacar a la luz la dimensión ideológica de la argumentación y revelar los sistemas de valores implícitos que entrañan los modelos ideológicos.

6.1. FORMAS TÓPICAS E IDEOLOGÍA EN EL DISCURSO DE VILLEPIN

6.1.1. Enunciados estereotípicos

- La amenaza no justifica el ataque
- Disponer de fuerza no justifica su uso

tions Unies le 14 février 2003 <http://www.consulfrance-munich.de/onu1402.htm>. Déclaration de M. Dominique de Villepin, Ministre des Affaires étrangères (Sainte-Maxime, le 10 avril 2003). Réunion du Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies au niveau ministériel sur l'Irak. Discours de M. Dominique de Villepin (New York, 5 février 2003) <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actu/article.asp?ART=32124>

- La unidad y la solidaridad son el camino del éxito
- La guerra ilegítima es inmoral

6.1.2. *Topoi graduales*

- Cuanto menor es la capacidad de argumentar, mayor es la violencia
- A mayor capacidad de argumentación, mayor fuerza moral
- Cuantos más compromisos con el otro, mejor
- Cuanto más largo y más difícil es el proceso, más duradero es el resultado.

El discurso de Dominique Villepin halla su fundamento en un discurso Ilustrado cuyos garantes son la Razón y la Conciencia Moral. Es la Unidad y la Solidaridad la que da legitimidad a las decisiones, y para ello es necesario admitir el Debate y la Multipolaridad. El “templo” de las Naciones Unidas debe ser “el templo de la Razón”, y el uso del pronombre “Nous” tiene dos correferentes anafóricos, las Naciones Unidas y Francia, depositaria de la tradición ilustrada y responsable moral de salvaguardar sus valores.

- (47) Dans ce temple des Nations Unies, nous sommes les gardiens d'un idéal, nous sommes les gardiens d'une conscience. La lourde responsabilité et l'immense honneur qui sont les nôtres doivent nous conduire à donner la priorité au désarmement dans la paix. Et c'est un vieux pays, la France, d'un vieux continent comme le mien, l'Europe, qui vous le dit aujourd'hui, qui a connu les guerres, l'occupation, la barbarie. Un pays qui n'oublie pas et qui sait tout ce qu'il doit aux combattants de la liberté venus d'Amérique et d'ailleurs. Et qui pourtant n'a cessé de se tenir debout face à l'Histoire et devant les hommes. Fidèle à ses valeurs, il veut agir résolument avec tous les membres de la communauté internationale. Il croit en notre capacité à construire ensemble un monde meilleur¹¹.

6.2. FORMAS TÓPICAS E IDEOLOGÍA EN EL DISCURSO DE BUSH Y DE BLAIR

6.2.1. *Enunciados estereotípicos*

- La guerra previene la realización de una amenaza
- La guerra es una misión
- La fuerza es un medio para hacer cumplir las reglas¹²
- Lo que no se hace hoy, se lamenta mañana
- La guerra preventiva es realista

6.2.2. *Topoi graduales*

- Cuanto mayor es la amenaza, mayor es la necesidad de la guerra
- Cuanto peor es el enemigo, más justificado es el ataque
- Cuanto mayor es el poder, mayor es la responsabilidad de actuar
- Cuanto más se retrasa la guerra, más ventaja se da al enemigo.
- Cuanto antes, mejor/Cuanto más tarde, peor

¹¹ Intervention du Ministre des Affaires étrangères, Dominique de Villepin, au Conseil de sécurité des Nations unies le 14 février 2003 <http://www.consulfrance-munich.de/onu1402.htm>.

¹² Aznar: «La presión internacional y la amenaza del uso de la fuerza producen resultados», *El País*, 19/02/2003.

Frente al discurso ilustrado de Villepin, el discurso de Bush y de Blair es un discurso de Salvación de carácter Bipolar asentado en el Deber y el Honor de salvar al mundo, proporcionándole estabilidad y seguridad.

- (48) To all the men and women of the United States Armed Forces, now in the Middle East, the peace of a troubled world and the hopes of an oppressed people now depend on you. (Bush, 1903/2003)
- (49) Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honour of serving in our common defense. (Bush, 1903/2003)

Esta misión de salvación se impregna de préstamos bíblicos en el caso del discurso de Bush:

- (50) The dangers of our country and the world will be overcome. We will pass through this time of peril and carry on the work of peace. We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others and we will prevail. My God bless our country and all who defend her. (Bush, 1903/2003)
- (51) We will be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: “Even though I walk through the valley of shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me”. (Bush, 1101/2003)

Los valores de la Inmediatez y la Rapidez en la Acción se asientan en criterios pragmáticos de Profesionalidad y de Realismo, unidos a un escepticismo respecto a la negociación y el debate. La fundamentación de este escepticismo se logra por una desvalorización del adversario: cuanto más tiempo se le conceda, más mentiras construirá y más aumentará el peligro. Aplicar una fuerza decisiva y con rapidez son las acciones requeridas en aras de la Eficacia.

- (52) And the reason for that obstruction, for breaking his word, is also now clear. It is his desire to develop these weapons of mass destruction. He has not for one instant yielded up that malign intent. The threat is now, and it is a threat to his neighbours, to his people and to the security of the world¹³.
- (53) The Iraqi regime has used diplomacy as a ploy to gain time and advantage. It has uniformly defied Security Council resolutions demanding full disarmament. Over the years, U.N. weapon inspectors have been threatened by Iraqi officials, electronically bugged, and systematically deceived. Peaceful efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime have failed again and again -- because we are not dealing with peaceful men¹⁴.
- (54) We are now acting because the risks of inaction would be far greater¹⁵.

7. MODELOS CONTEXTUALES, MODELOS SOCIOCOGNITIVOS Y ESTRATEGIAS RETÓRICAS DE LA ARGUMENTACIÓN

La palabra “Guerra” como palabra constituida en polo inicial de nuestro análisis tiene correlatos semánticos en el discurso o semas vecinos que comparten con “Guerra” al menos un rasgo en común. La argumentación facilita fenómenos de *contagio discursivo* que constituyen “nubes tópicas”. Estas *nubes tópicas* se actualizan en redes semánticas que construyen nuevos topoi y estos a su vez actúan como garantes

¹³ Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair on Iraq Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair on Iraq, 08/04/2003.

¹⁴ <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030317-7.html>.

¹⁵ Ibidem.

de la argumentación y como operadores argumentativos. Es así como, a nivel discursivo, los entornos co-textuales contribuyen al movimiento de decohesión y de promoción de nuevos valores.

El estudio de los *Campos Tópicos* en el marco del texto producido en un contexto socio-histórico preciso permite interpretar los fenómenos de coherencia semántica local como una estrategia ideológica de construcción de la coherencia global (Van Dijk 2000: 260-263). Y esta interpretación puede servir de base para un análisis hermenéutico que interroge en paralelo diferentes textos con criterios que vayan más allá de la palabra y del enunciado (Rastier 2000:6).

En nuestro estudio, nos hemos centrado en aspectos semánticos relacionados con el funcionamiento recursivo de los topoi, pero también hemos tenido en cuenta aspectos relativos a la retórica de la argumentación que ha guiado el plan general de los textos, así como en la selección de las estrategias enunciativas. Una lectura en paralelo de los textos de nuestro corpus, nos ha permitido establecer algunos contrastes interesantes.

El discurso de Bush es eminentemente declarativo. Cada enunciado plantea una definición que construye y confirma la identidad de su pueblo y su misión. Es por tanto de importancia capital una construcción axiológicamente negativa del enemigo. Los valores se construyen en torno a un patrón de oposiciones axiológicas bipolares: *Moral/Inmoral*.

El discurso de Blair está construido como una defensa de la resolución de ir a la guerra como resultado pragmático de la experiencia de mentiras y de compromisos incumplidos por parte del oponente. Coincide con Bush en la construcción de una identidad marcadamente negativa de Saddam, pero la estrategia es la de aportar como datos pruebas históricas de las mentiras e incumplimientos. Los argumentos se despliegan como otras tantas secuencias narrativas que conducen a la conclusión de que el tiempo de los plazos se ha terminado y que la única decisión realista es la guerra. La estructura axiológica es también bipolar: *Juego limpio/Juego Sucio*.

En cuanto al discurso de Villepin, su argumentación se construye en torno a un eje lógico mediante estrategias de definición, enumeración de aspectos, jerarquización de problemas y deducción de conclusiones. Existe una correlación entre el contenido de sus propuestas y la forma de su argumentación en cuanto a la construcción procesual del espacio de la argumentación y en cuanto a la necesidad de hacer explícito el sistema de valores y de creencias ideológicas que subyacen a las tomas de posición políticas. Por ello en su estrategia retórica se desvelan, como hemos visto, los topoi implícitos en el discurso contrario de Bush y de Blair. La argumentación no es bipolar sino que despliega una red de puntos de vista como corresponde a un *ethos de mediación en el conflicto*.

Las estrategias retóricas de Bush y de Blair están centradas en el argumentador y en el destinatario, se basan por tanto en el *pathos*. Corresponden a formulaciones del tipo dilema o disyunción y definición de términos. Los enunciados funcionan según criterios de yuxtaposición que corresponden a la linealidad del discurso.

La retórica argumentativa de Villepin está centrada en el discurso, se basa pues en el *ethos*. Emplea estrategias discursivas propias del discurso explicativo: enumeración, clasificación, jerarquización. Utiliza las referencias al discurso citado como

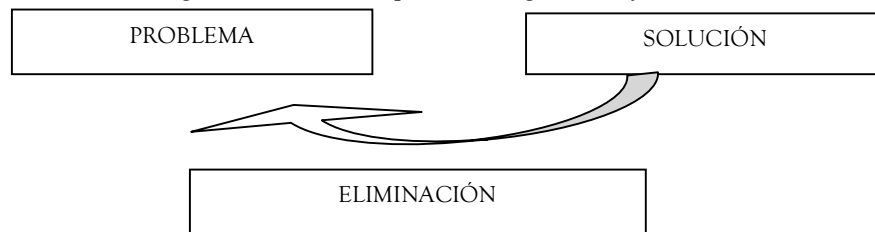
elemento de la construcción de la argumentación, tomando en cuenta el punto de vista del Otro para contraargumentar. La estructura textual es de tipo “arborescente” como corresponde a un movimiento argumentativo multipolar que busca explorar el conflicto desde distintos puntos de vista.

La retórica formal de la argumentación corresponde a dos modelos contextuales opuestos que responden a esquematizaciones diferentes del conflicto:

- Bipolaridad Vs. Multipolaridad
- Enfrentamiento Vs. Mediación
- Resultado Vs. Proceso
- Destino Vs. Camino
- Misión Vs. Responsabilidad
- Salvación Vs. Conciencia-Razón

Desde el punto de vista sociocognitivo, puede hablarse también de dos modelos en torno a la dinámica Problema-Solución. Según el modelo de Bush y de Blair, la Solución a un Problema es la eliminación del mismo.

Figura 12: Solución al problema según Bush y Blair



El modelo sociocognitivo de Villepin instauro una estrategia de análisis según la cual la relación que se establece entre el Problema y su Solución responde a un movimiento reflexivo en torno a posibles formas de abordar el problema y sus aspectos. La argumentación busca la convicción y la persuasión a través del razonamiento.

Figura 13: Solución al problema según Villepin



Parece pues confirmarse no sólo que existe una correspondencia entre las estructuras cognitivas y las estructuras discursivas, sino que los modelos cognitivos responden a modelos de representación contextuales influidos por las ideologías.

El análisis del funcionamiento de las formas tópicas en la argumentación nos ha permitido avanzar de la linealidad de los enunciados a la construcción de la coherencia global mediante una identificación de la evolución de los *Campos Tópicos* a lo largo del texto. Los procesos de inferencia lógico-semántica construyen redes tópicas que ponen de relieve distintos tipos de esquematización socio-cognitiva. Esta esquematización se apoya en distintas representaciones de las categorías contextuales: el espacio, el tiempo, los papeles de los agentes de la argumentación, el conflicto, el

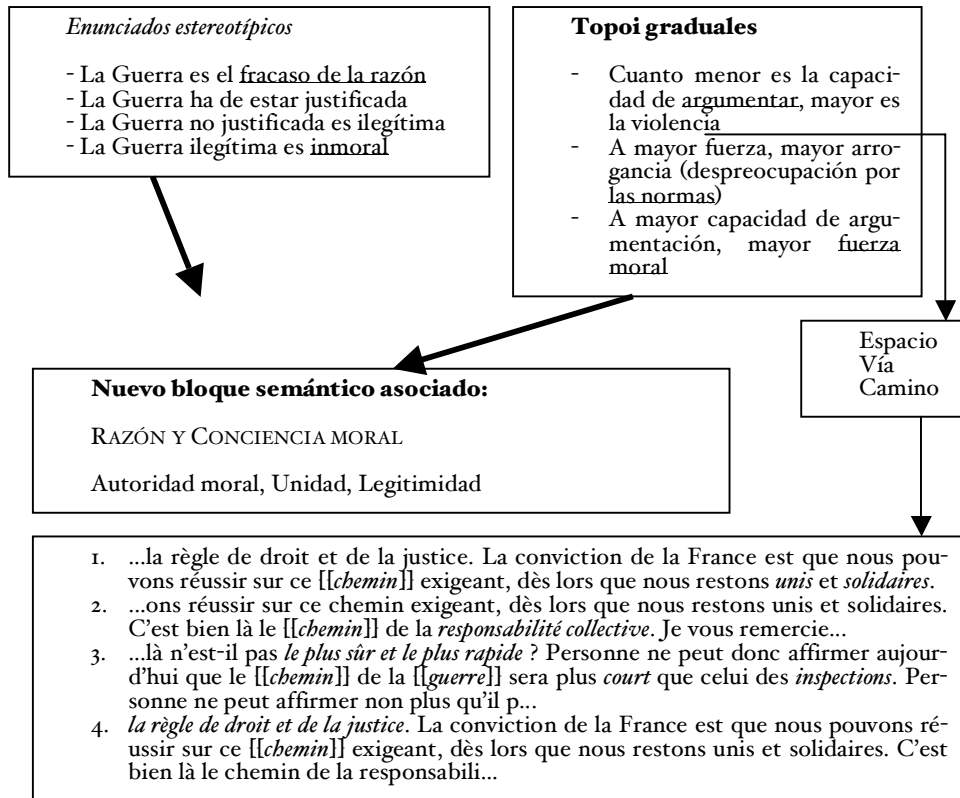
antes y el después, el aquí y el ahora. Las representaciones concretas de estas categorías son el resultado de un moldeado ideológico que subyace a los sesgos sociocognitivos o puntos de vista tópicos acerca del papel del debate, la relación entre acción y pensamiento, el papel de la interacción en la resolución de los conflictos, los criterios de eficacia, etc.

En particular, pensamos que el trabajo aquí presentado muestra cómo la Teoría de los Topoi puede aportar perspectivas interesantes para el Análisis Crítico del Discurso, en la medida en que las formas tópicas constituyen nodos semántico-cognitivos en los que se articula la dimensión pragmática y la dimensión ideológica.

ANEXO I. NÚCLEOS LÉXICOS DE LAS DOS CONCEPCIONES IDEOLÓGICAS CONTRAPUESTAS

WAR	GUERRE
PEACE	PAIX
CONFLICT	CONFLIT
QUARREL	DÉFI
	ACTION
	OPÉRATION
	INSPECTION
	VOIE
	CHEMIN
FRIENDS	AMIS
PEOPLE	PEUPLE(S)
	POPULATIONS
COALITION	ALLIÉS
	PARTENAIRES
ENEMY (ENEMIES)	ENNEMI(S)
INTERNATIONAL (COMMUNITY)	COMMUNAUTÉ INTERNATIONALE
	NATIONS UNIES
REGIME	RÉGIME
NEGOTIATION	NEGOCIATION
MILITARY	MILITAIRE (S)
DIPLOMACY	DIPLOMATIE
	(ACTION) COLLECTIVE
	(VOIE) PACIFIQUE
FREEDOM	LIBERTÉ
RESPONSIBILITY	DROIT
OBLIGATION	CADRE LÉGITIME
MORALITY	MORAL
MORAL	DEVOIR
	JUSTICE
GOD	→ INJUSTICE
HUMANITARIAN	HUMANITAIRE (E) (S)
REAL	(SOLUTION) JUSTE
REALISTIC	

ANEXO II. FORMAS TÓPICAS CONVOCADAS POR EL DISCURSO IDEOLÓGICO DE DOMINIQUE VILLEPIN



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YESTERDAY'S «SEPARATISTS» ARE TODAY'S «RESISTANCE FIGHTERS»: MAINSTREAM MEDIA AS AGENTS OF HEGEMONY

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Abstract: Adhering to the research approach of critical discourse analysis (CDA), this paper examines the New York Times' representations of the Kurds in their conflict with the Iraqi regime in 1988 and 1991. Since the Iraqi government was "the necessary other" in 1988, its genocidal campaign against its minority Kurds was essentially ignored by the US and its allies. In 1991, however, after invading Kuwait, Iraq became the prime threat to US interests in the Middle East. The Iraqi Kurds, who continued their struggle against the central government, became friends of the US. A critical discourse analysis of randomly sampled news articles illustrates that the New York Times (NYT) discursively depicted this shift in US foreign policy towards Iraq and the Kurds.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, Media discourse, The New York Times, Kurds, Foreign policy

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the late 1970s, practitioners of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), initially referred to as Critical Linguistics (Fowler & Kress 1979), have focused on various types of discourse including those of the media (Fairclough 2001, 1995; Fowler 1991; Van Dijk 1998, 1993, 1988). However, whereas various social and political aspects of media discourse such as racism have received considerable attention (e.g. Trew 1979; Van Dijk 1993; Teo 2000), except for a limited number of studies (e.g. Trew 1979; Van Dijk 1988; Brookes 1995), sufficient attention has not been paid to studying the Western mainstream media's coverage of foreign events.

Studying the media's coverage of international actors and events is important because most of what we know about world events and actors is through the media (Soderlund 2003; Hackett 1991). One of the reasons for this is that international events take place far away from our immediate environment and the means of validating the accuracy of their re-presentation by the mainstream media are restricted (Demertzis, Papathanassopoulos & Armenakis 1999: 29). Furthermore, in recent decades, more than ever people from various parts of the world have been immigrating to Western countries. Western peoples' preconceptions can influence their attitudes about newcomers at the institutional level, for example at the passport and immigration offices, or at the personal level since some of these newcomers might end up being new neighbours. Thus, it is my submission that it is of paramount importance to scrutinize the pictures that the media present to us about the rest of the world.

This paper examines the re-presentations of one group of these international actors, the Iraqi Kurds, by the *New York Times* (NYT), during 1988 and 1991. In both of these years, the Kurds were in conflict with the Iraqi central government. The difference, however, was in the relationship between Iraq and the United States. In 1988,

being at war with Iran, Iraq was considered as “the necessary other,” and the only power in the region that could stop its neighbour Iran from spreading its newly triumphant Islamic revolution. At the same time, the West practically ignored or at best downplayed the Iraqi military’s genocidal campaign (Black 1995; HRW-ME¹ 1993) against the Kurds. However, in 1991, after invading Kuwait, Iraq became the number one enemy of the US. On the other hand, the Kurds, who continued their struggle against the Iraqi government, became friends of the US. A critical discourse analysis of randomly sampled news articles illustrates that the *New York Times* (NYT) discursively depicted this shift in US foreign policy towards Iraq and the Kurds.

2. THEORETICAL ISSUES

According to Carruthers (2000), there are at least two views at the two ends of the spectrum about what determines the representations embedded in the media discourse. On the one hand, it is claimed that the media’s discourse is based on the audiences’ taste, concerns and interests. For example, in war-time, “decisions about how much of war to reveal –where to draw boundaries around the showable and sayable– are often rationalized with reference to public sensibilities, not state sensitivity” (Carruthers 2000: 20). This view claims that taking into account the taste of the audiences is a common practice among the mainstream media in wartime or peacetime. If audiences are not satisfied, advertising revenues are lost, and this could mean the demise of the industry.

The second view argues that the mainstream media adheres to the interests and concerns of the elite (Chomsky 1989; Fishman 1980; Hackett 1991; Karim, 2003; Fairclough 1995; Fowler 1991; Van Dijk 1993). For example, Karim argues that “the mainstream media, which are largely owned by the socio-economic elite or the state, are important channels for hegemonic communication and usually function as instruments of consensus-engineering” (2003: 6). In a similar vein, Hackett perceives the mainstream media as “agents of hegemony” (Hackett 1991: 56). Hegemony, rooted in Antonio Gramsci’s ideas, can be defined as

Relations of domination based upon consent rather than coercion, involving the naturalization of practices and their social relations as well as relations between practices, as matters of common sense –hence the concept of hegemony emphasizes the importance of ideology in achieving and maintaining relations of domination. (Chuliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 24)

In other words, the dominant ideology in society is naturalized and is made commonsensical by the ruling elites through knowledge-producing institutions, such as schools and the media. Simply put, hegemony is taught to the public and one of the important training tools is the media. For example, governments deploy the mainstream media to manufacture consent for their public opinion on the foreign policies they adopt. The Western mainstream media are very skilful in constructing consent. An important part of this skilfulness involves effective employment of language and ideological discursive practices. This is one important reason that should motivate CDA researchers to analyze the discourse of the media.

¹ Human Rights Watch, Middle East.

“Yesterday’s «separatists» are today’s «resistance fighters»: Mainstream media as agents of hegemony”

One of the paramount principles that critical discourse analysts adhere to is that language “manifests social processes and interaction,” such as journalistic practices, and it “constitutes” those processes, for example news production and consumption as well (Wodak & Ludwig 1999: 12). To put it differently, language constructs social structures and power relations and simultaneously becomes constructed by them (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 258). With this view of language and discourse,

CDA of a communicative interaction sets out to show that the semiotic and linguistic features of the interaction are systematically connected with what is going on socially, and what is going on socially is indeed going on partly or wholly semiotically or linguistically. Put differently, CDA systematically charts relations of transformation between the symbolic and non-symbolic, between discourse and the non-discursive. (Chularaki & Fairclough 1999: 113)

From this perspective, CDA enables one to make transparent the dialectical relationship between social and linguistic practices. In other words, CDA provides the necessary analytical tools and means of explanation and interpretation that can help us to see how the media become potent agents of hegemony in part through the effective use of language.

Another principle in CDA is the belief that language use most of the time is not arbitrary but principled. Users of a language, for example English, have choices as to what linguistic elements they want to use. For instance, journalists have more than one way to compose a news report in terms of the amount and kind of information they include or exclude (e.g. who to quote and on what), the vocabulary they use to label or describe people (e.g. terrorist vs. freedom fighter), and the grammar they utilize to form phrases and sentences (e.g. passive vs. active voice). The choices journalists make in this respect, consciously or unconsciously, are “principled and systematic” (Fowler *et alii* 1979: 188). In a similar vein, Wodak & Ludwig (1999: 12) propose that discourse “always involves power and ideologies. No interaction exists where power relations do not prevail and where values and norms do not have a relevant role”. Not many types of discourse are as powerful and ideological as those of the media, as will be illustrated shortly.

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

According to Wodak & Ludwig (1999: 12), discourse “is always historical”. This means that discourse “is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before”. In light of this, a brief account of the relevant historical context about and within which the data under investigation was produced is necessary.

Kurds in Iraq constitute about 25% of the country’s total population. They live in the northeast part of Iraq bordering Iran, Turkey, and Syria. Since the 1930s and until very recently, Iraqi Kurds were in conflict with the central government in an attempt to gain cultural and political autonomy within the state of Iraq. There are two time-periods, among others, that stand out in the Iraqi-Kurdish conflict. One is 1988 and the other 1991, both of which will be briefly contextualized in what follows.

In July 1979, Saddam Hussein officially became the president of Iraq, which at the time had closer ties with the Eastern block than the West. In the same year, revolution in Iran led to the replacement of the monarchy by an anti-American esta-

blishment in Tehran. For the US, Iran was perceived as a “threat to world peace” (Karim 2003: 124) and for Iraq a dangerous regional rival. Thus, the US viewed Iraq as the only power in the region that could at the time prevent Iran from spreading its Islamic “Shi’ite fundamentalism” (Karim 2003: 125). In 1980, Iraq invaded several Iranian cities, and this was the onset of a war between the two countries that lasted for eight years.

During the Iran-Iraq war, Kurds continued their armed struggle with the Iraqi central government. In 1988, when the Iraq-Iran war was ended, the Iraqi government intensified its military campaigns against its Kurdish minority (HRW/ME 1995; Black 1993). The climax of those campaigns was a campaign called *Anfal*², which took place in 1988. According to the HRW/ME, “the parallels” between “the Nazi German Holocaust” and *Anfal* “are apt and are often chillingly close” (1995: xvi). According to the Human Rights Watch, the *Anfal* campaign constituted “crimes against humanity and genocide” (20). As a result of this campaign, according to Randal (1997), thousands of Kurds fled to the neighbouring country Turkey. The refugees in Turkey started to draw some attention from the Western media. This, however, as we will see at least in the case of the *New York Times*, did not go beyond mere *suspecting* Iraq of using chemical weapons.

On August 02, 1990, Iraq occupied Kuwait. The Allies’ military campaign led by the US to push Iraq out of Kuwait was accompanied by encouraging unrest inside Iraq. Rising against the central government, Iraqi Kurds managed to take control of most of the Kurdish region in Northern Iraq within a few days. However, at the end of March 1991, in a counter attack, the Iraqi military forces retook the Kurdish towns and cities. Remembering *Anfal* and fearful of its recurrence, two million Iraqi Kurds fled the Iraqi army to the neighbouring countries of Turkey and Iran. This massive exodus, however, was not ignored in the West due to its extensive coverage by the Western media for several weeks.

In light of this historical context, this paper asks the following questions: 1) Is there a difference between the representations of Iraq and the Kurds in 1988 as opposed to 1991 by the *NYT*? 2) How are those differences manifested in the discourse of the newspaper? 3) Why were there such differences? 4) What could these findings reveal about the place of the mainstream media in American society particularly in informing the public regarding international issues and its relationship with the state and its foreign policy?

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. DATA

The data for this study encompasses two sets: 24 news headlines and eight full-text stories from the *NYT*, all chosen through random sampling (for the list of the headlines see appendix 1). I have chosen the *NYT* because it “probably exhibit[s] frag-

² According to the Human Rights Watch/Middle East (1995: 21), the word *Anfal* means, “spoil,” [spoils of war], and it is the name of the eighth Sura of Qur’an, the Muslim’s holy book.

ments of an overall ‘American’ ideological perspective on news events and the world” (Van Dijk 1998: 21). It is arguably the most circulated newspaper in the world.

4.2. METHOD

The analysis in this paper has been carried out at two stages: analyzing the headlines according to the grammar of transitivity and full-text news stories according to naming, lexical choice, overcompleteness and voice. In what follows, I will first describe these analytic tools, and then analyze the data.

Headlines embody the world that journalists themselves and, very likely, their readers experience (Van Dijk, 1993). They not only present the main message of a news story, but also they are what the readers remember the most. To analyze such a world in the headlines, I have utilized Halliday’s *transitivity* system, because transitivity is the grammar of experience (Halliday 1994: 143). In other words, the grammar of transitivity indicates who has done what to whom and with what consequences, and it has proven to be very fruitful in textual analysis (e.g. Trew 1979; Brookes 1995; Teo 2000). While identifying types of processes, according to Halliday’s system (e.g. material, mental, and verbal), I have focused primarily on two types of participants: *Agent*, the external causer of a process, and the *Patient*, the affected participant. Analyzing headlines in this way helps to reveal the details of the world pictured in the *NYT* about the Iraqi Kurds by revealing what processes they are said to be involved in, and in what role (agent or patient) they are depicted.

Despite their importance, headlines sometimes can be misleading in the sense that they may not tell the crux of a news story (Boyd-Barrett 1994: 27; Bell 1998: 83). This could happen when someone other than the author of a story, for example a copy editor, assigns a headline to that story. Thus, to probe for the ideological underpinnings of news stories one needs to go beyond analyzing headlines. In analyzing four full-text stories from each year, I will focus on discourse features other than transitivity, those of naming and lexical choices, overcompleteness and voice.

In analyzing the articles for *naming* choices, I have examined the ways in which the Kurds are referred to. According to Fowler and Kress (1979: 200), “the different possibilities [of naming] signify different assessments by the speaker/writer of his or her relationship with the person referred to or spoken to, and of the formality or intimacy of the situation”. Closely related to naming choices are lexical choices. Fairclough (1989: 116) argues that “a text’s choice of wordings depends on, and helps create, social relationships between participants”, thus lexical choices are ideologically significant. For example, Brookes (1995: 471), in her study of the representation of Africa in the British press, found that choices of wording “construct particular ideological representations of experiences or events”.

According to Van Dijk (1993: 258), “we say that a passage is overcomplete when it gives information that is relatively irrelevant to the description of the events. Such overcomplete passages may be used to convey a negative picture of a news actor”. Finally, in examining voice, I will focus on quotations and indirect reporting. As it has been illustrated (e.g. Van Dijk 1993; Teo 2000), quotations are among the most important elements of news that construct a story. Analyzing quotations can reveal

who has access to the media, defines a particular story, who has credibility, and finally whether and how journalists judge and evaluate the quoted sources (Van Dijk 1993: 252).

5. ANALYSIS

5.1. HEADLINES AND GRAMMAR OF TRANSITIVITY

In 1988, Iraq is given a voice by the NYT to define events in Iraq (88-1, 88-3) (See the appendix for a list of the headlines). It upholds *its right to chemical arms* (88-8): *Iraq's right to chemical arms upheld by official*. The implicit presupposition here seems to be that Iraq does have a right to chemical arms. Iraq is also depicted as the agent of material processes where it fights Kurds and Iranians, who are not to be taken as friends of the US.

While in the previous examples Iraq's actions seem to have been legitimized, Iraq is also said to have used gas against the Kurds (88-11): *Iraq used gas against Kurds Senate Staff Report charges*. Representing Iraq this way, when it is placed at the focal agent position of using "gas against Kurds," could be interpreted as negative.

Table 1 Transitivity analysis of headlines from 1988

	Participant	Process	Participant
1	Iraq {A}	says {V}	it routed Iranians and Kurds {PA} in fight in Northeast support in US visit {N}
2	Kurdish chief {A}	gains {R}	to mount drive against Kurds
3	Iraqis {A}	reported {V}	gas is used {P} in assault {N}
4	Protest to UN {A} {AB}	says {V}	Iraqi on reported {P} gassing {N} of Kurds
5	Shultz {A}	[is going] to see {ME}	Kurds gas or poor diet? Iraqi attacks, but...
6	Kurds' symptoms {AB}	[are]	Skeptical
7	Refugees {A}	cite {ME}	U.N. to send team to Kurdish areas: A chemical-war inquiry of Iraqi use of gas {N} [if a inquiry team is sent]
8	Doctors {A}	are {R}	Uncertain in Baghdad
9	US and Allies {A}	ask {V}	
10	Specific evidence {PA} {AB}	would be sought {M} {P}	by [Iraqi] official {A}
11	Access {A} {AB}	is {R}	Because the homes are gone {P}
12	Anti-US protest [by Iraqis] {V} AB	[took place] [MA]	For U.N. investigation {N}
13	Iraq's right to chemical arms {PA}	[was] upheld {ME}	Gas against Kurds {PA}
14	Kurds {A}	can't go home again {MA}	[Iraq used gas against Kurds] in Iraq
15	Demands {PA} {AB}	[are made] {V} {P}	
16	Iraq {A}	used {MA}	
17	Senate Staff Report {A}	charges {V}	
18	Poison gas traces {PA}	are found {MA} {P}	
19	report by British television {A} {AB}	gives {MA}	support to charges of attack {N} on the Kurds {PA}

Abbreviations: A=Agent, AB=Abstract, B=Behavioural, BN=Beneficiary, MA=Material, ME=Mental, N=Nominalization, P=Passivization, PA=Patient, R=Relational, V=Verbal
 † denotes subtypes of processes and participants.
 [] denotes an elided part that has been added.

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Table 2 Transitivity analysis of headlines from 1991

	Participant	Process	Participant
1	Kurds alone {PA}	viewed {ME}{P}	as unlikely to oust Hussein
2	US {A}	urges {V}	Turkey to open borders to fleeing Kurds
	Ankara {A}	bars {MA}	Mass entry {N}
	Bush {A}	condemns {V}	“brutality” by Hussein against rebels--no Iraqi reply to U.N.
	US {A}	urges {V}	Turkey to open borders to Kurdish refugees in Turkish camps
3	Kurdish refugees from ‘88 exodus {A}	still languishing {ME}	
4	US military {A}	takes over {MA}	Relief for Kurdish refugees in Iraq
	Tolls [of Kurdish refugees] {A}	stir {ME}	Anxiety
	[US military] {A}	plan {ME}	to feed 700,000 a day and [to] establish temporary shelter
5	[US military] {A}	[plan] {ME}	military relief effort [for Kurds] {BN}
	US {A}	presses {MA}	rescue {N}
6	Hungry Kurds {A}	await {MA}	into Iran, filling a village 6 times
7	Kurds {A}	trudge {MA}	growing urgency
	Efforts to move Kurds {A} {AB}	takes on {R}	
8	Kurds {A}	spurn MA	Rebel advice
	[Kurds] {A}	reject MA	plan to return to city
9	Iraq {A}	acts {MA}	to halt the spread of Allied zone for the Kurds {BN}
10	Kurds {A}	have firm grasp {MA}	on Iraqi city
11	Latest rock-star relief effort {A}	Benefits {MA}	the Kurds {BN}
12	Kurds {PA}	[are] frozen in place {MA}	at Iran’s frontier

Note: For the explanation of abbreviations and symbols see the previous table.

The rest of the headlines, however, diminish that negative role. The *NYT* does not hold Iraq responsible for the action of using gas against the Kurds; it is rather a “Senate Staff Report” which has not necessarily found the truth but rather *charges* Iraq with this alleged action. It seems that this way, the paper not only distances itself from the claim by attributing it to the Senate report but also legitimizes its own distancing by labelling the Senate’s findings as “charges” and not necessarily facts.

Furthermore, Iraq’s agency in this very act of using gas against the Kurds is further reduced through an over-lexicalization³, which is evident in the use of a set of related terms and vocabularies: *gas, gassing, symptoms, poor diet, doctors, cite, skeptical, inquiry, evidence, uncertain, investigation, charges (x2), traces*. This vocabulary chain more likely contributes to the construction of a medical investigation on a disease rather than an inquiry into chemical warfare. This interpretation becomes more plausible when one looks at this headline (88-5): *Kurds’ symptoms: Gas or poor diet? Refugees cite Iraqi attacks, but doctors are skeptical*. It is safe to suggest that doctors’ opinions when judging “symp-

³ “Overlexicalisation is the provision of a large number of synonymous or near-synonymous terms for communication of some specialized area of experience” (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 211). Fowler (1991: 82) also suggests that “clusters of related terms are formed to mark out distinct kinds of preoccupation and topic”.

toms,” can be perceived more valid than the “claims” of refugees. Due to structuring the headlines in this fashion, gassing the Kurds by Iraq is ostensibly trivialized.

Casting doubt on the use of chemical weapons by Iraq against Kurds in 1988 is reinforced by the fact that such an act by Iraq is either reported by unknown agents (Sayers) (e.g. 88-3, 88-4), or is negatively evaluated by *doctors* who are *skeptical* about the reporting of the Kurds on this issue (88-5), or is a *charge* at best (e.g. 88-11, 88-12).

The Kurds are the least active participants in the 1988 headlines. In (88-2) they are agents of *gain[ing] support in US visit*. In (88-5) Kurdish refugees are Sayers, but they are discredited by medical experts who doubt if Iraq had used gas against them. In 91-9 they *can't go home because [their] homes are gone*, however, the agent of removing Kurdish homes is not clear. Overall and for the most part the Kurds are patients who are acted upon, but they are victims without clearly identified agents, thus, it is as though they are the victims of their own predicaments rather than the Iraqi central government under the rule of Saddam Hussein.

In 1991, it is a very different picture that the *NYT* presents. The US either *condemns brutality by Hussein* (91-2) or acts to help Kurdish refugees (91-2, 91-4, 91-5, 91-11). This “humanitarian” mission of the US is legitimized by the kinds of processes and participant roles attributed to the Kurds and Iraq. Iraq has been given a very limited and negative agent role, and also the patient role of being condemned by Bush (91-9). On the other hand, in contrast to 1988, Kurds are active participants. They flee the “brutality” of Hussein (91-2), but at the same time *have firm grasp on Iraqi city* (91-10), thus acting against the enemy of the US, Iraq. The Kurds are both agent and patient of processes that portray them as allies of the US (91-1, 91-3-7, and 91-11-12). They are portrayed as *refugees* who are *alone, fleeing, on exodus, languishing in camps, hungry, frozen* and who *trudge* into neighbouring countries and *await rescue*, therefore, their case *takes on growing urgency* which not only compels the US military to rescue them but also a rock-star who stages a benefit concert for the Kurds (91-11).

This contrastive analysis of the headlines about Kurds in the *NYT* in the two years in question reveals that there has been a difference in representation. While the *NYT* favoured Iraq in 1988 over the Kurds, it did the opposite in 1991. This tentative conclusion seems to be valid when I attend to more detailed analysis using other CDA tools.

5.2. ANALYZING FULL-TEXT STORIES

5.2.1. Naming Choices

There are some important differences in the ways in which Kurds are referred to in 1988 versus 1991. Some of the names used in referring to the Kurds are present in both years, such as *Kurds, rebels, or guerrillas* all of which could be considered neutral to label a minority opposition group to a state. That is to say that they may not have any negative or positive connotations in particular. There are, however, some differences in the frequency of some names, for example *refugees*, which occurs in both years. According to the *NYT*, in 1988, there were 100,000 Iraqi Kurds who fled Iraqi chemical weapons and were staying at refugee camps in Turkey. Nonetheless, using the word *refugee* is very limited. On the other hand, in 1991, except for the term *Kurds*

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no other label is as frequent as *refugees*. Another example of this is the word *civilians* or related words such as *children, infants, women, or men* that enjoy much more presence in 1991. Thus, it appears that the naming choice for Kurds in 1991 is to create sympathy towards them.

The major difference between naming choices for Kurds in 1988 and 1991, however, is evident in the labels and titles that are used in one year but not in the other. In 1988, when Kurds are in conflict with the Iraqi government, which is not an enemy of the West yet, the *NYT* refers to them as *separatists*, and *dissident elements*. However, the two major parties that the *NYT* refers to (PUK and KDP⁴) have never officially demanded *independence*, therefore they could not be *separatists*⁵. It could be suggested that labelling Kurds as *separatists* makes them more vulnerable to Iraq’s punishment. That is, since they aim at disintegrating a sovereign country, Iraq, their punishment by the Iraqi government is not unusual. Thus, the Kurds are to blame for what has happened to them, not the Iraqi authorities.

This discursive construction in 1988 is strengthened by the fact that the *NYT* quotes Iraqi officials, who call the Kurds *saboteurs*, and their leader, Jalal Talabani, a *traitor and terrorist*. Note that in 1988, Iraqis are quoted to label the Kurds, but in 1991, Kurds are quoted to label the government of Iraq and its leader. In 1991, the terms *separatist* or *terrorist* for labelling the Kurdish rebels do not exist; instead there are terms that portray the Kurds positively, such as *Iraqi opposition*, and *Peshmargas*⁶.

5.2.2. Lexical Choices

An interesting lexical choice by the *NYT* pertains to the location of the conflict between Iraq and the Kurds. In 1988, that location is identified as *northeast of Iraq, northern Iraq, Kurdish region, Kurdish Iraq*. There are also references to some specific villages and towns in that region, for example *Kurdish villages*, or *Halabja, a Kurdish city*. In all the articles analyzed from 1988, there is just one reference to *Kurdistan* and which is closed in quotation marks as a part of a passage uttered by the Kurdish leader, Jalal Talabani. *Kurdistan* means the land of Kurds (McDowell 2004: 5-8) and it has denoted distinctiveness and nationhood, thus it has been used by Kurdish nationalists and often researchers rather than the states who rule over the Kurds including the government of Saddam Hussein. By placing quotation marks around the word *Kurdistan*, the *NYT* seems to keep a distance from the claim that such a place really exists.

In contrast to 1988, in 1991 the terms used above, for referring to the location of the conflict between Iraq and the Kurds, for example *Northern Iraq* or the *Iraqi North* are interchangeable with the term *Kurdistan*. For example, in just one of the articles (91-1), there are six references made to *Kurdistan*. This could mean two things. In

⁴ Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and Kurdish Democratic Party-Iraq (KDP) are two major political parties of the Iraqi Kurds.

⁵ For a very brief account of the Iraqi Kurds’ nationalist movement and the role of the two main parties, PUK and KDPI, see van Bruinessen (2000: 54-6).

⁶ Peshmarga (*Pêşmerge* in Kurdish) is an indigenous term used by Kurds to refer to their fighters. It roughly means those who are ready to be the first to sacrifice their lives for the sake of other Kurds.

1988, the Kurdish-Iraqi conflict takes place in IRAQ, northern IRAQ or in the IRAQI north. Therefore, whatever happens to the Kurds is an internal Iraqi matter, and because of this no one including the US should interfere in the matter. In contrast, in 1991, Kurds live in KURDISTAN, a distinct homeland and where Iraqi military mistreat them, according to the *NYT*. This way the Kurdish-Iraqi conflict is externalized in relation to the sovereign nation-state of Iraq. This discursive construction by the *NYT* of the place where the Iraqi-Kurdish conflict occurs seems to work towards legitimizing the US interference in northern Iraq, as it did by sending troops there and also establishing the no-fly zone in the north of Iraq.

5.2.3. *Overcompleteness*

A recurring piece of information in stories from 1988, when Iraq is not the enemy of the West, is the Kurds' close tie with Iran. This is when Iran not only is at war with Iraq but is also considered an enemy of the West. In a medium-sized story of about half a page (88-2), there are 12 references made to Iran and the ties Kurds have to Iran: "Kurdish separatist groups in Iraq that are cooperating with Iran..." or "a turncoat funded and armed by Iran...". The latter refers to a Kurdish leader, Jalal Talabani. In another story of about 240 words, there are ten references made to Iran, for example, "Jalal Talabani, a leader of the Kurdish separatists backed by *Iran*..." (*NYT*, April, 03, 1988: A14). In short, the data shows that there is a pattern of associating the Kurds with Iran. At the time Iran was at war with Iraq and called the US "the great Satan" (Karim, 2003). Although the major Kurdish opposition groups continue maintaining their ties with Iran there is no mention of such relationship by the *NYT* from 1991 on⁷.

Instead, in 1991, the background information about the Kurds speaks of decades long "repression" and "atrocities" done to Kurds by the Iraqi government. Referring to the 1970s, when one of the most persistent Kurdish revolts collapsed, the *NYT* writes, "tens of thousands of Kurds were arrested and sent to detention camps in southern Iraq (91-1)". About 1988, the reporter writes, "during the Iran-Iraq war, the Iraqi government moved ruthlessly against Kurdish rebels (...) the repression included the relocation of Kurdish *civilians* and attacks like the *chemical weapons* strike at the town of Halabja in 1988 that killed about 5,000 Kurds..." (My emphasis).

Whereas in 1988, the *NYT* calls Kurds' reporting about the Iraqi military's use of chemical weapons "charges", "accusations" and "allegations" the *NYT* in 1991, reports on the same event as a fact. The number of people killed in the chemical attacks is also different from one year to the other. From 2000 in 1988 (88-2), the *NYT* increased the number to 5000 in 1991.

5.2.4. *Voice*

Discrediting Kurds and questioning what they say is a recurrent pattern in 1988. First, their comments are labelled as *charges, accusations and allegations*. This way,

⁷ The Iraqi Kurdish groups, PUK and KDPI, have continued to have good relations with Iran to this day.

the *NYT* reporters disassociate themselves with what the Kurds say. Second, when their statements are not in line with those of the *NYT*, and also of Iraq, they end up closed in quotation marks: *He said in London on Friday that Iraq was “waging a genocide campaign against our people through the daily use of poison gas”* (88-1). Again, the *NYT* distances itself from what the Kurds say. Another way of discrediting the Kurdish voice is by referring to negative qualities of the Sayers and thus portraying them as untrustworthy. For example, in 88-2 a Kurdish leader is given space to criticize Iraqi government for their treatment of the Kurds, but at the same time he is described as “not a romantic leader ... but [to Baghdad] a turncoat funded and armed by Iran”. In the next paragraph, Iraq’s ambassador to US, and *a classmate of the Kurdish leader*, calls Mr. Talabani *a traitor and a terrorist*. Mentioning that the Iraqi ambassador used to be Mr. Talabani’s classmate gives credibility to what the ambassador says about Talabani.

Finally, Kurds are discredited by having the validity of their sayings doubted by bringing in counter arguments put forward by legitimate knowers such as medical doctors (88-5): “Kurds’ symptoms: gas or poor diet? Refugees cite Iraqi attacks, *but doctors are skeptical*” (My emphasis). Whether Iraq has used chemical weapons against the Kurds is put into doubt. This doubt is strengthened in different ways. For example, in 88-6, about the “charges” against Iraq for using chemical weapons against the Kurds, we read: “*Experts say that international law is unclear whether the prohibition [of the use of chemical weapons] also applies to military action within a country directed against dissident elements*” (88-6, My emphasis). What seems to have been implied here by the *NYT* is that if Iraq uses chemical weapons against *dissident elements* it may not be against international law.

6. DISCUSSION

Media critics particularly within the political economy and cultural studies paradigms have long argued that there is a mutual influence between the international news coverage of the mainstream media and the foreign policies of the states in which they are produced (Chomsky 1989, 1992; Van Dijk 1998; Soderlund 2003; Hackett 1991). The main objective of this paper was to illustrate such influences by conducting a contrastive analysis of the coverage of the Iraqi Kurds in the *NYT* during 1988 and 1991. I employed Halliday’s transitivity system in addition to using some CDA tools such as naming and lexical choices, over-completeness and voice. The findings can be summarized in the following points:

- A. There is a clear contrast between the discursive representation of the Kurds in 1988 and 1991.
- B. In 1988, the agent of genocide against Kurds is mystified, thus Kurds are portrayed as victims of their own actions, e.g. demanding independence or siding with Iran. However, in 1991, Kurds are victims of Iraq’s actions in addition to being active participants who carry out actions against Iraq, the enemy of the US.
- C. In 1988, Kurds are *separatists* and *dissidents* who side with Iran, the enemy of Iraq and the US. Thus, they seem to deserve what they endure in the hands of Iraq. In contrast, in 1991, although Kurds continue to have ties with Iran, they are primarily portrayed as refugees who are up against Iraq, the enemy of the US at the time. Thus, Kurds are pictured as the US allies.
- D. In 1988, the Kurdish voice is discredited by labelling their sayings as *charges* and *accusations*, evaluating them through Iraqi authorities and doubting their validity by bringing in counter arguments put forward by unidentified experts. In contrast, in 1991, Kurds are

heard and believed regarding whatever.

- E. In 1988, the Kurdish-Iraqi conflict is portrayed as an Iraqi internal matter and thus the outside world is not granted the right to interfere in the name of protecting the Kurds. However, in 1991 Kurds are portrayed as a distinct people living in a distinct land called Kurdistan, thus deserve autonomy and recognition from the international community.

This summary answers the questions that I asked at the beginning except for one: why should there be these differences in representation of the same group of people by the same newspaper but in two different years?

A possible reason for this difference could be that the journalists did not have the evidence to support the “claims” Kurds made at the time, which later became facts. For example, they did not have access to the documents that the HRW gained access to after the Gulf War. These documents belonged to the Iraqi military and contained detailed descriptions of the Iraqi campaign against the Kurds. Based on these documents, Black (1993) explains that the military campaigns against the Kurds by the Iraqi regime

were characterized by mass summary executions and the mass disappearance of many tens of thousands of noncombatants, including large numbers of women and children, and sometimes the entire population of villages; the widespread use of chemical weapons; the wholesale destruction of some 2,000 villages, including homes, schools, mosques and wells; the looting of civilian property; the arbitrary arrest and jailing in conditions of extreme deprivation of thousands of women, children and elderly people; the forced displacement of hundreds of thousands of villagers; and the destruction of the rural Kurdish economy and infrastructure. (xvii)

It is this kind of observation that makes the HRW-ME call the treatment of the Kurds by the Iraqi state in 1988 “genocide”. However, one has to keep in mind that in 1988 the *NYT* did not have access to the documents on which the 1993 and 1995 reports of HRW on Iraqi Kurds are based.

Despite this, there are a few reasons that could make one doubt whether the *NYT*'s differential representation is due to the lack of evidence. The first reason is that the Kurds did claim at the time that genocide had taken place against them, but as illustrated in the analysis, they were not considered credible sources. This is not to suggest that they should have been credible, but rather to suggest that if they were not credible in 1988, then the same group of people equally should not have been credible in 1991. Yet, in 1991, they are credible reporters, and as shown in the analysis, their statements were neither doubted nor were evaluated by Iraqi authorities or the *NYT* in negative terms.

If the Kurds were not credible one might suggest that the *NYT* could rely on the report by Galbraith (1988) to the US Senate commission on foreign relations, since it seems to be very thorough in its investigation of the Iraqi Kurds' situation. This report is particularly important because it was published in the same year and which the *NYT* was aware of at the time. This report described the situation as follows:

The powerful *eyewitness* accounts, the threads of *physical evidence*, and the pattern of past Iraqi use of chemical weapons provide *overwhelming evidence* that Iraq dropped chemical weapons on its Kurdish population in the northeastern reaches of Iraq from August 25 through August 27 (...) The Iraqis have not only used gas to ferret out fighters hiding in caves, they have used it indiscriminately against Kurdish *villagers*. The chemical massacre of Kurdish villagers in Halabja last March demonstrated the Iraqi's willingness to use chemical weapons not just as instruments of war, but as tools for *mass murder*. (Galbraith 1988: 32-33, My emphasis)

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This report left very little doubt that Iraq did use chemical weapons against the Kurdish civilians. Note that the report is getting very close to using the term genocide by referring to “mass murder”.

Based on Galbraith’s (1988) report, the US Senate proposed a bill of sanctions against Iraq. But, according to Randal (1997),

the Senate’s sanctions bill collapsed because of a jurisdictional fight in Congress: wheat, rice, and other powerful lobbies doing business with Saddam Hussein had intervened. The administration was only too happy to find such a lucrative market for American food exports and showed no outward concern about the wisdom or folly of allowing domestic lobbies to dictate policy toward such a controversial country. (80)

The US administration continued allowing exports to Iraq and assisting it formally (Chomsky 1992; Randal 1997; Salih 1995)⁸. Considering the findings in this paper, it appears that the *NYT* account of the events in northern Iraq is more in line with the policies of the White House towards Iraq rather than with Galbraith or the HRW reports.

The third reason for questioning the differential representation of the *NYT* of the Iraqi Kurds is that the *NYT* reporters did have a chance to visit Kurdish refugees in Turkish camps (88-5), and even managed to visit Iraqi Kurdistan (88-7). In the latter report, the journalist Haberman, reporting from the region on the leveled Kurdish villages, writes: “The razing of these villages has eliminated hundreds of possible havens and recruiting grounds for guerrilla bands...”, implying that Iraqis’ *final offense* was not against the civilians but the *guerrilla bands*, thus legitimizing the Iraqis’ actions.

The representation of the Kurds by the *NYT* seems to be an example of how the mainstream media can be agents of hegemony. This agency partially entails media’s ignorance about or at best minimizing “human rights abuses committed by pro-American regimes” (Hackett, 1991: 34). It can be suggested that to minimize “human rights abuses” committed by Iraq, the genocidal *Anfal* campaign by Iraq was ignored or at best minimized in 1988, because Iraq was “the enemy of my enemy”, namely Iran, therefore, a friend, or what Hackett calls, a “pro-American”. Punishing Iraq, and thus supporting Kurds in 1988, did not seem to serve the interests of the US, because it needed Iraq as “the necessary other” (Karim 2003) and the Western corporations also saw Iraq as a lucrative market (Chomsky 1992; Randal 1997).

7. CONCLUSION

The results of a combination of textual and intertextual analysis of randomly chosen news stories have illustrated that the representations of the same news actors, the Iraqi Kurds, by the *New York Times* (*NYT*) changed in 1991 as opposed to 1988.

⁸ According to Salih (1995), the Bush transition team, in January 1989, prepared a guideline for the new administration’s policy towards Iraq in which the administration was advised, “to recognize Iraq’s present and potential power in the region and accord it relatively high priority.” According to Salih, “even though they described Iraq’s human rights records as ‘abysmal’, Bush’s foreign analysts concluded that ‘in no way should we associate ourselves with the 60 year Kurdish rebellion in Iraq or oppose Iraq’s legitimate attempts to suppress it.’”

This change in representation was not because of any change per se in the plight of the Iraqi Kurds but because of the change in Washington's foreign policy towards Iraq. Whereas during the 1980s Iraq was considered as "the necessary other," the power to prevent the spread of the Iranian Islamic revolution in the region, in 1991 it became the prominent threat to the interests of the US and its allies after the invasion of Kuwait. The results of the overall analysis show that the *NYT*'s news coverage of the Iraqi Kurds was selected and constructed within the dominant ideology and the hegemonic discourse of US society. Not surprisingly, ideologically driven selections were in accord with the foreign policies of Washington.

In conclusion, I would like to suggest that criticizing the mainstream media does not mean that there is a conspiracy on the part of the media or journalists in particular to deceive the public. Although some editors in newsrooms might knowingly construct a news item to serve specific purposes, it may not be the case for all editors and certainly not for all journalists. Practices and actions of news production and distribution are based on choices made in fundamental ways by the media owners or operators such as editors or journalists. It is essential, however, to realize that journalistic choices regarding stories and ways of reporting them are made within a "common-sensical" view of the world or a hegemonic framework adhering to the status quo, so much so that some of the textual moves by news writers could be unconscious. This, however, should not be a passport for the mainstream media to escape criticism particularly regarding their coverage of foreign news. Most of what we know about the rest of the world is through the mass media. Therefore, the importance of examining the contents of the media is self-evident. Since most of the media content especially regarding the news is conveyed through language, analyzing the language of the media seems to be a necessary and important research subject given that our explanations and final critical interpretations are carried out within the relevant historical and socio-cultural contexts.

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APPENDIX 1

Headlines		
	1988	Date
88-1*	Iraq says it routed Iranians and Kurds in fight in Northeast	April 03: A14
88-2*	Kurdish chief gains support in US visit	June 22: A3
88-3	Iraqis reported to mount drive against Kurds: Gas is used in assault, protest to U.N. says	Sep. 01: A1, 14
88-4	Shultz to see Iraqi on reported gassing of Kurds	Sep. 8: A16
88-5*	Kurds' symptoms: Gas or poor diet? Refugees cite Iraqi attacks, but doctors are skeptical	Sep. 12: A1, A5
88-6*	US and Allies ask U.N. to send team to Kurdish areas: A chemical-war inquiry; Specific evidence of Iraqi use of gas would be south—access is uncertain	Sep. 13: A1, A6
88-7	Anti-US protest in Baghdad	Sept. 13: A6
88-8	Iraq's right to chemical arms upheld by official	Sept. 16: A11
88-9*	Kurds can't go home again, because the homes are gone	Sept. 18: A1, 14
88-10	Demands for U.N. investigation	Sept. 16: A11

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88-11*	Iraq used gas against Kurds Senate Staff Report charges	Sept. 22: A21
88-12	Poison gas traces are found in Iraq; report by British television gives support to charges of attack on the Kurds	Dec. 04: A25
1991		
91-1*	Kurds alone viewed as unlikely to oust Hussein	March 20: A12
91-2*	US urges Turkey to open borders to fleeing Kurds: Ankara bars mass entry: Bush condemns “brutality” by Hussein against rebels- no Iraqi reply to U.N. US urges Turkey to open borders to Kurdish refugees	April 05: A1, A9
91-3*	Kurdish refugees from ‘88 exodus still languishing in Turkish camps	April 13: A4
91-4	US military takes over relief for Kurdish refugees in Iraq: Tolls stir anxiety: Plan to feed 700,000 a day and establish temporary shelter	April 13: A1
91-5	US presses military relief effort; Hungry Kurds await rescue	April 14: A10
91-6	Kurds trudge into Iran, filling a village 6 times	April 14: A10
91-7	Efforts to move Kurds takes on growing urgency	April 22: A8
91-8	Iraq acts to halt the spread of Allied zone for the Kurds	May 10: A10
91-9*	Kurds spurn rebel advice; reject plan to return to city	May 13: A8
91-10	Kurds have firm grasp on Iraqi city	July 22: A3
91-11	Latest rock-star relief effort benefits the Kurds	May 13: A8
91-12	Kurds frozen in place at Iran’s frontier	April 13: A1

*Headlines with an asterisk have been used for textual analysis as well.

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**THE CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC OPINION
IN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS AND OPINION PIECES:
THE CASE OF *USA TODAY***

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Abstract: This paper's main aim is to characterise the *problem-solution* (PS) pattern of textual organisation in a sample of 60 newspaper editorials and opinion pieces extracted from *USA TODAY*. The analytical tool applied is Tirkkonen-Condit's method for the description of the argumentative textual structure (1985), which has been recently updated and complemented in the light of more recent proposals (Teo 1995; Alonso 2002). It is argued here that the semantic overdevelopment of some of the PS components over the others and their strategic distribution within the PS textual pattern respond to deliberate manoeuvrings on the part of the writers to be more persuasive and to achieve communicative effectiveness in a given context.

Keywords: Argumentative text structure, Newspaper opinion pieces, Problem-solution pattern of textual organisation, Text strategies, Communicative effectiveness

0. INTRODUCTION

That newspaper editorials and opinion pieces play a crucial role in the formation of public opinion is a widely acknowledged assumption. Contrary to the rest of journalistic prose, which may be loosely termed 'descriptive' or 'informative', these texts are eminently argumentative since the writer takes a step further and comments on a generally controversial topic. Roughly speaking, editorialists' and opinion writer's main goals are to inquire into the acceptability of a questionable point, to raise awareness and, ultimately, to increase the odds of accomplishing the reader's adherence to the thesis presented. Clearly, in light of these goals and in view of the fact that editorials and opinion pieces are addressed to a large and heterogeneous target of readers, the study of their textual intricacies is intriguing.

However, unlike other areas of journalistic prose which have been extensively explored, such as newspaper content and language (e.g. Van Dijk 1980, 1988a, 1988b; Fowler 1991; Bell 1991; Fairclough 1995; White 1997; Downing 2000; inter alia), newspaper editorials and opinion pieces have been the centre of interest of few studies of purely linguistic matrix, and even fewer have paid attention to their textual structure. The present paper attempts to fill this gap by characterising the textual structure of both editorials and opinion articles taken from the American newspaper *USA TODAY*. Particular emphasis will be given to the way in which the *problem-solution* pattern of textual organisation (henceforth, PS) unfolds in the corpus.

The PS pattern has been described as one of the possible linguistic realisations of reader-writer interaction (Hoey 2001) and, while it is pervasive in virtually all text types, some scholars see it as the distinctive trait of argumentative discourse, which is, in turn, conceived as a problem-solving process (Tirkkonen-Condit 1985; Teo 1995). The same investigations highlight the capacity of certain textual components to appear in practically any position within the PS sequence, but none has gone beyond the mere structural variations in order to try to explain the reason why this phenomenon occurs. The identification of the contextual parameters which determine the linguistic realisations of the PS sequence in editorials and opinion articles is the first aspect on which this study sheds light. A connection is also ventured between the different combinations of textual components within the PS sequence and the manipulative strategies used by the writer to achieve the reader's alignment.

The present study is based on empirical evidence gathered from 30 editorials and 30 opinion pieces taken from *USA TODAY* (<http://www.usatoday.com>) and covering a span of one year (from April 1998 to April 1999). This top-selling national newspaper daily offers a debate on issues of general interest polarised between two antithetical texts: an editorial (*Our view*) and an opinion article (*Other views*). The comparative intra-linguistic study of these pairs enables the analyst to assess whether the linguistic realisation of the PS textual pattern is determined by variables of genre and register or by precise decisions taken by each writer in each communicative situation.

This paper is organised as follows: Section 1 delineates the main characteristics of the PS structure and sets forth a brief overview of the contributions made to its characterisation in argumentative discourse by Tirkkonen-Condit (1985) and Teo (1995), central to this article. In sections 2, 3 and 4, the main objectives of this study are laid out and the characteristics of the *USA TODAY* corpus are described. Finally, in sections 5 and 6 results are presented and discussed.

1. AN OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON THE PS TEXTUAL PATTERN IN ARGUMENTATIVE WRITTEN DISCOURSE

The PS model of textual organisation was identified by Beardsley (1950) for the first time (quoted in Hoey 1983: 199), and then was more thoroughly described by Hutchins (1977), Jordan (1980, 1984), Crombie (1985) and, particularly, by Hoey (1983, 1986, 2001). The latter, having analysed texts ranging from scientific articles to fairy tales, postulated its pervasiveness and came to the conclusion that it "is arguably the most common pattern of all" (Hoey 2001: 123). The PS sequence is explicable in terms of logical, linear progression of the following categories:

- *situation*, describes facts and objective circumstances;
- *problem*, introduces a problematic aspect of the situation and calls for a solution;
- *response* or *solution*, either explains how the problem has been resolved or puts forward suggestions and recommendations;
- *evaluation/result*¹, positively evaluates the solution proposed. A negative *evaluation* follo-

¹ Hoey affirms that the last two PS components –*result* and *evaluation*– usually appear together, joint in a single sentence, although this is not always the case. In addition, he explains that another component

wing a *solution* component entails a recycling pattern and a return to the *problem*.

Drawing upon E. O. Winter’s studies on clause relations in discourse, Hoey conceives the PS pattern as resulting from the reader-writer interaction and adopts the question-technique, that is to say, the dialogical treatment of the written monologue, to unravel textual inner workings. The nodal concept underlying such a technique is that texts are sites of interactions between writers and readers, as if the former were constantly answering the latter’s questions. Each textual component, therefore, is interpreted as the writer’s answer to a series of imaginary questions which, in the majority of cases, remain implicit in natural texts. The following example illustrates this point:

- (1) **USA TODAY 13/07/98**
Privacy? At most HMOs you don’t have any
(What is the situation?) ¹Two years ago, the Harvard Community Health Plan, a Massachusetts-based health maintenance organization (HMO), computerized medical records for its 300,000 patients. **(What problem arose?)** ²As a result, the most private mental health records, including doctors’ notes, were stored in easily accessed electronic files that any HMO employee could see.
(What was the response to the problem?) ³When news of the privacy breach hit the papers, furious patients forced the HMO to back down. ⁴Today only selected staffers can view the medical files. Mental health records are kept separate from other treatment notes.⁵ And the HMO allows patients to review computerized “audit trails” tracking who has viewed their personal health histories.
(What is the writer’s opinion about the previous response?) ⁶ But Harvard’s rapid response is the exception, hardly the rule. (...)

In the introductory section it has been stressed that only a few scholars have correlated the PS structure specifically with argumentative discourse (Tirkkonen-Condit 1985; Teo 1995). Tirkkonen-Condit (1985) is well aware that the PS sequence can be found in texts of various lengths and/or types; yet she hypothesizes that the PS structure, because of its cognitive characteristics, is much more in consonance with argumentation than with any other discourse type. This assumption leads her to conclude that the PS sequence coincides with the argumentative discourse superstructure, i.e. with the abstract scheme organizing its global meaning, also known as the compositional plan of the text. She also identifies any chunk of text manifesting the sequence *situation– problem –solution – evaluation*, either entirely or partially, as an argumentative minitext. The *Problem* component alone implies the existence of a minitext, given the fact that, in Tirkkonen-Condit’s view, the other components are optional. In other words, an argumentative text can be composed of:

1. *problem* alone;
2. *situation* + *problem*;
3. *situation* + *problem*+ *solution*;
4. *problem* + *solution*;
5. *problem* + *solution* + *evaluation*;
6. *situation* + *problem* + *solution*+ *evaluation*;

called *Plan* can sometimes appear in the PS sequence, acting as an intermediate stage between the *Problem* and the *Solution* or *Response*. As Hoey explains, “(it) either defines what might count as an adequate Response or makes a suggestion as to what Response to adopt” (cf. 2001: 127).

Starting from the identification of the PS sequence in two authentic texts, Tirkkonen-Condit created a composite method specifically devised for the study of textual structure in written argumentation by combining different modes of analysis, each operating at a different level within the text, namely: the PS analysis (Hoey 1979, 1983), the superstructural and macrostructural analysis (Van Dijk 1980) and Aston's (1977) insights on adjacency pairs in argumentative discourse. The concrete application of Tirkkonen-Condit's tool encompasses the dissection of texts into communicative acts, whose grammatical correspondence may be the sentence or the clause, and the examination of each act both in its *cotext* (by unravelling rhetorical relations holding between units) and in its *context* (by assigning an illocutionary value, on the basis of the dialogical treatment of the written monologue). Tirkkonen-Condit maintains that when the PS analysis is carried out in combination with the interactional analysis (the identification of rhetorical relations) and the illocutionary analysis (the identification of illocutionary acts), results enable the analyst to linguistically characterise the PS pattern and to determine whether a text can be labelled as "argumentative". Table 1 shows the characterisation of each of the PS components resulting from Tirkkonen-Condit's method:

Table 1: Tirkkonen-Condit' characterisation of the PS sequence (1985)²

	Typical rhetorical relations	Main Illocutionary force	Typical illocutionary acts	Dominant sentence type (Werlich, 1976)	Linguistic markers
<i>Situation</i> (describes facts and objective circumstances)	SITUATION; EXPLANATION; ELABORATION; EXEMPLIFICATION	Inform	Statements	Classificatory sentence	-----
<i>Problem</i> (introduces a problematic aspect of the situation and calls for a solution)	NEGATIVE EVALUATION; JUSTIFICATION	Convince	Representative (statements, assertions, reported assertions)	Declarative and evaluative sentences	<i>However;</i> <i>but;</i> <i>yet;</i> <i>still;</i> <i>alibough;</i> <i>While</i>
<i>Solution</i> (explains how the problem is being solved or puts forward suggestions and recommendations)	SOLUTION; ELABORATION; REFORMULATION	Recommend	Directive (recommendations and proposals)	Directive sentences	<i>Thus;</i> <i>so;</i> <i>therefore</i>
<i>Evaluation</i> (speculates about the feasibility of the solution)	POSITIVE EVALUATION; JUSTIFICATION; ELABORATION	Evaluate	Assertions	Evaluative sentences	<i>However,</i> <i>But,</i> <i>In fact,</i> <i>Yet,</i> <i>Nevertheless,</i> <i>Good,</i> <i>Bad,</i> <i>Important</i> <i>Difficult, etc.</i>

The importance of Tirkkonen-Condit's method has been unanimously acknowledged by the scientific community in general. It has been widely used both in applied linguistics and in contrastive rhetoric (e.g. Connor 1987; Connor & Lauer

² Tirkkonen-Condit 1985: 39-41; 49-53, 67ff.

1988; inter alia) for the analysis of argumentative compositions by L2 students. This paper endorses the belief that there is a cognitive correlation between the PS pattern and argumentative discourse, even though it is argued that there can be different linguistic realisations of such a sequence, depending upon a series of contextual variables. However, the structural and formalistic conception of language underlying Tirkkonen-Condit's study, i. e. texts conceived as exhibiting a conventionalized global structure recognized by members of a community, markedly hampers the description of the discursive characteristics of the *USA TODAY* corpus. As Hoey elaborates: "A pattern of organisation, such as problem-solution, does not have the status of structure (...) one cannot make predictive statements about it (...) one can make useful generalisations and account for what has already happened, *but* (...) one's generalisations may be always undermined by a rogue example" (cf. 1986:190). To obviate this hindrance, analysts have opted for a functional conception of language which contemplates the PS sequence as a cultural pattern of textual organisation which speakers strategically manipulate to meet a variety of communicative goals.

In spite of the potential of Tirkkonen-Condit's method, its applicability was not tested until 1995 by Teo in a sample of twenty British and USA newspaper editorials. Teo verifies the validity of the method, although she concludes that there are a few principles which need to be modified. One of them is the very notion of "minitext". According to Tirkkonen-Condit, the *Problem* component is the nucleus of any argumentative minitext, in other words, a minitext lacking the *problem* component cannot be considered argumentative. Teo questions this assumption and states that there are cases in which a "sample text does not contain a *problem* component but is capable of standing as a distinct and coherent unit by itself" (cf. 1995: 74). So she suggests that the *Evaluation* component be considered as another possible nucleus since argumentation necessarily implies value judgements and if the writer does not positively or negatively evaluate circumstances it is virtually impossible to accept or refute a given thesis. The notion arising out of Teo's empirical evidence is that a minitext can be built on the *evaluation* component. The list below shows the most frequent PS sequences found in Teo's sample of texts:

Situation+ problem 53.57 %
Problem 11.61 %
Problem + solution 7.14 %
Situation+ evaluation 7.14 %
Situation + problem + solution 4.46 %
Situation + problem + evaluation 3.57 %
Evaluation 3.57 %
Situation + Problem + Solution + Evaluation 1.79 %

Out of twenty texts analysed and one hundred and nine argumentative minitexts identified, in eighty-eight (78.57%) the *problem* component is the pivot around which minitexts turn, while fourteen (12.50%) have the *evaluation* component as nucleus. Finally, seven (6.25%) of the 109 minitexts contain both a *problem* and a *evaluation* component. In these cases, Teo speaks about a *double nucleus* or *dual nucleus* but specifies that: "When a minitext in the sample texts contains a dual nucleus, it was observed that in all cases the proposition of the latter component [problem] seems to be more important than that of the former once the writer's overall point was taken into

consideration” (cf. 1995: 89).

Another interesting conclusion deriving from Teo’s results is that the majority of sequences display flexible location of the *problem* and *evaluation* components within the PS pattern. In other words, Teo realises that both the *problem* and the *evaluation* components can appear in any position within the PS sequence but, unfortunately, she limits her task to the mere exposition of these results and she does not venture to explain the contextual variants determining the different linguistic realisations of the PS textual model of organisation in the texts analysed. These issues will be specifically addressed in the following pages.

2. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The primary purposes of this study are a) to characterize the *problem-solution* pattern of textual organisation as it unfolds in 30 editorials and 30 opinion pieces, drawing on previous relevant research on the PS sequence (Hoey 1979, 1983, 2001) and on how it manifests itself in written argumentative discourse (Tirkkonen-Condit 1985; Teo 1995); and b) to identify the strategic component which motivates their different PS textual realisations. More specifically, the study is an attempt to answer to the following key questions:

- What is the linguistic realisation of the PS sequence in the texts analysed?
- Are all components always explicitly displayed (*situation-problem-solution-evaluation*)?
- Are there similarities or differences between the linguistic realisation of the PS pattern in editorials (pro a thesis) and the one of opinion articles (against the same thesis)? If yes, which variables determine such differences?
- Do these linguistic realisations of the PS pattern correspond to textual strategies on the part of the writer? If yes, what communicative goals does the writer want to accomplish by them?

3. CORPUS ANALYSED: THE CASE OF *USA TODAY*

The empirical analysis of a corpus of 30 newspaper editorials and 30 opinion articles taken from *USA TODAY* (on line version <http://www.usatoday.com>), allows us to answer the aforementioned questions. *USA TODAY*, founded in 1982, belongs to Gannett Co. Corporation, a communication group created by Frank E. Gannett & Co. in 1906 and based in Arlington (Vancouver). In 1992 the national circulating newspaper *USA TODAY* started publishing news summaries on line and three years later, in 1995, a complete online version was available. It has been estimated that www.usatoday.com, which is nowadays one of the most popular online newspapers and has received numerous national and international awards, benefits from 25 million visits a month.

The fact that *USA TODAY* publishes an editorial every day (*Our view*) and an opinion piece (*Opposing view*), deserves further comment. By providing daily two opposite interpretations of the same topic, *USA TODAY* promotes social interaction. Neither readers nor politicians are passive actors in this socialising process: the former are actively invited, through open sections such as letters to editor or inquiries³, to raise

³ Consider the message which daily appears in the opinion page of *USA TODAY* (on line version):

social queries and to address their complaints to the newspaper, while the latter are entitled to retort and to speak up their mind. *USA TODAY* renders both voices audible and takes care of transmitting to the political world pleas coming from American people. This philosophy is best depicted by its very founder's words, Al Neuharth, who defends "a new journalism of hope (...) that chronicles the good, the bad, and the otherwise, and leaves readers fully informed and equipped to judge what deserves their attention and support" (Prichard 1987: 293).

4. CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY OF ANALYSIS

The final corpus is composed of 472 texts (236 editorials and 236 opinion articles) in total. All texts analysed are genuine examples of argumentative discourse which respond to Biber's definition of the newspaper opinion texts as "opinionated genres intended to persuade the reader" (cf. 1988: 148).

The characteristics of Tirkkonen-Condit's analytical tool, which have been cursorily described above, preclude the aid of computerized instruments. Consequently, texts have been analysed manually. For the purpose of this article, 60 texts (24.499 words) have been considered. Both to guarantee representativeness, the 60 items have been selected with the help of a random table. Each text has been saved as Microsoft Word document and classified by date and group: the code PRO refers to editorials belonging to the section *Our view*, while the code CON to opinion articles of the *Opposing view* section: i.e. *USA TODAY* 19/04/98 CON. Results have been schematically reproduced with a chinese-box like diagram for each text.

5. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. MOST FREQUENT PS MINITEXTS

Out of 201 *problem-solution* minitexts identified, 198 are argumentative, having as main aim the supporting or refuting of a given idea with arguments; the remainder are made up of three narrative minitexts which are, in any case, embedded into other argumentative PS sequences. The results of the present analysis show that each text is constituted of approximately three PS sequences or coordinated minitexts. Of all the 27 different types of PS sequences found, the most frequent are:

Situation + evaluation 23.88%	Problem + solution + evaluation 6.46 %
Situation+ problem 12.43 %	Situation + problem + solution + evaluation 4.97 %
Evaluation 11.94 %	Solution + evaluation 4.97 %
Situation + problem + evaluation 8.45 %	Problem + evaluation 4.47 %

The first significant divergence between these results and both Teo's and Tirkkonen-Condit's findings regards the bigger and more varied amount of minitexts found in the *USA TODAY* corpus. In fact, Tirkkonen-Condit identified only six

"*What's your view*. If you would like to comment on editorials, columns or other topics in *USA TODAY*, or on any subjects important to you: Send e-mail for letters to the editor only to editor@usatoday.com. Please include address and daytime phone numbers so letters may be verified. Letters and articles submitted to *USA TODAY* may be published or distributed in print, electronic or other forms".

minitext types while Teo characterised fourteen. The second discrepancy concerns the different types of predominant sequences. In the *USA TODAY* corpus, the most frequent PS sequences are *situation + evaluation*, followed by *situation + problem* and *evaluation*, while in Teo's sample was *situation + problem* (60 cases out of 109 minitexts). Both in PRO and CON texts the most frequent minitexts –*situation + evaluation*, *situation + problem* and *evaluation*– exhibit a certain preference to be located in some positions within the textual global structure. While the *situation + evaluation* minitexts appear in initial, middle and final positions, invariably, the *situation + problem* minitexts tend to be initially and middle placed, and the *evaluation* alone minitexts appear to favour initial and final positions. The remaining predominant sequences –*Situation + problem + evaluation*, *Problem + solution + evaluation*, *Situation + problem + solution + evaluation*, *Solution + evaluation*, *Problem + evaluation*– appear chiefly in middle and final positions.

The analysis of the *USA TODAY* corpus has also revealed that the majority of minitexts exhibit the PS sequence in a canonical, unmarked order: *situation + problem + solution + evaluation*. The remaining 22.43% are generated by the flexible location of the *problem* and *evaluation* components within the PS pattern. It is argued here that this flexibility responds to a conscious manipulation of the PS sequence on the part of writers, primarily aimed at achieving a stronger impact on readership by attracting their attention. Consider, for instance, the *situation + evaluation* sequence, which is also the most frequent. The general rule is that it appears in an unmarked order. However, there are cases in which the writer slightly subverts this pattern, as it may be the case of the *evaluation + situation + evaluation* sequence, producing a clear emphatic and hence persuasive effect. An example may help here:

- (2) *USA TODAY* 26/2.99 PRO
 N.Y. car-seizure plan runs over rights of innocent
 (*Evaluation*)¹ Even good ideas can go too far.
 (*Situation*)² That's the case in New York City, where Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, at the urging of his police commissioner, this week imposed a scheme to get tougher on drunken drivers by confiscating their vehicles.
 (*Evaluation*)³ The action blends an ongoing national crackdown against drunken driving with a dangerous drug-war tactic of civil forfeiture. (...)

It is traditionally believed that initial and final positions in a text are strategic locations, because of the informative impact on readers. These examples show how the subversion of the PS canonical order in a key position, the initial in this case, produces a more emphatic effect than it would have done if the same propositional content had been expressed preserving the linear sequencing *situation + evaluation*. This phenomenon takes place both in editorials and opinion pieces and it highlights the fact that writers, apart from enhancing their texts by virtue of appropriate lexical choice, attempt to call reader's attention by conscious manipulations of textual global structure.

The *evaluation* minitext also shows its predilection for the final position in the text. An example will illustrate this point:

- (3) *USA TODAY* 22.06.98 PRO
 Did tobacco money kill anti-smoking bill?
 (...) ¹⁴ With this kind of addiction, small wonder that party leaders killed modest campaign reform in the Senate and are trying to do so in the House. ¹⁵ As long as campaigns

are paid for by tobacco and other interests, not by the public, no one should be surprised that they win.

It is important to note here that in the previous example the *evaluation* minitext presents a negative evaluation of the proposed solution previously exposed in the text. In Hoey’s model, the PS pattern then becomes recursive, proffering alternative solutions until positive evaluation is achieved. However, many of the *USA TODAY* editorials and opinion pieces end up with a negative *evaluation*, which suggests that the realisation of the proposed solution is unlikely to be forthcoming. This sharp ending gives rise to a bitter feeling of frustration in the reader who immediately reacts demanding an effective solution of the problem from politicians.

The *problem* component is characterized by a high degree of flexibility as well, but is much lower if compared to that of the *evaluation* component. The *USA TODAY* corpus presents only two texts in which the sequence *situation + problem* has been subverted in the initial position with emphatic ends:

- (4) **USA TODAY 27/07/98 PRO**
FAA mishandles baggage issue
Problem + situation
(Problem) ¹ Confused about how much and what you can carry on an airplane these days? ² You’ve got company.
(situation) ³ Consider this random and unscientific telephone survey of U.S. airlines’ carry-on bag policies: ⁴ American Airlines allows two carry-ons, if they meet specific weight and size limitations; ⁵ laptop computers and briefcases count, but not purses. ⁶ On Northwest Airlines, a total of three bags can be checked or carried, but purses, briefcases and computers get a free pass. ⁷ Southwest Airlines counts computers against its two-bag carry-on limit, but purses only if they’re “real big”. (...)

To sum up, evidence of the analysis shows that the texts analysed are usually structured around three coordinated minitexts through which the writer articulates his/her opinions. It has also been argued that the subversion of the PS unmarked order (*evaluation + situation; problem + situation*) in strategic positions of the text responds to a conscious manipulation of the textual pattern on the part of writers, primarily aimed at producing a clear emphatic and hence persuasive effect on readership.

In the next section differences in the linguistic realisation of the PS sequence in both the PRO and the CON texts are exposed.

5.2. LINGUISTIC REALISATION OF THE PS SEQUENCE IN PRO AND CON TEXTS: PS MINITEXTS CHAINING AND PREDOMINANT PERSUASIVE STRATEGIES

Table 2 provides a global view of minitext distribution in the sample texts analysed:

Table 2: PS minitext distribution in PRO and CON texts

SEQUENCES OF ARGUMENTATIVE MINITEXT COMPONENTS	PRO	CON
<i>Situation + problem + solution + evaluation</i>	6	4
<i>Situation + problem + plan</i>	1	
<i>Situation + problem + result</i>	1	
<i>Situation + problem + solution</i>	1	2
<i>Situation + problem + evaluation</i>	15	3
<i>Situation + solution + evaluation</i>	1	1

<i>Situation + evaluation + problem</i>	4	1
<i>Situation + evaluation + solution</i>		3
<i>Problem</i>	2	3
<i>Problem + situation</i>	1	
<i>Problem + solution</i>	2	1
<i>Problem + evaluation</i>	7	3
<i>Problem + situation+ evaluation</i>	1	
<i>Problem + plan + evaluation</i>	1	
<i>Problem + evaluation + plan</i>		1
<i>Problem + solution + evaluation</i>	10	4
<i>Problem + solution + result + evaluation</i>	1	
<i>Situation + problem</i>	17	8
<i>Situation + solution</i>		4
<i>Situation + evaluation</i>	19	29
<i>Solution + evaluation</i>	5	5
<i>Solution + problem + solution</i>		1
<i>Solution + problem + evaluation</i>	1	
<i>Evaluation</i>	4	20
<i>Evaluation + situation + evaluation</i>	3	3
<i>Evaluation + solution + evaluation</i>		1
<i>Evaluation + problem + solution + evaluation</i>		1
TOTAL	103	98

Results show that *situation-evaluation* (18.44% in PRO texts and 29.59 % in CON texts) is the most frequent sequencing: a situation is first presented and then negatively or positively evaluated. However, PRO texts and CON texts do differ in other respects. PRO texts have *problem* as the main component, whilst CON texts have *evaluation* as the nucleus of the PS sequence. In fact, in PRO texts the *situation-evaluation* minitext is followed by *situation + problem* (15%), *situation + problem + evaluation* (12%), *problem + solution + evaluation* (8%) and *situation + problem + solution + evaluation* (6%), while in CON texts the *evaluation* component is the most frequent (17.24%). Finally, out of 24 minitexts articulated around the *evaluation* component, 20 are CON texts in which *situation* and *problem* are omitted. In the majority of these cases, PRO texts function as *situation*, providing the necessary context to place the CON texts in the appropriate framework.

As far as the *solution* component is concerned, the analysis has highlighted its scarce presence both in PRO texts (21.35%) and in CON texts (27.55%). This finding entails a different characterisation of argumentative discourse as evaluative and not as resolute process, as Tirkkonen-Condit claimed. In the *USA TODAY* corpus here characterized it is not incumbent on journalists to give suggestions as to how the problem should be resolved. Contrarily, its editorialists and its opinion journalists strive to keep up with readers' way of perceiving reality and then transmit it to the political world by editorials and opinion pieces. It is the politicians' duty to find solutions for readers' worries. In the following examples, the *solution* components serve to call for politicians' actions:

- (5) **USA TODAY 13.08.98 PRO**
Tired of waiting on runways?
(...) ³⁰ Congress can fix the situation, changing the law to at least give airports the ability to experiment with peak-time charges. (...)
- (6) **USA TODAY 8.3.99 PRO**
\$58M for minor injury invites more deaths

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(...)²⁴ To preserve innovation, Congress and courts should eliminate punitive damages in cases in which safety devices don't pose risks of serious injury. (...)

Another aspect which deserves close attention is the typical positioning of the PS sequences in editorials:

Table 3: PS sequence positioning in PRO texts

SEQUENCES OF ARGUMENTATIVE MINITEXT COMPONENTS	INITIAL POSITION	MIDDLE POSITION	FINAL POSITION
<i>Situation + problem + solution + evaluation</i>	2	1	3
<i>Situation + problem + plan</i>		1	
<i>Situation + problem + result</i>	1		
<i>Situation + problem + solution</i>	1		
<i>Situation + problem + evaluation</i>	4	9	2
<i>Situation + solution + evaluation</i>			1
<i>Situation + evaluation + problem</i>	2	2	
<i>Situation + evaluation + solution</i>			
<i>Problem</i>	2		
<i>Problem + situation</i>	1		
<i>Problem + solution</i>		2	
<i>Problem + evaluation</i>	1	4	2
<i>Problem + situation + evaluation</i>	1		
<i>Problem + plan + evaluation</i>		1	
<i>Problem + evaluation + plan</i>			
<i>Problem + solution + evaluation</i>	1	3	6
<i>Problem + solution + result + evaluation</i>	1		
<i>Situation + problem</i>	5	12	
<i>Situation + solution</i>			
<i>Situation + evaluation</i>	3	10	6
<i>Solution + evaluation</i>		2	3
<i>Solution + problem + solution</i>			
<i>Solution + problem + evaluation</i>		1	
<i>Evaluation</i>			4
<i>Evaluation + situation + evaluation</i>	3		
<i>Evaluation + solution + evaluation</i>			
<i>Evaluation + problem + solution + evaluation</i>			
TOTAL		103	

Editorialists tend to elaborate their texts by exploiting the interaction of approximately three PS minitexts, having the *problem* component as nucleus. In fact, out of 28 PS minitexts analysed in the initial position, 20 are structured around the *problem* component. The remaining 8 minitexts exhibit the *situation + evaluation* sequencing and their emphatic variants which have been already described. The most important sequences in middle positions are those developing the *problem* component. *Solution* and *evaluation* components, on the other hand, appear to privilege final positions in sequences like: *situation + evaluation*, *evaluation*; *solution + evaluation*, etc.

The centrality of the *problem* component in editorials is explicable in terms of the writers' efforts to make readers visualize the problem in all its seriousness, as an iconic representation of reality. In other words, the problem described has to appear as such, and/or the solution (if suggested) has to seem the most adequate. This strategy is linguistically realised by a chained succession of minitexts in which the *problem* component is the real nucleus. The examination of the propositional content of the different *problem* components shows that they all describe and elaborate on concrete aspects of the thesis upon which the argumentative process is constructed. All this is

accomplished by the exposition of objective data. In this way, the weight of objective data makes the reader presuppose that the solution put forward is the most appropriate. This is a persuasive strategy of cognitive nature, since the exposition of such an amount of real data allows the writer to present the problem fashioned according to his/her taste, in function of its seriousness, social interest, etc.

CON texts, on the other hand, unambiguously manifest opinions, on the basis of the previous analysis carried out by the editorialist. Traditionally, invited writers retort and defend themselves from the accusations moved by PRO texts and develop the text by expressing their own opinions. Hence the predominance of the *situation + evaluation* sequence in the initial, middle and final positions of opinion pieces. Table 4 gives a bird's eye view of minitext distribution in CON texts:

Table 4: PS sequence positioning in CON texts

SEQUENCES OF ARGUMENTATIVE MINITEXT COMPONENTS	INITIAL POSITION	MIDDLE POSITION	FINAL POSITION
<i>Situation + problem + solution + evaluation</i>	1	3	
<i>Situation + problem + plan</i>			
<i>Situation + problem + result</i>			
<i>Situation + problem + solution</i>		1	1
<i>Situation + problem + evaluation</i>	2	1	
<i>Situation + solution + evaluation</i>		1	
<i>Situation + evaluation + problem</i>		1	
<i>Situation + evaluation + solution</i>		2	1
<i>Problem</i>	1	1	1
<i>Problem + situation</i>			
<i>Problem + solution</i>	1		
<i>Problem + evaluation</i>	1	2	
<i>Problem + situation+ evaluation</i>			
<i>Problem + plan + evaluation</i>			
<i>Problem + evaluation + plan</i>		1	
<i>Problem + solution + evaluation</i>		2	2
<i>Problem + solution + result + evaluation</i>			
<i>Situation + problem</i>	2	6	
<i>Situation + solution</i>		2	2
<i>Situation + evaluation</i>	9	9	11
<i>Solution + evaluation</i>		2	3
<i>Solution + problem + solution</i>			1
<i>Solution + problem + evaluation</i>			
<i>Evaluation</i>	9	5	6
<i>Evaluation + situation + evaluation</i>	3		
<i>Evaluation + solution + evaluation</i>		1	
<i>Evaluation + problem + solution + evaluation</i>	1		
TOTAL		98	

The situation + problem minitext and its variants –situation + problem; problem + evaluation; situation + problem + solution, etc.–, along with the situation + evaluation sequencing, tend to favour middle positions.

The large amount of *evaluations* in opinion articles deserves further comment; many journalists choose to structure their texts in PS sequences by coordinating *evaluation* components. This phenomenon is explained by Hoey: “The (PS) pattern may be preceded by a Situation which is recognised retrospectively as providing a context for the pattern proper” (cf. 2001: 140). In other words, texts made up of a succession

of coordinated *evaluations* usually refer to topics which have been previously and extensively presented in the news section. Consequently, the writer composes an eminently evaluative text without feeling the need to provide, once more, background information. Readers already know what the problem being discussed is and situate themselves in the informative framework created by the previous PRO editorial or by the whole newspaper. The following opinion article about the Clinton scandal, written by a democratic senator, illustrates this point:

- (7) *USA TODAY* 18.9.98 CON
Trial by mob is not the goal
By Charles B. Rangel, D-N.Y., has been a member of the House since 1971.
(*Evaluation*)¹ By insisting on the release of the videotape of President Clinton's appearance before the grand jury, House Republicans add needlessly to the embarrassment of the president and to the humiliation of his family and the nation.² This process of selective disclosure suggests trial by mob rather than the fair deliberative inquiry required by the Constitution.
(*Evaluation*)³ Public release of the tape will do violence to the principle of grand jury secrecy.⁴ Moreover, disclosure goes well beyond the president.⁵ Innocent third parties who may be mentioned in the tape will face exposure and possible embarrassment.⁶ Disclosure now will only add to the growing suspicion that we are rushing to judgment—and ourselves adding to the circus atmosphere.⁷ Under such conditions, a fair and impartial inquiry is impossible.
(*Evaluation*)⁸ TV's proclivity for the dramatic makes it almost certain we will be bombarded by the most sensational, inflammatory details, ripped out of context.⁹ The public, while repulsed, will undoubtedly watch and be misled.¹⁰ In its wake, Congress' job to judge fairly will be more difficult because public opinion will be shaped not by rational, balanced arguments, but by misleading snippets of evidence. (...)

In the previous example, each *evaluation* component constitutes a stage in the reasoning process: the first component manifests the writer's position, whilst the following two adduce justifications to such a position (in this case not transmitting Clinton's declaration to the grand jury by TV); a) because it violates the protagonists' privacy, and b) because a TV transmission would hamper the US congress's work. This persuasive strategy is quite common in CON texts, because the weight of reasons allows the problem to be perceived in all its seriousness.

Drawing the threads together, in this last section the corpus text global structure has been exhaustively described and differences in the PS development in PRO texts and CON texts have been highlighted. It has been claimed that those dissimilarities respond to different textual strategies adopted by writers to achieve the readers' final alignment.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This paper has explored the textual organisation of a representative corpus of newspaper editorials and opinion pieces taken from *USA TODAY*. Principles have been deduced from the empirical analysis of 60 authentic texts written by professional writers. On the whole, both *USA TODAY* editorials and opinion pieces are characterised as evaluative texts, in which the writers express their own position on a given usually problematic situation and carry out certain textual manoeuvrings to achieve the readers' final alignment with the thesis presented.

Findings show that the texts analysed are articulated around a chained succession of approximately three coordinated minitexts through which the writer exposes his/her opinions. The most frequent PS minitexts are: *situation + evaluation*, *situation + problem* and *evaluation*. The *situation + evaluation* minitext can appear in any position of the text, while the *situation + problem* one tends to be initially and middle placed, and the *evaluation* minitext appear to favour initial and final positions. The analysis of minitexts present in the corpus has demonstrated that the norm is to preserve the unmarked, canonical order of the PS components: *situation* → *problem* → *solution* → *evaluation*, since it is easier to understand, store and retrieve information which has been presented in a logical, linear fashion. Yet, evidence has revealed the existence of a minor tendency as well, when the writer occasionally deviates from the expected, bucks the convention and purposely subverts the unmarked order of the PS components, specifically in the initial and final position of the texts. It is claimed here that this cognitive-based strategy is primarily aimed at achieving a stronger impact on readership and hence becoming more persuasive.

Another textual strategy used in the texts analysed to persuade readers is based on the semantic overdevelopment of the *problem* component in the editorials.

The centrality of the *problem* component in editorials is explicable in terms of the writers' efforts to make readers visualize the problem in all its seriousness and in turn, to influence readers' perception/response in a subliminal way. The use of this iconic-based manoeuvring can be justified using Croft's words: "The structure of language reflects in some way the structure of experience, that is to say, the structure of the world, including [...] the perspective imposed on the world by the speaker" (cf. 1990:164). This strategy is not common in opinion pieces, where a succession of chained *evaluations* is usually provided to create a stream of opinion. Readers already know what the problem being discussed is and situate themselves in the informative framework created by the corresponding PRO editorial or by the whole newspaper.

In contrast, the importance of the *evaluation* and, secondarily, of the *problem* component in the texts analysed, data reveals that the *solution* component has a very weak presence. It is argued here that the linguistic realisation of the PS pattern in both *USA TODAY* editorials and opinion pieces is clearly determined by the genre to which the sample texts belong. As explained before, it is opinion writers' job to express their view about matters of social interest, not to find solutions for those problems discussed. The discourse sequence which underlies most of the texts analysed -*problem* + lack of *solution* + (negative) *evaluation*- has already been identified in other newspaper subgenres, as in letters to the editor, and defined by some scholars as the "discourse of disillusionment" (Morrison & Love 1996), because of the feeling of dissatisfaction which they generate in their readers. An interesting line of future research in this area could consist of finding out whether this PS sequence is typical of some other argumentative texts and designing a typology of argumentative texts according to the presence and development of each one of the PS components in each text type.

Before concluding, it is important to note that analysts are very well aware of the fact that the texts analysed belong to only one publication and therefore results

cannot be considered representative of the whole newspaper opinion genre. In order to draw firmer conclusions, a more varied and bigger trilingual corpus of English, Spanish and Italian newspaper editorials is being analysed (Maddalena 2005, forthcoming). Apart from verifying the applicability of Tirkkonen-Condit's method to argumentative texts written in languages other than English, the study tries to assess to what extent these results are generalisable and singles out the main differences in argumentative discourse across these languages.

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DISPENSATION IN CONTEMPORARY BRITISH NEWSPAPERS: INFORMAL REFERENCE TO PERSONS

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Abstract: This paper investigates the use of informal terms of reference in British newspapers applying the concept of public dispensation as a conceptual frame. It is suggested that, in using informal forms, the author/editor tacitly presumes the consent of both, the referent and the general readership. The analysis of six British dailies yields three major motives for dispensation – chumminess, discrimination and moral evaluations. As a powerful means of what Fairclough (1989) calls ‘synthetic personalisation’, public dispensation supports and shapes the attitudes of the general readership.

Keywords: Terms of reference, terms of address, public dispensation, personalisation

1. INTRODUCTION

There have been many attempts to analyse systems of address in spoken interaction, ranging from Brown & Gilman’s (1960) and Brown & Ford’s (1964) influential articles and Ervin-Tripp’s study (1972) to recent investigations (Bargiela *et alii* 2004). In contrast, reference to third persons in oral discourse has received relatively little attention so far (e.g. Murphy 1988; Allerton 1996). Likewise, reference to people in the press has scarcely been a major subject for articles or monographs (but see Gyger 1991 and Paulikat 2001 on names in German-language and French newspapers). Naming conventions in this medium are often treated as something rather marginal, possibly because they appear so obvious and easily accessible at first sight¹. If they are touched on, the focus is predominantly on unequal reference to men and women in the press, which can be observed particularly well in the popular papers (e.g. Fowler 1991: 99ff.; Fasold 1987; Fasold *et alii* 1990, and also style guides like Waterhouse 1989: 215).

It is the aim of this study to give a more comprehensive overview of the use of certain naming forms (bare surnames and first names, short forms and nicknames), and to relate the naming practices of newspapers to a new conceptual frame. The article is based on an exemplary analysis of 36 newspapers, which form a random sample of six major national dailies (Fig 1): two qualities, i.e. up-market papers, and four popular papers, which, with respect to the socio-economic status of their readership, can be further distinguished into mid-market and down-market candidates (Jucker 1992: 52).

¹ See, for example, the following explanation by Fowler: “Straightforward and accessible topics, for example the conventions for naming and address, will not be dealt with here, but will be discussed briefly as and when they crop up in the following analytic chapters” (1991: 68).

Fig. 1 Overview of selected newspapers

QUALITY PAPERS	POPULAR PAPERS	
Up-market	Mid-market	Down-market
<i>The Times</i> (TIM) <i>The Guardian</i> (GUA)	<i>The Daily Mail</i> (MAIL) <i>The Daily Express</i> (EXP)	<i>The Sun</i> (SUN) <i>The Daily Mirror</i> (MIR)

The analysis is embedded into the framework of a larger research project on aspects of personalisation in newspapers. The concept of personalisation appears particularly important in modern journalism. However, its significance was already pointed out in the 1960s. Galtung/Ruge, in their fundamental description of news values, emphasise: “The more the event can be seen in personal terms, as due to the action of specific individuals, the more probable that it will become a news item” (1965/1973: 56). As a major principle for the selection and design of news, personalisation is included in various systems developed after Galtung & Ruge’s attempt (cf. e.g. Bell 1991: 158, where it is explicitly mentioned, or Ungerer 1997: 314, who propounds the Homocentric Principle). Fairclough points out that:

[...] the more ‘mass’ the media become, and therefore the less in touch with individuals or particular groupings in their audiences, the more media workers and ‘personalities’ ... purport to relate to members of their audience as individuals who share large areas of common ground. (1989: 195)

Since this is achieved by manipulating or simulating personal relationships (e.g. equality/solidarity), Fairclough terms it ‘synthetic personalisation’.

In newspapers, this kind of personalisation is realised in many different ways, for example by (self-)references to authors and various ways of directly addressing readers. Another major focus is on the people involved in the news event – be it the description of the extraordinary fate of ordinary people, or the doings of celebrities, the famous and titled, who by definition are a newsworthy group. The various forms of reference scrutinised in this paper are but one linguistic strategy of personalisation. Another is, for example, the supply of additional information (such as age, address, outward appearance, etc.). Research on the historical development of newspapers has shown that, in this respect, the level of detail has continually increased during the past three centuries (Schneider 2002). A similar rise could be observed in the use of first person quotations, another means of achieving a higher degree of personalisation.

2. TERMS OF ADDRESS AND TERMS OF REFERENCE: THE COMMUNICATIVE SITUATION IN NEWSPAPERS

Very often, terms of reference are equated with terms of address. Certainly, the addressing conventions of a society influence the way people speak about a third party. However, research has disproved “any notion that it is generally appropriate for speakers to refer to people with the names they would address them with” (Murphy 1988: 328). In addressing people directly, the relationship between speaker and addressee (e.g. aspects of age, rank, intimacy etc.) plays a major role in choosing the appropriate address form, alongside the situational context (cf. Fig 2 for a simplified representation of the communicative situation).

Third person references present a different case (cf. Fig 3, which reflects the prototypical situation of the non-present referent, i.e. the referent is no bystander in

the interaction). Murphy's experiments demonstrate that it is not the relationship between speaker and addressee that dominates the choice of a term of reference, but the speaker-referent and the addressee-referent dimensions (1988: 338). Although addressees might affect the selection, it is not so much their status, but rather their (presumed) attitude that influences the speaker.

Fig. 2 Addressing in spoken interaction

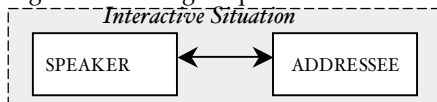
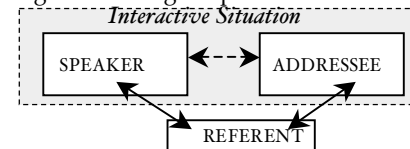


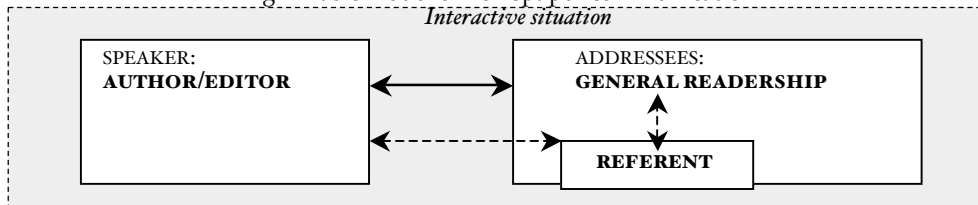
Fig. 3 Referring in spoken interaction



In newspaper communication, the situation is even more complex (cf. Fig 4). The part of the speaker is taken over by the newspaper itself, or more specifically by its authors and editors. Naturally, their output is affected by aspects such as ownership and political position of the paper as well as the conditions of production, which frequently lead to multiple authorship.

The addressee appears easily determinable as well. It is the readers who the author/editor writes for. Yet, the readership is undoubtedly a heterogeneous group. First of all, a general model of newspaper communication cannot refer to the empirical readers, but only to the potential readership of a newspaper. It has been pointed out in various publications that newspapers, just like other texts, aim at a kind of model reader, i.e. that "[t]he author has to foresee a model of the possible reader (... Model Reader) supposedly able to deal interpretatively with the expressions in the same way as the author deals generatively with them" (Eco 1979: 7). Thus, a general readership can be postulated, which is represented by the model reader.

Fig. 4 Basic model of newspaper communication



The people involved in news events which are reported in the press constitute the referents. However, in contrast to the constellation shown in Fig. 3, where addressee and referent are two different entities, the referent is mostly part of the potential readership in newspaper communication. Thus, the author/editor has to deal with problems of 'multiple addressing' (cf. Kühn 1995). Generally s/he will gear the articles towards the model reader of the paper, i.e. the average reader according to readership profiles. S/he has to keep in mind, though, that also the persons s/he is referring to can and often will look at the paper.

It can be concluded, then, that the referents often have a double role. On the one hand, they form the third party who the author/editor mentions to the general readership. On the other hand, the referents are also involved in the interactive situation, being more than just a bystander in the process of production and interpretation.

This specific constellation is also responsible for the different relationships between the major parties in spoken interaction and in newspaper communication.

The average reader of a paper usually has no personal relationship to the people mentioned in a news story. Likewise, the author/editor has not necessarily had direct contact with the referents. Both author/editor and general readership will, however, have (or develop) certain attitudes towards the referents – and this, it will be argued, has a significant impact on the terms of reference the author chooses. It is expected that, just like in spoken interaction, it will be the model reader's presumed attitude which is most influential here. The most important dimension in newspaper communication is thus obviously that of author/editor – general readership.

3. NAMING CONVENTIONS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

Having considered the special communicative constellation in newspaper communication, the focus will now be on the motivating forces for the choice of reference terms in newspapers. For this it seems reasonable to start out from an overview of the most common naming forms and their implications in directly addressing people. After that, it will be examined whether selected elements of address systems can usefully be applied in the discussion of naming conventions in the British press.

It is a common fact that address systems do not only vary from culture to culture; they also vary within one society and over time, mirroring social differences and changes. Additionally, there is, of course, “no invariant relationship between form and meaning: a linguistic form does not have a single, constant meaning, but rather a range of potential significances in context” (Fowler 1991: 99). Yet, with all the necessary caution and assuming an anglocentric view, some basic functions can be attributed. In Fig. 5, the implications of the most common naming forms are represented with respect to three major social dimensions: the social distance or solidarity and the status of the named person (which both are concerned with participant relationships), and the formality of the situation (which is related to the setting and the type of interaction) (cf. Holmes 1992: 12f.).

As experienced readers, we know that all the forms listed in Fig. 5 can be found in newspapers, qualities and populars alike. This does not come as a surprise as far as the formal appellations involving title (e.g. *President Bush*) or social title (*Mr Blair*) and the neutral first name plus last name (e.g. *Gordon Brown*) are concerned. What appears more interesting is the occurrence of last name (e.g. *Tyson*) or first name only (*William*), short forms (*Becks*) and nicknames (*Posh*). What are the reasons which justify the use of these informal address terms?

Fig. 5 Common naming forms and their implications

Possible naming form	Implications (generalised)		
	Distance/ solidarity	Status of named person	Formality
TITLE+(FIRST)+LAST NAME (T+(FN)+LN) SOCIAL TITLE+LAST NAME (socT+LN)	Social distance	Superior, or Equal	Formal
FIRST+LAST NAME (FN+LN)	Social distance	Neutral with regard to status	Formal/ Neutral
LAST NAME (LN)	Social closeness/ solidarity	Equal	Informal
	Social distance	Inferior	Informal

FIRST NAME (FN)	Social closeness or social distance	Equal, or Inferior	Informal
SHORT FORM (SF)	Social closeness/ friendship	Equal, or Inferior	Informal
NICKNAME (NN)	Social closeness/ intimacy	Equal, or Inferior	Informal

4. THE CONCEPT OF DISPENSATION

Looking at Ervin-Tripp’s flowchart (1972: 226) representing an American address system, we find that it is not only outdated, but also restricted to a specific community of practice (western American academic community), and it certainly has its drawbacks. As mentioned, it is not the intention here to directly apply this system to British newspapers. However, among the components determining the choice of address form (like age, rank, relationship of participants), Ervin-Tripp lists an element which will be central in this discussion: dispensation.

In its general definition, the term dispensation designates the official permission to do something that people are not normally allowed to do. Ervin-Tripp applies this concept as follows: “The presence of options or dispensation, creates a locus for the expression of individual and situational nuances. The form of address can reveal dispensation” (1972: 228). In this respect, dispensation can be characterised as the right to impose a certain label on the named person. Ervin-Tripp furthermore points out that a “senior alter has the option of dispensing the speaker from offering TLN [title+last name] by suggesting he use a first name or by tacitly accepting first name”. Although this statement is limited to a specific address system, two significant aspects can be derived: (1) In spoken discourse, dispensation is controlled by the addressee, and (2), there are two forms of dispensation – explicit vs. tacit.

As far as changes in the address system are concerned, there nowadays appears to be a tendency for more dispensation. For example, in American as well as in British society, first names are used more frequently, in a wider range of settings and regardless of social closeness or differences in age or status². Additionally, the choice of first names in most cases no longer requires an official act of dispensation, from which we can conclude that there is less explicit and more tacit dispensation.

The question is now whether the notion of dispensation can be applied to newspaper communication. Generally, dispensation is a process which occurs not only in spoken but also in written communication, for example, in letters and e-mails³. Certainly, these forms are dialogic and involve a specified addressee. Still, they illustrate that the addresser can presuppose the permission even of a non-present addressee. Spatial and temporal detachment do not block dispensation.

It has been shown in Fig 4 that the constellation of author/editor, general readership and referent in newspaper communication is quite complex. It is precisely

² However, Bargiela *et alii* (2004) point out that this trend of switching to first names in initial encounters as quickly as possible is relatively recent in Britain, and not all British people (especially those over 50) are comfortable with it. In contrast to the US, there are also more situations in Britain where the use of first name is still considered inappropriate or overfamiliar.

³ For example, the author once received an e-mail by an unknown colleague starting *Dear Birte (if I may)*.

this double role of the referent as a member of the potential readership that facilitates the application of the concept of dispensation. Here, dispensation is shaped by the situation of multiple addressing. The author/editor has to cope with two parties: the referent and the general readership. Involving a mass medium, the process becomes public and thus the term 'public dispensation' will be introduced.

Public dispensation is characterised by the fact that it is always tacit. It has been pointed out that author/editor and referent, in many cases, have no direct contact. Even if the people involved in a certain news event have offered explicit dispensation to the author in some interview situation, this does not automatically mean that the author can freely apply first names in the article, because these are two different communicative situations. Anyway, explicit dispensation is often not granted by the interviewee – it is, for example, highly unlikely that Prince William has invited reporters to call him *Will*. What the author/editor does, then, is choose an informal appellation presuming the permission of the referent as well as the consent of the general readership.

As pointed out above, dispensation in spoken interaction is controlled by the addressee, who has the chance to reject an unacceptable tacit dispensation. Being part of the potential readership of the newspaper, referents will mostly be informed about the naming practices connected with them. Although referents might seem relatively powerless in newspaper communication at first sight, they have the chance to veto inappropriate naming forms, e.g. by court decision. Also, the members of the general readership might react explicitly to forms they consider unsuitable, e.g. with letters to the editor. So, just like in spoken interaction, feedback is possible in newspaper communication, though with some delay.

Then again, with the (institutionally filtered) choice of less formal appellations such as bare surname, first name or even short form or nickname, the general readership is given the right to dispense with the formal terms. They might also apply the informal alternatives within another communicative situation, talking about the referents of a newspaper text. This would be the reference situation described in Fig 3.

As will be shown in detail in the next parts, the use of informal reference terms has various motives and effects. Generally, the author/editor can encode a specific ideology by choosing particular terms of reference. By supporting the presumed attitudes of the model reader, the author/editor has the chance to create common ground⁴, and, thus, to strengthen the relationship between author/editor and general readership.

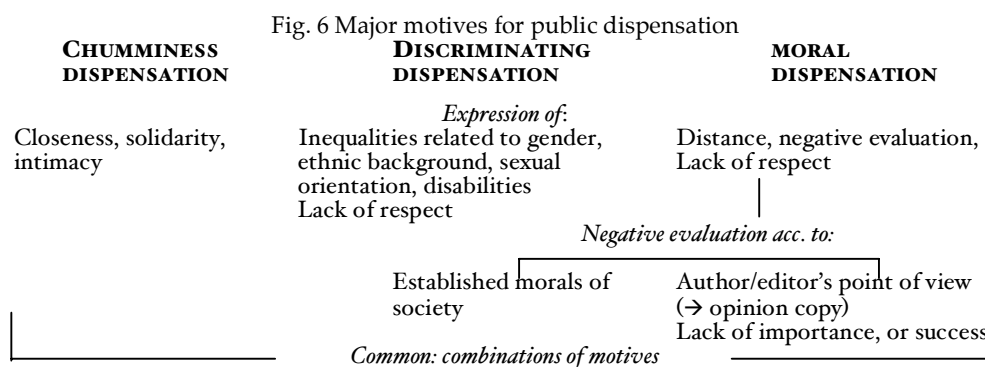
5. TYPES OF PUBLIC DISPENSATION IN BRITISH NEWSPAPERS

Although conventions of address are not the same as those for terms of reference (cf. § 2), the list of address forms and their implications given in Fig 5 is a useful starting point for the evaluation of informal appellations in the British press. Without doubt, changes in the prevailing norms of addressing people will influence the way

⁴ Cf. Brown & Levinson (1987), who postulate 'Claiming common ground' as one of the major positive politeness strategies.

third parties are referred to, and this will then be reflected in newspapers. For example, the increasing use of first names in spoken interaction might have found its echo in the press.

Looking for the specific motivations for public dispensation, three major types arise from the analysis: chumminess dispensation, discriminating dispensation and moral dispensation (cf. Fig 6). As the terms suggest, chumminess dispensation creates social closeness of varying degrees, whereas discriminating dispensation is performed due to the ethnic background, handicaps, sexual orientation or gender of the named person. The latter is, as mentioned, the category most frequently (and often exclusively) discussed when it comes to inequalities in the naming conventions of the press. Discriminating dispensation usually signals a lack of respect.



In many cases, this is also true of moral dispensation, which furthermore establishes distance and negative evaluations. Here, two subtypes can be distinguished. Not all moral dispensation is based on the established ethics of a society. For instance, some examples are motivated by the author/editor's point of view, which manifests itself particularly in the opinion copy, or by an ostensible lack of importance or success of the named person⁵. Naturally, there are hardly any cases which can be attributed to just one of the three types of public dispensation. Mostly, public dispensation is based on a variety of motives, and it is this combination which causes the subtle differences in the connotation of certain forms.

At this point, it is important to mention that, of course, not all occurrences of first or last names, nicknames or short forms are cases which involve public dispensation. These types of reference may also be used for other reasons, the most common being a stricture of space. Thus, we frequently find bare surname in headlines or captions, but full name and/or (social) title plus name in the body copy of the article⁶.

Other examples which cannot be included as cases of public dispensation are

⁵ For example, in *The Times* (August 5, 2003, p. 26), an unsuccessful small business man received LN only (*Coles*) in contrast to other, apparently more 'successful' or 'important' business people in that section. In another article of the same paper (p. 6), an unemployed alcoholic who tried to commit suicide received FN (*Iain*), again contrary to the remaining forms in the article.

⁶ In contrast, all cases of FN or SF/NN in headlines and captions in the sample had to be considered as involving aspects of public dispensation.

reference to children with first name and reference to deceased persons with last name (especially in obituaries), which do not require dispensation, as well as artists' names and reference to fictional characters. Likewise, the use of informal terms of reference in direct quotations cannot be counted. Puns which involve the informal variants have to be considered as slightly ambiguous instances. For example, the following headline plays with a surname: *See Watt we mean?* (SUN, March 19, 2004, 3), while the term *Hen party*, which is used in a caption, involves the short form of 'Henrietta' (TIM, March 19, 2004, 56).

Returning to those cases involving public dispensation, a more detailed overview can be developed, which represents the realisation of the three types in the selected up-, mid- and down-market papers. Fig 7 shows the qualitative tendencies revealed in the analysis of the 36 sample papers. It evaluates last name and first name references and short forms/nicknames with respect to their frequency and the groups of people involved, as well as their major effects. As the table shows, the informal variants are found across all categories of public dispensation, however to different degrees.

Starting with chumminess dispensation, last name references are regularly found in all newspapers examined, predominantly in the sports section. This mirrors the addressing conventions e.g. in sports teams, i.e. "in communities of practice where relationships focus on camaraderie and collective performance under pressure rather than emotional intimacy" (McConnell & Ginet 2003: 82)⁷. The same applies to members of the military (at least if they are on equal ranks and the naming practice is reciprocal). In both cases, it can be argued that with last name references part of the individuality is given up, but a new identity as a member of a group or team is gained. Additionally, this usage might be related to Leech's Banter Principle: "In order to show solidarity with H [hearer], say something which is ... obviously impolite to H" (1983: 144).

In contrast to this expression of solidarity without sentimentality, first names and short forms/nicknames establish closeness, empathy or even intimacy with the persons thus named. The frequency of these forms ranges from 'rather rare' (and mainly restricted to headlines and captions) in the quality papers to 'very common' in the popular ones. Mid-market papers appear less colloquial than down-market papers (though not consistently).

For example, the mother of a killed youth is referred to as *Angela* in the down-market SUN (1), but *Mrs Donald* (MAIL, 2) and *Miss Donald* (EXP, 15) in the mid-market candidates of the same day (March 19, 2004). As mentioned, in the popular papers, the use of these informal forms also extends to prominent people, even members of the Royal family (cf. the headlines *You're in the pool, Wills* (SUN, 23), *Wills plays for Scots* (MIR, 1), and *Sportsman Wills makes a splash* (EXP, 7) in reference to Prince William joining the Scottish water polo team (March 19, 2004)).

References are considered as discriminating, if they contrast with the common usage in the respective article. Interestingly, most cases of discriminating dispen-

⁷ McConnell & Ginet (2003) furthermore points out that this use of last name only is also increasing among women in sports teams.

sation found in the samples involve women, which explains once more the prominence of this aspect in other discussions of reference to persons in the press. As expected, it is the use of first names and short forms in the down-market papers which is most frequent in this category. However, the following example shows that the quality papers are not free from those inequalities in the naming practices:

Fig. 7 Overview: Public dispensation in the selected up-, mid- and down-market papers

	CHUMMINESS DISPENSATION		DISCRIMINATING DISPENSATION		MORAL DISPENSATION	
LAST NAME	<i>All papers:</i>	Very common	<i>All papers:</i>	Not very common	<i>All papers:</i>	Very common
	<i>Reference to:</i>	People in sports	<i>Reference to:</i>	Women	<i>Reference to:</i>	Criminals, terrorists, racists, etc., or: Politicians, business people (mainly opinion copy). People in entertainment (theatre, film, music, etc.)
	<i>Tendency:</i>	Solidarity (excl. sentimentality)	<i>Tendency:</i>	Lack of respect	<i>Tendency:</i>	Distance, negative evaluation
FIRST NAME	<i>Up-market:</i>	Not very common	<i>Up-market:</i>	Uncommon	<i>All papers:</i>	Not very common
	<i>Reference to:</i>	People in sports (mainly headlines, captions, also: opinion copy)				
	<i>Mid-market:</i>	Common	<i>Mid-market:</i>	Not very common		
	<i>Down-market:</i>	Very common	<i>Down-market:</i>	Common		
	<i>Reference to:</i>	Prominent figures (esp. Royals, celebrities from film, music, etc.). Ordinary people. People in sports (mainly headlines, captions)	<i>Reference to:</i>	Women, disabled persons	<i>Reference to:</i>	Prominent figures (only opinion copy). Ordinary persons ('unsuccessful' people, e.g. addicts)
	<i>Tendency:</i>	Closeness	<i>Tendency:</i>	Lack of respect	<i>Tendency:</i>	Ironic distance, lack of respect
SHORT FORM/ NICKNAME	<i>Up-market:</i>	Not very common (almost exclusively in opinion copy)	<i>Up-market:</i>	Uncommon	<i>All papers:</i>	Not very common
	<i>Mid-market:</i>	Common (mainly in headlines, captions)	<i>Mid-market:</i>	Not very common		
	<i>Down-market:</i>	Very common	<i>Down-market:</i>	Common		
	<i>Reference to:</i>	Prominent figures (esp. Royals, celebrities from film, music, etc.)	<i>Reference to:</i>	Women	<i>Reference to:</i>	Prominent figures (only opinion copy)
	<i>Tendency:</i>	Intimacy	<i>Tendency:</i>	Lack of respect	<i>Tendency:</i>	Ironic distance

TV link-up

Tikrit: Lieutenant Gregory Ladeveze, a 25-year-old artillery expert, proposed to his girlfriend on a live Fox News telecast to the United States. "Will you marry me?" Ladeveze asked Tracy, 23. "Yes, a hundred times," she replied from New York. (TIM, August 5, 2003, 12, my emphasis)

While, on second reference, the man receives bare surname, which could be attributed to his military rank, the woman receives a belittling first name reference. This example also demonstrates once more that men are usually characterised in terms of their professional role (cf. the noun phrase 'a 25-year-old artillery expert') whereas women are often defined over their marital or family relationships (cf. also Caldas-Coulthard 1993: 206).

Another telling example in the category 'discrimination' is the story about Ali-

son Lapper, the disabled woman who was the model for the much-disputed Trafalgar-Square sculpture. In the *Daily Mail* (March 19, 2004, 48f.), she is referred to with *Alison*, apart from that first name references are uncommon. We could argue whether this use is related to her disability or her being a woman, or whether it is a case of chumminess and creating empathy. Clearly, this is an example which illustrates the interplay of motives for dispensation.

Moral dispensation is mainly expressed by last name references, which can be found in all newspapers. As already described in the discussion of Fig 6, some negative evaluation and distancing appears justified by the established morals of society, hence the use of bare surnames with respect to criminals, terrorists, racists etc. Moral dispensation might, however, also have more subjective reasons, such as the newspaper's political position or the author's personal point of view. Thus, morally motivated last name references are often found in the opinion copy.

It is also in features and comments where first names and short forms/nicknames are applied to create ironic distance. For example, author Nick Robinson, starting off his comment with the words *HE IS the Boss, the Capo di tutti Capì, the Don...*, refers to Chancellor Gordon Brown alternately with *Gordon* and *Brown* (TIM, March 19, 2004, 26). Outside of the opinion copy, the Chancellor would, of course, be named formally. More examples of moral dispensation will be discussed in § 5.2, after the analysis of a set of articles which display aspects of chumminess and discrimination.

5.1. EXAMPLE (1): CHUMMINESS AND DISCRIMINATION

For a direct comparison of naming practices, news events were chosen which were covered in most or all selected papers. For example, all newspapers of March 19, 2004 contained reports about the hat-trick at the race for the Cheltenham Gold Cup, which aptly illustrate the dimensions of chumminess and discrimination. The event was not only covered in the sports section, but also in various soft news reports. Beside the formal naming forms, the articles contain various instances of informal address terms which are summarised in Fig 8.

The most common informal variants in the sports sections are –as expected– last name references, which can once more be related to chumminess. In *The Guardian* and *The Times* all people involved are treated equally, whereas the popular papers show variation with first name references and short forms/nicknames⁸. Tendencies for discrimination can most clearly be observed in *The Sun*, where in the same report all male persons receive last name while the only woman involved is never referred to with her last name but with first name or even the short form *Hen*. The pattern is more diffuse in the mid-market papers where apart from last name references (regardless of gender), first names and short forms can be found. These are, however, mainly restricted to headlines, captions and expressions commenting on specific naming practices.

This coincides with the general observation by Schneider (2002) that, for centuries, popular papers (more specifically, down-market papers) have been the ones to

⁸ As mentioned in § 4, *The Times* contains a pun involving a short form (*Hen party*) in a caption, which, however, cannot be counted as a clear case of dispensation.

introduce stylistic changes which later are (partially) adopted by the quality press. She also points out that changes are usually first to be noticed in the headlines. In our sample, first names and short forms have started to make it into the sports sections of mid- and up-market papers⁹, however, they are not as freely used here as in the down-market papers.

The fact that genre constitutes another significant influence is demonstrated by the references in soft news. In the mid-market representatives, first names and short forms are applied more freely than in the sports section, and they can even be found in *The Guardian*. Here, the short form *Hen* is still used hesitantly with the addition *affectively known as*, while *Henrietta* is applied without any comment and reveals more sexist tendencies, since the male jockey receives last name in the same article.

Fig. 8 Dispensed forms in reports related to the Cheltenham Gold Cup (March 19, 2004)

Genre: Sports reports → soft news

Major figures: Jim Culloty (jockey), Henrietta Knight (horse trainer), Terry Biddlecombe (her husband), Jim Lewis (horse owner), Paul Carberry (rival jockey)

Summary of events: With jockey Jim Culloty Best Mate wins the Cheltenham Gold Cup for the third time in a row. After the dramatic victory, horse trainer Henrietta Knight, who -like horse owner Jim Lewis- has performed various superstitious rituals, runs to greet the champion.

	UP-MARKET PAPERS	MID-MARKET PAPERS	DOWN-MARKET PAPERS
	Sports	Sports	Sports
LN	TIM, 56 <i>Carberry, Culloty, Biddlecombe, Knight, Lewis</i> GUA, 34 <i>Carberry, Knight, Lewis</i>	MAIL, 88f <i>Biddlecombe, Culloty, Knight, Lewis</i> EXP, 75 <i>Biddlecombe, Culloty, Knight, Lewis</i>	SUN, 84f <i>Biddlecombe, Carberry, Culloty, Lewis</i> MIR, 62 <i>Culloty, Knight</i>
FN	--	MAIL, 88f <i>Henrietta</i> (headline), <i>Terry</i> EXP, 75 <i>Jim</i> (caption)	SUN, 84f <i>Henrietta</i>
SF	--	MAIL, 88f <i>Hen</i> (headline), “ <i>Hen</i> , as she is affectively known”	SUN, 84f <i>Hen</i>
	Exclusively LN: Chumminess	Mainly LN: Chumminess FN/SF: in headlines, captions, reported usage	Mainly LN: Chumminess FN/SF: only for female – Discrimination
	Soft news	Soft news	
LN	GUA, 34 <i>Lewis</i>	MAIL, 34f <i>Biddlecombe</i>	(No related soft news reports)
FN	GUA, 34 <i>Henrietta</i>	MAIL, 34f <i>Henrietta, Terry</i> EXP, 3 <i>Henrietta, Terry</i>	
SF	GUA, 34 “affectively known as <i>Hen</i> ”	MAIL, 34f <i>Hen</i>	
	LN: only for male – Chumminess FN/SF: only for female – Discrimination	FN: for male/female – Chumminess (but: SF only for female)	

Summing up, the analysis supports the general results presented in Fig 7. In the quality press, last name references are most frequent. With respect to the use of first name and short forms/nicknames, they are rather conservative. These appellations are most likely to be found in the soft news genre. Among the populars, the naming practices in the mid-market papers appear generally more mixed than in the down-market papers. Here, first names and short forms occur most often in soft news reports. The down-market papers, which are least conservative, show a tendency for

⁹ Although first names and nicknames are not included in this example, instances have been found in headlines and captions (and also in the opinion copies) of *The Times* and *The Guardian*.

intimate first name and nickname references across genres.

5.2. EXAMPLE (2): MORAL DISPENSATION

Fig 9 and 10 contain a selection of last name references illustrating the dimension of morality in the choice of naming forms. In hard news reports (Fig 9), politicians usually receive formal (social) title plus last name or neutral first plus last name. However, this does not include political figures who oppose to society’s ethics, e.g. terrorists. Thus, all newspapers freely apply bare surname in reporting that *Ayman al-Zawahri* was possibly among some al-Qaida and Taleban fighters who were cornered by Pakistani troops. As mentioned before, we nevertheless find last name references to established politicians like *Tony Blair* and *Gordon Brown* in British newspapers¹⁰. Yet, these references are restricted to the opinion copy where (more openly) subjective views are represented.

Fig. 9 Moral dispensation: LN-references in hard news (March 19, 2004)

	UP-MARKET PAPERS	MID-MARKET PAPERS	DOWN-MARKET PAPERS
Hard news Major figures: political Ayman al-Zawahri (al-Qaida’s second in command)	TIM, 1 <i>al-Zawahri</i> GUA, 1 <i>al-Zawahiri</i>	MAIL, 6 <i>Zawahri</i> EXP, 8 <i>Zawahri</i>	MIR, 2 <i>Al-Zawahiri</i>
	All papers: LN – negative evaluation acc. to society’s morals		
OPINION COPY Tony Blair (Prime Minister) Gordon Brown (Chancellor)	TIM, 26 <i>Brown</i> GUA, 26 <i>Blair</i>	MAIL, 14 <i>Blair</i> MAIL, 12 <i>Brown</i> EXP, 12 <i>Blair, Brown</i>	
	All papers: LN only in opinion copy – distancing, negative evaluation acc. to author’s/newspaper’s view		

Another interesting case involving moral dispensation is the presentation of criminals (cf. Fig. 10). Certainly, criminal activities such as embezzlement or murder are contrary to the established rules of our society, a fact which allows for moral dispensation. A closer look at the selected newspapers shows that they differ in their use of bare surnames. The qualities are careful in distinguishing potential criminals from convicted ones. Style guides state this as a fixed convention: “Accused people should be accorded the appropriate title (Mr, Miss etc.) -however guilty they may appear-after name and first name have been given at first mention; only convicted persons should be referred to by surname alone” (*Times Style Guide* 1997: 11). The popular papers, however, are much faster in their moral judgement and always use pejorative last name, as the examples below show.

Although there are newspaper style books which partly regulate appellations, they do not always reveal the reason for the choice of a certain form. For example, *The Times Style Guide* remains relatively vague in claiming: “On news pages, sportsmen, artists, authors etc. should normally be given a title except where it sounds inappropriate” (1997: 10). The concept of public dispensation helps to recognise and systema-

¹⁰ In the American press, LN-references to politicians are much more frequent and apparently do not involve a moral component (cf. Fasold 1987). This demonstrates that generalisations about naming conventions across the national press systems are not possible.

tise the motivating forces underlying informal naming practices.

Fig. 10 Moral dispensation: LN-references in soft news (March 19, 2004)

	UP-MARKET PAPERS	MID-MARKET PAPERS	DOWN-MARKET PAPERS
Soft news Major figures: ordinary persons <i>Joyti De-Laurey</i> (secretary accused of stealing £4 m)	TIM, 5 <i>Mrs De-Laurey</i>		SUN, 8 <i>De-Laurey</i>
<i>John Kennedy Forster</i> (solicitor accused of stealing £667,000)	TIM, 11 <i>John Forster</i>	MAIL, 23 <i>Forster</i> EXP, 4 <i>Forster</i>	SUN, 12 <i>Forster</i> MIR, 7 <i>Forster</i>
<i>Kevin Gibson</i> (accused of murder)	TIM, 11 <i>Mr Gibson</i>	EXP, 7 <i>Gibson</i>	
<i>Graham Travers</i> (jailed, drink driver)	GUA, 8 <i>Travers</i>	EXP, 8 <i>Travers</i>	
	Differentiation: Accused: FN+LN / (soc)+LN Convicted: LN	No differentiation: All (potential) criminals: LN – negative evaluation	

6. CONCLUSION

In newspapers, the use of informal terms of reference (i.e. bare surnames, first names, short forms and nicknames) has continually increased. The comparison of six major British dailies indicated that, as in many other respects, the popular papers (especially the down-market ones) are ahead in this development while the qualities are still more conservative, but show similar trends (which are usually first observed in headlines).

To explain informal references in the press, the concept of public dispensation was introduced. It was shown that public dispensation is always tacit, since the author/editor presumes the permission of the referent and the approval of the general readership. In contrast to the prototypical cases of third-person reference in spoken interaction, the referent is a member of the potential readership of a newspaper. Thus, being involved in the interactive situation, s/he has a certain amount of control over the dispensation process, although feedback is delayed.

The general readership's attitude towards the referent plays an even more important role in the choice of appellations. Newspapers, if they want to sell, have to create common ground with their general readership. By supporting the stance, which their average reader presumably has, the relationship between the author/editor, representing the newspaper, and the general readership is strengthened. Newspapers -as institutions- also allow their general readership to dispense with the formal appellations. They construct a position for the general readership which simulates aspects such as equality, solidarity or even intimacy with the referents. This, again, increases the readers' involvement. Public dispensation is thus a powerful instrument of personalisation.

The examples illustrated that the author/editor selects informal terms of reference to express chumminess, discrimination or a certain moral evaluation – and that it is mostly a mixture of these three aspects which (more or less subtly) influences his/her choice. What has not yet been pointed out is that the effects of public dispensation tend to become hackneyed, when informal terms of reference are applied regularly. Similar to the process of lexicalisation in word formation, certain appellations may become fixed in use. In those cases, they no longer carry the strong connotations they have at first mention. This process appears very common in newspapers and

could be considered as generalised public dispensation.

After this first, rather general overview on naming practices in the British press, the study could now be extended to an enlarged data base, which allows for a more detailed investigation of aspects such as position of the newspaper, (multiple) authorship etc. Another issue would be a systematic comparison with the press of other Anglophone countries, such as the US or Australia, which could reveal interesting cultural characteristics.

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NEWS MEDIA AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NORMATIVE ORDER ON THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT¹

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Abstract: Climate change is possibly the largest environmental challenge posed to humanity thus far. Its causes being deeply entrenched in public policies and lifestyles, the problem calls for the mobilisation of both governments and individuals. Yet, climate change remains a deeply contested issue and originates a wide variety of value-based claims and positions. Grounded on the idea that values and ethics are the product of historical and social construction, the paper proposes an assessment of the roles of the media in such processes. Mass means of communication are vital to the discursive production, reproduction and change of normative stances on public issues. Critical discourse analysis of a sample of news articles on climate change will aim at showing that multiple ethical choices are embedded in the representation of the problem.

Keywords: media; discourse; normative; environment; climate change

1. INTRODUCTION

The final quarter of the 20th century appears to have re-dimensioned views of human impact on the environment. As it became clear that national borders did nothing to hold toxic pollutants or radioactive substances, an image of global interdependence started taking shape in communications, various cultural artefacts and, conceivably, in people's minds. A form of "global citizenship" (Szerszynki & Toogood 2000) may, according to some, have started to emerge though profoundly split by very different degrees of commitment, different visions of the self, and of global power structures. Given the significance and complexity of these matters, spaces and processes of debate ought to be more scrutinised and better understood.

Normative ethics is the branch of philosophy of ethics concerned with moral standards to guide action. Global environmental issues have a crucial normative dimension. Loss of biodiversity worldwide, the depletion of the ozone layer and global warming call for new forms of viewing human agency and its implications over others and the non-human world. As the consequences of governmental action and individual behaviour come to light, their social and moral acceptability may be re-defined and new consensus on social norms may or may not surface. If alternative understandings of one's rights and responsibilities regarding the global environment are to emerge, where will they be negotiated? This paper argues that the media may play an

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important role in the constitution of normative stances associated with the most pressing global environmental problem of our times: climate change.

The role of the media in the social construction of reality is the starting point for this analysis (Van Dijk 1988; Fairclough 1995). As in relation to other dimensions of social life, the media also have an important function in the construction of inter-subjectively-shared values. Ethical or axiological principles are not something fixed but rather the result of a process of production and contestation. For instance, commonly-held views on animal rights have been changing historically. Between media discourse and normative standpoints there is actually a process of mutual constitution: on the one hand, media texts are shaped by such standpoints; on the other hand, those texts reproduce or challenge those standpoints.

Common people's views of their own rights and obligations with respect to the global environment are key to any effective response to problems. An ecological conception of citizenship (Dobson 2004) is deemed necessary. Awareness is a prerequisite for a sense of (moral) citizenship but awareness of environmental problems throughout the world is necessarily a mediated one. Individual's mental map of the biophysical and human realities at a planetary-scale is tightly tied to representations constructed and channelled via mass media². Thomson (1995) put forth an optimistic view of the power of the media to enable awareness of distant others and the non-human world. I argue that, while this is in some cases possible, the media may often constrain such a wide vision of the world by systematically leaving out some aspects of reality and/or proposing narrow readings of individual and collective responsibility. The reverse of interconnectedness, self-centred oblivion, can equally well be promoted by media discourse.

Very different implications for action may be drawn from media texts as media-constructed images of the world elicit certain actions as "good", "right" or appropriate and exclude or disapprove others. As observed by Szerszynski & Toogood (2000: 222) "(m)oral responses are related to the situations that give rise to them hermeneutically, in terms of the particular cultural meanings used to frame the situation, and not just through brute causality or logical necessity." The authors relate citizenship with self-interpretation and see the media as playing an important role in that process: "the media's role in relation to global citizenship lies not only at the cognitive level of proposals and argument but also at the hermeneutic level of meanings and self-understandings" (p. 223).

It is therefore important to examine concrete media texts and address questions like the following: What hints are present in those texts for a particular normative point of view in relation to climate change? How is each individual, as audience to a medium of communication, engaged by the text into a moral dialogue regarding this problem? We will turn to media discourses below but before we shall focus in more detail on the moral and value-related issues that are involved in the politics of climate change.

² Priest (2000: 220) claims that "[g]lobalization is as much a media phenomenon as anything else".

2. CLIMATE CHANGE: AN ETHICAL MATTER?

The natural greenhouse effect of the atmosphere has been enhanced in the last few decades by emissions of various gases from the production and use of electricity at the domestic and industrial levels, as well as from transportation. Deforestation has also played an important part in aggravating the problem. This has been leading to an increase in average temperatures across the globe. A variety of very serious effects is already taking place and is set to intensify, from a higher frequency of extreme weather events, like tornados and flooding, to sea-level rise and loss of ecosystems, desertification of some areas, submersion of low-lying regions (e.g. small island countries, Bangladesh, The Netherlands), mass migration of people and potentially millions of deaths (IPCC 2001).

A degree of future disruption to climate patterns is now inevitable. Even if we stopped all greenhouse gas emissions present concentrations of such gases in the atmosphere would lead to changes in the climate system for several centuries. However, we can now decide the extent of change that will be allowed to happen. One of the questions is where to set the line. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change defines the goal as avoidance of “dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system” (article 2). Yet, the question remains: what is dangerous climate change? Intense debate on the definition of danger in the last few years has offered as yet little guidance to achieve consensus. The explanation for this lies in the inherently axiological nature of the challenges posed by climate change.

Increasingly, relevant social actors have acknowledged the importance of values in the analysis of and decision-making on climate change. Scientists, for instance, have stated that evaluating the implications of scientific claims and scientific uncertainty for policy is a “value-based exercise” (Oppenheimer 2004). Deciding what the priorities are, how much loss is acceptable, what cost to pay for adapting or mitigating climate change, all depend on normative preferences.

Important ethical issues are associated with the inequalities related both with the causation and with the impacts of climate change. As for causation of climate change, there are striking differences across space, time and class. At the space (or inter-national) level, we should note that industrialized countries have (roughly) 20% of the world’s population and are responsible for (roughly) 80% of global greenhouse gas emissions. In contrast, developing countries house 80% of population and cause 20% of emissions. There is therefore a strong moral case in favour of distributive justice in the international politics of climate change (Peterson 1999). The Kyoto Protocol recognizes those differences by placing the burden of control of greenhouse gas emissions in the industrialized countries. Some have argued for the inclusion of environmental values in processes of policy analysis and deliberation (Craig, Glasser & Kempton 1993; Pinguelli-Rosa & Munasinghe 2003) and for stronger equity-mechanisms to be integrated in the design of climate change regime. The most influential proposal is “Contraction and Convergence” that advocates an overall reduction of emissions to levels that do not lead to harm to the climate system and the progressive *per capita* equalisation of emissions rights around the world (Meyer 2003). The inter-class distribution of causation of climate change is also very uneven with most green-

house gas emissions being produced by the rich. This inequality is intensified if one considers the very different nature and purpose of rich men’s “luxury” emissions and poor men’s “survival” emissions (Agarwal & Narain 1991).

Like causation, the distribution of impacts across space, time and class is also very unequal. The worst impacts will be endured by developing countries where the highest degree of harm is already occurring. An obvious time-related inter-generational injustice lies in the fact that future generations, even if not producing any greenhouse gas emissions, will bear the brunt of climate change, the worst effects of which will happen in decades and centuries to come. The poor are the most vulnerable to climate change as their living and working conditions are more exposed to weather-related disasters and they have less means of protection and adaptation.

Given the international, inter-generational and inter-class issues discussed above, crucial matters to do with responsibility, fairness and equity arise in the politics of climate change (e.g. Grubb 1995)³. Nevertheless, for the common citizen, these issues are unlikely to be weighed in the decisions that involve generating greenhouse gases. The problem is that most people may never consider ethical implications given the minute role of personal agency and the apparent ethical neutrality of individual practices like driving to work and heating homes. The challenge is thus as big as moralizing greenhouse gas emissions. And this involves re-defining seemingly harmless everyday acts. But climate change is not just the responsibility of individuals. The most important decisions to mitigate the problem are in the hands of governments and corporations. The moralization of government and business policies with relevance for greenhouse gas emissions is also strongly at stake here.

Addressing climate change poses further normative dilemmas given that action to mitigate it may conflict (or be perceived to conflict) with practices, principles and values that are taken for granted by many (Stool-Kleemann 2001), such as unlimited consumption, freedom (to consume, to travel, etc...), a small regulatory role of the state, individualism, nationalism, etc. Ultimately, standings in relation to climate change depend on people’s vision of life, their aesthetic preferences (Risbey 2004), what they thing is right or wrong for themselves and the world.

3. MEDIA-CONSTRUCTED ETHICS FOR CLIMATE CHANGE

The media are essential for the general public –and for special audiences– to make sense of a complex issue like climate change and its scientific, political and ethical facets (Wilson 1995; Krosnick, Holbrook & Visser 2000; Corbett & Durfee 2004). Given that most expressions of the problem are removed from lay people’s everyday lives, they tend to be significantly influenced by the media’s re-constructions. However, the media’s professional rules and agendas pose important challenges to reporting the problem. The spacetime of climate change, as discussed above, is at odds with “news culture” (Allan 1999)⁴. Proximity and recency (or immediacy) are central news

³ Ikeme (2003) argues in favour of the overarching concept of justice with procedural and distributive dimensions.

⁴ Previous work on the media’s ethical work has focused on cases with well-circumscribed spacetimes

values that inform the selection and construction of media representations of the world. Wilkins & Patterson (1990) have pointed out that, like with other slow-onset risks, the media coverage of the greenhouse effect has typically been event-oriented, i.e. the issue only makes it to the news when a new scientific report is released or an international summit is held. The wider social and political context that gives rise to the problem is not debated. Implications can easily be drawn for people's judgement.

If, for example, media reports never tell potential voters that the lifestyle benefits they currently enjoy come at some future cost, the voters may never be encouraged to perform a political calculus that would take that cost into account. (1990 : 21)

Analysis of the ethical issues involved in climate change is hampered by that kind of narrow construction of the problem (see also Wilkins 1993).

Media discourses and the normative frameworks they build for the global environment are influenced by various other factors, such as media sources and time. Different types of social actors struggle for space and salience in media coverage of climate change (Mormont & Dasnoy 1995; Trumbo 1996) and research has demonstrated that official sources have been very influential in shaping media discourse (Wilkins & Patterson 1990; Carvalho 2002). Scholars have also claimed that attention to the problem in the media fluctuates largely over time with both the volume of coverage (Mazur 1998) and the nature of stories (McComas & Shanahan 1999) varying in a cyclical fashion. These matters are a backdrop for the analysis of the role of the media in advancing moral standards for dealing with climate change.

The sparse research that has addressed normative questions in media discourses on the environment has suggested that news media tend to favour an instrumental over ethical rationality with possible limitations for the standings and claims of certain social actors like (radical) environmental organizations (Ketchum 2004). It is important to examine whether this is the case with climate change.

We now turn to discursive practice in the media in relation to this issue. As argued above, particular media discourses create dispositions for acting upon problems or for ignoring them. How do particular media texts on climate change constitute Western audiences into particular ethical subjectivities?

A sample of three articles from three British "quality" newspapers –*The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Times*– will be the focus point for the empirical analysis. The articles were published around the time of the Sixth Conference of the Parties (COP-6) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change that took place at The Hague in 13-24 November 2000. COP-6 was expected to produce international agreement to further the Kyoto Protocol, which, in 1997, set up an average target for reducing greenhouse gas emissions by industrialised countries at 5.2% by 2012. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change considers that a 60% reduction is necessary to avert the worse impacts of climate change.

Most articles on The Hague's conference leave any ethical considerations outside the debate. In itself, this is very meaningful and will be discussed again in the conclusions. The articles that were chosen, which cover different genres, are representa-

such as disaster areas and war settings (Campbell 2002; Hammond 2000).

tive of a minority of texts that take up normative positions more expressly.

The analysis of the articles draws on the tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Fairclough 1995; Wodak *et alii* 1999). It focus on how texts represent climate change and the issues involved in addressing it, as well as on how they construct people’s identity, agency and responsibility (cf. Halliday 1985), as well as on the discursive strategies employed to attain a certain discursive effect.

3.1. THE TIMES

Under the headline “Only market forces can save the climate”, *The Times* carried an article by Graham Searjeant on 16 November 2000 whose first paragraphs are reproduced below⁵.

Our natural environment has become the new cause for class war. At the local level, it centres on traffic: private motorists against collective transport. Regionally, pollution is the battleground on which little folk take up arms against big business.

In The Hague this week, conflict is being fomented on a global scale. Use of fossil fuels has become a flank in the supposed class war between rich and poor nations. America is cast as villain. it churns out the most per head of greenhouse gases that are blamed for global warming, and about a quarter of the total.

Europe and Japan hide behind America. The Netherlands, green-hued host of the conference, is really Europe’s main offender. Developing nations pose as victims. Oil exporters seek compensation. It is a depressing sight. ...

Politics is still liable to get in the way of good economics. Too many delegates and lobbyists want to punish the offenders, to curb US growth, to transfer jobs from rich countries to those not forced to cut, to hit smokestack industries, to destroy the US car culture.

No elected American officials are likely to endorse any such policies. Nor should they. Russia is now churning out less CO because output has collapsed; hardly a long-term solution. Even a 1 per cent annual cut in US and EU output would pose an immediate economic threat to the world’s poor. Rather, it is vital that output growth should not suffer. This can be achieved only if global warming is dealt with by market forces, by providing the right price signals. ...

If incomes of average and poorer consumers are gradually taxed less in exchange for higher taxes on fossil fuels, then we need be no worse off and will gain if we switch to energy-saving cars and electric appliances. Sadly, American politicians seem incapable of offering such a deal. ...

Searjeant starts off by creating a sense of communion with the reader when he speaks of “*our* natural environment”⁶. The construction of (moral) barriers between ‘us’ and ‘them’ continues throughout the article.

Although not explicit, the text provides hints to identify these ‘others’. It is very significant that the author depicts the environment as a “cause for class war”, in a clear allusion to Marx’s ideas. The environment in general, and climate change politics in particular, with its international level “class war” (between “rich and poor nations”), are thus constituted into the flagship of the left. Environmental matters are clearly de-

⁵ In order to avoid the need for copyright permission to reproduce the whole text of the articles, only parts are transcribed here. Emphasis has been added in the three articles.

⁶ While most environmentally concerned people would refer to the ‘environment’ as a fusion of natural and human elements, the expression “natural environment” expresses a separation between nature and society.

marcated from non-leftists, which are all the implied readers.

Moral evaluation of the politics of climate change continue when COP-6 is charged with fomenting conflict and thus being destabilizing and reproachable. Europe and Japan are implicitly labelled as coward as they “hide behind America”. Developing countries are charged with self-victimization. In turn, “America is cast as villain”. The use of the passive voice allows for generalization of agency to all those participating in the conference. Terms like “cast as” and “poses” enhances the constructed nature of the ‘script’ rehearsed in The Hague.

Ironically, the description of the role of “villain” that Searjeant offers is factual information about the part of the USA in the global emissions of greenhouse gases. Despite the scientific consensus in relation to the effect of an increased concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, those gases are said to be “blamed” by some for global warming. Science matters are deliberately merged with political critique. The discursive effect is the generalization of suspicion in relation to climate change.

A general aversion to politics that is typical of the right wing clearly emerges in the text. Prioritising economic matters over political ones is advanced as the only way to proceed. Those that do not do this are represented as wanting to damage the economy and the welfare of the poor. They are also a menace to things taken-for-granted such as the “US car culture”.

The whole article is centred upon the defence of economic growth and market forces, which are ethically legitimated by references to potential impacts for the poor. Significantly, this text was published under *The Times*’ business section and labelled as “analysis”.

3.2. THE GUARDIAN

The following extract corresponds to the first lines of a “leading article” published by *The Guardian* on 17 November 2000 headlined “High noon at The Hague: Faith in the market is not going to save us” (unattributed).

Ignorance is *no longer any excuse*. Most climate scientists now agree that human activity is the main cause of global warming. *Millions from York to Rosetta in the Nile delta now have first hand experience of what it can do*. Sea level rise and more frequent extreme weather are no longer theory but *reality*. Yet *in spite of all this*, there is still a *widespread public apathy*. There are *no mass Seattle-style protests* mustered at the convention now taking place in The Hague. *The scale of this challenge appears to be simply too vast and too distant* – we have 25-50 years before the direst predictions kick in – *to penetrate popular consciousness*. What *will be needed* over the next generation is a *massive shift in individual consumer habits as well as popular pressure on the politicians*. So far there is little sign of either. That is *clearly part of the explanation for the lack of impetus and urgency* at the meeting at the Hague. ...

The first significant trait of this text is that it makes an openly axiological reading of climate change. It presents the future of the planet as a collective responsibility and reflects upon what *ought* to be done.

The Guardian constructs a sense of connectedness and immediacy when it states “millions from York to Rosetta in the Nile delta now have first hand experience”

of the impacts of global warming. It compresses the spacetime of climate change by bringing the problem here and now, as immediately expressed in the words "high noon" in the headline. The article dissolves the (cultural, economic and political) barriers between the British people and Egyptians and inscribes them into identical subject positions: we are all in the same boat, the reader is told. This is eased by the fact that a few days before the UK suffered severe flooding which was attributed to climate change. Climate change harm was thus not just a possibility but a material reality.

The text is almost homiletic. It is charged with blame – "no ... excuse"; "widespread public apathy" – and has a teleological tone – "faith in the market is not going to save us". "Us" is here an encompassing pronoun referring to humanity, which is posed against the "market" entity. Such a critique of market capitalism, although more likely to be found in the *Guardian* than in other papers, obscures the fact that the newspaper does not normally fully expose the responsibilities of corporations in relation to climate change (Media Lens online).

With this kind of construction the newspaper seems engaged in promoting political mobilization to address climate change. The reader is here pushed into the role of a political agent who is (passively) allowing environmental degradation and ought to change her "apathy". But this is also soon 'excused' by a reflexive thought: "The scale of this challenge appears to be simply too vast and too distant ... to penetrate popular consciousness." The paper thus offers little in terms of solution to the collective doom. By advancing explanations for governmental inertia and not making a case for political responsibility aside from public opinion, it neutralizes official standings.

3.3. *THE INDEPENDENT*

The issue of 26 November 2000 of *The Independent* carried an article entitled "Takuu's singing islanders pay the price for global warming" authored by Geoffrey Lean. Below are the opening paragraphs of the piece.

Thousands of miles away - about as far as it is possible to get from here on the face of the planet - the singing islanders of Takuu are awaiting their fate.

The 400 inhabitants of the atoll off Papua New Guinea are likely to be the first people in the world to lose their homeland to global warming. The sea is rising around them, the gardens where they grow their food are being flooded, and their sand dunes are being swept away.

Now the islanders, who enjoy a unique culture, where every inhabitant has 1,000 songs he or she can sing from memory, have been told they have at best five years, and at worst a few months, before their homes vanish beneath the waves.

The same fate now threatens much of the rest of the world, after the collapse of talks in The Hague yesterday - through a combination of intransigence and incompetence. "Climate change is not a prognosis for the future," Klaus Topfer, the executive director of the UN Environment Programme, said last week. "It is happening now."

The object of this article is the Sixth Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC and the failure of the negotiations to produce agreement. Its unusual framing of the event, through the possible human consequences for distant others, is rather striking in the context of the mostly "official" analyses that dominated the coverage of the issue.

The text deploys a variety of discursive resources to suggest identification of

readers with victims of climate change. Lexical choices such as “the singing islanders” profile the inhabitants of Takuu positively and enhance this people’s humanity. This is also done with references to “their homes” and “the gardens where they grow their food”. In this way, Geoffrey Lean promotes empathy with Takuans and feelings of solidarity.

This people’s powerlessness in relation to climate change is strongly conveyed when Lean writes that they “are awaiting their fate” and “have been told” they have little time left before “their homes vanish”.

The article constitutes the audience into a position of ethical obligation to protect the Takuu islanders as the author emphasizes the singularity of their culture: they “enjoy a unique culture” and “every” of the “400 inhabitants” has “1,000 songs he or she can sing from memory”.

The “intransigence” and “incompetence” which led to the failure of The Hague’s negotiations are aggravated by the contrast with such a human and cultural loss. Another expression of the blame-building strategy that is present in the article is provided by the headline: Takuans “pay the price” for a problem that they did not cause.

So, it is no vague and innocent pity that the reader should feel in relation to the islanders, but a strong sense of responsibility to put pressure on governments to solve this “threat” and to do it “now”. Still, there is no discussion of individual contributions to the greenhouse effect and to concrete practices of generation of emissions.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The formula of “sustainable development”, as popular as it has been, may be worn out as it stands for many different forms of viewing the equation of economic development, social justice and environmental protection. The dominant discourse of “sustainable development” is profoundly biased in favour of economic growth.

[A]n authentic model of sustainable development should make sure that it represents a holistic development perspective beyond economic growth, recognizes multiple cultural traditions and beliefs, transcends consumerism and provides a framework of more desirable lifestyle, emphasizes structural reforms for internal and international equality, and delineates effective legal and institutional devices for environmental sustenance. (Haque 2000: 17)

Addressing climate change requires important changes in governmental, corporations’ and citizen practices. For agreeing effective action, it is necessary to define a common ground of understanding about the issue. However, the very recognition of the existence of a problem depends on value-related standpoints, and thus on normative matters.

This paper has attempted to discuss the normative role of media discourse on climate change. Positioning the reader/spectator in a particular way vis-à-vis a moral referent, such as the well-being or the security of distant others, plays an important part in the discursive creation of a normative order. One of the questions that deserved attention was indeed how particular spatio-temporalities conduce to moral engagement or disengagement or, in other words, which “moral horizons” are set up for audiences (Chouliaraki 2004). The construction of rights and duties in discourse and the naturalization or contestation of particular ways of thinking about the problem of

greenhouse gas emissions can have important consequences for acting. The media have an important role in the construction of (normative) grounds for action or inaction. Business-as-usual, which is perceived as favourable to many powerful social actors, is as much a choice as radical political action.

Underlying this paper there is no presumption that values held by individuals can (easily) be changed by the media. People's ethical standings depend on a wide range of factors including deeply entrenched beliefs, knowledge and experience. Nevertheless, for 'abstract' and complex issues like climate change, suggested readings of the problem can motivate particular ways of looking at it.

Longitudinal analysis of media discourse on climate change indicates that the issue has been typically located outside the field of ethics and morality in the press - it has been predominantly contextualised in the arenas of science and politics (Carvalho 2002; 2005; forthcoming). Yet, the readings of scientific knowledge and the identification of implications for action, as well as the analysis of political options and possible alternatives, have been profoundly embedded with ideological and axiological positions.

Normative standpoints in the media are often made more explicit by the identification of what is absent rather than what is present in discourse. For example, despite profound differences between the newspapers considered here presumptions of unlimited consumption and continuous economic growth have typically been left unchallenged by all. The repeated exclusion of these 'taboos' of market economy is very telling in relation to the media's unwillingness to challenge the system that generates climate change. Also, there has been little discussion of the significance of social differences in relation to climate change and no integrated debate on the rights of unborn people. The scarcity of references to differences in *per capita* emissions around the world has been equivalent to a passive legitimisation of differential emissions, hence of non-equity and of a mainly ethno-centred and nation-centred view of the world. Finally, analysis of the problem has been extremely anthropocentric. There have been no bio-centric or eco-centric texts in the media. Threats of climate change to nature have been mentioned but the intrinsic value of nature has been a 'non-object of discourse'.

The contemporary experience of space and time has been radically shaped by communication technologies. The ease and speed of access to information, and the sense of sharing with distant others, has led some to speak of an "extended consciousness" and a "global brain" (Russell online). The appearance of proximity and transparency of the modern world is enhanced by the globalised media. However, societal and individual responsibility for distant others in an issue like climate change not only continues to be left aside from most media discourse as it is often actively denied by such media. Climate justice would call for equal rights to the atmosphere for all human beings and equity within and between nations. As this international, inter-class and inter-generational equity would require important transformations in the present economic, social and political orders, the *status quo* continues to be reinforced by many with the media offering little in terms of critical resistance.

For environmental matters as for in many other pressing contemporary issues, Critical Discourse Analysis of the media has to remain on the agenda as it can make a vital contribution to critically thinking these important systems of production

of meaning. As journalistic practice is always informed by social, political and cultural values, developing means to productively deconstruct the discursive constitution of normative positions is an important goal. Such an analysis will help understand the contingent nature of our language of moral deliberation (Rorty 1989).

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«WORLDS OUT OF TOUCH, OUT OF REACH AND OUT OF SIGHT»: FOREIGN NEWS AND THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

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Abstract: This paper targets the study of international communication flow. It is broadly concerned with the link between issues as portrayed in mass media and the issue priorities of the audience. It argues and empirically tests if the images of nations' 'Significant Others' created by the international news are a pivotal factor in the construction of domestic public opinion on those 'Others'. More specifically, the study investigates the images of the European Union (EU) formed in the New Zealand (NZ) news media. Further, it compares the EU's primed media categorisations with its prevailing perceptions among the NZ general public and elite groups. This is examined through national data collected for the first time: texts of the EU daily news coverage in 17 NZ newspapers and 14 NZ television news programmes over three years (2000-2002); the national survey of the perceptions and attitudes towards the EU among 1,000 New Zealanders; and the texts of 30 face-to-face interviews with NZ decision- and policy-makers.

Keywords: media discourse, foreign news, public opinion, elite opinion, framing

1. FOREIGN NEWS

International news are compared either to a "searching beam" (Cohen 1965: 195) which illuminates individual aspects of international existence, or to a "window on the world" (Larson 1984) through which people learn about the world outside their country. If the 'window' is too small, if the 'beam' is too narrow, the people will see only a small part of the world, and view it from a prescribed perspective. Yet, international news will always be 'narrow' to a degree. The selection and representation of international issues faces several challenges –overflow of information from around the world exceeding newsmakers' capacity to publicize it, presumed public lack of interest in foreign affairs, and the high cost of international news production (Graber *et alii* 1998: 2; Hoge 1994: 143; Hamilton & Jenner 2003: 131; Soderlund *et alii* 2002: 75). As a result, foreign news have to compete for newsmakers' and the audiences' attention against domestic news as well as against other international news –not all 193 countries currently recognized in the world get equal representation in national media. The determinants that outline the foreign news coverage are believed to be the following: the importance of countries (in terms of their population and gross national product), their proximity (geographical, commercial, and cultural), drama (the percentage of negative news), ideology (including the values of news agencies), and ease of access to a country (Westerståhl & Johansson 1994: 73-75). Other factors are trade volume, the presence of international news agencies, military and political clout, and whether major incidents have occurred (Wu 2000: 126). Undoubtedly, the "uneven" representations of world affairs (Ibid.: 110, 121) affect the frequency, focus, and depth of reporting in the relaying of international news on 'significant Others'.

There is evidence that when dealing with issues of which the public has little

first-hand knowledge or limited access to alternative sources of information, the potential for mass media to establish the frames for the public is especially strong (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur 1976; Palmgreen & Clark 1977; Adams 1987; Edelstein 1993). Most people have limited access to foreign lands, events, and peoples –the worlds that could be described as “out of reach, out of sight, out of mind” (Lippmann 1922: 29). Consequently, this research assumes that media become “principal channels” (Davison *et alii* 1980) through which the public is informed about foreign countries.

A special role in this process belongs to the news media. Through informing and educating the citizenship on foreign policy issues, news media shapes mass perceptions and particular evaluative implications of how audience members judge other nations (Albritton & Manheim 1983, 1985; Manheim & Albritton 1984; Perry 1985, 1987, Van Ginneken 1998; Brewer *et alii* 2003). International news can impact foreign policy (Cohen 1963; Amanpour 1996; Buckley 1998; Naveh 2002; Peña 2003), and shape the public’s knowledge, perception and attitude towards foreign countries, as large-scale public opinion surveys indicate (Perry 1990; Salwen & Matera 1992).

Finally, this paper accepts that the study of international communication flow relates to the study of foreign policy issues, and thus, requires generalizations to the *macro* units of analysis (McLeod *et alii* 1991: 243) –i.e. the linkages the aggregate exposure to news media has with the aggregate perceptions of the important international counterparts. According to Lau *et alii* (2001: 352), a *macro-macro* level of interaction allows the evaluation of the social significance and success of mass media communication. As Krippendorff (1993: 34), noted the exposure to the same mass media messages causes commonalities among audience members.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Prioritizing the “interaction of media, media message, and public understanding” (an approach to the study of political communication advocated by Neumann *et alii* (1992: 16)), this paper aimed to investigate how political information on foreign counterparts was organized and structured in the public discourses of different domestic media and how that information compared with public and elite perceptions.

To overcome the challenge of bringing together the differing results of public survey and media analysis, this paper followed the methodological suggestion by Semetko & Mandelli (1997: 206) to integrate two approaches widely used in communication studies –cognitive and agenda-setting. The agenda-setting approach specifies contingent conditions necessary to produce an effect: need for orientation, interpersonal communication and personal experience of an issue, issue sensitivity, and issue quality (e.g. obtrusive vs. unobtrusive) (summarized by Hügel *et alii* 1989). Some of those conditions, i.e. issue quality and personal involvement, were considered in this paper. Other conditions were the subject for the follow-up investigations.

Incorporation of cognitive approach into the analysis of media discourse was advocated by Fairclough & Wodak (1997: 266). Cognitive approach views information as central to culture, cognition, and social behaviour (Beniger 1993). A central notion of political cognition, *schema*, or simplifying maps of how political facts and figures can be organized into a meaningful whole (Graber 1984) was employed by this paper.

Schema is a cognitive structure of “organized prior knowledge, abstracted from experience with specific instances” that guides “the processing of new information and the retrieval of stored information” (Fiske & Linville 1980: 543). The schematic view of political belief system takes into account four domains –namely, the functioning of government and the definition of public problems, and domestic and foreign affairs (Conover & Feldman 1984: 101). Schemata of the foreign affairs domain in their multi-level interactions with the schemata of three other domains provide people with means for understanding the complex reality of the globalizing world as well as national foreign policy.

The integration of agenda-setting and cognitive approaches in the study of media discourse brings forward the notions of *priming* and *framing*. This integrative approach advocates the investigation of the influence by the primed media frames on formation of public opinion (see also Gamson 1992; Price *et alii* 1997; Nelson *et alii* 1997a, 1997b, 1999).

The notion of *priming* is built on the assumption that a stimulus can activate previously learned cognitive structures, hereby influencing the judgment process (Fiske & Taylor 1984 as cited in Brewer *et alii* 2003: 494). Memory is assumed to be an organized associative network of concepts, each representing chunks of information about the object of reality (see Anderson & Bower 1973; Wyer & Srull 1989). Individual concepts building the network have two characteristics –*accessibility*, or the ease with which the concept could be recalled (assessed in terms of recency, frequency, and importance of information) and *associated evaluation* (assessed in terms of positive or negative valence) (Lodge *et alii* 1991: 1361). When a concept is activated in the memory –or primed– it becomes more accessible and thus more likely to play a role in the formation of subsequent evaluations (Brewer *et alii* 2003: 494). Exposure to media coverage of an issue is believed to be one of the factors which build up the accessibility of an issue in people’s minds. This heightened accessibility, in turn, “increases the likelihood that people will base subsequent evaluations on their thoughts about the issue” (Ibid.). Other than media factors, i.e. previous education, need for orientation, interpersonal communication and personal experience of an issue, issue sensitivity, and issue quality, could potentially influence the accessibility to that issue.

Attempts to define *framing* are numerous. For the purposes of this study, the definition suggested by Entman (1993: 52) was used:

[framing is] selection of some aspects of perceived reality to make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, caused interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendations.

This paper follows a four-fold classification of frames in media production developed by Scheufele (1999). In this approach, two dimensions in frame analysis were integrated –the types of frames examined (*media frames* vs. *audience frames*), and the way frames are operationalized (*independent variable* vs. *dependent variable*). *Media frames* were defined as emphasized aspects of represented reality (Van Dijk 2001): “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse” (Gitlin 1980: 7). In their turn, *audience frames* were defined as emphasized aspects of perceived reality (Van Dijk 2001), i.e. how news are comprehended through schemata of interpretations that

enable individuals to perceive, organize, and make sense of incoming information (Pan & Kosicki 1993). The specific frames that the news media provide for the audience (independent variable) were considered to be readily adopted by the media audiences influencing their views on foreign nations and events (dependent variable).

3. CASE STUDY: “NEW ZEALAND MEDIA, ELITE AND PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION”

To explore a “three-way interaction of individual, medium, and issue” (Neuman 1992: 19), this paper considered the case of the European Union’s (EU) representations and perceptions in New Zealand (NZ)¹. An expanded EU is one of the major centres of global economy (Castells 1996) and a powerful international political actor. In recent years it has accounted for 16% of NZ exports, about 30% of NZ foreign investment, and 22% of NZ overseas tourists (Statistics New Zealand 2003). Close economic, diplomatic and political ties between NZ and the EU exist against the background of a strong cultural proximity as most New Zealanders are of European descent (Clark 2003). Nevertheless, media and public discourses on the EU that intersect in some manner with NZ domestic interests are virtually unexplored.

The lack of scholarly attention to the issue on the NZ side is complemented by the scarcity of studies of EU images in the non-European media and public discourses world wide. “Communication deficit of the EU” (Meyer 1999; de Vreese on line) –i.e. weak and sporadic links between the EU institutions and the systems of political communication, EU’s discordant actions to raise its profile and awareness, and persistent neglect to account for the EU images in public discourses –results in impaired visibility of the EU in media, both domestically and internationally. The shortfalls in the EU’s communication policy rationalize systemic quest for the EU’s external representations and perceptions. This paper serves as a useful benchmark against which new studies focused on EU perceptions outside Europe can be measured.

Recognising the influence of international news on public views of nation’s ‘significant Others’, the frames of EU reporting were considered to be an independent variable, thus positioning the NZ audience frames as a dependent variable. Following Sheufele’s suggestion (1999: 108), questioning this type of relationship between media and audience frames featured the following research questions:

1. What kinds of media frames influence NZ audience’s perception of the EU related issues?
2. Which factors could possibly influence the establishment of NZ audience’s frames of the EU’s reference, and are audience frames simply replications of media frames?

3.1. DATA

3.1.1. *Media frames*

Data on the media frames came from the analysis of the multiple news media

¹ The research project “Rediscovering Europe: NZ Public, Media and Elite Perceptions of the EU” was launched in 2002 by the National Centre for Research on Europe, University of Canterbury, NZ, and was led by the author of this article.

output –daily coverage of the EU in 17 NZ newspapers² and 14 NZ television news programmes on two national channels, *TV1* and *TV3*³. The newspaper and television texts were located in the full text electronic archives, *Newztext* and *Newzfel* databases.

To adequately represent the variations in media agenda the data was taken from across the whole nation and was approached from a longitudinal perspective (see e.g. McLeod *et alii* 1991: 239; de Vreese 2001: 286). The study monitored daily coverage of the EU in NZ media texts for three years –from January 2000 to December 2002⁴. Monitored NZ dailies are reputable non-tabloid regional newspapers aimed at a broad general audience and the regions’ business, political and cultural elites. Since there is no one national daily newspaper in NZ, the monitoring of the regional newspapers provided a national perspective to the analysis of NZ print news media. In contrast, television channels *TV1* and *TV3* are national stations. They have high consumer ratings and compete against each other for the national market in the field of news production. The EU news was defined as political, economic, and cultural news dealing with the EU itself or with people residing in it (Kevin 2003: 53). News was viewed as not just facts, but also as the “representations produced in language” (Bignell 1997: 81), i.e. “draw[ing] attention to some particular aspect of the represented object, to differentiate that aspect from its context, not to reconstitute the object itself” (Cohen on line (a): 24). The units that defined the basis for the material selection were newspaper articles and television news stories where the EU was mentioned at least once (even marginally⁵), either within NZ context or independently. Three years of media monitoring provided the sample of 1,852 newspapers texts and 152 television news texts representing the EU.

3.1.2. Audience frames

As mentioned above, the schematic view of foreign policy belief occurs in the domains of the decision-makers functioning and the public problem definitions. Consequently, the study of the NZ audience aggregate perceptions of the EU took place on two separate levels –the general public and the national elite. To reconstruct and to measure audience frames on the EU, the first public opinion poll of perceptions and attitudes towards the EU was conducted in NZ during February and March 2003 (Holland *et alii* 2003)⁶. The survey’s representative sample was 1,000 New Zealanders

² The monitored newspapers were *The New Zealand Herald*, *The Press*, *The Dominion*, *The Evening Post*, *The Dominion Post*, *The Waikato Times*, *The Timaru Herald*, *The Sunday Star Times*, *The Nelson Mail*, *The Southland Times*, *The Daily News*, *The Evening Standard*, *The Marlborough Express*, *The Hauraki Herald*, *The Manukau Courier*, *The Dargaville News*, and *The North Shore Times*.

³ The monitored news programs were *TV1 60 Minutes*, *Assignment*, *Backch@t*, *Breakfast*, *Grass Roots Business*, *Holmes*, *Late Edition*, *Midday*, *One News*, *Sunday* and *TelstraClear Business*, and *TV3 3 News*, *Nightline* and *No. 8 Wired*. Television texts analysis was conducted by Jessica Bain, MA student at the NCRE.

⁴ The period of monitoring coincided with the time frame of the NCRE research project “NZ Public, Media and Elite Perceptions of the EU”.

⁵ It was important to account for peripheral representations. Neuman *et alii* (1992: 115) noted that “people learn from their media encounters –perhaps, not a lot each time, but the result of a habit of news attention is an accumulation of political information”.

⁶ The poll was possible due to the support of the European Commission, Directorate-General for Educa-

aged 18 and older who were telephoned for a 15-minute structured interview. A sample of $n=1,000$ provided a maximum margin of error of $\pm 3.1\%$.

In the search for a fine-grained distinction between the agendas of the general public and national elites (Hooghe 2003: 282), 30 representatives of NZ political, business and media circles were given 45-minute interviews in January and February 2004. Policy makers were identified as current members of NZ Parliament. Business elites were chosen on the basis of their current participation in NZ Business Round Table and NZ Trade Liberalization Network. NZ media elites were identified as editors, directors of news, and lead reporters of the media outlets that led the national coverage of the EU. The matching designs of the questionnaires for the elite interviews and the general public survey provided grounds for the comparative analysis of elite and public perceptions of the EU.

3.2. PROCEDURES

Addressing the claim to measure the content in the more reliable and precise manner (see e.g. Kosicki 1993: 105; Hofstetter 1981: 531), this study systematically accounted for sentences containing references to ‘(the) European Union’ or ‘(the) EU’ as recording units. The sentences were sought in the sampled media items and in the texts of solicited responses to the open-ended questions on the survey and elite interview questionnaires.

The sentences in question were treated as “propositional units” (Krippendorff 1980: 83-87), or units which assume certain structure, namely, actors, objects, and actions (Holsti 1968: 651-653). Based on the action component of the structure, the units were regrouped into conceptual clusters that reconstructed the leading *information inputs*: a coherent organization of representations of events and issues promoted and transmitted in the news or the aggregate meanings built by the individual perceptions. Groupings of the propositional units into sub-clusters inside each information input revealed the categories that ‘mapped’ the concept ‘EU’ according to the input. Restoring the EU’s ‘conceptual map’, or schemata for each information input, brought forward an analytical model of information organization –how events and issues are “packaged and presented by the journalists” (Price *et alii* 1997), and how this ‘packaged’ information is processed and conceptualized by the audience members. Ultimately, restored interconnected media and audience cognitive ‘packages’ brought forward a holistic image of the concept ‘EU’ –“a reference to some aspect of the world which contains within its own structure and in terms of its own structure a reference to the act of cognition which generated it” (Cohen on line (b): 24).

Central, or the most frequent, propositional units found in media texts were assumed to have the “highest probability of being noticed, processed and accepted by the most people” (Entman 1993: 56). Thus, they were compared with the central meanings on the list of aggregated perceptions on the audience frames (general audience and elite).

3.3. RESULTS

3.3.1. Media Frames

Three information inputs were found to constitute the cognitively complex image of the EU presented through NZ newspapers and NZ television. Those inputs were: 1) *EU as a Political Power*, 2) *EU as an Economic Power*, and 3) *Social Affairs of the EU*. The concept 'EU' introduced through both NZ print and television media encourages a perception of the EU amongst news consumers as a predominantly economic force (Table 1).

Table 1. Information inputs of the concept 'EU' in NZ newspapers and on NZ television, January 2000-December 2002

Information input	NZ newspapers	NZ TV
<i>EU as an Economic Power</i>	51% (1,515)	62% (119)
<i>EU as a Political Power</i>	40% (1,189)	19% (37)
<i>Social Affairs of the EU</i>	9% (243)	19% (36)

The first number in each cell is the percentage for the specific information input; the number in parentheses is the number of propositions per input.

Every information input was found to be a complex cognitive construct with numerous and diverse central, or most frequently mentioned, zones (Figures 1-6 in Appendix). Media descriptions of the EU as an economic power in terms of agriculture, trade, and agricultural trade were found to be fostered throughout the media over the years. The EU was depicted primarily as a market for NZ meat, dairy, wine and organic produce as well as a leading trade counterpart still practicing agricultural protectionism. EU political representation was the second most visible theme after economics. NZ media, newspapers in particular, covered a great variety of topics representing the EU's external affairs. Representations of the EU as a social power were the least visible in NZ news media. The list of NZ television central representations of the EU was significantly less diverse than the one in NZ print media (Table 2).

Table 2. Media frame of the concept 'EU' (in terms of information inputs and central representations)

Information input	Central representations in NZ newspapers	Central representations on NZ television
<i>EU as an Economic Power</i>	EU as a market for NZ dairy Cattle disease epidemics (BSE, FMD ⁷) EU as a world trade power EU as a market for NZ organic produce EU and CAP / agricultural subsidies Introduction of the Euro (currency) EU as a market for NZ lamb EU's economic growth/decline EU as a market for NZ wine	Cattle disease epidemics (BSE, FMD) EU and CAP / agricultural subsidies Travelling/Tourism
<i>EU as a Political Power</i>	EU enlargement National security (ECHELON scandal) EU integration Far-right parties' activation in the EU countries EU reaction to September 11 EU actions in the Middle East EU relations with the USA (specifically in the context of Kyoto protocol ratification) EU sanctions against Zimbabwe	National security (ECHELON scandal) EU reaction to September 11

⁷ BSE is Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy or 'mad cow' disease; FMD is foot-and-mouth disease.

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	EU actions towards the Balkan states (the Kosovo conflict)	
	EU military activities	
	EU relations with the Pacific countries	
<i>Social Affairs of the EU</i>	Immigration to the EU	
	Social legislation	Social legislation/Health research
	Political and economic protests of people of the EU	Cultural matters

3.3.2. Audience frames

3.3.2.1. General Public Agenda

To compare the visibility of foreign issues in news media with their perceived by the audiences importance, the respondents were asked to rank the identified central media representations of the EU in terms of the perceived level of the EU’s impact on NZ. The meanings of the EU related to trade, economy, agriculture, and agricultural trade led the ranking. Views of the EU’s impact as an international actor followed. The lowest rated issues in terms of their perceived impact on NZ were combined under the heading ‘Internal EU issues’ (Table 3).

Table 3. Level of perceived importance assigned to the central media representations

EU as an economic power: <i>Cattle disease epidemics</i> (7.45); <i>EU as a market for NZ meat</i> (7.24); <i>EU as a market for NZ dairy</i> (7.17); <i>EU and European agricultural subsidies</i> (6.98) <i>EU actions as a world trade power</i> (6.96); <i>EU as a market for NZ organic produce</i> (6.81); <i>EU as a market for NZ wine</i> (6.78); <i>EU economic actions (general)</i> (6.53); <i>EU food labeling regulations</i> (6.45)
The EU as an international actor: <i>EU support for reducing carbon gas emissions (Kyoto protocol)</i> (6.44); <i>EU role in the Middle East and Iraq conflicts</i> (6.43); <i>European countries forming one union</i> (6.37); <i>EU dealings with the USA</i> (6.36); <i>EU actions as a political power</i> (6.14); <i>EU dealings with the Pacific countries</i> (5.93)
Internal EU issues: <i>EU enlargement</i> (5.65); <i>Far Right parties in Europe becoming more active</i> (5.62); <i>Immigration to the EU</i> (5.52); <i>Introduction of the new European currency, the Euro</i> (5.35); <i>Economic and political protests by people in the EU countries</i> (5.33)
The number in parentheses is a level of perceived importance of the EU’s impact on NZ. The respondents had to rate their perceived impact from 1-10 where 1 was not important at all and 10 was very important

Texts of the responses to the open-ended questions were used to reconstruct the aggregate meanings built by the individuals’ perceptions. The content analysis of the responses to the three open-ended questions reconstructed the list of the dominant meanings associated with the EU among the NZ general public. Trade, economy, agriculture, and agricultural trade were the EU-related meanings that dominated the public agenda (Table 4).

Table 4. Central meanings of the EU (general public)

Question	Central meanings	Number of propositions ⁸
Enlist at least three spontaneous images of the EU	Trade	24% (236)
	The Euro	19% (191)
	Economics	13% (130)
	Unity	10% (98)
	Powerful	7% (70)
	Tourism	5% (54)
	UK associated	4% (44)
Name any other EU actions impacting NZ	The EU and the war in Iraq ⁹	10% (100)
	Trade	8% (77)
List recommendations for the NZ government to develop NZ-EU relations	NZ-EU free and fair trade	18.5% (185)
	NZ should be independent from the EU and mind its own business	8% (76)

⁸ A sample of n=1,000 provided a maximum margin of error of ± %3.1, thus responses that scored 3.1% or less did not enter the list of dominant meanings.

⁹ This response is partially explained by the timing of the survey – March-February 2003.

'Clean' green image of NZ in the EU	7% (74)
Economic relations with the EU	5% (52)
Agriculture and subsidies	5% (49)

The first number in the third column is the percentage for the specific central meaning; the number in parentheses is the number of answers per meaning.

Cognitive scholars believe that human beings have a limited capacity for information processing, and public issues always compete for a limited number of possible public attention slots (Shaw & Martin 1992: 904). There is evidence that the number of issues that people may give attention to, memorize and recall is generally limited to the number of seven, plus or minus two (Miller 1956). The similarities that surfaced from the three open-ended survey lists exposed a limited and rotating set of EU-related issues prioritized by the public. Arguably, this list of the central meanings of the EU on NZ public agenda surfaced the NZ general audience frame (Table 5):

Table 5. NZ audience frame (general public)

Free and fair trade with the EU (in terms of NZ agricultural commodities vs. EU agricultural protectionism)
The Euro
EU economics / NZ-EU Economic relations in general
Powerful unity
The EU and the war in Iraq
NZ should be independent from the EU and mind its own business
'Clean' green image of NZ in the EU / the EU as a market for NZ organic produce
Tourism (EU to NZ and NZ to EU)
UK associated

This research recognizes that the reconstructed audience frame does not mean that this paper established that people feel the same way about the EU issues, but that people "as part of an aggregate, agree what key issues are" (Shaw & Martin 1992: 904).

3.3.2.2. Elite agenda

National elite opinion on the EU was probed in face-to-face semi-structured interviews. For the purposes of this research, the texts of responses to three open-ended questions were content-analyzed in order to identify the aggregate dominant meanings built by individual perceptions (Table 6).

Table 6. Central meanings of the EU (national elite)

Question	Dominant meanings	Number of propositions
Describe issues in NZ-EU present day interactions that have the most impact on NZ	Trade issues	60% (18)
	Agricultural trade	30% (9)
	NZ's access to the EU market	20% (6)
	EU enlargement	17% (5)
	Social policies of the EU	17% (5)
Identify issues that should be kept in mind when NZ government is developing policy relating to the EU in the future	Trade issues	57% (17)
	Trade liberalization	27% (8)
List at least three spontaneous images of the EU	Subsidies, protectionism, self-interest	27% (8)
	Richness of culture, history	23% (7)
	Germany, France, UK	23% (7)
	Brussels	20% (6)
	Economic strength	17% (5)
	Overcome hostilities	17% (5)
	The Euro	17% (5)
	Vision, future, progressive	13% (4)
	Bureaucracy, overregulation	13% (4)
	Trade power	10% (3)

The first number in the third column is the percentage for the specific central meaning; the number in parentheses is the number of answers per meaning.

Arguably, there is a limited set of central meanings that surface on NZ elite frame (Table 7).

Table 7. Audience frame (elites)

NZ-EU economic interactions (trade / agricultural trade / protectionism / liberalization) Richness of culture and history Germany, France, UK Brussels Consolidated unity which overcame mutual hostilities Bureaucracy / overregulation in the EU EU enlargement The Euro Vision, future, progress

This research also questioned the average rate of importance of the EU to NZ among different types of elite at the present moment and in the future. Political and business decision-makers assigned a higher level to the EU perceived importance to NZ. In contrast, the rate was significantly lower among NZ media elite (Table 8).

Table 8. Level of perceived importance of the EU to NZ

	NZ political elite	NZ business elite	NZ media elite
present	4.2	4	3.2
future	4.1	4	3.2

The number is a level of perceived importance of the EU to NZ. The respondents had to rate their perceived impact from 1-5 where 1 was not important at all and 5 was very important

4. DISCUSSION

This research attempted to provide an insight into the role foreign news plays in a three-way interaction of individual, medium, and issue. More specifically, it studied how NZ citizens construct the meaning of the EU from the flow of political discourse around them. This research outlined the images that are routinely conveyed by NZ media to present and understand events in the EU; traced what images of the EU were cognitively accessible to NZ news consumers; and showed correlations between the most available media images and dominant meanings among NZ news consumers - meanings that internalized preconceptions of the EU as a ‘significant Other’ for NZ.

The first research question asked what kinds of media frames influenced NZ audiences’ perceptions of EU-related issues. Media frames were viewed as news representation through choices of language and repetition of certain story schemas that organize and frame reality in distinctive ways (McLeod *et alii* 1991: 245-246). The information on different EU dimensions presented to an average NZ news consumer was schematized in a relatively complex and interrelated way. Propositional units containing references to the EU were conditionally grouped into complex models of the three information inputs: *EU as an Economic Power*, *EU as a Political Power*, and *Social Affairs of the EU*. Three net models, or schemata, unique for each input, ‘mapped’ the concept ‘EU’ presented to NZ news consumers. A limited set of repeatedly emphasized categorizations within each input revealed central representations of the concept ‘EU’ depicted by NZ media.

Information input *EU as an Economic Power* was overwhelmingly visible in terms of its frequency and intensity both on NZ television and in NZ newspapers. A

narrow range of the central categorizations within this input surfaced: the EU was represented mostly within the context of trade, agriculture, agricultural trade and agricultural subsidies both on NZ television and in NZ newspapers. NZ media's continuous attention to the EU's portrayal as an 'economic muscle' in an agricultural context could be partially explained by the pivotal nature of NZ's economic interests in its relationship with the EU. The EU is NZ's largest, highest value and fastest growing irreplaceable market for key agricultural products –butter, sheep meat, apples, kiwi-fruit, venison and wine (Clark 2003). The on-going NZ-EU economic dialogue is challenged by a disagreement around free trade regulations. Since the UK joined the EU in 1973, NZ has been immersed in semi-permanent negotiations with Europe to defend trade interests there and guard against European protectionist practices around the world (O'Brien 2003).

The relative deficit of attention by NZ media towards the growing role of the EU as an internationally growing political power and established social force, particularly on NZ television, seems to be in contrast with the current foreign policy orientation of NZ's Government. Recently, it has aligned itself with the EU in many areas of foreign policy: sustainable development, the Kyoto Protocol, the International Criminal Court, the path to peace between Israel and the Palestinians, and on disarmament and human rights issues in general (Clark 2003).

Answering the second research question, this study from its outset never assumed public opinion to be a simple replica of media frames. This paper suggested that information from central zones in media frames becomes a core in concept representation in terms of recency, frequency and importance, and, consequently, is more readily available for news readers and viewers to attitude the EU representations. This paper illustrated that the most visible portrayals of the EU that are routinely constructed by NZ media (economics, trade, agriculture) positively correlate with specific similar categorizations among NZ news consumers.

However, the study provided evidence of some media output that creates an opposite effect in public agenda formation. Gamson (1992: 6) stated that the existence of effects that go in the opposite direction could be attributed to the fact that people read media in complicated and sometimes unpredictable ways, and draw heavily on other resources in constructing meaning. For example, personal involvement was claimed by some researchers to be the superior information source that may diminish the influences of mass media (Tipton *et alii* 1975, Palmgreen & Clark 1977, Zucker 1978). A higher level of international involvement is believed to leave people with clearer and less stereotyped international images (Bush 1969; de Sola Pool 1965; LeVine 1965; Scott 1965 as cited in Beaudoin 2004: 461). This study considered the determinant of personal involvement to be one of the contingent factors that could underlie observed opposite correlations.

For instance, representations of the *EU enlargement* emphasized by print media did not enter public frame of central meanings. According to the survey's findings, personal involvement in terms of personal and/or professional contacts and experiences of New Zealanders with the EU-15 countries was relatively high with 53 per cent of respondents registering their ties to the UK (Holland *et alii* 2003: 19). However, personal involvements of New Zealanders with EU accession countries were virtually

absent –88 per cent of respondents reported no contacts or experiences with the EU newcomers (Ibid: 22). This finding could provide one possible explanation why the EU enlargement issue, relatively substantially represented in the NZ newspapers, does not enter the general public frame of the EU. However, we also recognize that the absence of this issue on the public agenda could be attributed to the fact that in 2000-2002 the EU enlargement had been a “non-event” (Cohen 1965: 206) on NZ television, the most preferred NZ public source of information on the EU (Holland *et alii* 2003: 24).

In contrast to the public opinion, the issue of *EU enlargement* entered the elites’ frame. The national elite is “more participant, more informed, more mobile” (McClosky 1965: 60) in the area of foreign affairs of any country than the general public. Representatives of NZ business, political and media elites reported a high level of contextual knowledge and personal involvement with the EU state in terms of extensive business and political contacts, regular business and leisure travel, and friends and relatives living in the EU. A substantial contextual knowledge allowed the elite to build more detailed and more fine-grained frames of foreign affairs issues, including those concerning the EU. Respectively, other issues (not prioritized by the news media) entered the elites’ framing of the EU: *EU bureaucracy*, *Brussels*, *Richness of culture*, *Social policies of the EU*, *Vision/Future/Progress*, and *Consolidated unity which overcame mutual hostilities*.

The ranking of the perceived EU’s importance to NZ was higher for NZ political and business elites, than for NZ media elite. This finding outlined a worrying trend among NZ newsmakers who may potentially overlook the EU development and its representations in domestic media. In their views, Europe will further decrease its presence in NZ media, since their general feeling is that NZ audience is not interested in those issues. In contrast, NZ political and business elites expressed an opposite opinion. The interview responses also revealed the diversity of attitudes ranged on a scale from ‘Europhiles’ to ‘Euro-skeptics’. However, the content analysis of the responses manifestly testified to distinct commonalities in the array of elites’ opinions. Similar to the public agenda, the themes of the EU’s economics, trade, and agriculture were overwhelmingly prioritized by the national elites.

Arguably, mass media were quite likely to have an impact on the way a country’s elite viewed the world (Shulz 2001: 3). Yet, none of the respondents named national media as a primary source of information on the EU. Predictably, the primary information sources concerning the EU used by elites were more diverse than those of the public. While the NZ general public reported using NZ television and NZ newspapers as the leading primary sources of information on the EU (41.5 per cent and 27 per cent respectively) (Holland *et alii* 2003: 24), the members of NZ elite reported other preferred sources of information –e.g. reports and documents from the EU institutions and NZ Library of Parliament, reports of NZ businesses located in the EU, Internet, and international media. Among domestic sources of information, NZ newspapers and radio led the list of accessed sources to get information on the EU – the attempts of these media to present a more detailed analysis of the EU were acknowledged, while a low quality and diversity of foreign news on NZ television was repeatedly stressed.

Ultimately, the media was found not to be the only source that potentially influences the audience's frames of an important foreign counterpart. However, demonstrably and arguably, routinely-constructed EU representations in the NZ media discourse triggered specific categorizations among NZ news consumers, and became an integral part of the domestic political debate on NZ-EU relations.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Foreign news and representations of the other countries in national media seem to play a crucial role in shaping and reinforcing perceptions of international relations "adding distinctive elements to the stream of public discourse" (Kosicki 1993: 113). This paper is an attempt to bring together the media, public and elite frames of one complex concept, the EU, in the foreign policy arena of one particular country, NZ. The integration of the two approaches in political communication studies employed in this paper –cognitive and agenda-setting– was used to establish the interconnections between dominant images created by the national media and leading perceptions existing among the general public and national elites. This type of research is particularly relevant in the field of foreign affairs and foreign policy.

This paper served mainly to suggest that NZ national media consistently provide a limited and rotating set of central issues, perpetuating stereotypical images of the EU primarily as an agricultural power –a more or less traditional view on this important partner for NZ. No doubt that economic reality, agriculture in particular, has a prominent and direct impact on NZ foreign policy and the public's interests. However, the portrayals of modern developments in the European community in many other spheres (political and social among many others) that are to highly impact NZ in the future entered only the peripheral zones of media representations. This 'myopic' and introspective coverage of the ever-changing EU possibly deprives New Zealanders of a chance to put themselves in a truly global context, and threatens to turn the EU into a 'non-event' even for the most interested members of NZ's general and elite audiences.

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APPENDIX

Figure 1. Schema of the information input “EU as an Economic Power”, NZ newspapers

<p>Economy in general <u><i>Growth/decline*</i></u> commercial develop- ment reforms</p>	<p>Industry Energy sector Computer industry EU laws on data privacy Digital Copyright Electronics Tobacco Industry Car manufacturing Aerospace industry Telecommunications Food Industry <u><i>EU as a market for NZ wine</i></u> EU as a market for NZ fish EU market for NZ honey sugar production tomato processing olive oil production NZ/EU labeling regulations <u><i>Organic food production:</i></u> Organic products in EU GE products labeling requirements NZ and EU market for organic products Fertilizers CD/DVD production Transport Traveling/Tourism Metal Industry Biotech industry Weapon Production</p>	<p>Agriculture general characteristics <u><i>CAP and agricultural subsidies</i></u> <u><i>Meat Industry</i></u> General characteristics EU meat market NZ and EU market for meat Beef Farming general <u><i>Cattle diseases</i></u> BSE in EU NZ and BSE in EU Foot-and-mouth disease NZ and FMD in EU <u><i>Sheep farming</i></u> EU as a market for NZ Scrapie disease in EU EU misinformation on scrapie disease in NZ EU as a market for NZ venison Pig farming Poultry farming Animal welfare Traceability of meat Veterinary services Health and food safety <u><i>Dairy Industry</i></u> general characteristics NZ-EU interaction on a dairy market General <u><i>Subsidised exports of EU dairy products</i></u> New Zealand dairy export quota to EU Joint EU–NZ ventures Land farming EU as a market for NZ Fruit and Berries / Land ownership/ Onion growing/ Wheat production</p>
<p>Finances <u><i>monetary changeover to Euro</i></u> e-commerce budgetary planning taxes market/exchange rate insurance companies banking inflation audition</p>		
<p>Trade EU as a WTO member EU trade with NZ EU trade with other countries</p>		
<p>Business Patents</p>		

Figure 2. Schema of the information input “EU as an Economic Power”, NZ television

<p>Finances monetary changeover to Euro banking</p>	<p>Industry Energy sector Computer industry Aerospace industry Telecommunications Food Industry EU as a market for NZ wine Organic food production: Organic products in EU NZ and EU market for organic products Transport <u>Traveling/Tourism</u> Metal Industry Biotech</p>	<p>Agriculture General characteristics <u>CAP and agricultural subsidies</u> Meat Industry NZ and EU market for meat Beef Farming <u>Cattle diseases</u> BSE in EU NZ and BSE in EU Foot-and-mouth disease NZ and FMD in EU Sheep farming EU as a market for NZ EU as a market for NZ venison Poultry farming Health and food safety Dairy Industry NZ-EU interaction on a dairy market General Land farming EU as a Market for NZ Fruit</p>
<p>Trade EU as a WTO member EU trade with NZ</p>		
<p>Business</p>		

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Figure 3. Schema of the information input “EU as a Political Power”, NZ newspapers

*Italicised and underlined entries identify central representations of the schema			
<p>THE EU ESTABLISHMENT</p> <p><u>EU Integration</u> EU history</p> <p>commitment to the EU by individual member state</p> <p><u>EU enlargement</u></p> <p>Euro Introduction</p> <p>Internal Aid</p>	<p>THE EU GOVERNANCE</p> <p>EU Administration summits</p> <p>EU presidency bureaucracy corruption decision making practices</p> <p><u>Internal security</u> <u>national security</u> <u>(ECHELON)</u></p> <p><u>border control</u> immigration anti-crime agencies anti-terrorist actions airport/planes security anti-terrorism laws</p> <p>Internal Legislation Environment sanctions</p> <p>Parties <u>far-right activation</u> left/greens centre</p> <p>Political systems stability</p>	<p>Diplomacy Military activities Rapid reaction force Health safety of the contingent</p> <p>Reaction on international terror acts <u>September 11 reactions</u> Asian terrorism</p> <p>External aid</p> <p>International ‘watchdog’ human rights environment election observers</p>	<p>Relations with individual countries <u>*USA:</u> bond and partnership opposition national missile defense <u>reduction of carbon emissions</u> Bush as a politician <u>*Middle East</u> Key peace negotiator Criticism of Israel Support and Pressure on Palestine Iran <u>Iraq</u> <u>*Pacific countries</u> <u>*the Balkans</u> <u>*China</u> <u>*Russia</u> <u>* African countries</u> <u>Zimbabwe</u> South Africa <u>*East Timor</u> <u>*Afghanistan</u> <u>*North Korea</u> <u>*South Korea</u> <u>*Sierra Leone</u></p>
EU Internal Politics		EU External Politics	

Figure 4. Schema of the information input “EU as a Political Power”, NZ television

<p><i>THE EU ESTABLISHMENT</i></p> <p>Internal Aid</p> <p><i>THE EU GOVERNANCE</i></p> <p>Internal security National security (spying network Echelon) Internal Legislation human rights Parties far-right activation Left/greens</p>	<p>Diplomacy <u>September 11 reactions</u> International ‘watchdog’ human rights environment Relations with particular countries <u>*Middle East:</u> <u>Iraq</u> <u>*Balkans</u> <u>*Afghanistan</u> <u>*Zimbabwe</u> <u>* Pacific countries</u></p>
EU Internal Politics	EU External Politics

Figure 5. Schema of the information input “Social Affairs of the EU”, NZ newspapers

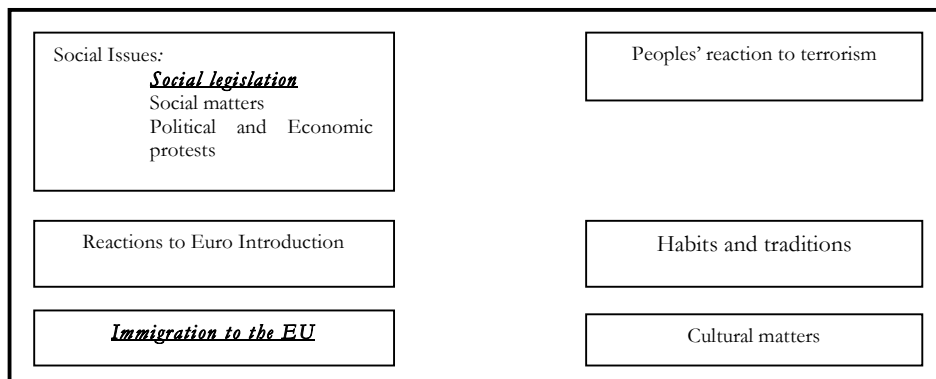
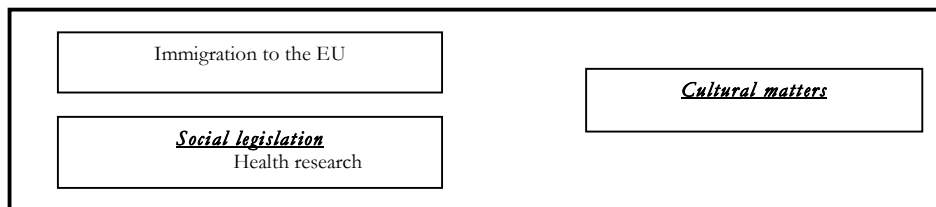


Figure 6. Schema of the information input “Social Affairs of the EU”, NZ television



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A NEO-LIBERAL AGENDA IN THE LIGHT OF SEPTEMBER 11: THE FUNCTION OF METAPHORS IN DISCOURSE

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Abstract: This article discusses the possibility of analysing metaphor in financial news discourse through the combination and application of the two approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Van Dijk 1997a; 1997b) and conceptual metaphor theory (e.g. Lakoff & Johnson 1980/2003). On this background, it is argued that metaphor is a salient feature of media discourse whose function is twofold. Firstly, it helps make complex socio-economic issues understandable to the public, and secondly, it helps promote and legitimise the ideological viewpoints of particular political groups. To support this claim, data from financial reports in British national newspapers will be included that illustrate the extent to which neo-liberalism as a predominant economic ideology influences the choice of metaphors and whether this in turn is influenced by the events of 9/11. Altogether, the data provide a basis for demonstrating how metaphorical structures may interact to create a coherent image of the economy and thus facilitate the promotion of a specific economic ideology in discourse and with that the interests of dominant political groupings.

Keywords: financial news discourse, CDA, metaphor, September 11, ideology.

1. INTRODUCTION

Traditionally in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), metaphor is viewed as one of several textual features contributing to discursive constructions of reality. Thus, metaphors are seen as essential for the understanding of e.g. political and socio-economic realities, but how they are structured is seldom analysed in detail. However, in recent years a growing awareness of metaphor's systematic and coherent structure has emerged (see e.g. Fairclough 2003) providing scope for more detailed analyses into the role played by metaphor in discourse. This article will elaborate on these aspects through the analysis of a number of British financial news reports on socio-economic issues and the September-11 attacks.

Incorporating the study of metaphor into the study of discourse provides a much more critical approach to metaphor than conceptual metaphor theory traditionally allows for, emphasising the latent ideological function of metaphor and hence its ability to promote and legitimise the ideological viewpoints of particular political groups. In other words, CDA provides scope for analysing metaphor's rhetorical and interactive features. Moreover, by analysing metaphorical structures extensively, it can be demonstrated that the articulation of such viewpoints is often very subtle and indirect, making it difficult for the average reader to pinpoint and take a firm stand on the issues presented. Thus, metaphors are ideal instruments for maintaining power and constructing consensus.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

A characteristic feature of the CDA field is the diversity of approaches to and methods for analysing text critically. However, the most interesting approach in the present context and the one most likely to be compatible with conceptual metaphor theory is the socio-cognitive approach of Van Dijk (e.g. 1988; 1991; 1997), who focuses on discourse, cognition and society as three interacting and mutually dependent factors that establish the frame for the critical study of social issues. Hence, the following brief account will focus on ways to incorporate metaphor studies with specific aspects of Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, aiming at establishing a frame for analysing metaphor's potential for promoting and legitimising ideological viewpoints in discourse.

Unlike most other CDA approaches, a salient aspect of Van Dijk's approach is the integration of the social with the cognitive, with the latter functioning as a mediator between the individual and the social as well as the social and discourse. To account for this cognitive interface, Van Dijk (2002) operates with memory as a mental structure divisible into short and long-term memory, the former designed for the ongoing processing and understanding of information and the latter for storing personal as well as general and social information. In this, the stored information is organised in various types of mental representations with distinct schematic structures. These schemata are a general and structured way of organising previous experiences and knowledge of physical, social and linguistic worlds, and depending on whether they represent socially shared or personal knowledge and experience, they can be divided into on the one side, scripts and frames, and on the other, mental models. Of these, mental models are important in the present discussion of integrating conceptual metaphor with the socio-cognitive approach, as they share central features and functional characteristics with conceptual metaphor. Hence, in discourse production speakers and writers will take as their starting point their personal mental model of an event or situation, i.e. they will initially see and understand the situation in subjective terms based on personal and factual knowledge and opinions. At the same time, this model instantiates shared social knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, thus combining socially and personally derived information. Once the model is constituted, the speaker or writer may only express fragments of it in discourse, i.e. only what is deemed relevant in the current context. Similarly, in discourse understanding, listeners or readers will construct their own models of the communicative event, initially by decoding lexical and syntactical aspects and then by drawing on socially shared as well as personal knowledge and opinion. In constructing these models, readers may agree with what they read, i.e. accept the models presented as true, or they may reject them and construct alternative models. Hence, it is not the social situation that makes people speak or write the way they do but their personal interpretation of it, i.e. personal interpretation defines the discursive and linguistic strategies of each participant. A salient aspect of this process is the extent to which readers possess sufficient social and personal knowledge to be able to make a qualified judgement about what they read: if readers are exposed to and get to store the same or similar information from across the mass media, it will be more difficult for them to construct alternative models. Thus, repea-

ted, unquestioned information may eventually become socially shared truths.

Like the Van Dijkean account of mental models, conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) (Lakoff & Johnson 1980/2003; Lakoff 1993; Chilton 1996) is based on the assumption that our access to reality is conditioned by perception, experience and memory. However, in a CMT perspective the mediator between experience and abstract reality, and hence between experience and discourse, is metaphor as a primarily cognitive feature. This means that whenever we engage in discursive acts involving abstract conceptualisation, metaphor plays a salient role in the instantiation of knowledge and experience as well as the degree to which this is made explicit. In other words, metaphor may constitute both the basis of the meaning of discourse as well as to a large extent control what is being said and how.

This understanding of metaphor and its role in shaping abstract thought is based on the view that metaphors are coherent systems building on a number of *gestalts* or image schemas that provide us with a physical and experiential basis for understanding. This basis, it is suggested, is established from early childhood onwards through our continuous physical interaction with the surrounding world, rendering what is referred to as embodied meaning. The most salient image schemas are related to our orientation in space (UP-DOWN, ON-OFF, CENTRE-PERIPHERY, etc.) and to our experience with physical objects and substances (CONTAINER, ENTITY, PATH, etc.). In this sense, schematic structures in CMT are of a nature different from the above mental models, which leave out the aspect of bodily experience. Although indicating a universal embodied basis for many conceptual metaphors, individual and cultural variation given to these is acknowledged, i.e. culture is seen as being present in the very experience itself. This means that with values being given different priority in different (sub)cultures and being subject to change over time, the conventionality of metaphors also varies. However, with culture being present in the experience itself, conceptual metaphor theory does not allow for the more direct influence of cultural and social factors on the construction of meaning, leaving out the possibility of metaphorical mappings reflecting conscious and deliberate choices in the light of interpretations of the immediate and larger social contexts. The influence of the social is, as we have seen, an important component in Van Dijk's approach -in any CDA approach as it is- and for metaphor to reach its full potential in discourse, this is an aspect that cannot be ignored. This will be discussed in more detail below as a preliminary to the analysis of metaphors in British financial news reports; however, first a few more details on conceptual metaphor theory.

As conceptual systems, metaphors add systematicity and coherence to discourse by allowing for a number of structured mappings across experiential domains. Thus, a mapping from a familiar source domain to a less familiar target domain involves transferring the logic and structure of the source onto the target, rendering one conceptual mapping but many linguistic instantiations that contribute to our understanding of the target. However, the above schemas are not rich enough to provide us with very many options to talk about concepts. In consequence, we need a tool for elaboration and for talking about concepts in more specific terms. Typically, this takes the form of instances of the general classes of objects, human beings and organisms; all of which are very familiar to us in terms of interaction, facilitating the way we cog-

nitively handle and manipulate abstract categories (Ungerer & Schmid 1996). This makes it possible for us to “use one highly structured and delineated concept to structure another” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980/2003:61). Thus, to conceptualise the terrorist attacks of September 11 as an entity does not provide a very detailed frame for understanding the metaphorical mapping; however, once this mapping is further extended through TERRORIST ATTACKS ARE OBJECTS and even further through TERRORIST ATTACKS ARE MISSILES (e.g. ... *the immediate economic impact of the attacks* (The Guardian 13.09.01); *The immediate fallout seems bound to be negative* (The Economist 17.09.01)), we get a much more detailed and specific idea of what the terrorist attacks are, and what their influence on the economy is perceived to be.

A salient aspect, then, of metaphorical mappings is the ability to highlight and hide aspects, i.e. in the transfer between the source domain and the target domain only some aspects are focused upon and others are left in the dark, opening up for the possibility of creating ideological grounds, influencing the viewpoints of the readership. In conceptual metaphor theory, the activation of source domains in the case of conventional metaphors is regarded as an unconscious, unintentional process, making the power of linguistic metaphorical expressions subtle and indirect as well as less dependent on context. In this respect, conventional metaphorical structures can be said to maintain and reflect stable cultural and social conditions. Similarly, on a cline from conventional to creative metaphors, it can be argued that when moving towards the more creative end, metaphor increases its context dependence, involves a larger degree of intention and strategic thinking, and makes the influence of metaphorical expression on the context more powerful. Thus, depending on the degree of conventionality, metaphors may help sustain or create undisputed and socially shared realities through their systematic and coherent use. Hence, conceptual metaphor theory can be claimed to be not only a constructivist approach to language and thought but also a *social*-constructivist one, in the sense that metaphor may influence our current and future discursive and social actions. An important weakness of conceptual metaphor theory in this respect is, however, that it lacks an account of how aspects of the larger social context as well as the communicative event influence and partly determine the choice of metaphorical structuring. As became apparent above, this is an issue that the socio-cognitive approach provides plausible answers to.

It is in the focus on the cognitive aspect of meaning making that the two approaches of CDA and conceptual metaphor theory combine. In this combination they contribute different salient aspects that provide arguments for viewing metaphor in discourse as an important conceptual, structural and interactive feature. Thus, CMT assigns prominence to metaphor in terms of structuring our abstract conceptualisation, and in focusing on the social as being salient, CDA provides a wider scope for analysing and understanding how and why metaphors emerge, what their inferences and entailments are, and why some metaphorical mappings are conventionalised and others not.

2.1. THE IDEOLOGICAL FUNCTION OF METAPHOR

A salient feature of the socio-cognitive approach is the understanding of ideo-

logy both as social system, defining groups and group identities in opposition to other groups, and as mental representation, serving the function of “group-specific ‘grammars’ of social practices” (Van Dijk 1997b: 7). It is in relation to this latter function that the integration of conceptual metaphor theory into CDA also becomes relevant. In the function of *grammars*, ideologies represent the underlying principles of social cognition, most likely with the format of a mental model or group schema that defines the identity and the interests of the group, particularly in opposition to other social groups. Following the above discussion, such a mental model or group schema can in part be instantiated through metaphor, if we acknowledge the premise that metaphorical structuring, apart from being a universal and internal process, is in part defining and defined by context. Hence, on the one hand, metaphor is an instrument for unintentional, unconscious and instinctive discourse production, reflecting the universal aspects of metaphor, and on the other, intentional, conscious and strategic production, reflecting the social, contextual and interactive aspects. This means that metaphors may be applied to fill out a lexical gap, a gap that exists due to e.g. the change or diverging of the concepts referred to, the emergence of new concepts, etc. or to establish and maintain group membership in ideological terms. In the present analysis of metaphor in discourse, this entails incorporating aspects that would reflect the interests of the political and economic establishment and that are mediated by the printed quality press.

3. METHOD AND DATA

As mentioned in the introduction, the aim of this analysis is to establish the extent to which neo-liberalism as a predominant economic ideology influences the choice of metaphors and whether this in turn is influenced by the events of September 11. The objective of this is to demonstrate how metaphorical structures in discourse may interact to create a coherent image of the economy across texts and in this way facilitate the promotion of a specific economic ideology and with that the interests of dominant political groupings.

For this purpose, reports from British national newspapers and magazines were selected in the period from July 2001 till November 2001, covering a period of two months before and after September 11. The choice of British newspapers over American ones (which may have seemed a more obvious choice) was made from an interest in examining how neo-liberal ideology is conceptualised in the press in the country considered to be America’s closest European partner in political and economic terms, as well as from an interest in analysing whether here, and thus outside the US, September 11 was constructed in discourse to serve the purpose of indirectly supporting and promoting such an ideology.

In choosing newspapers for analysis, emphasis was put on the ones representing the quality financial press and broadly adhering to a free-market ideology. In this respect, the *Financial Times* (FT) is traditionally regarded as being supportive of Conservative policies and thus clearly of the neo-liberal agenda introduced in the Thatcher years and partly continued under Tony Blair, although with a more populist touch. *The Guardian* (G), however, is traditionally considered to be more of a pro-Labour stance,

but with the movement of the New Labour Party under Tony Blair towards the middle ground and consequently a broader acceptance of Conservative issues, this becomes less relevant¹. The third newspaper is *The Economist* (E), which places itself to the right of the centre, but with New Labour sympathies.

Thus, by including these three newspapers in the corpus, a broad representation of the mainstream quality press is secured, providing a small, but reliable basis for the assessment of metaphor use in British financial news reports.

The corpus comprises 43 articles from either the print editions of the newspapers or their internet sites, amounting to 26,237 words (9,901 before September 11 and 16,336 after). The articles are all news reports² covering developments in the American economy and the world economy in the two two-month periods before and after September 11, focusing on macro-economic issues such as national income, unemployment rates, inflation and interest rates, the balance of payments, the rate of economic growth, and cyclical fluctuations. The corpus includes headlines and text.

In my analysis, I took as a starting point for the definition of metaphor the conceptual mapping between two separate domains, as detailed above. However, since the identification of metaphor took place on the linguistic level, this mapping had to involve more details. Hence, identifying metaphorical expressions (being the linguistic instantiations of conceptual metaphor) included conceptual, linguistic and contextual aspects (adapted from Charteris-Black & Musolff 2003:157):

Metaphor is a figure of speech in which at some point in the evolution of the meaning of a word or phrase there is a shift in its use from one domain to another so that it refers to something else. This shift is typically from the structured to the less structured and can, for example, be from a physical sense to a context where it has an abstract sense (reification) or from an animate sense to a context where it has an inanimate one (personification).

With the above definition of metaphor in mind, linguistic metaphors were identified in the corpus; however, to prevent the task of locating metaphors from becoming insurmountable, the identification was limited to metaphors that specifically cover macro-economic issues relating to the US and/or world economy. Once identified, the linguistic metaphors were ordered according to high- and low-level conceptual metaphor³. Through this categorisation, a general picture of metaphors emerged, making clear which conceptual metaphors were most frequently instantiated through the various linguistic metaphors, thus providing a picture of how the economy and the September-11 attacks are constructed in the discourse. At the same time, these metaphors were analysed across texts within the discourse to point out intertextual chains,

¹ With its accession to power in 1997, the Blair government introduced the idea of the “stakeholder economy”. This includes the mutual obligation of capital and labour to secure the functioning of the community through e.g. shareholder employees getting influence on their companies by saving up pensions and social security as “shares” of their company. On a larger scale, it means a return to a traditional Conservative liberalism with state involvement in areas where the market fails, at the same time warning against state dependency (Sevaldsen & Vadmand 1997: 85;167).

² I.e. leaders, features, commentaries, etc. that all reflect strong personal opinions are omitted.

³ Charteris-Black and Musolff (2003) exemplify this through the high-level conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS AN ORGANISM and its lower-level derivation *The Economy is a Patient*, which inherits the structures of the higher level.

through which metaphors may reflect either stability or change in social and cultural structures, depending on their degree of conventionality, while also contributing to the construction of these. In this way, metaphors can be said to have the potential of either sustaining or challenging dominant societal structures. In close relation to this, socio-economic and political development in the past decade was studied to account for the influence of the larger social context on the choice of metaphor.

4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

In recent decades neo-liberalism has become the predominant economic ideology in most of the industrialised world, primarily due to the success of unrestricted markets and new technologies in the 1980s and 1990s. However, the September-11 attacks seriously challenged the viability of such a neo-liberal economy, and in many ways, this event marked the end of one era and the beginning of a new, much more unpredictable one. In financial and economic terms, this meant that nearly a decade of unprecedented growth in the world economy was brought to an end and replaced by a period of financial turmoil and threatening recession. Neo-liberalism in its late 20th century form was deemed dead, and it was unclear what had come to replace it⁴.

This development and its influence on discursive constructions must be understood against the broader political and economic climate in the post-war period, in which the US decided to play a more active role. In a paper of this kind, such an account will obviously have to be relatively brief; however, it is important to note that for a more thorough analysis of the relation between socio-economic conditions and discourse, studying the former in detail is paramount.

In the wake of World War Two, the American government chose to end its politics of isolationism and pursue a more pro-active role in the world community both politically and economically to secure peace, stability and prosperity, particularly in Western Europe. This pro-active role, together with the development of IT and communications technologies, led to the USA being widely accepted in the industrialised world as the leading superpower, both politically and economically, and as a result the American economic policy of the 1980s and '90s, i.e. neo-liberalism, was adopted as the pervasive economic ideology.

This acceptance of neo-liberalism as the leading economic ideology has had far-reaching consequences for the world economy, opening up to near unrestricted competition, with non-state actors such as multinationals playing an increasingly important role. For the industrialised world, and the US in particular, this meant unprecedented growth rates throughout the 1990s, making prominent economists predict that the business cycle in its traditional sense had been broken. However, at the beginning of the new millennium this development was gradually reversed with companies

⁴ Neo-liberalism is the term used for the kind of free-market ideology pursued by the Reagan and Thatcher administrations in the 1980s and 1990s. It was also adopted by the subsequent Clinton and Blair governments, although in a less liberal form. Cohn (2003: 100) states: "As the changes initiated under Reagan and Thatcher spread to other countries, there were growing pressures on governments to adopt orthodox liberal policies in the 1980s and 1990s, with an emphasis on privatisation, deregulation, and the promotion of free trade and foreign investment."

beginning to show signs of difficulties, and with the terror attacks in September 2001, which made blue-chip stocks plunge and shook consumer confidence, the American economy went into a state of actual financial panic.

5. ANALYSIS

Some of the most salient image schemas to be found in British financial news reports around September 11 are those of ENTITY and CONTAINER, two closely related ontological metaphors. It is naturally not the only ones to be found, but they serve to illustrate how conceptual metaphors can provide systematic representations of the state of the US and world economy across reports.

A salient feature of the two metaphors is that they allow us to understand both the economy and the terrorist attacks in physical terms, rendering a large number of possible conceptualisations from the animate to the inanimate. Inherent in this understanding is the possibility of referring to and categorising concepts via their conceptualisation as 'tangible', familiar objects. Furthermore, the CONTAINER metaphor allows us to conceptualise concepts in terms of entities with fixed boundaries that have an inside and an outside. Hence, the CONTAINER metaphor is central to the construction of group identity. In the present analysis, the ENTITY and CONTAINER metaphors find some of their most salient realisations through the following metaphors: THE ECONOMY IS A BATTLEFIELD; THE ECONOMY IS A PATIENT; THE ECONOMY IS A BOUNCING BALL and THE ECONOMY IS A ROLLER COASTER, which will each be discussed in detail below.

5.1. THE ECONOMY IS A BATTLEFIELD

Although not the most frequently instantiated, this metaphor can be said to be the most important in the present context, as in the first weeks after the attacks it establishes the frame for understanding the full entailments of other conceptual metaphors. A general characteristic of this conceptual metaphor is the seriousness with which the authors view the economic consequences of the attacks. Although there was some indication before September 11 that the American economy was slowing down, there is no doubt that the attacks were seen as the event that sent it sliding into recession, and with that into severe problems (the source term, i.e. the term used metaphorically, is underlined):

- 1) ... the immediate economic impact of the attacks (G. 13.09.01)
- 2) This time, with the carnage [in the economy] at home not abroad, the impact could be even bigger (E 15.09.01)
- 3) The immediate fallout seems bound to be negative (E 17.09.01)
- 4) ... the fallout from the US [economy] would spread across the Atlantic (G. 21.09.01)
- 5) ... to limit the economic damage from the terrorist attacks of September 11 (FT 01.10.01)
- 6) September 11 had an immediate and dramatic impact on economic activity (E 31.10.01)

What the above examples serve to illustrate is the coherent depiction of the economy as a battlefield (i.e. an entity with a bounded surface and as such inclusive of the CONTAINER metaphor) that has been under the attack from another entity (the attacks as missiles or bombs). Hence, the metaphors conceptualise a war-like situation with serious ramifications.

As will be apparent, this metaphor is instantiated in reports from all newspapers in the corpus, indicating a consensual perception among the newspapers of the effect of the attacks – a perception that seems to be under the influence of the political and rhetorical strategy adopted by the American president, George W. Bush, and his Administration in the days following September 11. Already on September 12, the president makes references to war in his first formal speech and thus points to the themes that will accompany US policy and actions in the immediate future: “Evil, Terror and the War on Terrorism”; a line of policy that reflects public sentiment very well at the time (Silberstein 2002). The choice of a war metaphor to describe the effects on the economy may well have been made to mirror the strategy adopted by President Bush, and it thus serves a political and rhetorical purpose apart from a cognitive one. Adopting aspects from conversation analysis, Chilton talks of *formulation* of a metaphor when a speaker (in this case mediated by the reporters) introduces a new metaphor with the intention of presenting a new concept, or some new social relationship. Through the WAR metaphor a topic is formulated in terms of a source concept that allows the reporters to present a picture of the economy and the reasons for its trouble that are quite different from the ones of the time before September 11 (Chilton 1996). Along with more “neutral” conceptualisations of the attacks and their effect on the economy, it allows them to blame perpetrators outside the system for the difficulties rather than the system itself. In other words, with the general belief up till September 11 being that the pursuit of neo-liberal economic policies would lead to higher growth rates and increased welfare for all, at least in the US and much of Europe, it would be problematic to accept flaws in the system that could lead to the direct opposite situation. In this sense, the September 11 attacks could be seen as a “convenient”, but horrifying explanation. Moreover, through conceptualising the terrorist strikes as nuclear attacks whose fallout can spread and cause long-term damage and devastation, the reporters get a powerful tool for appealing to the world community for help in fighting this war. Again, this follows the rhetorical strategy of President Bush, who appealed to the world community to stand on America’s side, arguing that “This is the world’s fight. This is civilization’s fight. ...” (Silberstein 2002: 12). In conclusion, these metaphors not only make us understand the consequences of the attacks in specific terms, they also help writers pass value judgement as well as promote an ideological viewpoint. Thus, the metaphors have both a cognitive and a pragmatic function as part of the discourse. In this, it is important to note that the conceptualisation of the attacks as an outside entity or substance that severely impacts on the economy, making allusions to war, provides the writers with the possibility of diverting readers’ attention from problems within the economic system itself, focusing on plausible external reasons instead. Being outside direct influence in the media, the reader has little choice but to accept this focus of the discourse.

5.2. THE ECONOMY IS A PATIENT

Another, and very frequently instantiated, metaphor is that of seeing the economy in terms of a person, in this case a patient, i.e. an animate entity:

- 7) The international outlook remained cloudy with weakness in many parts of the world (G

- 18.07.01)
- 8) New evidence of the global economic malaise emerged today (G 27.07.01)
 - 9) The American economy still seems far from recovery (E 04.08.01)
 - 10) Mr Solbes said he still expected a recovery (FT 10.09.01)
 - 11) It [the current state of the economy] is not very healthy (G 13.09.01)
 - 12) ... it followed a rash of bad economic news (E 15.09.01)
 - 13) The rapid slowdown in the US had started to infect Europe (G 27.09.01)

Much of the research carried out in financial news discourse (e.g. Boers 1997; Semino 2002; Charteris & Musolff 2003) confirms that this metaphor is very common in reports reflecting a free-market ideology. A reason for this is that when the economy is conceptualised as a person, we can very easily relate what happens to it to our own bodies and our experience as humans (Lakoff & Johnson 1980/2003:33). This understanding is extended via the PATIENT metaphor, which provides us with the possibility of conceptualising the state of the economy in terms of our own health.

Considering the slowdown of the economy before September 11 and the economic impact of the attacks, it is not surprising that many of the metaphors found across the newspapers relate to *bad health*, *weakness* and *recovery*.

Characteristic of these metaphors is that, with a few exceptions, they are highly conventional and are often not recognised as metaphors by readers. This entails that the writer can exploit the metaphors in subtle ways, by including some inference patterns from the source and excluding others, to promote a certain ideological stand. In neo-liberal terms, a slowing down of the economy is considered undesirable as it means a lower level of economic activity, weakness in the system and thus difficult times for the actors involved. This state can be compared to a person's state of health where a high level of physical activity indicates good health and a low level may be a symptom of bad health and illness (Boers 1997). Similarly, if the level of activity rises in the economy, this is regarded as a positive development and a strengthening of the system. Like the body, the economy will have recovered. On the basis of the above and the metaphors used to conceptualise the attacks and their direct effect on the economy, a mental model of the state of economic affairs is created; a model that creates a coherent image of the present state of the economy and leaves the reader with a sense that things have changed for the worse.

5.3. THE ECONOMY IS A BOUNCING BALL AND THE ECONOMY IS A ROLLER COASTER

Like the above two examples, these two conceptual metaphors are extensions of THE ECONOMY IS AN ENTITY metaphor. Important in the understanding of these is not only familiarity and the possibility of categorisation and reference that the ENTITY metaphor opens up to, but also the inclusion of a cyclic aspect. Following Johnson (1987), the CYCLE schema springs from our experience as humans in terms of reproduction, bodily maintenance and the course of life. Moreover, cyclic processes outside the human body (e.g. the cycles of night and day, the seasons, etc.) are fundamental in the way we understand the world around us.

In terms of understanding economic development pre- and post-September 11, this is a salient feature, pointing towards economic development being climactic and sequential, with rise and fall succeeding each other. Both THE ECONOMY IS A

BOUNCING BALL and THE ECONOMY IS A ROLLER COASTER exhibit these features, although in slightly different ways, reflecting the difference in economic outlook before and after September 11. Thus, THE ECONOMY IS A BOUNCING BALL is realised almost entirely before the attacks,

- 14) ... the economy may have bottomed but had not yet shown clear evidence of a rebound (FT 19.07.01)
- 15) Consumers' faith that the economy is about to rebound may be weakening (E 04.08.01)
- 16) Treasury chief says US economy is in a cyclical downturn and will bounce back this year (FT 10.09.01)

whereas THE ECONOMY IS A ROLLER COASTER is realised almost entirely after:

- 17) Before last month's attack, economists had hoped for an upturn in the US economy this autumn (G 03.10.01)
- 18) Another reason for thinking that America's recession may turn out deeper than expected is that the world is in an unusually synchronized downturn (E 20.10.01)
- 19) ... the US downturn could turn into a sustained slump and drag the rest of the global economy down with it (G 07.11.01)

As explained by Johnson, this view of economic development may reflect an experientially-based understanding of processes in the world; however, as with the other two metaphors, understanding the full entailments of the mappings involves accepting the more direct influence of the social on the construction of meaning. Hence, the instantiation of the BOUNCING-BALL and ROLLER-COASTER metaphors may also reflect an interpretation by the political establishment and the press of economic development – one, like with the PATIENT metaphor, that supports the assumption that the terrorist attacks have exacerbated the economic situation and left it beyond political control. That the BOUNCING-BALL metaphor is almost entirely realised before September 11 may be explained by a general belief that, although doing badly for the time being, the economy would at least quickly return to the level of the mid-1990s once it had started recovering. Likewise, the reason for the ROLLER-COASTER metaphor being predominant after the attacks can be found in the fact that with the attacks the last hopes for a sustained economic level disappeared, and fear and uncertainty took over, suspending most economic activity. This is clearly reflected in the almost exclusive focus on the downturn, leaving little hope for an upturn in the near future.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this article, some of the possible instantiations of THE ECONOMY IS AN ENTITY metaphor have been analysed. The analysis demonstrates that metaphorical structures in discourse can contribute substantially to our perception of reality through highlighting some aspects and hiding others, leaving the reader with a systematic and structured view of e.g. economic development.

Furthermore, by analysing metaphor within a discursive, interactional setting, thus involving the influence of the social on the construction of metaphorical meaning, we get a plausible explanation for why metaphorical structures may not only function as a means of explaining and understanding concepts but also as a way for writers to express, confirm or contest ideological viewpoints in context.

The data analysed in this article indicate that the use of metaphor is influen-

ced by events and ideology in the socio-economic field. Although covering a rather limited corpus and focusing on a few significant metaphorical clusters, the analysis clearly demonstrates that metaphors in British financial news discourse are both systematic and pervasive, and that they consequently structure the way we talk of and understand economic concepts, at least partly. Furthermore, there are indications that events such as September 11, which changed the whole outlook of the Western world, can be used by writers to establish very powerful clusters of metaphor in that they set the frame for understanding other clusters of economic metaphors in the discourse as well as provide support for a neo-liberal economic policy by directing attention to outside reasons for the trouble of the economy. This said, the corpus is not large enough to establish a clear relation between neo-liberal ideology and the choice of metaphor. There are indications that a connection exists, but the question remains if the same metaphors would be interpreted differently in a different context.

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**AL-HUSSAYYEN: INNOCENT OR GUILTY?
A STUDY ON SOME OF THE LINGUISTIC DEVICES
THAT JOURNALISTS USE FOR SHAPING PUBLIC OPINION**

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Abstract: This article examines some of the linguistic devices that journalists use in order to shape public opinion, namely i) evaluative devices, as identified by Appraisal Theory (White, 2004) ii) transitivity iii) the way in which the journalists structure the *Theme* and the *Rheme* of their clauses and iv) cohesion. For this analysis, I will examine two newspaper articles employing the above mentioned devices differently and consequently affecting readers' opinions about the guilt of the protagonist of the event that they cover.

Keywords Appraisal Theory, evaluative devices, transitivity, *Theme* and *Rheme*, cohesion.

Evaluative devices, modality, transitivity, nominalization, presupposition, and thematization, are here considered the key linguistic devices that journalists use. The way in which journalists use these devices causes them to influence public opinion and this has inspired the work of many academics (see Fowler 1991; Iedema, Feez & White 1994; Martin 1995, 2000).

The contribution of this article to the bibliography is twofold; firstly, it shows that journalists can use the same devices differently, which can lead readers to different conclusions about the same event. Secondly, it adds one more linguistic device, namely the examination of lexical cohesion, to those that have already been scrutinized. For my analysis, I will examine two newspaper articles covering the same event but using the above linguistic devices differently and consequently affecting readers' opinion about the protagonists of this event.

Both articles refer to the arrest of Al-Hussayyen, who was an international student at the University of Idaho and was accused of fraud. The first derives from *The Arbiter*, a student newspaper at Boise State University, it was published on the 3rd March 2003 and is bylined Matthew McCoy from the University of Idaho (see <http://www.dailyevergreen.com/nn4/home/>). The second article comes from *The Daily Evergreen*, a student newspaper at Washington State University in Pullman. It is attributed to Jonalynn Mc Fadden and it was published on the 7th of March 2003 (see <http://www.dailyevergreen.com/nn4/home/>).

The two articles therefore cover the same event and share targets of evalua-

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tion, as shown in the table below. They however assess these targets differently. This will be attributed to the dissimilar use of: i) evaluative devices, ii) transitivity, iii) the structure of the *Theme* and the *Rheme* and iv) cohesion.

Table 1: Targets of Evaluation

<i>The Arbiter</i>		<i>The Daily Evergreen</i>	
Target	Evaluation	Target	Evaluation
Al-Hussayyen	Negative	Al-Hussayyen	Positive
FBI / U.S.A.	Positive	FBI / U.S.A.	Negative
security (University of Idaho)	Positive	security (University of Idaho)	Negative

1. EVALUATIVE DEVICES

1.1. ATTITUDINAL POSITIONING

For the analysis of the evaluative devices, I follow the Appraisal Theory model. I will refer to the devices expressing firstly Attitudinal Positioning and secondly Intertextual Positioning. The former involves the use of Affects, Judgments and Appreciations. The expressions of feelings are called Affects, the appraisal of human behavior is called Judgment and finally the appraisal of the aesthetic properties is called Appreciation. Judgments can be further subdivided into explicit evaluation (expressed by the use of evaluative verbs, adverbs and adjectives) and implicit evaluation. Implicit evaluation involves Subjective Attitudinal Triggers on the one hand and Factual Attitudinal Triggers on the other. In the case of Subjective Attitudinal Triggers, the writer gives traces of evaluation while in the case of the Factual Attitudinal Triggers the reader needs to do all the evaluative work since no indication of evaluation is provided.

Having clarified these terms, the comparison of the two articles may follow. Regarding the first target of evaluation, namely Al-Hussayyen, both *The Arbiter* and *The Daily Evergreen* (see Table 1) use Factual Attitudinal Triggers. These are however so differently used that Al-Hussayyen is negatively evaluated in the former and positively in the latter.

On the one hand, *The Arbiter* employs Factual Attitudinal Triggers that describe Al-Hussayyen's illegal actions and consequently contribute to his negative evaluation. For instance: [...] *Al-Hussayyen received more than \$300,000 from "within and without the United States"*.

On the other hand, *The Daily Evergreen* uses Factual Attitudinal Triggers describing the support that Al-Hussayyen and his family received. For example: *A fund for the Al-Hussayyen family was set up and donations will cover their legal fees and financial needs*.

In order to assess the second target i.e. the FBI and the USA justice system, both journalists employ explicit evaluation. FBI's actions are presented in *The Arbiter* as well organized since it was *scheduled* at 4 a.m. to be *simultaneous* with an office search in Detroit. In contrast, in *The Daily Evergreen*, explicit evaluation involves the use of evaluative adjectives that describe the actions of the FBI as *illegal*, *wrong* and similarly the arrest as an *extremely coercive setting* and *intimidating*.

The security at the University of Idaho is positively evaluated in *The Arbiter* but negatively in *The Daily Evergreen*. The former uses the explicit evaluation *Moscow is still a very safe, non-risk place to live*, emphasizing the fact that international students

feel safe at the University of Idaho while the latter employs an Affect and a Factual Attitudinal Trigger in order to express the journalist's negative assessment of the security at the University of Idaho. The Affect *I am afraid to express my opinion* and the Factual Attitudinal Trigger *I really don't have my peace of mind that is needed for research work* portray the fear that international students feel at the University of Idaho.

The above analysis shows that, although the journalists share targets of evaluation and they both employ the same evaluative devices, these are so differently used that they express dissimilar assessments in final analysis.

1.2. INTERTEXTUAL POSITIONING

Intertextual Positioning is employed "when a writer / speaker chooses to quote or reference the words or thoughts of another" (Iedema, Feez & White 1994). In the two articles Intertextual Positioning involved dissimilarities in terms of i) the choice of the sources, ii) the verbs for quoting the sources and ultimately iii) the presentation of the sources.

In terms of the choice of the sources, both journalists employ sources of high evidential standing since their sources are people linked to power relations or institutions (Caldas-Coulthard 1996: 303). Their sources are nevertheless different in most cases. *The Arbiter* quotes on the one hand sources related to the University of Idaho and Al-Hussayyen (D. Nevin, M. Mossaad, B. Hoover and M. Comstock) and on the other hand officials, federal criminal justice sources and US attorneys. The author of *The Arbiter* thus uses two kinds of sources: sources that are supportive of Al-Hussayyen and those that are not.

On the contrary, *The Daily Evergreen* employs exclusively sources that are supportive of Al-Hussayyen and international students and are related to the University of Idaho. Furthermore, reference to sources related to the FBI, the USA government and the indictment, which could contribute to the negative evaluation of Al-Hussayyen, is avoided (cf. Exclusion in Van Leeuwen's (1996: 38) terms). Only the one side of the coin portraying students and Al-Hussayyen intimidated by the actions of the FBI and the USA government is given. The other side, the justification of FBI actions is withheld.

With regard to the choice of verbs for quoting the sources, it is worth noticing that there are differences in the two articles. *The Daily Evergreen's* journalist employs only the verb *say* for quoting all the sources that he uses and are supportive of Al-Hussayyen and international students. In *The Arbiter*, apart from the verb *say*, the endorsement¹ *presents evidence* and the verb *read* for the web site incriminating Al-Hussayyen appear. These denote that *The Arbiter's* journalist accepts the reliability of the indictment and he consequently considers Al-Hussayyen guilty, while the other journalist aligns with sources accommodating the view that Al-Hussayyen is innocent.

Concerning the source presentation, there is differentiation when the two journalists employ the same source, namely the president of the University of Idaho

¹ *Endorsement* is a subcategory of *Proclaim*. These, according to White (2004), "present the proposition as highly warrantable and the textual voice sets itself against, suppresses or rules out alternative positions".

Muslim Student Association. *The Arbiter* presents M. Mossaad simply as the President of the Student Association while *The Daily Evergreen* refers to other additional qualifications: *Senior economics, architecture major*. *The Daily Evergreen* emphasises by this means the qualifications and consequently the importance of this source, which is in favour of students and Al-Hussayyen.

2. TRANSITIVITY

The choices in terms of transitivity reflect the relations that the writer constructs between participants. Transitivity “has the facility to analyze the same event in different ways, a facility which is of great interest in newspaper analysis”, according to Fowler (1991: 71). The following analysis shows that transitivity can also be used in order to contribute to the positive or negative evaluation of the participants of the event.

2.1. MATERIAL PROCESSES: ACTORS AND GOALS

The Daily Evergreen portrays the FBI as well as the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) as the main actors of the processes / actions. Students occur as the targets of FBI’s actions. For instance, *not informing students, INS could confiscate hard drives and students would be required to comply*.

The FBI and the INS appear as *actors* that could be named Medium-initiator according to Toolan’s classification (Toolan 1998: 88). Similarly, students are the Medium-target / the *goal* of FBI and INS’s actions. The Medium-initiator participants are the most powerful in contrast to the Medium-target least powerful participants (Toolan 1998 : 89). Consequently, the FBI as well as the INS are the most powerful participants while students are the least powerful. The FBI took advantage of its power and violated the rights of the powerless participants, namely students. The writer therefore expresses his negative attitude towards the FBI via transitivity.

In *The Arbiter*’s text, two participants are the actors: the FBI in the first place, and Al-Hussayyen in the second place. These designate the writer’s intention to present both Al-Hussayyen and the FBI as the “active dynamic forces” of activities (cf. Activation according to Van Leeuwen 1996: 43).

In addition, even though Al-Hussayyen occurs as the target of FBI’s actions (cf. Passivation in Van Leeuwen 1996: 44), he does take action and consequently he does also become a medium-initiator. In *The Arbiter*, Al-Hussayyen is not as passive as the students in *The Daily Evergreen*’s text, who are predominantly the medium-target, and not the powerful medium-initiators.

What this analysis of *Material Processes* demonstrates is that the two journalists portray different participants as powerful and powerless, as *Actors* and *Goals* of the *Material Processes*. The two journalists thereby evaluate differently the participants involved in Al-Hussayyen’s arrest.

2.2. MENTAL PROCESSES: SENSERS AND PHENOMENA

In *The Daily Evergreen* the students are the *Sensers* expressing their feelings of fear in most cases (*I am afraid*) and not the usual *Actors* like the FBI and the INS (Im-

migration and Naturalization Service). Conversely, the FBI occurs only once as a Sender but even in this case it expresses thoughts and not feelings (*the FBI or the INS thinks their tactics were wrong*). The students thereby appear to be in need of the readers' sympathy, while the FBI appears heartless and unable to express feelings. This contributes to the negative evaluation of the FBI but at the same time to the positive evaluation of students and Al-Hussayyen.

3. THEMATIZATION

The *Theme* in each clause is the element that serves as the point of departure of the message. The comparative examination of the *Themes* of the two articles can show which features the two journalists consider essential and make them the theme, the nucleus of their clauses and accordingly of their articles.

Al-Hussayyen is the starting point in the clauses of *The Arbiter*, followed by the FBI, the indictment and the IANA (Islamic Assembly of North Africa). This designates that the journalist regards Al-Hussayyen, the actions of FBI, and the indictment as the most important aspects of Al-Hussayyen's arrest. Conversely, in *The Daily Evergreen*, international students are the usual *Theme*, denoting the journalist's view that the violation of international students' rights is the most important aspect.

In addition, the indictment and the IANA do not occur as *Themes* in *The Daily Evergreen*. The journalist avoids using as a starting point in his clauses features that could incriminate Al-Hussayyen.

The two articles share one *Theme*, namely the FBI, which appears less frequently in *The Daily Evergreen* than in *The Arbiter*. This denotes that in the former the main concern is the justification of the students' argumentation and thus their positive evaluation, while in the latter the rationalization of FBI's actions is the object of focus and positive evaluation.

Having taken everything into account, it can be said that *Theme* choices have a twofold importance; they firstly denote the aspects of an event that are considered essential by the journalists and secondly the way that the journalists evaluate the participants related to it; if there is positive evaluation of a participant, features contributing to its positive assessment are often used as *Themes*, while features contributing to its negative evaluation tend to appear as *Themes* less frequently. In fact, in most cases they become the *Rheme* of the clauses.

4. COHESION

In broad terms, cohesive devices involve the use of Reference, Substitution, Ellipsis, Conjunction as well as Lexical Cohesion, according to Halliday & Hasan (1976). Hitherto, one subcategory of Lexical Cohesion, namely Lexical Reiteration, has been highlighted as having evaluative use: Hunston & Thompson (2001: 4) maintain that lexical repetition can be interpreted in context as evaluation.

In what follows, I will firstly provide evidence for Hunston & Thompson's argument by demonstrating that the two journalists repeat different words showing the dissimilar evaluation of the event and its participants (4.1). Secondly, I will show that the analysis of the cohesive chains can also demonstrate the different assessments

of events (4.2) in the two stories.

4.1. LEXICAL REITERATION

On the one hand, the words *arrest* (as a verb or as a noun) *charges* and *indictment* as well as *fraud* and *false statement* dominate in *The Arbiter*. It is thereby denoted that the aspects of the fact *The Arbiter* considers important and newsworthy are the arrest of Al-Hussayyen, the charges, the indictment and finally the trial.

On the other hand, in *The Daily Evergreen*, the majority of the legal terms repeated are *interrogation*, *rights* and the verb *violate*. These show that the journalist considers the violation of the international students' rights the most important aspect of Al-Hussayyen's arrest.

The above comparison of lexical reiteration in the two passages demonstrates that the two journalists reiterate different lexis although they cover the same event. This is due to the dissimilar way in which the journalists evaluate the importance of the diverse aspects of Al-Hussayyen's arrest. Furthermore, this lexical differentiation shows the different journalistic stance towards not only the aspects of the event but also towards the participants involved in it. The words *fraud* and *false statements* that present Al-Hussayyen as guilty are repeated in *The Arbiter* while in *The Daily Evergreen* these words are not even employed. Instead the words *violations* and *interrogation* portraying the FBI as acting violently appear frequently.

4.2. COHESIVE CHAINS: THE RELEVANT TOKENS

As soon as in 1984, Hasan brought into discussion the analysis of the cohesive chains². For her analysis she employs the term Peripheral Tokens for words not crucial to the organization of the experiential and textual meanings and thus not subsumed in chains and the term Relevant Tokens for words creating chains.

This means that the Relevant Tokens reflect the aspects of reality that the speaker or writer considers "crucial". The analysis of the Relevant Tokens can consequently show not only the degree of the coherence (as Hasan argued), but also the way that the writer or speaker evaluates and presents the events in order to help readers form opinion about the events.

The Arbiter's journalist creates cohesive chains with the Islamic Assembly of the North Africa (IANA) while the journalist of *The Daily Evergreen* avoids creating such chains. This could lead to the negative evaluation of Al-Hussayyen since the IANA can be related to terrorism as an organization that is committed to spreading the word of Islam.

Not surprisingly, *The Arbiter's* journalist does not built chains with the international students. The reason for this lies in the fact that he does not consider the violation of international students' rights a noteworthy aspect of Al-Hussayyen's arrest, unlike the journalist of *The Daily Evergreen*; for the journalist of *The Arbiter* the charges that Al-Hussayyen is faced with are the newsworthy information.

² Although reference to lexical chains was firstly made in *Cohesion in English* (Halliday & Hasan 1976).

This is also denoted by the different frequency of appearance of the Relevant Token occurring in both articles, namely Al-Hussayyen. This participant is used as Relevant Token more often in *The Arbiter* than in *The Daily Evergreen* where the advocacy of international students' rights – and not Al-Hussayyen's trial – is foregrounded as the most important information.

First, I argued that the journalist of *The Arbiter* employs a Relevant Token not occurring in *The Daily Evergreen* and, correspondingly, the latter employs a Relevant Token that does not appear in the former. Then, I showed that, even when the two journalists employ the same token, its frequency is different. Lastly, my analysis can be widened in scope to include the examination of the interaction between the chains that these Relevant Tokens form.

Chain Interaction occurs when at least two members of a chain stand in the same functional relation to two members of another chain according to Hasan (1984: 212). The comparative analysis of the interaction between the chain containing the Relevant Token *Al-Hussayyen* and the other cohesive chains can show how the journalists relate the participants subsumed in chains as Relevant Tokens in order to shape public opinion.

On the one hand, Al-Hussayyen interacts with the chain formed by the Relevant Token *LANA* in *The Arbiter*. This contributes to Al-Hussayyen's negative evaluation since he appears to interact with an organization related to terrorism. In *The Daily Evergreen*, however, Al-Hussayyen is associated with international students who are positively assessed in the text and this consequently contributes to his positive evaluation.

5. CONCLUSION

This article examined some of the linguistic devices that journalists use in order to form public opinion. For this purpose two newspaper articles covering the arrest of Al-Hussayyen and leading their readers to different conclusions about this event and its participants were compared in terms of their linguistic devices.

Firstly, evaluative devices (Attitudinal and Intertextual Positioning) were analyzed. Concerning Attitudinal Positioning, Affects and Judgments were found as being used differently and consequently affecting the readers' opinion about the guilt of Al-Hussayyen. Accordingly, dissimilarities were identified in the choice and presentation of the sources as well as in the verbs for quoting them.

Secondly, transitivity was examined. The participants that were negatively evaluated were usually the powerful *Actors* taking advantage of their power, while the participants that were positively assessed were powerless *Goals*. Moreover, participants that needed the readers' support were the *Sensors* in the *Mental Processes*.

Thirdly, the two journalists used diverse *Themes* in their clauses due to their choice to present different aspects of Al-Hussayyen's arrest as noteworthy. Moreover features complying with – and serving at the same time – the positive evaluation of the participants of which the journalist is in favor were the usual *Themes*. On the contrary, features that could lead readers to the negative evaluation of these participants are the *Rhemes*.

The last device that was used by the journalists in order to influence public opinion was cohesion. Lexical cohesion and, in particular, lexical reiteration was comparatively analyzed in the two texts. Although the two articles were referring to the same event, they were repeating different lexis in order to firstly foreground different aspects of the same event as important and secondly to convince readers that Al-Hussayen was guilty (in *The Arbiter*) and that the FBI acted violently (in *The Daily Evergreen*). The two journalists did not always use the same Relevant Tokens and the analysis of chain interaction mirrored the diverse ways that the journalists presented participants involved to Al-Hussayen's arrest in order to shape readers' opinion.

Finally, suggestions for further research might include the analysis of the semantic prosody of words repeated or used as evaluative devices. Lexical Reiteration and Evaluative devices can be considered signs of evaluation but the analysis of the semantic prosody of words which are used as Affects, Judgments or Appreciations or recur frequently in a text can reveal the type of evaluation (negative or positive) expressed.

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ELITE DAILIES AND PROJECTION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY: A COMPARISON OF *LE MONDE* AND *THE NEW YORK TIMES*

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Abstract: This paper examines the cultural identities that *Le Monde* and *The New York Times* project of their respective national societies not only to their national readers but also to their international audience that includes cultural, economic and political decision-makers. The corpus for this study is composed of all unsigned editorials published on Russia in both newspapers from August 1999 to July 2001. These editorials represent the official position of elite newspapers on an issue of foreign policy. It is advanced that linguistic and cultural features found in *Le Monde's* and *The New York Times's* editorials could partially explain the accusations of arrogance that the French and American diplomacies face on the international stage. More generally, this paper underlines the difficulty of perceiving the socio-cultural impact of one's discourse, and thus the necessity of a much better cultural awareness of oneself and of the Other in the conduct of international affairs.

Keywords: Editorials, elite dailies, cultural identity, international relations.

This paper, that is part of a larger project on the effect of media language use in international relations (Le 2002, 2003), aims to show how elite dailies project their national identities on the international scene through an analysis of *Le Monde's* and *The New York Times's* editorials on Russia.

Unsigned editorials, representing the official position of the newspaper on selected issues it considers of particular importance, provide an important clue to the framing of this issue, i.e. the manner in which the newspaper presents the issue and thereby influences its readers. The corpus for this study comprises all unsigned editorials published on Russia by *Le Monde* (LM) and *The New York Times* (NYT) from August 1999 (when Vladimir Putin appeared on the international political scene as Prime Minister of the Russian Federation) to July 2001 (16 months after Putin's election as President of the Russian Federation). Thus, 33 French editorials and 41 American were selected. *Le Monde* publishes one unsigned editorial daily, while *The New York Times* publishes three, of which one bears on foreign policy.

The methodology adopted in this study is exposed in § 1. Section 2 presents some of the results that are briefly discussed in § 3.

1. METHODOLOGY

Conducted in the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study follows a three-part approach: language use, transmission of beliefs and social interactions. The first part, the linguistic analysis of the corpus, sometimes tends unfortunately to be somewhat forgotten by some proponents as well as detractors of the CDA framework. In order to underline the necessity for a linguistic basis in a CDA approach and because of the necessary limits of this presentation, this paper will particu-

larly emphasise the first two parts. The first one, the linguistic study, consists here in a coherence and voice analyses that allow for the coding of the ideological square and of the participants in the argumentation developed in the editorials. For reasons of space, only the general principles of the linguistic analyses are given below.

1.1. COHERENCE ANALYSIS

The linguistic analysis of coherence enables the differentiation between textual elements according to their saliency, and thus reveals the text influential content. The analysis is based on a model of processes of text production and interpretation (Le 1999) that integrates text linguistics and cognitive psychology, in particular Van Dijk's work on macrostructures (1980), Kintsch's Construction-Integration Model (1988, 1998), Hobbs' relations of coherence (1985, 1990), and Daneš' work on thematic progression (1974). The recursive application of the logico-semantic relations of coherence (Hobbs' relations of coordination, subordination and superordination that have been completed by Le 1996) reveals the text hierarchical structure. The editorial's central argument is composed of a number of main arguments that are themselves developed in several sentences. The development of each main argument comprises a theme (what this main argument is about), and a macrostructure (the gist of this main argument). The development of the central argument also contains a theme and a macrostructure; they are called text theme and text macrostructure. The macrostructures that are formally defined thanks to the recursive application of the relations of coherence correspond to Van Dijk's macrostructures (1980). According to Van Dijk's work (1980: 254), the content of macrostructures is what is most likely to remain in long term memory. The coherence analysis is verified by the automatic generation of a summary at each level of analysis: if the shortened text composed with the themes and macrostructures does not represent a faithful summary of the original text, then the coherence analysis was not conducted properly (for an example, see Le 2004a).

1.2. CODING OF THE IDEOLOGICAL SQUARE

French and American editorials on Russia, expressing opinions on a very distinct Other, would seem to be a very relevant place for the transmission of ideology, especially in consideration of the fact that this "Other" was not so long ago and for decades the "ideological enemy". The main moves of ideology reproduction have been presented as the "ideological square" (van Dijk 1998: 267) and consist in:

- Expressing / emphasizing information that is positive about Us
- Expressing / emphasizing information that is negative about Them
- Suppressing / de-emphasizing information that is positive about Them
- Suppressing / de-emphasizing information that is negative about Them

Thus, these four moves are coded in the macrostructures of the editorials as follows (table 1):

Table 1: Coding of the ideological square at the macrostructural level

	Codes	Description
<i>US</i>	Mcr F pos / neg	Macrostructure that contains a positive / negative statement about France

	McR USA pos / neg	Macrostructure that contains a positive / negative statement about the USA
	McR E pos / neg	Macrostructure that contains a positive / negative statement about Europe
	McR W pos / neg	Macrostructure that contains a positive / negative statement about the West (including the IMF, NATO, OSCE)
THEM	McR R pos / neg	Macrostructure that contains a positive / negative statement about Russia

Le Monde in (1) draws its readers' attention to the knowledge the IMF had of Russian money laundering. Thus, both Russia and the West are guilty. *The New York Times'* example (2) underlines the positive attitude of the American and Russian governments in dealing with each other. In (3), the statements of the Western governments do not *per se* contain any information that could reflect a negative opinion about the West. However, the co-text indicates that *Le Monde* considers them as bad evaluations of the situation by these governments because of the political context in which they were uttered. Thus, in light of the text argumentation, this macrostructure expresses a negative judgment on the West.

All examples are preceded by two numbers: the first one refers to the paragraph and the second to the rank of the sentence in the editorial. All translations from French to English are the author's.

(1) "*Le FMI et la Russie*", 6 August 1999

2-6 Pis, on y apprend que ce détournement de fonds [par la Russie] se fait sinon avec l'accord, en tout cas en toute connaissance de cause de la part des grands de ce monde: les responsables du FMI et d'abord Michel Camdessus, son directeur général, mais aussi, avec lui, nos ministres des finances, les Larry Summers (États-Unis), Gordon Brown (Grande-Bretagne) et autres Dominique Strauss-Kahn, qui sont tous des administrateurs du Fonds. [McR R neg, McR W neg]

'Worse, one learns in it that this embezzlement [by Russia] is done, if not with the agreement, at least with the full knowledge of this world's powerful people: the IMF high-rankings, and first Michel Camdessus, its Managing Director, but also with him, our Ministers of Finance, the Larry Summers (United States), Gordon Brown (Great-Britain) and other Dominique Strauss-Kahn, who are all IMF administrators.'

(2) "The Russian Money Trail", 12 September 1999

1-3 There is reason for reassurance, however, in the calm response from the Clinton administration and the speedy effort by Russia's Prime Minister, Vladimir Putin, to emphasize the stability of overall relations between the United States and Russia. [McR USA pos, McR R pos]

(3) "*Le naufrage de Boris Yeltsin*", 11 August 1999

3-15 En un concert presque unanime, les uns et les autres ont dit tout le bien qu'ils pensaient du nouveau premier ministre que Boris Eltsine a donné à la Russie. [co-text: McR W neg]
'Almost in unison, the ones and the others have said all the good things they thought about the new prime minister whom Boris Yeltsin gave to Russia.'

Furthermore, macrostructures are also coded for the "voices" they contain.

1.3. VOICE ANALYSIS

The corpus is composed of editorials that are published in elite national newspapers with an international audience and concern international relations. It is thus relevant to determine the participants in the argumentation developed in the editorials by analysing whose voices are heard, and to whom these voices are addressed. This voice analysis is based on the following linguistic structures (Hyland 1998; Le 2004b): person markers (4), attitude markers (5), reported speech (6), metapragmatic descriptors (7), reference and predication (8), epistemic modalization (9).

(4) Person markers

“*Le naufrage de Boris Yeltsin*”, 11 August 1999

1-4 *Dans ce travail journalistique, difficile compte rendu de l'opacité du système politico-financier russe, nous avons pu commettre des erreurs.* [voice LM]

'In this journalistic work, made difficult by the opacity of the Russian politico-financial system, we might have made errors.'

(5) Attitude markers

Editorials embody the newspapers' opinions, and in expressing their opinions, they adopt a positive, negative, or indecisive attitude about what has been done, what has happened, what can be done and what can happen. On the one hand, editorials comment on a specific situation, and doing so, also report on it; on the other, they act as participants in the debate on this situation by forwarding their positions. Thus, editorials are bound to contain a high number of attitude markers, especially of those marking agreement and disagreement on what has been done and what has happened, which correspond to the more traditional “reporting / commenting of the debate” function.

As coding all attitude markers in an undifferentiated manner would defeat the purpose of uncovering the editorials' particularities, only the attitude markers selected along the following two criteria have been coded. First, this work focuses on the attitude markers about what can be done (advice, necessity, obligation) and what can happen (questioning, prediction, doubt, warning), i.e. the function of “active participation in the debate” of editorials. These attitude markers reflect the direct influence that the newspapers want to exert on the situation, the status of actor they claim on the international scene. The second criterion relates to the type of events on which the newspaper expresses its affective attitude. As this study pertains to the relations between France, the United States and Russia, the types of events that have been selected for the coding of attitude markers are: international events in which Russia appears as an agent, internal Russian events, internal events for France and the United States relating to Russia.

- Questioning / doubt

“The Kursk and the Kremlin”, 23 August 2000

6-27 *But the most intriguing question is whether this tragedy can educate Mr. Putin in the arts of compassionate and accountable leadership.* [voice NYT]

- Prediction / warning / advice

“Selling Russia on Missile Defense”, 21 October 1999

4-21 *The interest both sides share in countering the threat from rogue states suggests that with good-faith negotiation, agreement on carefully drawn changes in the ABM treaty may eventually come to pass.* [voice NYT]

“The Debilitated Russian Military”, 18 January 2000

2-3 *Although Americans may feel relieved that Russian conventional forces are now too weak to pose a serious external threat, there is a worrisome side to Russia's military breakdown.* [voice NYT]

“The Debilitated Russian Military”, 18 January 2000

6-26 *The place to begin is* by disengaging Russian troops from Chechnya at the earliest possible date. [voice NYT]

• Necessity / obligation

“Russia’s Flawed Reformer”, 2 January 2000

8-35 More information *will be needed* before anyone can judge whether the decision to spare Mr. Yeltsin from possible prosecution was warranted or wise. [voice NYT, strong]

“*Russie : Que faire ?*”, 11 December 1999

5-23 Le sommet de l’Union réuni ces jours-ci à Helsinki *doit* donner l’exemple. [voice LM, strong]

‘The Union Summit that is meeting these days in Helsinki *must* set the example.’

(6) Reported speech

“*Russie : Que faire ?*”, 11 December 1999

4-1 *elle* [la Russie] *a annoncé*, ouvertement, publiquement, *qu’elle* voulait la fuite ou la mort de tous les habitants de la capitale, Grozny. [voice R]

‘*it* [Russia] *announced* openly and publicly *that* it wants flight or death for all inhabitants of the capital city, Grozny.’

(7) Metapragmatic descriptor (verbal form, noun)

“*Le naufrage de Boris Yeltsin*”, 11 August 1999

1-5 Dans nos éditions du 19 août, Michel Camdessus, le directeur général du Fonds, *condamne* notre démarche. [voice W]

‘In our August 19th issue, Michel Camdessus, the Fund’s Managing Director, *condemned* the steps we had taken.’

“Russia’s Chechen Gamble”, 28 September 1999

2-4 This [terrorist killings of civilians in Moscow and Southern Russia] has provoked *demands* [by the Russian population] for swift action. [voice R]

(8) Reference and predication

“*Le FMI et la Russie*”, 6 August 1999

1-4 *Il* [ce document] est *accablant* pour la Russie tout autant que pour le FMI. [voice W]

‘*It* [this document] is *overwhelmingly incriminating* for Russia as well as for the IMF.’

(9) Epistemic modalization

“Repercussion of a Spy Case”, 23 March 2001

5-18 Given the damage *alleged* [by the US government] to have been done by Mr. Hanssen, including the betrayal of Russians who were spying for the United States, a vigorous response was justified. [voice USA]

In their texts, writers address their entire audience, but they can also target a category of it covertly through the use of person markers (10) or attitude markers (11), and overtly through the use of relational markers (12). Furthermore, writers can explicitly indicate the addressees of the other voices they incorporate in their texts (13).

(10) Person markers

When the newspaper speaks in its name only, it addresses its entire readership, i.e. mostly its national society (Soc) including its national ruling elite (and some foreign readers), unless it mentions explicitly its targeted addressees.

“Le chaos russe”, 14 December 1999

- 4-22 *On rappellera que le désenchantement actuel est aussi le reflet de l’enthousiasme délirant du début des années 90.* [LM to Soc]
 ‘We will recall that today’s disappointment also reflects the delirious enthusiasm of the early 90s.’

(11) Attitude markers

Sometimes, attitude markers are targeted to a specific category of people. When the identity of these addressees is not explicitly stated in the same sentence, it is revealed by the co-text.

“Selling Russia on Missile Defense”, 21 October 1999

- 4-21 The interest *both sides* share in countering the threat from rogue states suggests that with good-faith negotiation, agreement on carefully drawn changes in the ABM treaty may eventually come to pass. [NYT to US; NYT to R]

“Silence sur la Tchétchénie”, 27 September 1999

- 5-14 Le prix à payer pour ce refus d’ingérence [*par la communauté internationale*] risque d’être bientôt beaucoup plus lourd, quand les civils tchétchènes ne seront plus les seuls à en faire les frais. [co-text: LM to W]
 ‘There is a risk that the price to pay for [*the international community*] refusing to intervene be much higher soon, when Chechen civilians are no longer the only ones to suffer for it.’

(12) Relational markers

With the use of relational markers, writers overtly address readers. These markers comprise “second person pronouns, imperatives, question forms and asides that interrupt the ongoing discourse” (Hyland 1998: 444).

“*Poutine et les Occidentaux*”, 19 February 2000

- 1-4 À l’heure où les hommes du Kremlin font écraser sous leurs bombes une partie de leur population, les Tchétchènes, *on* a plutôt envie de *demande* à *MM. Chirac, Blair, Clinton et Schröder* ... [LM to W]
 ‘At a time when the leaders in the Kremlin have part of their population, the Chechens, crushed under their bombs, *we* rather feel like *asking Mr. Chirac, Blair, Clinton and Schröder* ...’

(13) Explicit references

When editorialists incorporate the voice of others in their text, they can explicitly mention whom these voices are addressing.

“Delaying a Russian Loan”, 27 December 1999

- 1-1 The *Clinton Administration* acted appropriately recently in *ordering* the *Export-Import Bank* to delay \$500 million in loan guarantees to Tyumen Oil, a state-affiliated Russian company whose abusive business practices cheated foreign companies. [USA to USA]

The coherence analysis was verified with the generation of summaries on the basis of the themes and macrostructures at one level and of the text themes and text macrostructures at the other level for each editorial. The author’s coding of the ideological square and of the voices was verified by independent coders. A native speaker of French coded half of *Le Monde*’s corpus (17 randomly selected editorials out of 33), and a native speaker of English coded half of *The New York Times*’ corpus (21 randomly selected editorials out of 41). In both cases, the intercoder reliability rate was over 91%. After discussion between the author and each independent coder about the differences in coding (a number of them were due to simple errors and not to a diffe-

rence of interpretation), the total agreement rate reached over 99% for both *Le Monde* and *The New York Times*.

1.4. COMPLEMENTARITY OF THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF ANALYSIS

Thanks to the hierarchical structure brought to light by the recursivity of the coherence analysis, the gap between the use of a language structure in a sentence and the function of the text in its social context can be bridged. In “Chechnya and the West” (*The NYT*, 19 November 1999), for example (14), sentence 2-4 expresses the voice of the French President, Jacques Chirac. Thanks to an information provided earlier in 1-3, we know that Jacques Chirac was speaking at the OSCE meeting in Turkey, and thus was mostly addressing Western heads of State or government (2-4: F to W). Sentence 2-4 happens to be a macrostructure, and the co-text (1-2, 1-3) indicates that as a macrostructure in the editorial’s argumentation, it functions as a message addressed by the French President to the Russian President (Mcr F to R). In this editorial, the text macrostructure (TMcr: 1-3), i.e. the central point in the text argumentation, is a message from *The New York Times* to Mr. Yeltsin, and the French President’s statement is thus used by the newspaper to underline its own message to the Russian President. This is made explicit by the expression “for example” in 2-4.

- (14) “Chechnya and the West”, 19 November 1999
1-2 On this point, the Russian president is simply wrong.
1-3 Mr. Yeltsin and his allies in Moscow need to listen to warnings by those leaders who tried during the European security conference in Istanbul to explain that using bombs and tanks would not work, militarily or diplomatically, to oust Chechen terrorists. [TMcr NYT to R]
2-4 President Jacques Chirac of France, for example, said [at the OSCE meeting in Istanbul] this war to combat terrorism was “a tragic error” that was taking too many innocent lives in the breakaway republic. [co-text: F to W; co-text: Mer F to R]

2. RESULTS

The above linguistic analysis (part 1 of the CDA approach) provides the following results that pertain to a transmission of beliefs (part 2 of the CDA approach). First, the main and central arguments contained in *Le Monde*’s and *The New York Times*’ editorials are presented. Second, we will look at the participants who take part in the argumentation developed in both newspapers, and then at what *Le Monde* and *The New York Times* insist on.

2.1. MAIN ARGUMENTS (MCR) AND CENTRAL ARGUMENTS (TMCR)

As the editorials in the corpora are all about Russia, it is not very surprising to observe on the basis of the coherence analysis that the great majority of the editorials’ macrostructures could be classified into two broad categories: the representation of the ideological square (*Us* vs. *Them*), and communications from one party to another. In *Le Monde*, only 8% of all macrostructures (Mcr), and in *The New York Times*, 11% of all macrostructures (Mcr) do not fit into these categories, as well as 10% of text macrostructures (TMcr) in both corpora.

2.1.1. Ideological Square

In the ideological square (table 2), *Them* represents Russia, and *Us* is France, Europe and the West for *Le Monde*, while *Us* is the United States and, in a much lesser measure, the West for *The New York Times*. Both newspapers concur in their heavy criticism of Russia (R Neg) at the macrostructural level (NYT: 62%; LM: 60%), but *The New York Times* is significantly more critical in its text macrostructures (NYT: 65%; LM: 34%; $p < 0.05$). *Le Monde* and *The New York Times* differ also in their positive evaluation of Russia (R Pos) that is practically non-existent in *Le Monde*, and in their negative evaluation of *Us* (*Us* Neg). While *The New York Times* criticises the United States very lightly (in only 4% of the Mcr and TMcr), 26% of *Le Monde*'s main arguments (Mcr) and 18% of its central arguments (TMcr) are directed against the West. The difference between *Le Monde*'s and *The New York Times*' central arguments (TMcr) is significant in their negative evaluation of *Us* ($p < 0.01$).

Table 2: Representation of the ideological square at the macrostructural level

%	LM		NYT	
	all Mcr	TMcr	all Mcr	TMcr
<i>Us</i> Pos	5	5	3	5
<i>Us</i> Neg	26	18	4	4
R Pos	3	2	11	11
R Neg	60	34	62	65

Note: Macrostructures can be coded more than once.

2.1.2. Communication

Furthermore, when we consider the central arguments (TMcr) in which *Le Monde* or *The New York Times* send a message (table 3), we see how *The New York Times* mostly addresses Russia but also the United States, while *Le Monde* almost ignores Russia but addresses the West in a third of its central arguments. The difference between the newspapers in their central arguments (TMcr) is significant in the number of times they address Russia ($p < 0.01$) and *Us* ($p < 0.05$).

Table 3: Messages sent by LM and the NYT at the macrostructural level

%	LM		NYT	
	all Mcr	TMcr	all Mcr	TMcr
to <i>Us</i>	19	33	14	16
to R	3	4	25	27

To summarise in a simple way, it could be said that the main purpose of *The New York Times* in its editorials is to criticise Russia and tell Russia what to do, while for *Le Monde* it is to criticise Russia and the West, and tell the West what to do.

2.2. VOICES

2.2.1. Represented voices

When we look at the percentages of represented voices (table 4), we see that *Le Monde* and *The New York Times* largely dominate the debate (despite the limitations on the coding of attitude markers), but *The New York Times* does so significantly more than *Le Monde* ($p = 0.016$). *Le Monde* and *The New York Times* let others speak, although

in different manners. *The New York Times* gives a rather large place to Russia (27.8%), and this should not be particularly surprising as the editorials are about Russia, but *Le Monde* gives a considerable precedence to the voice of others (France/Europe, USA, West, Others, Society: 36.8%) over Russia's voice (17.8%). The difference between both newspapers is significant in the place they give to Russia ($p < 0.01$) and to others ($p < 0.01$).

Table 4: Voices represented in LM and the NYT

% of voices	In LM		In the NYT	
LM	45.7		—	
NYT	—		54.4	
F / E	11.6	36.8	0.5	17.8
USA	5.6		12.8	
W	10.3		0.7	
Others	5		3.8	
Society	4.3		—	
R	17.5		27.8	

2.2.2. *Le Monde*, *The New York Times*, and their addressees

Since the editorials represent the newspapers' official positions, it is important to examine whom they address and how. Table 5 shows that, in a decreasing order, *The New York Times* talks to Russia (58.3%), the American Administration (32.9%), and the world at large (8.8%). As for *Le Monde*, it talks overwhelmingly to the world at large (82.9%). Furthermore, *Le Monde* contains 33 different types of exchange in its 173 tokens of exchange, and *The New York Times* only 15 types in its 320 tokens of exchange. Thus, the debate in *Le Monde* is significantly much broader in terms of participants than in *The New York Times* ($p < 0.001$) that is primarily interested in a dialogue between itself, the United States and Russia. In *Le Monde*, Russia is almost ignored; in *The New York Times*, it is the rest of the world that is almost ignored.

Table 5: Addressees of LM and the NYT

%	LM	NYT
To R	15.4	58.3
To F	3.3	—
To USA	3.3	32.9
To all others	76.9	8.8

The difference between *Le Monde* and *The New York Times* extends to the manner in which they address others (table 6). *The New York Times* does so indirectly through its use of attitude markers, while *Le Monde* does it indirectly and directly by using the first person, by asking questions or answering others' questions. *Le Monde's* participation in the debate is less high than *The New York Times's*, but its presence is more personal. Both newspapers are similarly forceful: an expression of necessity or obligation with the indicative mood is used in 20% of *Le Monde's* addresses and 24% of *The New York Times's*. However, table 7 shows how *The New York Times* is significantly more forceful in its addresses to Russia ($p = 0.015$), and *Le Monde* in its addresses to *Us* ($p < 0.01$).

Table 6: How do LM and the NYT address others?

% of each newspaper's voice	LM	NYT
Directly Person markers, questions, answers to others' questions	50	—
Indirectly Attitude markers	50	100
Strongly necessity / obligation + indicative	20	24

Table 7: Proportions in which LM and the NYT address Russia and *Us* strongly

%	Strongly
LM to R	5.3
NYT to R	17
LM to <i>Us</i>	14.8
NYT to <i>Us</i>	6.9

The question that is raised now is: what do *Le Monde* and *The New York Times* say so strongly?

2.3. STRONG MESSAGES FROM *LE MONDE* AND *THE NEW YORK TIMES*

To Russia, *Le Monde* says: reform the economy (15, 16), and to *Us*, that is Europe, it says: enforce the respect of human rights (17, 18). These strong messages have a quite different value. To *Us*, *Le Monde* speaks at the level of central arguments (text macrostructures), while the strong messages to Russia are part of the development of main arguments (ordinary sentences).

Le Monde to Russia : Reform the economy

- (15) "Poutine pour quoi faire", 29 March 2000
 4-21 Si le retour à l'économie administrée est exclu, la remise en ordre suppose que le nouveau président s'attaque aux oligarques qui ont fait fortune en bradant les ressources nationales et en dilapidant les aides internationales. [Strong]
 'While a return to a planned economy is excluded, the reorganization presupposes that the new president tackles the question of the oligarchs who built their fortune by selling off national resources and squandering international help.'
- (16) "Poutine pour quoi faire", 29 March 2000
 4-22 Elle exige de vraies réformes en faveur du développement des petites entreprises privées, de l'appropriation de la terre par les paysans, de la transparence des investissements étrangers. [Strong]
 'It requires real reforms to facilitate the development of small private enterprises, land ownership by farmers, transparency of foreign investment.'

Le Monde to *Us* : Enforce the respect of human rights

- (17) "Massacre en Tchétchénie", 5 November 1999
 4-26 Il ne faut pas que le Kremlin puisse continuer à siéger tranquillement au Conseil de l'Europe, compter sans cesse sur l'aide du FMI [...] tant qu'il fait aveuglément bombarder les populations civiles de Tchétchénie.
 4-27 C'est une exigence minimale. [Strong TMer]
 'The Kremlin must not be let to sit at the Council of Europe quietly, to keep on counting on IMF' help (...) as long as it bombs the Chechen civilian population blindly. It is a minimal requirement.'
- (18) "Jour de honte", 21 January 2001
 4-24 Mais il ne faut pas la [Assemblée du Conseil de l'Europe] laisser tromper l'opinion [sur l'attitude de la Russie en Tchétchénie]. [Strong TThMer]
 'But one must not let it [the Assembly of the Council of Europe] deceive the public opinion [about Russia's behavior in Chechnya].'

The New York Times' strong messages to Russia are more encompassing and more detailed. In a text theme, that is, as the starting point of a central argument, *The New York Times* tells Russia to build the foundations for a new society, in particular their economic, legal and administrative elements (19). In central arguments, *The New York Times* gives directions on what to do in questions of defence (20), media (21), and ethnic minorities (22).

The New York Times to Russia : Build a new society

Administration / Economy

- (19) "Reforms Russia Needs", 7 January 2000
1-3 His successors must put in place the missing but essential building blocks of a new society, including the rule of law, a financial system free of corruption and a central government able to collect taxes and provide competent and enlightened administration throughout Russia's vast territory. [Strong TTh]

Defence

- (20) "The Debilitated Russian Military", 18 January 2000
5-14 The Kremlin needs to reconfigure Russia's military forces to better fit the country's post-cold-war needs and resources. [Strong TMer]

Media

- (21) "Russia's Endangered Media", 18 April 2001
5-19 Mr. Putin needs to demonstrate that independent television stations, newspapers and magazines can still operate freely in Russia without government harassment. [Strong TMer]

Ethnic Minorities

- (22) "Chechnya and the West", 19 November 1999
1-3 Mr. Yeltsin and his allies in Moscow need to listen to warnings by those leaders who tried during the European security conference in Istanbul to explain that using bombs and tanks would not work, militarily or diplomatically, to oust Chechen terrorists. [Strong TThMer]

When it comes to directives addressed to the United States, *The New York Times* is less vehement in the sense that these directives figure at a lower hierarchical level. Basically, *The New York Times* enjoins the United States to address important issues (23), especially in the domain of defence (24, 25, 26) and economy (27, 28), thoughtfully.

The New York Times to Us : Address mutually important issues thoughtfully

General

- (23) "Repercussions of a Spy Case", 23 March 2001
6-21 Before Mr. Bush meets Vladimir Putin in July, the two need to turn their attention to other pressing issues. [Strong ThMer]

Defence

- (24) "Selling Russia on Missile Defense", 21 October 1999
1-5 What Washington must not do is abandon the [ABM] treaty in frustration if such revisions prove beyond immediate reach. [StrongTTh]

- (25) “Invitation to an Arms Race”, 20 June 2001
 5-18 The Bush administration wants to move quickly toward building such a shield, even though much more testing and research are needed to determine if it would be effective. [Strong Mer]
- (26) “A Promising Start”, 18 June 2001
 5-17 but further expansion [of NATO] must be handled in ways that do not appear provocative or threatening. [Strong Mer]

Corruption / Money Laundering

- (27) “The Russian Money Trail 1”, 31 August 1999
 2-7 For now, the need is to investigate [the suspected Russian money laundering through the Bank of New York] thoroughly and without fear of where the evidence may lead. [Strong TTh]
- (28) “The Russian Money Trail 2”, 12 September 1999
 1-6 and [investigators must] reexamine policy decisions that may have aggravated the problem [of corruption and money laundering]. [Strong TTh]

3. DISCUSSION

Thanks to its reliance on linguistic features of the corpus, the above content analysis (part 1 of the CDA approach) provides a solid ground on which the transmission of beliefs (part 2 of the CDA approach) the editorials operate (in their content and in the manner it is done) can be examined.

Both newspapers manifest their superiority towards Russia by criticising it heavily, but they emphasise this attitude differently. *Le Monde* tends to ignore Russia by addressing it very little. *The New York Times*, on the contrary, addresses Russia very often and tells it to build a new society that corresponds to the American concept of liberal democracy, all of this being done in terms that can be quite strong.

Furthermore, both newspapers manifest their superiority towards the rest of the world. *Le Monde* mostly addresses the West, and does so as the self-appointed Guardian of universal values (as described in the French “Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen” of 1789), thus as the one who is entitled to tell others which most important values to defend and how to do it. In an opposite manner, *The New York Times* does not pay much attention to the rest of the world: the debate is mostly circumscribed to *The New York Times* and its national State, the USA, and Russia, their addressee.

Finally, both newspapers assert their presence by largely dominating the debate. If quantitatively, *Le Monde* is less present, it feels confident enough to speak directly in its own name half of the time. *The New York Times*’ voice is expressed only indirectly. However, as its attitude towards Russia and the rest of the world is quite assertive, this indirectness cannot be interpreted as a sign of lack of confidence, but might be understood as a sign of *The New York Times*’ condescension.

The comparison of *Le Monde* and *The New York Times* shows that, considered from the outside (i.e. the non-French readers of *Le Monde* and the non-American readers of *The New York Times*), both newspapers behave in a superior manner towards Russia and the rest of the world, and thus they appear to justify their reputation of arrogance in countries that also have a reputation of arrogance on the international scene. By arrogance is meant here an attitude of superiority, or aggressive assertive-

ness. However, if we consider these newspapers from the inside, this accusation might not be as solid. Indeed, both *Le Monde* and *The New York Times* work in a specific national context and they reflect it. In projecting their cultural identity on an international scene, they take the risk of being misunderstood / misconstrued because not everybody on this international scene shares the same cultural background.

Le Monde's role of "Guardian of universal values" is not only its own, it is also the one that France, in a way, claims for itself. The importance of human rights figures prominently in the policy principles of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and it is dated back to the French Revolution when the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen" was adopted. Furthermore, in its published declaration of principles (2002), *Le Monde* defines its role not only to inform society of meaningful events, but also to educate society by explaining these events. To do so, *Le Monde* places them in a transnational context.

The New York Times's conception of its role is "to cover the news as impartially as possible – 'without fear or favor' ", as it is written in the newspaper's code of ethics. The term "impartially" is very important. It is often interpreted in North America as meaning that one must give the facts only, and no explanation, since explanations can be considered as interpretations. Another factor that would explain the restricted context in *The New York Times* is that it is an American newspaper, and the United States are the only superpower in the world today.

The linguistic analysis of *Le Monde's* and *The New York Times's* editorials (part 1 of the CDA approach) and the very rapidly examined study of transmission of beliefs (part 2) above give an idea of the direction a study of the editorials' social interactions (part 3) could take. Let us note that such a study would have to take into account the place of the editorials' discourse in their national society and reactions to them in this society and on the international level.

In conclusion, can it be said that accusations of arrogance against *Le Monde* and *The New York Times* are a manifestation of intercultural miscomprehension? In part, very probably, but not entirely. Both *Le Monde* and *The New York Times* pride themselves in being independent newspapers, and one could imagine that they could try to exercise their independence towards their own culture. To do this, they would first need to have a better awareness of the image they are projecting.

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«CHANGING OF THE GUARDS»: A PORTRAYAL BY THE MASS MEDIA

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Abstract: The study focuses on news reports relating to Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, who was given extensive media coverage. The investigation of the present study is undertaken using the analytic paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) employed by Fowler, Van Dijk and Fairclough. The analysis looks at a general characterization of the newspaper discourse, with a focus on particular discursive strategies employed to conceal ideological meanings. A corpus of sixty articles, a special 60-page pullout, and a 16-page special edition, of a local daily, *The Star*, is examined. The results from the analysis reveal three important findings: 1) The ideological construction of Dr. Mahathir as both a political leader and a man; 2) Analysis of quotation patterns show whose 'voices' are heard or suppressed; and 3) A careful selection of lexis to conjure a positive representation and the feelings of sadness over the transition.

Keywords: ideology, politics, mass media.

1. INTRODUCTION

This study examines the ideological construction of the political leader, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, who was the fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia, before he was succeeded by Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi on the 1st of November 2003.

The ideological impact of Mahathirism¹ on the country, Malaysia, and her people, is widely recognised by both academics and political commentators. Ideologies as argued by many (cf. Foucault 1969; Laclau & Mouffe 1985; Fairclough 1992a, 1992b, 1995a, 1995b) are penetrated by the mechanisms of discourse. Seitz (1997) posits that the individual and its will and consciousness do not exist apart from the discourse in which they occur. After all, language is not a transparent medium through which already formed ideologies, identities and attitudes are expressed, but rather actively construct socially shared representations of the world and constructs individuals as subjects (Phillips 1998).

The focus of this paper is on how Mahathir is ideologically constructed by a local daily, one month preceding to the transition of power from one Prime Minister to another.

2. BACKGROUND

When Mahathir retired in October 2003, it was the end of an era; the closing

¹ Mahathir's ideas constitute a relatively coherent political ideology which may be termed 'Mahathirism' within these five core components: nationalism, capitalism, Islam, populism, and authoritarianism (Khoo 2001).

chapter on one of the longest serving Asian leaders who has been the premier who led the Malaysian government for well over two decades (Suh 2002; Jomo 2003, 2004). To the younger generation of Malaysians born in the early 1980s, they have known no other Prime Minister other than Mahathir (Hng 1998; Kessler 2004; Welsh 2004).

Mahathir's beginnings were modest. Before becoming a full-time politician, he made his name as a medical doctor in Alor Setar. A considerate attitude towards his patients, poorer Malays especially, and an active involvement in local Malay politics led to his being called *Dr. UMNO*² (Khoo 1995). It was a useful sobriquet for the doctor-politician who in mid-1981, took over the helm as the fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia and as the president of UMNO (Khoo 1995; Jomo 2003; Ng 2003). During his twenty-two years of tenure, Mahathir oversaw economic and social changes that transformed Malaysia into a very different place from what it was in 1964, when he was elected member of Parliament for the constituency of Kota Selatan, Kedah (Khoo 1995, 2001; Hwang 2004). It was also during his long tenure in office that Mahathir's personality, ideas, policies, and even 'style' have drawn and fascinated many different types of 'Mahathir watchers', including journalists, politicians, academicians, and diplomats (Khoo 2001).

Mahathir is widely known in the international circle as the often-controversial leader of Malaysia (Papadopoulos 2001; Khoo 2001) who is a combative and outspoken leader who excoriated Jews and the West, particularly the U.S. (*Breaking Away* 2004). Back home, Mahathir is more fondly recognized as *Bapa Pembangunan*³, a modernised and a visionary man who set Malaysia on the world map (Hng 1998; Khoo 2001; Ng 2003). However, there are also criticisms of Mahathir's long political crusade, accusing him of doing things only to his own likings, of being greedy for excessive power, and having a voracious appetite for authoritarianism (Hamzah 2003). However, both admirers and critics of Mahathir alike have one thing in common: their respect for his forthrightness (Hng 1998).

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The investigation of the present study is undertaken using the analytic paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as employed by van Dijk (1988, 1993, 1996, 1998), Fairclough (1992a, 1995a, 2003), and Fowler (1991). The analysis looks at the general categorisation of the newspaper discourse, with a focus on particular discursive strategies employed (i.e. newspaper headlines, leads, captions under photographs; quotation patterns; over-lexicalisation) to harbour ideological meanings.

One of the most comprehensive works on media discourse has been published by Teun van Dijk (Bell, 1995). His main contribution is a framework for analysing the discourse structure of news stories (Bell 1995). The analysis of this study involves the use of van Dijk's framework on *news schemata* where the formal categories of the newspaper are examined. News schemata are the syntax of news stories, the

² UMNO is the abbreviation for United Malays National Organisation. It is one of the three ruling party's (Barisan Nasional) fractions consisting of only Bumiputra members.

³ Father of Development.

formal categories into which news can be analysed, and their relations to each other. The categories include summary (headline and lead), main events, background, and consequences.

According to Fairclough (1992a), texts (including media texts) are essentially intertextual whereby they are composed by elements of other texts. Although there are three aspects of intertextual analysis, this paper will only look into the first aspect of intertextual analysis (i.e. the analysis of *discourse representation*). Discourse representation is a “form of intertextuality in which parts of other texts are incorporated into a text, and usually explicitly marked as such, with devices such as quotation marks and reporting clauses (Fairclough 1992a: 107). Accounts usually draw a basic distinction between *direct* and *indirect* discourse representation. In the case of direct discourse (DD), the words represented are in quotation marks, and there is an explicit boundary between the ‘voice’ of the person being reported and the ‘voice’ of the reporter. As for *indirect* discourse (ID), the quotation marks disappear and the represented discourse takes the form of a clause grammatically subordinated to the reporting clause. In this case, the voices of the reporter and the reported are less clearly demarcated, and the words used to represent the latter’s discourse may have been paraphrased by the reporter (Fairclough 1992a).

In the critical linguistics’ theoretical framework, a method of linguistic text analysis is synthesised with a social theory of the functions of language in political and ideological processes, drawing upon the functionalist linguistic theory associated with Halliday (1978, 1985), and known as *systemic linguistics*. Fowler *et alii*’s (1979) analyses concentrate on vocabulary rather than linguistic or discourse structure. Hence their concern is with how groups and individuals are labelled in the media. The term used to describe this tool of analysis is *over-lexicalisation*, in which society – including the media – applies an excess of labels to a particular kind of person. Thus, the analysis involved in this study employs the use of Fowler *et alii*’s (1979) notion of ‘over-lexicalisation’ to examine the vocabulary used to label Mahathir.

The aim of this study is to bring to light how the discursive strategies of the local daily in Malaysia work to ideologically construct the political subject, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad. Thus, the local daily – *The Star* – has been selected because it has the largest circulation in terms of local English dailies in Malaysia. The data collected are the various newspaper articles published in *The Star* within the month of October (1st to 31st October 2003) when Mahathir was in his final month of premiership. The one-month time frame was chosen as there was a clear indication of the build-up of atmosphere leading to Mahathir’s final days in office. A corpus of sixty articles, a special sixty-page pullout, and a sixteen-page special edition of *The Star* is examined to probe for ideological construction of an outgoing political leader, diffused within the structure of newspaper reporting.

4. ANALYSIS

The analysis of the newspaper discourse entails the discursive strategies employed in the three areas of general characterisation of the newspaper discourse: headline, lead, photograph caption; quotation patterns; and ‘over-lexicalisation’.

4.1. NEWSPAPER HEADLINE, LEAD, PHOTOGRAPH CAPTION

The use of headline and lead in news reports is a definitive feature of news reporting to form the “crux of the news event and to orient the reader to process the text in a pre-determined direction” (Teo, 2000: 13). Bell (1991: 174) has referred to the lead as the “story in microcosm”. Teo (2000: 13-14) posits that the “function of the headline or lead, then is to form a cognitive macro-structure that serves as an important strategic cue to control the way readers process and make sense of the report”. Teo also adds that this involves partly the use of background knowledge to aid in the contextualisation of the meaning of the text.

The concept proposed by Teo (2000) is evidently seen in the headline (*The Star*, 29 October 2003) *I do not hate Dr. Mahathir, says Wan Azizah*, which recalls the history that Mahathir has with Wan Azizah. Wan Azizah is currently the President of the Opposition party, *Parti Keadilan Nasional*. About six years ago in 1998, Wan Azizah was known as the wife of the Deputy Prime Minister of the ruling party, *Barisan Nasional*. However, Wan Azizah’s husband, Anwar Ibrahim, was dismissed by the government and was duly arrested on September 1998 (Netto, 2004). Seven months later, after the dismissal of Anwar, the Opposition party, *Parti Keadilan Nasional*, was formed in April 1999, and is headed by Anwar’s wife, Wan Azizah (Netto 2004). Thus, in order for the reader to fully grasp the meaning contextualized in the headline, the reader needs to activate his background knowledge of the relationship between Mahathir and Wan Azizah that turned sour. Hence, the declaration *I do not hate Dr Mahathir* in the headline is only meaningful if the reader has the background knowledge that the reporter assumes that the reader possesses.

In the same article, the lead paragraph further draws on the reader’s long term memory regarding Mahathir and Wan Azizah:

- (1) Parti Keadilan Nasional president Datin Seri Dr. Wan Azizah Wan Ismail said she does not hate Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad. As the Prime Minister had contributed a lot to the country, she said it was difficult to judge him.

The lead presupposes the notion that Wan Azizah harbours some ill feelings towards Mahathir for her husband’s shocking fall from grace. Also, the news report contains presuppositions of Mahathir’s vast contribution to the nation during Mahathir’s tenure as the Prime Minister of Malaysia. Here, the reader has to capitalise on his long term memory of Mahathir’s contribution to the nation, whether it is in terms of developing the nation or being a good leader or even as a man. What is significant in the news report is the reiteration by Wan Azizah on the fact that she does not hate Mahathir. In the headline, it is written in *free direct discourse* (FID), while in the lead, *indirect discourse* (ID) is employed by the reporter. Both statements are not direct discourse (DD), and thus there is always a sense of ambivalence in the text as it is reported speech and not word for word quotation (Fairclough 1992a). Subsequently, the use of the personal pronoun ‘I’ to represent Wan Azizah comes across as a discursive strategy to personalise the statement, and thus making it more sincere and credible. This is further cemented by the activation of the social actor, Wan Azizah. By activation of her, the reporter is highlighting the idea of Wan Azizah as an active agent in the statement and that she is fully aware of the stand she is making. Additionally,

the first sentence in the lead paragraph has Wan Azizah in the frontal position to highlight the statement that she is making about Mahathir: that she does not *hate* Mahathir. In the following sentence, Mahathir is accorded the frontal position to highlight the statement by Wan Azizah regarding his contributions to the country. By granting Mahathir the frontal position, the reporter is accentuating Mahathir’s active role in contributing to the nation. Additionally, the use of honorifics on Wan Azizah and Mahathir serves to draw attention to the political relationship and context in which the news report is based upon.

The findings from the analysis of the headlines, leads, and photo captions, reveal that the three elements work on a symbiotic and synergistic relationship to encapsulate Mahathir as both a politician and a man. For instance, the following headline, lead and photo caption (*The Star* 12 October 2003) all work together to depict Mahathir as a politician: *Dr. M: All races back bumi rights* (headline), *All races support the affirmative action for bumiputras and the proof is that Barisan Nasional has been voted back into power in every general election, said Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad* (lead), *Rise of a force: Dr Mahathir meeting with supporters shortly after the Barisan Nasional won the 1981 general election and he became Malaysia’s fourth Prime Minister* (photo caption). The headline presupposes the recognition by all races on the rights or privileges that bumiputras⁴ in Malaysia enjoy. This presupposition is further consolidated by the lead on the fact that *Barisan Nasional’s* consecutive wins in the elections is a clear indication of this bumiputra rights being supported by other races. Finally, the caption beneath the photograph reiterates the support that is given to the Prime Minister as a symbol of the political leader of *Barisan Nasional*. Here the activation of the social agents is a clear indication of Mahathir being actively involved and is a proponent of the said process and this highlights the active role he plays as a politician. Thus, the use of headline and lead are to further consolidate a certain ideological meaning in the text, and in this case, Mahathir as a political figure.

The following examples (*The Star* 31 October 2003, sixty-page pullout) depict Mahathir as a man: on the one hand, the headline: *Father knows best / ‘Circle the wagon’ mentality / Daddy’s home*, and on the other, the lead:

- (2) NO ONE is more affected by Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's retirement than his family. For 30 years, from the time he became a Minister, they have had to live in the glare of the public eye almost as much as him. But apart from Marina - who occasionally offered tantalising personal glimpses of her parents in her column in *The Star* - the Mahathir offspring have fiercely protected their privacy. For the first time, they speak on a wide range of issues and share delightful, surprising insights into the Mahathir family life. By JUNE H.L. WONG

The four headlines all portray Mahathir as any other ordinary man who has a family to look after and a family who looks up to him. Mahathir is referred to as *Father* and *Daddy*, thus highlighting the notion that he has a family. The leads expound the difficulties that Mahathir and his family face while living under the “glare of the public eye”, thus making it rather difficult for Mahathir and his family to lead a ‘normal’ family life. This idea of trying to lead a ‘normal’ family life and protecting their privacy is

⁴ The term *Bumiputra* refers to the Malays and the indigenous people living in Malaysia.

pertinent to illustrate Mahathir as a concerned father, who like any other fathers, wants to maintain a life of normalcy and protect the family from harm. These are the fundamentals of a typical family in Malaysia. Thus, the reader must presuppose that Mahathir is just like any other man in Malaysia as he has a family and he does things with them, just like any other family. Also significant is the fact that many of the statements in the headline and lead demonstrate the activation of the social agents and placing them in frontal position, thus highlighting the subject's active role as the head of the family.

In conclusion, all these meanings expressed in the news reports and the choices made over which discursive strategies to employ, all serve to impose some ideological perceptions and interpretations of the readers towards Mahathir as both a politician and a man at the same time.

4.2. QUOTATION PATTERNS

The second characteristic of the newspaper discourse under analysis is the use of various sources of information to construct the news articles. These quotes, either *direct discourse* (DD) or *indirect discourse* (ID), are often imbued within the news report to give it a sense of 'facticity' and authenticity (Tuchman 1978). Additionally, these quotes are often attributed to people who are deemed important or an authority in that particular area. Thus, the use of quotation becomes "a gate-keeping device that admits only those in positions of power and influence while shutting out the opinions and perspectives of those deemed by society to be powerless" (Teo 2000: 18) or in the case of this study, the opposition party.

The findings from the analysis of this study reveal some interesting insights into the 'voices' heard or suppressed in the news articles written about Mahathir during that one month prior to his retirement. With reference to Table 1 below, there is a clear indication that the Malaysian public has been given the highest percentage of space as compared to the other participants. With 22.2% of space given to the Malaysian public, *The Star* newspaper has greatly empowered the public by according them some form of status conferral; a privilege that is not the usual case in the daily reporting found in a local daily. A close second to this space awarding is to Mahathir's family members (19.7%). Next, the *Barisan Nasional* politicians (of the ruling party) themselves are accorded 13.8% of media space, while Mahathir himself is heard 12.3% of the time when compared to the others. On the other hand, it is hardly surprising that the journalists from the opposition newspaper is given the lowest percentage of media space at 0.5%, followed by 2% of media space given to the opposition party leaders. This allocation of media space is by no means a coincidence as the paper probably wants to portray the strong attachment (warm feelings) between the Malaysian public, Mahathir's family members and *Barisan Nasional* politicians, and Mahathir himself. Conversely, the reporter and the political leaders of the opposition party are given the least percentage of media space to illustrate the weak attachment (feelings of political animosity) between them and Mahathir. Hence, the stronger the attachment, the higher the percentage of media space given to the participant.

Table 1: Frequency and Percentage of the various ‘Voices’

	Total												
Voice	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	12
Frequency	45	40	28	25	21	17	7	6	2	4	4	1	203
%	22.2	19.7	13.8	12.3	10.3	8.4	3.4	2.9	1	2	2	0.5	100

A: Malaysian public
B: Mahathir’s family
C: *Barisan Nasional* politicians
D: Mahathir
E: Reporter (mainstream paper)
F: Foreign Dignitaries
G: Mahathir’s Subordinates
H: Authors of Mahathir’s books
I: Others (hometown folks, academicians, corporate figures)
J: Deputy Prime Minister (past & current)
K: Opposition leaders
L: Reporter (opposition paper)

Another point of interest in the analysis is the subject brought up by the twelve participants. The Malaysian public took the opportunity to express their gratitude to Mahathir for his contribution to the nation (e.g. *He has made a lot of contribution to the country, Dr. M is responsible for various developments and improvements in the country, etc.*), and making them proud to be a Malaysian (*His popular phrase “Malaysia Boleh!”⁵ will always stay with us, I am truly proud to be Malaysian, etc.*). The other participants who chose to speak on a personal subject are Mahathir’s close subordinates and Mahathir’s family. Mahathir’s close subordinates such as his personal barber, his ex-political secretary, his pilot, his bodyguard and principal private secretary, all spoke about Mahathir as a *humble, polite, and a good boss* to work for. As for Mahathir’s family, the ‘voice’ heard most often is Siti Hasmah (Mahathir’s wife) as she is by virtue the closest to the media and also Mahathir himself. The snippets from Mahathir’s family members reveal how Mahathir is both a *supportive father and a loving husband* (*The Star* 7 October 2003) to his family.

The participants who touched on both the personal and political subjects are the *Barisan Nasional* politicians, the reporters (mainstream paper), authors of books on Mahathir, and his former and current Deputy Prime Ministers (as at before 31 October 2003). These participants shared their experiences with Mahathir as their political leader (*A firm, cautious and prudent planner, A true statesman, etc.*). On the other hand, the participants such as the foreign dignitaries and opposition party leaders spoke about Mahathir on political grounds. The foreign dignitaries are all praises about Mahathir (*He has been a shining example to the entire world* cf. 31 October 2003, sixteen-page collector’s issue). Conversely, the opposition party leaders took the opportunity to both praise and criticise Mahathir. For example, Kelantan Menteri Besar Datuk Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat (PAS) thanked Mahathir for *his openness in leadership towards Kelantan that is ruled by the opposition* (*The Star*, 30 October 2003). However, Nik Aziz added that there are still a lot of ‘unresolved problems’ left behind by Mahathir. It is interesting to note that the views of the four opposition party leaders are credited only a small section in the daily, in terms of physical media space and in comparison to other ‘voices’. Also, the opposition party leaders’ views are mainly in ID, as opposed to the other ‘voices’. Furthermore, the articles on the opposition leaders share physical space with other minor news items. This brings us back to what was mentioned earlier by Fairclough that reporting using ID creates ambivalence as the selection of words in ID may be mainly

⁵ The term *Malaysia Boleh!* means ‘Malaysia can do it!’. This catchphrase was conceptualised by Mahathir as a means to boost the Malaysian public’s confidence in themselves and the ability to achieve record-breaking feats.

those of the reporter's.

In conclusion, quotation patterns can be a powerful ideological tool to manipulate readers' perception and interpretation of people and events in news report. Those who have strong feelings of attachment (positive and warm feelings) towards Mahathir, are accorded a higher percentage of media space to air their views on both personal and political matters related to Mahathir. As for those who have negative feelings towards Mahathir by virtue of being in the opposition camp, they are denied a higher percentage of media space to express their views. Thus, this establishes the belief that the media possess the power to make a choice over whose 'voice' is foregrounded or backgrounded.

4.3. OVER-LEXICALISATION

The third characteristic of the newspaper discourse under analysis is the use of over-lexicalisation. Fowler *et alii* (1979) as cited in Teo (2000) defines over-lexicalization as a method of encoding ideology in news discourse. It is seen in a surplus of repetitious, quasi-synonymous terms, giving rise to a sense of over-completeness. (Van Dijk 1991 as cited in Teo 2000).

To be more specific, Fowler (1991: 85) describes it as an "excess of quasi-synonymous terms for entities or ideas that are a particular preoccupation or problem in the culture's discourse." It could also be used to refer to a "physical and sexual surplus" (Fowler 1991:103). Over-lexicalization can also be identified in the repetition of a particular lexis (Fowler, 1991). Though in most circumstances this strategy is used to characterize people who are oppressed, powerless or underprivileged, it is hoped that in this case, over-lexicalization can be employed to reflect positive images and characteristics.

In Tables 2–5, all the lexical items highlighted show a positive representation of Tun Dr. Mahathir. The words in each table are repetitions, synonyms or are quasi-synonymous which contribute to the positive representation of him. These words can be subdivided into four groups, each contributing a little more to a positive image.

Table 2: Words Relating to 'very Good Leadership qualities'

Source	Title of Article	Reference to <i>very good leadership</i>
31/10/03	His art of war	<i>remarkable</i> political leadership; <i>great</i> political survivor;
31/10/03	Making his critics eat their words	not only one who <i>espoused ideas</i> ; <i>kept tabs</i> on progress; known to insist on <i>personally checking</i> ; thanks to his <i>timely intervention</i> ; he <i>introduced vision 2020</i> ; <i>took pains</i>
27/10/03	Emotion packed trip with Dr. M.	<i>made his mark</i> as statesman
26/10/03	(Opinions of undergraduates)	<i>great</i> ; <i>strong leader</i> ; <i>fair</i> ; <i>great leader</i> ; long term <i>vision</i> ; <i>fair and just</i> ; a <i>good example as leader</i> ; <i>famous</i> ; <i>Father of Malaysia</i> ; no one can <i>replace him</i> ; <i>irreplaceable</i> ; <i>fair</i>
11/10/03	PM a mentor and friend	One of the <i>greatest leaders</i> ; <i>instilling confidence</i> ; <i>nurtured</i> ; <i>cajoled</i>
5/10/03	Ending a labour of love	a man <i>in a hurry</i> ; with <i>much to do</i> ; <i>tight, hectic</i> schedule; <i>labour of love</i> ; do it without thinking of the <i>strain</i> that you impose on yourself; <i>could not handle people who were trying to use him and his position</i> ; <i>not going to be a back seat driver</i>

In Table 2, words such as *remarkable* and *great* are similar in meaning to very good, indicating that Dr. Mahathir was an outstanding leader. As for verbs such as *espoused*, *kept*, *checked* (*from checking*), *intervened* (*intervention*) and *introduced*, they create the image of Dr. Mahathir

as a leader who is actively diligent, detailed, disciplined and responsible who not only led by example but who is also a visionary (has long term *vision*) and an inspiration to the people. Furthermore, he has described his work as a *labour of love*, as a parent, willing to bear the *strain* of heavy responsibility and the sometimes unreasonable demands of his children without giving in to bribery or cronyism. Despite being extremely attached to the country, he is portrayed as a *mature and wise leader* able to relinquish his power and authority completely to trust his successor to take over. All these are necessary ingredients for a *model leader*.

Table 3: Words Relating to ‘Good Character’

Source	Title of Article	Reference to good character
31/10/03	His art of war	brave; successful
31/10/03	Keeping the PM trim and proper	friendly; polite; very simple; not demanding; always well dressed; disciplined; he never missed asking about family (caring)
31/10/03	“A brother, father, leader and mentor”	willing to give his own money (<i>generous</i>);
31/10/03	Making his critics eat their words	Turning adversity into strength...
31/10/03	Saying goodbye from their hearts	extraordinary; very special;
27/10/03	Emotion packed trip with Dr. M.	warm; <i>caring</i> ; love his sense of humour
11/10/03	PM a mentor and friend	A <i>mentor</i> ; a <i>concerned friend</i> ; man of <i>compassion</i> ; showed great <i>concern</i> for friends
6/10/03	The most difficult episode in Dr.M.’s political career	To learn the <i>terrible truth</i> about a friend and to remove him from office; <i>anguish</i> still haunts him
5/10/03	Ending a labour of love	<i>kind</i> ; <i>considerate</i> man; <i>sensitive</i> to others; I <i>like having her</i> (his wife) <i>around</i> ; I <i>miss her</i> (his wife) a lot then; <i>pain</i> he felt when he had to dismiss Datuk Seri Anwar
1/10/03	Behind the headlines	very patient; he showed <i>kindness</i> ; <i>helpful</i> and <i>kind</i> ; he <i>helped</i> me move ahead

From Table 3, all the adjectives used paint a near perfect human being – one who is *courageous*, *strong*, and *wise* as he is able to turn a negative situation around, *disciplined*, *focused* yet tapered with *sensitivity*, *simplicity*, *kindness* and *generosity*. On top of that, he is also described as *righteous*, feeling *anguished* having learned the *terrible truth* about his former deputy.

Table 4: Words Relating to Dr. Mahathir’s Achievements

Source	Title of Article	Reference to Dr. Mahathir’s achievements
31/10/03	His art of war	Dr. Mahathir’s 1990 <i>triumph</i> ; record-breaking <i>development</i>
31/10/03	Keeping the PM trim and proper	has <i>done wonders</i>
31/10/03	“A brother, father, leader and mentor”	he <i>made things happen</i> for the country
31/10/03	Making his critics eat their words	most of his <i>ambitious plans</i> have come to <i>fruition</i> ; most (plans) were <i>successful</i> ; to ensure <i>successful implementation</i> ; another of his <i>successes</i> ; a measure of <i>success</i> ; this <i>success</i>
31/10/03	Praise from peers	He has <i>done so much</i> for his country
27/10/03	Emotion packed trip with Dr. M.	the <i>legacy</i> he left behind
14/10/03	Sad over end of Dr. M.’s leadership	Malaysia moved ahead in <i>leaps and bounds</i> under his <i>stewardship</i> ; the quality of life <i>improved</i>
11/10/03	PM a mentor and friend	evidence of his <i>contribution</i> is <i>everywhere</i>

Table 4 looks at Dr. Mahathir’s achievements. Again, the words used are not ordinary but are extremely positive. For example words such as *triumph*, *wonders*, *leaps and bounds* and *legacy* have been used to describe something of extraordinary feat, almost miraculous (*wonder*) with a hint of near permanence (*legacy*), as if what he has accomplished will last for a very long time.

Table 5: Words Relating to 'Public Opinion'

Source	Title of Article	Reference to Public Opinion
31/10/03	His art of war	<i>Popular; revered; international personality</i>
31/10/03	"A brother, father, leader and mentor"	Resilience-to be <i>admired</i> ; he loves us; world leaders have great <i>respect</i> for him
31/10/03	Saying goodbye from their hearts	they showed their appreciation in great style and spirit; it was <i>rock star treatment</i>
31/10/03	Praise from peers	liberator; brother; <i>none is more entitled</i> to walk in our land as a free man; <i>mover</i>
26/10/03	(Opinions of undergraduates)	<i>idol; respect; not biased; famous;</i>
8/10/03	Dr. M. gets an emotional farewell at Bali meeting	ASEAN leaders paid a <i>glowing tribute</i> ; grateful for contribution; <i>no way of counting</i> what he did for ASEAN
14/10/03	Sad over end of Dr. M's leadership	This will be a <i>truly historic time</i>
10/10/03	Dr. M. books selling like hot cakes across the country	<i>sales of books</i> written by him and on him have <i>increased by some 50%</i>
10/10/03	Photo tribute to Mahathir at National Art Gallery	<i>words may not be adequate</i> to express our appreciation
1/10/03	Royal tribute to Dr. M.	His leadership <i>created peace; opened the minds</i> (of Malays) towards success

As for Table 5, the words used tell us what other people think of him. In line with the other descriptions earlier, Dr. Mahathir is *praised, admired, respected, loved, appreciated and even revered*; thus, elevating him to an iconic, classic status.

Table 6: Words Relating to 'Sadness over Dr. Mahathir's Retirement'

Source	Title of Article	Reference to feelings of sadness
31/10/03	Keeping the PM trim and proper	Sad
31/10/03	Saying goodbye from their hearts	eyes welled with <i>tears; sad</i> ; the <i>dam had broken; damp faces</i> ; his face etched with <i>emotion; farewell</i> ; cheeks glistening with <i>tears</i> ; ladies wiped their eyes (<i>of tears</i>); crying (<i>tears</i>) for days; dabbing her eyes (<i>of tears</i>); <i>emotions</i> swelling; tried to shield his feelings
31/10/03	Praise from peers	<i>sad</i> to see Dr. Mahathir resigning
31/10/03	Behind the headlines	already beginning to <i>miss him; miss him most as journalist</i>
27/10/03	Emotion packed trip with Dr. M.	<i>sad faces</i> ; Najib was <i>moved; miss</i> travelling with him; felt <i>sad</i> since last June; <i>last</i> cabinet meeting feeling <i>emotional</i> ; feel rather <i>emotional</i> ; <i>Miss</i> his glamour; <i>Last</i> occasion; <i>Ultimate sadness</i> <i>tears</i> started to well up; <i>last</i> trip; felt <i>sad</i> ; <i>Last</i> conference; <i>Closing</i> chapter; publicly showing feelings of <i>sadness</i> ; <i>miss</i> his presence; <i>last</i> visit to country as PM; <i>Last</i> this/that; <i>tears</i> in eyes; <i>miss</i> him as a person; <i>last</i> trip for him and me; build up of <i>sadness</i>
26/10/03	(Opinions of undergraduates)	will <i>miss him; sad</i> to see him leave
14/10/03	Sad over end of Dr. M.'s leadership	<i>beloved</i> PM; feelings of <i>sadness</i> ; <i>end</i> of leadership of true statesman
14/10/03	Sad over end of Dr. M.'s leadership	<i>beloved</i> PM; feelings of <i>sadness</i> ; <i>end</i> of leadership of true statesman
8/10/03	Dr. M gets an emotional farewell at Bali meeting	His <i>last</i> ASEAN summit; voice cracked with <i>emotion</i> (Megawati)

The excessive repetition of the word *sad* and its other forms, together with the words *tears, crying, miss*, etc. in Table 6 effectively evoke feelings of sorrow, loss, grief and finality (*last*). It seems almost every citizen in Malaysia feels this way and is in mourning over his retirement.

All in all, the complete lexical picture painted of Tun Dr. Mahathir is one that is *extremely positive* in terms of his *leadership abilities, character, achievements and how people*

perceive him. Other than that, the media has given us the impression that Tun Dr. Mahathir is loved and his presence in the government will be greatly missed.

In conclusion, while the voice of the opposition is not heard, Tun Dr. Mahathir’s leadership, character, achievements and public perception has been over-lexicalised with a wide range of extremely positive quasi-synonyms.

5. CONCLUSION

This study has been an attempt to probe for ideological construction diffused within the structure of newspaper reporting of an outgoing political leader. With the discursive strategies employed i.e. an examination of headlines, leads, and photograph captions; quotation patterns; and over-lexicalisation, Tun Dr. Mahathir has been illustrated as an almost infallible national hero. In doing so, it seems that a higher portion of media space is granted to those who are for the government as compared to those who are not.

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LOS PIQUETEROS EN LA PRENSA ARGENTINA: DEFINICIONES Y REVALORACIONES DE LA PROTESTA SOCIAL

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Resumen: El presente trabajo forma parte de una investigación de mediano plazo cuyo objeto consiste en dar cuenta de los modos en que una nueva práctica social (hacer piquetes) y los nuevos actores sociales (piqueteros) son reconstruidos en distintos medios gráficos, cómo define y agrupa cada uno una serie de prácticas, explicita y define a sus protagonistas y relaciona causalmente sus acciones con las acciones de otros. Aquí presentamos el análisis del primer conflicto de esta serie, es decir, la coyuntura Cutralcó, abril 1997, y las referencias anteriores en las que aparecen por primera vez los signos *piquetes-piqueteros*. Seleccionamos del corpus artículos de los matutinos argentinos *Clarín* y *La Nación*. Nuestra metodología es la de la Lingüística Crítica: a partir del análisis por cláusulas se establecen los roles asignados a los participantes y los tipos de acciones, procesos y estados adjudicados, siguiendo el modelo sintagmático de Hodge & Kress (1993).

Palabras clave: Prensa argentina, piquetes, piqueteros, prácticas sociales y discursivas.

Abstract: The present work is part of an investigation of medium term whose object consists on raising the ways in that a new social practice (to make *piquetes*) and the new social actors (*piqueteros*) are reconstructed in different graphic media, the way they define and contains each one a series of practices. At the same time the strategy the media uses to explicit and define their main characters and relates their actions causally, within the actions of others will be analyzed. Here we present the analysis of the first conflict of this series, that is to say, the Cutralcó conjuncture in April 1997, and the previous references in which the signs *piquetes-piqueteros* appear for the first time. We've selected from our corpus articles of the Argentinian newspapers *Clarín* and *La Nación*. Our methodology will be that of the Critical Linguistics: starting from the analysis of statements we'll see roles assigned to the participants and the types of actions, processes and awarded states settle down, following the pattern proposed by Hodge & Kress (1993).

Key words: Argentinian graphic press, *piquetes*, *piqueteros*, social and discursive practices

1. INTRODUCCIÓN: EL ORIGEN DE UNA NUEVA PRÁCTICA SOCIAL

Una de las ventajas de encarar el análisis del discurso desde una perspectiva crítica es poder dar cuenta de los procesos de cambio no sólo a nivel discursivo sino también para detectar sus correlatos a nivel social. Evidentemente, las épocas de crisis en las estructuras sociales y políticas, traen como consecuencia modificaciones en las prácticas sociales.

En la Argentina de los años 90 se vivió un período de grandes transformaciones políticas, económicas y sociales. Dichas transformaciones, si bien nunca dependen de un único actor, coincidieron al menos en su materialización con las dos presidencias consecutivas de C. Menem (1989 -1999). En ese período, a partir de la aplicación

de las recetas neoliberales, la conformación del Estado argentino sufrió grandes cambios. En los primeros años del gobierno menemista, se privatizaron la mayoría de las empresas que tradicionalmente habían pertenecido al Estado: empresas de servicios públicos, por un lado (provisión y distribución de gas, luz, agua potable, telefonía y transporte ferroviario y aéreo), por otro lado, los medios masivos de comunicación (radios y canales de televisión), como así también las empresas de explotación de recursos: Yacimiento Petrolíferos Fiscales (YPF, en adelante), Somisa, Yacimientos Carboníferos Fiscales, entre otras¹.

Estas medidas, sumadas a las políticas de recorte del gasto público y a la desindustrialización del país, trajeron como consecuencia un alarmante aumento de la desocupación. Miles de empleados fueron despedidos u obligados a elegir sistemas de retiro voluntario. En la mayoría de los casos, los sindicatos que supuestamente debían haber defendido las fuentes de trabajo, negociaron su silencio previamente con los funcionarios menemistas, dieron la espalda a sus afiliados y colaboraron activamente en los procesos de privatización de las empresas.

Ante este panorama, no pareció del todo sorprendente el surgimiento de nuevas prácticas vinculadas con la protesta social y, paralelamente, la aparición de nuevos actores sociales. Nuevas formas de protesta que se fueron alejando del mundo del trabajo, porque ya no había un patrón a quien hacerle huelgas. En cambio, se dirigieron cada vez más al Estado y a sus funcionarios: en primer lugar, reclamando una salida urgente al problema del hambre, es decir, exigiendo de parte del Estado la cobertura de las necesidades básicas y en segundo lugar, (aunque en algunos casos se dio en forma paralela) la exigencia de cambios en el modelo económico que estaban llevando adelante las autoridades nacionales y provinciales.

Concluida la era del menemismo, desarticulado su plan económico al finalizar la breve presidencia de Fernando de la Rúa², la crisis del modelo neoliberal pareció evidente. En su lugar parecen resucitar algunos ecos del Estado de Bienestar. En este contexto, los reclamos de los piqueteros están perdiendo paulatinamente la repercusión que tuvieron hasta junio de 2002. Sus reivindicaciones parecen vacías o “fuera de lugar” en un panorama político y económico que no parece haber superado todavía el modelo anterior.

2. DELIMITACIÓN DEL OBJETO DE ESTUDIO

El objetivo de la investigación en la que se incluye este trabajo es dar cuenta de estas nuevas formas de protesta social: de los piquetes y de las características de

¹ En los conflictos que nos preocupan en este trabajo, la privatización de la petrolera YPF es el de mayor impacto: la empresa que empezó a pasar a manos privadas en 1992, contaba en 1990 con 51.000 empleados y en 1997 sólo eran 5.600. Las zonas más afectadas por los despidos fueron las provincias de Salta y Neuquén, casualmente las regiones donde surgieron y se mantuvieron durante más tiempo los piquetes.

² Recordemos que el presidente Fernando de la Rúa renunció en diciembre de 2001 a raíz de la grave crisis económico-financiera que produjeron las últimas medidas tomadas por el ministro de economía Domingo Cavallo (quien fuera también ministro durante el gobierno de Menem). Después de un breve período de inestabilidad institucional, asumió provisionalmente la presidencia E. Duhalde, quien llamó a elecciones en 2002 resultando electo el actual presidente Néstor Kirchner.

este nuevo actor social que apareció en la Argentina a mediados de los años 90: el piquetero.

Sin embargo, no nos interesa hacer una reconstrucción de los episodios que comenzaron en esos años y que se extienden hasta nuestros días, porque, en definitiva, somos analistas del discurso. El objetivo es estudiar las representaciones que de estas nuevas prácticas y de estos nuevos actores aparecieron en la prensa argentina. Elegimos los medios masivos porque sostenemos que son ellos los principales responsables de la puesta en circulación de estos nuevos signos ideológicos (Voloshinov 1929). Más allá de lo que ocurra a nivel coyuntural, lo que no aparece en los medios literalmente “no existe” para la opinión pública. Los medios son entonces el nexo indispensable entre la producción de estas nuevas prácticas sociales y su puesta en circulación, su reconocimiento, su reproducción y, como veremos más adelante, su valoración.

Por este motivo, vamos a dedicar este análisis particular al estudio de las primeras ocurrencias de los signos *piquete-piquetero* en la prensa argentina. Para ello trabajamos sobre un corpus formado por una serie de artículos publicados por los dos diarios de mayor circulación a nivel nacional de la Argentina: *La Nación* y *Clarín*. Los artículos reconstruyen los hechos ocurridos en la provincia de Neuquén, en abril de 1997. La selección de esta coyuntura se basa en el hecho de que es el primer conflicto masivo y extenso en el que los gobiernos nacional y provincial movilizaron fuerzas represivas, en el que hubo un muerto, numerosos heridos y detenidos y en el que están presentes, al menos en la prensa, por primera vez de manera protagónica los piqueteros.

Paralelamente se seleccionaron los artículos periodísticos en los que aparecía cualquiera de estos dos términos en los mismos diarios desde marzo de 1996, es decir, un año antes del conflicto que se considera fundacional de esta nueva práctica (hacer piquetes) y de este nuevo actor social (ser piquetero)³.

Como hipótesis inicial, sostenemos que estas primeras ocurrencias, si bien son inestables en cuanto al significado referencial, no lo son en cuanto a la valoración (tomamos, en este sentido, la diferenciación de Voloshinov 1929). Este punto nos interesa especialmente para explicar y, de alguna manera, anticipar lo que puede ocurrir en adelante con la significación social de esta práctica.

También podemos anticipar que en esos primeros acontecimientos (entendidos como reconstrucción mediática de las coyunturas) se van perfilando los principales actores, los roles que van a desempeñar, la secuencia de prácticas sociales y la inclusión en determinados sistemas de clasificación más o menos explícitos.

Desde el punto de vista metodológico encaramos los textos del corpus desde un nivel sintáctico-semántico analizando por cláusulas y clasificando los tipos de procesos según sean transactivos, no transactivos, pseudotransactivos y relacionales y los tipos de participantes (según Hodge & Kress 1993), y un nivel interdiscursivo/polifónico que da cuenta de los voceros y mediadores que los diarios eligen y recortan para completar o evaluar sus crónicas.

³ Dadas las limitaciones de extensión, en este trabajo sólo expondremos las semejanzas registradas entre los dos matutinos. El análisis de las diferencias sobre las versiones periodísticas de los acontecimientos de abril de 1997, pueden consultarse en Raiter & Zullo (en prensa).

3. UN POCO DE HISTORIA: CUTRALCÓ 1997

La empresa privatizada en este caso es la ex-petrolera estatal YPF. Esta empresa era la representación del Estado de Bienestar: pagaba sueldos muy altos, ofrecía viviendas, servicios médicos y educación al personal y sus familias. El sindicato que representaba a los trabajadores era totalmente simbiótico con la empresa petrolera: sus dirigentes participaban del Directorio y no dudaron, al igual que en otros casos, en apoyar el proceso de privatización. Si bien la privatización de YPF se produjo en los años 1991-1992 el pago de indemnizaciones y retiros voluntarios sólo dilató el estallido de los conflictos.

Los ex-empleados de la provincia de Neuquén, al igual que todos los demás, fueron quedando a la deriva: con un gremio que ya no los reconocía como afiliados y con la fantasía del cuentapropismo exitoso, Cutralcó y Plaza Huinul se llenaron de agencias de autos de alquiler, kioscos y otros emprendimientos familiares que no hicieron más que demorar el ascenso de los índices de desocupación. La falta de organización que quedó como resultado del retiro de la empresa⁴ y del sindicato se hace evidente en el detonante de este conflicto: a raíz de una extensa huelga del gremio de los docentes provinciales (ATEN) con motivo de un recorte salarial, el 13 de abril de 1997 se autoconvocan de modo espontáneo otros sectores de la población de Cutralcó en apoyo a los maestros: comienza el corte de rutas, se suma una parte importante de la población de la provincia, de modo desorganizado al principio, luego los jóvenes se autoorganizan al margen de partidos políticos, sindicatos u otras organizaciones tradicionales. Son violentamente reprimidos en varias ocasiones; como consecuencia de esta acción muere Teresa Rodríguez, convertida hoy en símbolo, al punto que varias organizaciones piqueteras llevan su nombre. Ante la resistencia de los cortes y cuando el juez federal que había movilizado las tropas se entera de la existencia de un muerto y de numerosos heridos y detenidos, ordena el repliegue de la Gendarmería.

4. LAS VERSIONES DE LA PRENSA

Tanto *Clarín* como *La Nación* ubican el origen del conflicto en la huelga docente, pero ambos también reconocen que algo o alguien excedió la protesta original. Ese alguien son los *piqueteros* y *fogoneros*, aunque esta última denominación sólo aparece en *La Nación*. No queda clara la inclusión de estos grupos en el conflicto docente, pero los dos diarios tratan de diferenciarlos: se plegaron al conflicto y fueron quienes “provocaron” la represión. No sólo se diferencian los conflictos en los relatos periodísticos, el gremial y el “agregado”, sino que el tratamiento es diferente: mientras que el conflicto docente tiene voceros e instituciones, el gremio Asociación de Trabajadores de la Educación del Neuquén (ATEN) y sus dirigentes, los piqueteros no hablan. Se los define por lo que no son o no tienen y por lo que hacen (mediante cláusulas relacionales y transactivas respectivamente⁵).

⁴ La nueva empresa privada cerró la destilería de Plaza Huinul.

⁵ Seguimos la clasificación de tipos de procesos propuesta por Hodge & Kress (1993): accionales y relacionales y, dentro de los procesos accionales, los subtipos transactivo/ no transactivo según involucren

- (1) Más de cincuenta mil desocupados fueron protagonistas. (*Clarín*)
- (2) Los piquetes cortaban la ruta 22. (*Clarín*)
- (3) La concentración rutera sumaba unas cuatro mil personas. (*La Nación*)
- (4) Los fogoneros atacan con piedras embebidas en petróleo y encendidas. (*La Nación*)

El análisis por cláusulas de los tipos de procesos, señala una fuerte distribución funcional en ambos diarios. Los procesos transactivos (en porcentajes que rondan el 30% en ambos diarios) se caracterizan por estar en su mayoría en sus formas básicas y referidos al mundo físico: se refieren a la represión, a los objetos o armas utilizadas por los grupos enfrentados: las fuerzas de seguridad (gendarmería y policía provincial) y los manifestantes.

Siguiendo este esquema funcional, vemos cómo se vinculan los tipos de participantes del conflicto a determinados tipos de procesos:

- Los manifestantes y los gendarmes: procesos accionales transactivos y accionales no transactivos: *reprimir, enfrentar, encabezar, arrojar, balear* pero también, *replegarse, llevar, volver, avanzar*.
- Los funcionarios del gobierno provincial, nacional y de la Justicia: procesos pseudotransactivos. *Hacen declaraciones, designan, decretan, desmienten*, con mayor o menor fuerza ilocucionaria.
- Finalmente, los procesos relacionales están a cargo del periódico que necesita clasificar / calificar tanto a los actores (Teresa Rodríguez) como a los procesos que están ocurriendo.
- Siguiendo esta clasificación, el gremio docente estaría a mitad de camino: participa en los acontecimientos de la ruta (representados en cláusulas accionales) pero también *hace declaraciones* (cláusulas pseudotransactivas): *negocia* con el gobierno provincial, *firma el acuerdo, consulta a sus bases*.

En cuanto a los participantes, se evidencian dos grandes grupos: los que necesitan ser evaluados, definidos, y los que no. Este último grupo, conformado por *manifestantes, grupos, estudiantes*, parecen pertenecer al ámbito de las protestas habituales. El primer grupo, en cambio, integrado por los *piqueteros, fogoneros* y *Teresa Rodríguez* necesita ser definido porque pertenecen a la nueva coyuntura. En el caso de Teresa Rodríguez, su protagonismo se debe pura y exclusivamente al hecho de haber sido asesinada. La única acción que realiza (en pasado) es la de ir a trabajar, lo que inmediatamente la opone al resto del grupo cuyos miembros se caracterizan por no tener trabajo.

En los otros dos casos –piqueteros y fogoneros–, se trata de grupos de personas que se definen sobre todo por las acciones que llevan a cabo; las únicas cláusulas relacionales en las que son incluidos son:

- (5) Tienen pocos años.
- (6) No tienen trabajo.

Sus atributos podrían resumirse en dos posesiones negadas: no son adultos, no tienen trabajo. El procedimiento predominante entonces para los *piqueteros* y los *fogoneros* parece ser el de clasificarlos y, al mismo tiempo, evaluarlos a través de las acciones que llevan a cabo, por ejemplo:

dos participantes o uno solo. El modelo también contempla la posibilidad de procesos pseudotransactivos para los procesos vinculadores al decir, al pensar y a lo sensorial.

- (7) Actúan encapuchados.
- (8) Atacan con piedras embebidas en petróleo y encendidas.

Otra característica interesante es que, como señalábamos antes, los piqueteros y fogoneros llevan a cabo solamente acciones materiales (transactivas y no transactivas). No tienen voceros, no se les adjudican procesos mentales ni sensoriales⁶.

Al incluir estos nuevos grupos sociales en una escala de valores, el diario establece una jerarquía de “mayor a menor” peligro: a la protesta “normal” de los docentes se sumaron “elementos marginales peligrosos”⁷. No aparecen causas que motiven estas acciones: el hecho de definirlos por lo que no tienen (ni años ni trabajo) facilita la tarea, ya que no entran en relaciones causales, se los define por un estado y no por procesos. En este sentido, parecen participar sólo en los procesos que ocurren en la ruta. Son sujetos sin historia.

5. LAS PRIMERAS APARICIONES DE LOS PIQUETES Y LOS PIQUETEROS EN LA PRENSA

Como decíamos al comienzo, parece existir un acuerdo entre los especialistas en que estos sucesos de Cutralcó de 1997 que acabamos de analizar constituyen la “presentación en sociedad” de esta nueva forma de protesta social (Kohan 2002; Svampa & Pereyra 2003). Sin embargo, los signos *piquete* y *piquetero* comenzaron a aparecer con un significado inestable, distinto de los usos tradicionales⁸ casi un año y medio antes. Revisemos brevemente cómo y cuándo aparecieron estos dos signos en los diarios que estamos investigando:

A. En marzo de 1996, se desata un conflicto en la provincia de Corrientes. La legislatura obtiene la mayoría necesaria para aprobar el pedido de juicio político al gobernador Raúl Romero Feris (caudillo de un partido provincial desde hacía más de treinta años). Sus partidarios, instalados en los corredores de la cámara de diputados durante la sesión, comienzan a arrojar objetos sobre los legisladores y saquean las instalaciones del edificio. *La Nación* dice:

- (9) Piquetes de agresores recorrían los despachos en busca de legisladores para hacerles saber no precisamente con palabras que estaban en desacuerdo con sus actos.

Tenemos aquí los piquetes asociados con actos vandálicos de destrucción, de ejercicio de la violencia, de fanatismo y de ausencia de capacidad de diálogo.

⁶ Salvo en el caso de los fogoneros (quienes aparecen sólo en *La Nación*), que *critican a los piqueteros* y *prefieren la violencia*.

⁷ Entre estos elementos hay unos más peligrosos que otros: los piqueteros sólo *se organizan* y *cortan las rutas* mientras que los fogoneros *prefieren pasar más directamente a la violencia* y *atacan*.

⁸ En Argentina, se denominaba *piquete* al grupo de obreros que durante una huelga se apostaban frente a la entrada de la fábrica para impedir el ingreso de los trabajadores que no querían adherirse al paro. Por extensión se llamó del mismo modo a los grupos de trabajadores que vendían periódicos partidarios o repartían panfletos en el mismo sitio. Según algunos autores (Kohan 2002), el término proviene de la jerga militar.

B. En agosto de 1996, al prepararse un paro de la Central de Trabajadores oficialista hasta ese momento, *La Nación* relata los hechos ocurridos en la provincia de Córdoba:

- (10) El jueves último, en una suerte de adelanto a la medida de mañana, piquetes de dirigentes y activistas bloquearon los puentes de acceso al centro de la ciudad, provocando un fenomenal caos de tránsito vehicular. Actuaron con notoria sincronización. Hubo algunas re-friegas con la policía que dejaron un saldo de 40 lesionados.

Aquí ya aparece la idea del piquete como interrupción de la circulación de los vehículos. Hay dos términos que funcionan como advertencia al lector: *activista*, con una fuerte carga negativa por su significado ligado a los partidos de izquierda “peligrosos”, y *sincronización*, que si bien no parece cargado de evaluación, conlleva la idea de un plan y de una organización previos. En este sentido, el piquete se opone a la protesta espontánea.

C. En junio de 1996, en *Clarín* aparece el antecedente más directo de la coyuntura que nos ocupa: el gobierno provincial de Neuquén suspende la instalación de una planta de fertilizantes que daría trabajo a más de 4000 obreros de las localidades de Cutralcó y Plaza Huincul, poblaciones que, como dijimos, habían sido muy afectadas por la privatización de la petrolera YPF. Ante este conflicto aparece en la prensa la primera instalación de piquetes y las acciones de los piqueteros en forma similar a la que conocemos y utilizamos hoy en día: movilizaciones masivas de desocupados que cortan o impiden la circulación o el acceso a determinados lugares. Estas acciones traen como consecuencia el despliegue de fuerzas represivas, la intervención de las autoridades nacionales a nivel ejecutivo y judicial. Los manifestantes tratan de mantener sus posiciones defendiéndose con armas “caseras”: arrojan piedras y otros objetos a la policía y queman neumáticos para protegerse del frío.

El término aparece como sinónimo de *pueblada* y sus protagonistas son *manifestantes* o *pobladores*. En este caso no aparecen evaluaciones negativas y la protesta se presenta como surgida espontáneamente:

- (11) Los pobladores reclamaban a gritos la presencia del gobernador; Los pobladores, muchos con lágrimas en los ojos, comenzaron a corear: “el pueblo unido jamás será vencido”; La multitud, estimada en 20 mil personas –casi la mitad de los habitantes de Cutral-Có y Plaza Huincul– cubría tres kilómetros de la ruta.

D. En marzo de 1997, a sólo unos días del conflicto que nos preocupa y en la misma provincia, los pobladores de la localidad Rincón de los Sauces realizan una protesta ante las autoridades del gobierno nacional y provincial para exigirles que tomen medidas para evitar que las empresas petroleras sigan contaminando las aguas de la zona. La protesta, que originalmente iba a ser una marcha, se convierte en un corte de rutas y una toma del aeropuerto local. *La Nación* dice:

- (12) Luego se dirigieron a la ruta provincial 6 donde quemaron llantas e instalaron piquetes para cortarla.

Los protagonistas de estos hechos son *habitantes, los rinconenses, un grupo de madres, manifestantes*. Las acciones que llevan a cabo son:

- (13) Ocupar el aeropuerto.
(14) Impedir el despegue y la llegada de aviones.
(15) Mantener cortadas las rutas 6 y 7.

- (16) Reclamar a las autoridades nacionales.
- (17) Llevar un petitorio, autoconvocarse y movilizarse.

A esta altura, marzo de 1997, parece estar mucho más consolidado el nuevo significado de *piquetes*. Ambos periódicos tratan de evitar las evaluaciones explícitas y se limitan a enumerar la serie de acciones que incluye la nueva práctica. Recién en el conflicto desencadenado un mes después aparecerán los actores explícitamente denominados.

Ahora bien, ¿por qué esta secuencia de acciones se vuelven “noticia” en los diarios?, ¿qué es lo novedoso de estas formas de protesta? En primer lugar, la masividad de las movilizaciones⁹. En segundo lugar, la extensión de los cortes. Esta extensión, en el caso de la provincia de Neuquén, implica afrontar las duras condiciones climáticas de la Patagonia, organizar ollas populares, campamentos, etc. En tercer lugar que, antes de convertirse en noticias policiales (es decir, antes de que aparezcan asesinatos como resultado de la represión), estas noticias constituyen un verdadero acontecimiento porque los nuevos actores sociales “ganan” la pelea: las fuerzas de seguridad se repliegan, los jueces cambian las carátulas de las causas, los reclamos aparentemente terminan siendo escuchados por las autoridades, se firman acuerdos, compromisos y se fijan plazos de cumplimiento.

6. CONCLUSIONES

A esta altura del análisis parece claro que los sucesos de 1997 no instauran ningún término nuevo. Más bien parecen dar lugar a la posibilidad de que se asocien los piquetes con represión y muerte. Desde el punto de vista de la historia de estos signos, parece haber antecedentes claros y estos antecedentes pueden clasificarse en dos grupos:

6.1. NUEVA PRÁCTICA, NUEVOS ACTORES, NUEVAS NOTICIAS

Por un lado la asociación de un término conocido, aunque con baja frecuencia de uso, con una serie de prácticas sociales relativamente novedosas que, en general, se dan en un cierto orden y que en un principio son noticia por sí mismas, porque de alguna manera triunfan los desocupados, los que no tienen nada, los que ni siquiera tienen voz. No queremos decir con esto que los piqueteros sean realmente así, sino que es la prensa la que convierte a estos excluidos –definidos por lo que no tienen– en noticia. No sólo llevan a cabo acciones materiales¹⁰, se convierten en agentes de algo, sino que consiguen replegar a las fuerzas de seguridad, consiguen que las autoridades se acerquen a dialogar, logran que una jueza cambie de opinión, se asuste, reflexione. El ejemplo más claro es el seguimiento periodístico de la coyuntura de Cutralcó, 1996.

En este planteo inicial, aparece la distinción entre *fogoneros* y *piqueteros*, distinción que intentó subdividir a estos nuevos actores sociales y que desaparece rápidamente.

⁹ En muchos casos, las cifras que aparecen en los mismos diarios equivalen a poblaciones enteras.

¹⁰ Para ver la relación entre pobreza y agencialidad en estos mismos matutinos, véase (Zullo 2001).

En todos los casos analizados, el piquete aparece como consecuencia no deseada de un conflicto. Allí donde las autoridades no escucharon los reclamos de la “gente común” surge el piquete. En este sentido, la prensa también está haciendo una advertencia a los gobernantes.

El espacio del piquete se juega en el mundo físico. Las acciones que los piqueteros llevan a cabo los igualan con las fuerzas de seguridad. Sólo parecen diferenciarse en las armas y el vestuario que utilizan. Desde esta perspectiva, los piqueteros son una amenaza: actúan de manera organizada, poseen fuerza desde el punto de vista material, pero son “ilegales”. Están fuera del orden establecido por el Estado. Por eso es que fuera del piquete se llevan a cabo las negociaciones. Y como vimos más arriba, los piqueteros no tienen voz. Sus voces no están en la prensa en ninguno de los casos analizados. En este sentido parece clara la distinción entre los piqueteros y otros tipos de manifestantes que tienen voceros y cuentan con el respaldo de los representantes sindicales.

6.2. VIEJAS CLASIFICACIONES, NUEVAS VALORACIONES

Por otro lado, como vimos, hay apariciones anteriores a 1997 del término *piquete*, quizás más fugaces e inestables. Estos episodios, en los que no aparece la secuencia de prácticas que más tarde se denominará *piquete*, conllevan, en cambio, ciertas valoraciones de algunas de esas prácticas y de sus protagonistas: en este sentido es que vimos la asociación de los piquetes con los desmanes y el descontrol, con la ruptura del orden “normal” del tránsito y con la peligrosa organización de estos actores nuevos. Estas apariciones inestables de los signos estudiados con el tiempo van a desaparecer. Ya no va a haber dudas de lo que significa *hacer piquetes* hasta tal punto que dejará de ser noticia cualquier acontecimiento de este tipo, salvo que conlleven muertos o heridos. Pero no por ello van a desaparecer las valoraciones a las que se asocian los piquetes como práctica social y los piqueteros como nuevo actor social.

Volvamos al presente de enunciación de este trabajo. A menos de un año de la asunción del presidente Kirchner, desde los medios argentinos se plantea que el neoliberalismo ha dado paso a un modelo “más justo”. El ciclo del menemismo aparentemente está cerrado. Parece haber resucitado el Estado de Bienestar y la sociedad argentina –dicen los periódicos y los mediadores oficiales– está recuperando algo que parecía haber perdido. Es en este contexto en el que las acciones de los piqueteros se están volviendo anómalas, “molestas” para los medios argentinos¹¹. Pero los reclamos de los piqueteros al día de hoy no han tenido respuesta en la mayoría de los casos, sobre todo los de aquellas organizaciones que reclamaban trabajo genuino y no planes asistenciales del Estado. ¿Cómo justificar entonces esta molestia, este desorden que hasta hace poco era “justo”? Precisamente porque aquellas primeras valoraciones de los piquetes parecen recuperarse. Los medios masivos argentinos en los últimos meses

¹¹ Esta situación ha llevado a los medios a poner en práctica un mecanismo de clasificación de los grupos de piqueteros, los cuales, a partir de la asunción de Kirchner, fueron separados en *blandos* o *duros* según adhieran o no al nuevo gobierno.

parecen estar recordando todas las advertencias que, con diferentes recursos lingüísticos de clasificación y valoración, hicieron a sus lectores hace más de ocho años.

7. ANEXO. CORPUS DE ANÁLISIS: TEXTOS PERIODÍSTICOS REFERENTES A LOS ACONTECIMIENTOS SUCEDIDOS EN CUTRALCÓ (13 DE ABRIL DE 1997)

7.1. CONFLICTOS DOCENTES: DESPUÉS DE LA REPRESIÓN, EL GREMIO DOCENTE Y SAPAG ANUNCIARON UN ACUERDO (*CLARÍN*, 13 DE ABRIL DE 1997)

Graves incidentes en Neuquén: un muerto

Era una joven de 24 años · Iba a trabajar cuando la balearon · Hubo durísimos choques entre gendarmes, policías y manifestantes · La crisis comenzó hace 34 días por un descuento salarial.

(Neuquén. Corresponsal y enviado especial).— Más de diez mil habitantes de Cutral-Có¹² y Plaza Huinul se sumaron a los piquetes de protesta que apoyaban a los docentes en huelga, cuando las fuerzas de Gendarmería Nacional y de la Policía de Neuquén intentaron desalojarlos de la ruta nacional 22. En la pueblada murió una mujer, Teresa Rodríguez (24), mientras, según el Ministerio del Interior, hubo 13 personas heridas (cuatro de bala) y 20 detenidos. Al cierre de esta edición solo cuatro habían recuperado su libertad. La violenta represión fue repudiada por el obispado de Neuquén, los partidos políticos opositores y el gremio docente local, quienes anoche convocaron a una marcha con antorchas alrededor de la Casa de Gobierno. La marcha fue en silencio y reunió a 15.000 personas, que se dispersaron sin incidentes.

Durante la marcha, los líderes del gremio docente neuquino firmaron un acuerdo con el gobernador Felipe Sapag, por el cual se reintegra el 50 % de los sueldos descontados por los 34 días de paro y se mantienen los puestos de trabajo. El acuerdo implica el levantamiento del paro docente en Neuquén, pero deberá ser ratificado hoy por las bases del gremio.

También anoche llegaron a Neuquén dos aviones Hercules con 400 gendarmes (los refuerzos fueron pedidos por el gobernador Sapag, según explicó el ministro Carlos Corach) y algunas tanquetas. Mientras en Buenos Aires la CTERA convocó a un paro nacional a realizarse mañana —cuando también se reunirá el consejo directivo de la CGT para analizar los hechos— los gremios neuquinos estudiaban su propia huelga general. Al reclamo docente se agregó después el pedido de libertad a los detenidos y que se aclare cómo murió Teresa Rodríguez. También se exige que vuelvan las medidas de promoción económica para la zona de Cutral-Có y Plaza Huinul donde viven más de 50.000 desocupados, protagonistas de otra pueblada en junio del año pasado.

El ministro del Interior, Carlos Corach, descartó la necesidad de una intervención federal y dijo que “se trata de un problema provincial”.

Y el jefe de Gabinete, Jorge Rodríguez, dijo que el conflicto docente en Neuquén “está politizado, porque ellos ganan los sueldos más altos del país”.

Los incidentes

Todo empezó a las 6 de la madrugada, cuando 350 gendarmes avanzaron con una topadora y un camión hidrante contra los piquetes que cortaban la ruta 22, cerca de Cutral-Có y Plaza Huinul. Las fuerzas de seguridad atacaron con gases lacrimógenos, balas de goma y perros, cumpliendo órdenes del juez Oscar Temi, quien se negó a hablar con los manifestantes porque “vine a reprimir un delito”.

Temi no hizo caso cuando legisladores provinciales de la oposición le pidieron una hora de plazo para convencer a los más rebeldes. Los primeros piquetes cedieron. Los gendarmes iban al mando del comandante Víctor Jorge, el mismo hombre que actuó en Neuquén el 27 de marzo pasado, donde también hubo represión por otro corte de ruta. Pero cuando entraron a la zona urbanizada de Plaza Huinul, los atacaron a pedrazos y hubo combates cuerpo

¹² Respetamos la grafía empleada en los periódicos, que no siempre es uniforme. Cutral-Có (corral de agua) es el término oficial. De acuerdo con la profesora Leonor Acuña, especialista en mapuche, se puede escribir Cutralcó, de acuerdo con la pauta seguida con los nombres de otras localidades en esta misma lengua. En el resto del artículo hemos utilizado esta última grafía. Agradecemos la información de la profesora Acuña.

a cuerpo.

Cientos de jóvenes que llegaban desde las calles laterales tiraban piedras a policías y gendarmes. Según el juez Temi, hubo también algunas bombas “molotov” y tiros, pero hasta anoche no se sabía de heridos de bala entre gendarmes.

La ruta 22 quedó limpia de barricadas y sembrada de cartuchos de gas. Algunas balas de goma golpearon a camarógrafos de televisión y una bomba de gas cayó adentro del móvil de una radio local. Muchos vieron cómo la policía golpeaba a los detenidos, entre los que estaba un chico de 8 años que vendía diarios. También se vio a policías tirando piedras a los manifestantes.

Después de las 8.30, la Policía atacó a los piquetes que estaban sobre la ruta 17. Allí fue herido en las piernas un muchacho de 20 años. También allí cayó Teresa Rodríguez, que iba a trabajar y recibió un balazo calibre 32 en la arteria carótida, a la altura del cuello.

A esa hora del día ya había 30 detenidos. De ese total, 16 eran menores de edad. Mientras la policía neuquina apoyaba a los gendarmes en la tarea de “barrer” las calles que bordean la ruta nacional 22, los manifestantes prendían fuegos y retrocedían. Su táctica consistía en esperar que se diluyeran los gases lacrimógenos, luego volvían a rodear en abanico el carro hidrante de la Gendarmería.

A las 10.30 la Gendarmería ya controlaba el centro de Cutral-Có, pero entonces todo cambió. Cuando se corrió la voz de que había pobladores heridos de bala y varios detenidos, una columna de 500 personas bloqueó a los gendarmes cerca del aeropuerto de Cutral-Có quemando neumáticos. Rápidamente se agregaron unas diez mil personas y entonces el juez Temi evaluó los riesgos.

Anoche el juez le dijo a *Clarín* que “hice lo que me indicaba el sentido común, ordené el repliegue de los gendarmes porque estos enfrentamientos iban a terminar en una masacre. Le conté este panorama al ministro Corach y él estuvo de acuerdo conmigo”.

7.2. CONFLICTO DOCENTE. GRAVES DISTURBIOS EN EL NEUQUÉN: UN MUERTO (LA NACIÓN, 13 DE JULIO DE 1997 (INFORMACIÓN GENERAL):

<<http://www.lanacion.com.ar/97/04/13/g01.htm>>

Los violentos enfrentamientos se produjeron entre fuerzas de seguridad y manifestantes que adherían al paro docente; anoche, el gremio de los docentes llegó a un acuerdo con Felipe Sapag; el gobierno nacional descartó una intervención.

NEUQUEN (De un enviado especial).— Una mujer muerta, más de diez heridos y alrededor de una treintena de detenidos fue el saldo de un violento enfrentamiento entre la gendarmería y la policía provincial, por un lado, y manifestantes que adherían al paro de los docentes neuquinos, por otro.

Luego de los graves incidentes, el gobierno que encabeza Felipe Sapag y los gremialistas docentes llegaron a un acuerdo, por lo que éstos resolvieron levantar el paro que mantenían desde hace 33 días.

Sin embargo, el clima de tensión en Cutral Có, donde se registraron los disturbios más violentos, se mantenía anoche. Es que los manifestantes no respondían, en su mayoría, al perfil docente. Por el contrario, eran jóvenes de entre 15 y 16 años a los que se los conoce como “fogoneros”, y que respondieron la represión de las fuerzas de seguridad arrojando proyectiles encendidos con gomeras.

Los enfrentamientos comenzaron alrededor de las 6 de ayer, cuando los efectivos de la gendarmería y de la policía provincial reprimieron a las manifestantes que tenían cortada la ruta 22 a la altura de Plaza Huincul y Cutral Có.

En principio se dijo que la muerta, Teresa Rodríguez, de 23 años, fue alcanzada por una bala calibre 32, en momentos que se dirigía a su trabajo. Anoche se mantenía el interrogante de quién disparó, ya que las fuerzas de seguridad no usan ese calibre.

Por la tarde, el ministro Carlos Corach deslindó la responsabilidad del Gobierno en los hechos y descartó la intervención en la provincia.

Una batalla campal, a los 33 días

NEUQUEN.— Una empleada doméstica de 25 años muerta, 20 heridos —ninguno grave— y 30 detenidos, muchos de ellos menores, era anoche el saldo de una batalla campal que enfrentó a partir de la madrugada de ayer a miles de manifestantes con fuerzas de Gendarmería que reprimieron a los grupos que ocupaban la ruta 22 en el acceso a Plaza Huincul de Cutral-Có en solidaridad con la huelga docente que lleva ya 33 días.

A las 5.50, los gendarmes desalojaron por la fuerza a un centenar de jóvenes, denomina-

dos “fogoneros”, los únicos que a esa hora interrumpían el tránsito en la ruta 22. La medida había sido dispuesta unas horas antes por el juez federal Oscar Temi.

Las refriegas se generalizaron en Plaza Huinca y en la vecina Cutral-Có, donde los manifestantes decidieron extender la ocupación de rutas más allá de las tres horas que el gremio docente había dispuesto.

Los jóvenes “fogoneros” retrocedían con sus rostros cubiertos, levantaban barricadas en las esquinas y arrojaban piedras empetroladas encendidas y bombas molotov contra unos 300 gendarmes, que avanzaban lanzando gases lacrimógenos y apoyados por un camión hidrante, mientras los choques se generalizaban.

El enfrentamiento excedió el conflicto docente hasta convertirse en una verdadera pueblada, en la que miles de manifestantes reclamaban al gobernador Felipe Sapag el cumplimiento de promesas realizadas en octubre del año último.

Por la noche, ambas ciudades eran “tierra de nadie”, según un cronista local, y la Gendarmería se había retirado a Arroyito, a unos 50 kilómetros, mientras esperaba refuerzos. En la capital provincial, en tanto, los estudiantes habían levantado a las 8 el corte de la ruta 22; más tarde, encabezaron una manifestación ante la Casa de Gobierno, pero no hubo hechos de violencia. A las 20 se realizó una gran manifestación de protesta contra la represión que congregó a unas 15.000 personas con antorchas.

El viernes el gobierno provincial había declarado ilegal el paro docente, pero, ante una presentación de la Asociación de Trabajadores de la Educación de Neuquén (ATEN), la jueza laboral Alejandra Taiana suspendió la aplicación de la medida, lo que dio un respiro al sindicato, que se exponía a duras sanciones, como el quite de la personería gremial.

Pero la protesta excedió al gremio, por la acción de grupos marginales sobre la base del descontento por el desempleo existente en la zona. Según María Eugenia Figueroa, dirigente de ATEN, había grupos manifestando “que no pertenecen a nuestra organización ni a ninguna otra organización reconocida”. Señaló que en la primera línea “se encontraban jóvenes desempleados, de hogares muy humildes, que reclaman al gobierno el cumplimiento de los puntos pendientes reclamados efectuados en la pueblada de octubre del año último”.

La noche anterior, el ministro de Gobierno del Neuquén, Carlos Silva, había advertido sobre la presencia de grupos “no vinculados al conflicto docente”, a los que atribuyó estar “fuertemente armados con bombas molotov y armas de grueso calibre”.

En un mensaje enviado en cadena ayer a las 14.20, Sapag sostuvo que el gremio docente fue desbordado “por grupos ideológicos armados” de activistas de otras provincias. Pero reconoció que en Cutral-Có se vive una situación especial por el despido de 5000 trabajadores de YPF “que dejó a 50.000 habitantes en medio del desierto sin otra posibilidad de trabajo”. Y admitió que no había logrado soluciones de fondo.

Por la noche, el gobernador pidió al juez federal que retirara la Gendarmería y llamó al gremio docente ATEN a dialogar. Al concluir la reunión los gremialistas firmaron un acta de acuerdo, por la cual levantarían el paro. La decisión está sujeta a la asamblea que ATEN realizará hoy, pero se supone que será aprobada pues Sapag cedió a casi todos los reclamos.

Anoche, el presidente de la UCR, Rodolfo Terragno, dijo que lo primero es parar la violencia. Convocó a una reunión de emergencia de su partido para hoy a las 8 y señaló que Alfonsín y De la Rúa coincidían con su posición de que “sería criminal entrar en una competencia por ver quién echa más combustible al fuego”.

El riesgo que se preveía: Rutas de violencia

NEUQUÉN.- Tan sólo 24 horas después de que el presidente Carlos Menem vaticinó que la Argentina estará en 1999 entre los diez primeros países del mundo, estalló Neuquén. En una provincia con relativo equilibrio económico, la revuelta social excedió a la crisis docente. Ocupación de rutas, hogueras de neumáticos, bombas molotov, piedras, gases lacrimógenos, carros hidrantes y la represión de la Gendarmería a los piqueteros conformaron una triste postal.

La más violenta pueblada que padeció esta provincia, originada en un conflicto de maestros, arrastró la vida de Teresa Rodríguez, empleada doméstica de 29 años, con tres hijos. Murió de un balazo en la carótida cuando se dirigía a trabajar, durante uno de los graves enfrentamientos en las localidades de Cutral-Có y Plaza Huinca.

El desborde de la violencia comenzó cuando millares de jóvenes marginales y desocupados –divididos, a su vez, entre los que se autodenominan “fogoneros” o “piqueteros”– se montaron a la protesta docente y la provincia quedó a merced de las provocaciones y los disturbios.

Desde las cinco de la mañana, y hasta media tarde, la Gendarmería reprimió con escenas de fuerte acción militar a los manifestantes que cortaban la ruta a la altura de Cutral-Có y

Plaza Huincul, dos comunidades azotadas por una elevada desocupación. A última hora de anoche, los piqueteros de Cutral-Có se reagruparon, mientras sumaban adherentes de otros pueblos. La concentración rutera sumaba unas cuatro mil personas, en un clima de tensión que se trasladó a toda la provincia y repercutió naturalmente en una dimensión nacional.

Testigos presenciales de los disturbios en Cutral Co hablan de la riesgosa situación creada a partir del paro docente por la progresiva entrada de elementos marginales a las manifestaciones y ocupaciones de rutas. “Al final, había pocos docentes y muchos marginales en las rutas” dijo a *La Nación* un periodista local.

Esa situación pareció más grave en Cutral Co que en la capital neuquina. Allí, en esa ciudad netamente petrolera que ha sufrido las fuertes transformaciones regionales derivadas de los cambios en YPF, un elevado número de jóvenes de zonas marginales, muchos de ellos sin trabajo y de muy corta edad, parece encontrarse a gusto en el desafío de la violencia.

Analistas locales hacen una división entre “piqueteros” y “fogoneros”. Los primeros serían los que ya participaron el año último en cortes de ruta con piquetes de huelga organizados.

Los fogoneros –que se llaman así porque prefieren bloquear caminos mediante el incendio de neumáticos– critican a los piqueteros porque prefieren pasar más directamente a la violencia mediante el ataque con piedras embebidas en petróleo y encendidas, actúan encapuchados y no reconocen más objetivos que la violencia pura. Sus acciones fueron comparadas aquí con la “intifada” palestina, por la forma desordenada en la que se llevan a cabo ataques con piedras, hondas y algunos disparos aislados.

Lo cierto es que la represión de la Gendarmería necesitó no menos de cinco horas para restablecer la calma en Cutral Co. Las noticias del duro enfrentamiento en la ruta motivó una desconcentración de la gente reunida en Neuquén, donde se organizó, en cambio, una marcha de protesta ayer por la tarde.

Políticamente, sobrevolaron por aquí permanentes rumores de una intervención federal, pese a la desmentida oficial pronunciada en Buenos Aires por el ministro del Interior, Carlos Corach.

A última hora de anoche, tras reunirse con los jefes del Movimiento Popular Neuquino, del PJ, de la UCR y del Frepaso, el gobernador de Neuquén, Felipe Sapag, convocó a la Asociación de Trabajadores de la educación de Neuquén (ATEN) para hallar una solución al mal-estar incontenible de los maestros.

Poco después, las versiones de un acuerdo que permitiría levantar la huelga docente indicaron que Sapag habría cedido en gran parte de sus posiciones.

Sin embargo, aún si los maestros pueden considerar que han obtenido una victoria relativa, el precio de haber puesto en marcha un engranaje de violencia peligroso parece preocupar a las cabezas más serenas en esta provincia.

En junio de 1996 se había registrado en esta zona la primera gran pueblada sobre la ruta 22. No hubo víctimas entonces.

Pero el 2 de enero último, el clima se agravó cuando el Consejo Provincial de Educación emitió una serie de resoluciones por las que se suprimían talleres, horas no programáticas, cursos y escuelas diferenciales. Según la ATEN, esas medidas dejarían sin trabajo a unas 1200 personas.

Si el acuerdo alcanzado anoche vuelve la situación a fojas cero, el precio pagado parece sin embargo muy alto.

Los desmanes fueron muy graves. Piqueteros y fogoneros siguen velando sus armas. La ruta sigue cortada. Y los neumáticos aún humean.

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SOCIAL IDENTITIES OFFERED IN SWEDISH MAGAZINE ADVERTISING

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Abstract: The consumer culture of late modernity, the gender system, and the concept of the model reader are taken as points of departure for the analysis of identities offered in Swedish magazine ads. The model readers are regarded as socially motivated identities that are offered to the empirical readers of the ads. On the one hand, the model readers are treated as textual realisations of the consumer culture and the gender system and, on the other, as varying with respect to target group. The multimodal textual composition of the ads as well as ideational and interpersonal meanings are analysed along with intertextual and interdiscursive relations. One major result is that the model readers in the ads with male target groups tend to be already active, successful and leadership-oriented, whereas model readers in ads with female target groups tend to be more passive, and need the product to adjust or improve themselves.

Keywords: advertising, consumer culture, gender system, model reader, multimodality.

1. INTRODUCTION

It is not possible to escape the dominant discursive constructions of late modern mass media; in one way or another we all have to relate to them. This article deals with the discursive construction of identities that are offered. In the media, more or less complete identities are offered to individuals who can remain more or less critical to them, but in late modernity some kind of choice has to be made, as it has been argued that a key feature of late modernity in general is that individuals have no choice but to choose (cf. Giddens 1991).

Commercialisation is another key feature of late modernity. Everything is for sale; even the identities offered in the media are treated as commodities. Perhaps this is most evident in the advertising texts that are so prominent in western societies. In these texts, the media society and commercialisation meet in a very concrete way. Advertising is mediated in all modern mass media and, at the same time, the mass media depend to a large extent on their advertising income. In addition to this, we live in a dynamic consumer culture with an inherent need to generate new consumers of all types and sorts and new consumer life styles. And at the centre of all lies the offer of identities.

The purpose of this article¹ is to show how identities in the shape of *model readers* are offered in contemporary Swedish magazine advertising aimed at Swedish children and teenagers of both genders. As advertising texts, like any other text, are *dialogic*

¹ The results presented here emanate from my larger PhD study which was published in Swedish with a summary in English (Björkqvall 2003).

(Bakhtin 1986, Vološinov 1973), they are always contextualised and intertextually presuppose other texts, genres and discourses. But they also presuppose a reader. This presupposed reader is what I refer to as the model reader. The model reader is woven into the dialogic structure of the text and thus realised in the text itself, and is motivated with respect to contexts. I will argue that the model reader can be treated as a type of more or less complete identity that is offered in the advertising text. The underlying assumption is that the model readers vary with respect to target groups, among other things. The model reader of a text, or of any semiotic artefact, is not to be confused with the *empirical reader*, who is anyone reading the text (Eco 1979, 1984, 1994).

2. CONSUMER CULTURE, GENDER SYSTEM, AND MULTIMODAL ADVERTISING TEXTS

The two main contextual factors that are taken into account in this study are the consumer culture’s need to offer different types of consumer identities, and a *gender system*. In the consumer culture of late modernity, social practices, ideals, values and identities are to a large extent constructed in relation to consumption (cf. Slater 1997). In this way consumption is relevant for the construction of meaning, and here advertising plays an important role. Advertising offers commercial meanings that can be used in the construction of identity. In the study presented here, these meanings are treated as the offering of more or less complete identities, or as *model reader identities*.

The gender system is based on the division between men and women, with men as the norm (Hirdman 1988). This gender system is realised through societal discourses and texts, and my assumption is that the identities offered to empirical readers, through the model readers, are gendered. In other words, I assume that “being a boy or a man” will be filled with different meanings from “being a girl or a woman” and that the model readers in the ads with male target groups will be different from those in the ads aimed at females.

The text and discourse theories that are used to connect the more general theoretical assumptions to the advertising texts are social semiotics (e.g. Halliday 1978, 1994; Hodge & Kress 1988) and critical discourse analysis (CDA henceforth, primarily as presented in Fairclough 1992, 1995, and in Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999). In social semiotics, language is treated as one of many socially motivated semiotic systems sharing the potential to realise three *metafunctions*. One is the *ideational* metafunction: human experiences and different aspects of the world can be represented by the semiotic system. Another is the *interpersonal* metafunction: language or any other semiotic system can be used for social interaction. The final, *textual* metafunction enables segments of meaning to be made cohesive and relevant according to the given context.

The relation between the semiotic systems and text is assumed to be dialectical: texts are generated by semiotic systems, but texts also affect the systems. This constructivist view of text is particularly prominent in CDA.

In my study there is greater focus on the relationship between contexts of culture (i.e. the consumer culture and gender system) and the advertising texts than between the contexts of situation and the ads. I have, for example, not explicitly studied

the discursive practices of advertising agencies. Instead, I have recognised the fact that advertising agencies are motivated features of the late modern consumer culture, but concentrated on relating the texts that emanate from the agencies more directly to contexts of culture. This is a matter of theoretical and methodological focus.

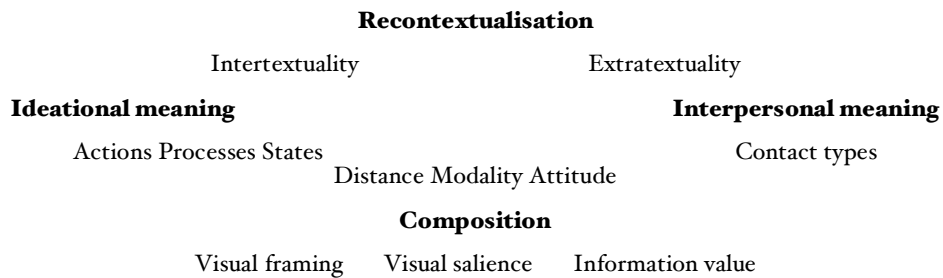
Also, in the ads analysed, advertising copy or writing combines with other *modalities*, such as visual images, to create meaning. The ads are *multimodal* (cf. Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996, 2003) and the model reader is constructed as a multimodal reader. The method for identifying this reader is presented next.

3. IDENTIFYING MULTIMODAL MODEL READERS: THE MODEL FOR ANALYSIS

The model reader is the presupposed reader of the text. Thus, the model for analysis is designed to identify the presupposed, or the *as ifs*, of the advertising text, and the *as ifs* in the end make up the model reader.

The model for analysis focuses on the realisation of the three metafunctions and *intertextual* and *extratextual* presuppositions in the advertising texts. In this way the model for analysis aims at identifying the model reader at different levels in the text. The copy (what I will call verbal representations) as well as the images (visual representations)² are analysed. The structure of the model for analysis is presented in fig. 1:

Figure 1. Model for analysis



Starting from the bottom of figure 1, the analysis of *composition*, which is inspired by Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996: 180–229) and deals with layout, includes a deconstruction of the text into *text elements* (e.g. written text blocks or images), based on *framing devices* such as lines and borders. The rest of the analysis of composition is concerned with the question of which text elements are presented as if they are important for the reader (*visual salience* in figure 1) and which are presented as if they are given, new, idealised or real, i.e. the *information value* assigned to them by the layout of the ad. According to Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996: 181–201), placement of elements in the left zones of a multimodal text, or an image, tends to endow them with the information value ‘given’. If they are placed to the right the information value is ‘new’. In the same way placement in the upper zones entails ‘ideal’ or ‘general’ information and placement in the lower zones gives the information value ‘real’ or ‘specific’.

² The written text, or the verbal representations, in the ads analysed is of course also visually represented. Still, I reserve the term visual representation for the representations tied to images and layout.

The *ideational analysis* identifies different participant roles that are constructed for the model reader: are those the roles of an *actor* or not? In addition, is the text world, i.e. the social space for action set up by in the text itself, predominantly dynamic or static? The basic categories are *actions* (that are dynamic involving an actor), *processes* (dynamic without an actor) and *states* (static without an actor) (Fowler 1991: 70–80). In the verbal representations, the categories are primarily tied to the verbs, although more advanced grammatical metaphors are sometimes discussed. In the visual representations, actions and processes are tied to *vectors* such as lines and arrows, and states are assumed to be realised through, for example, hierarchical or paradigmatic visual structures in which vectors play a less central role (cf. Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996: 43–118).

The relationship between the sender, the persons represented in the text, and the model reader, is studied in the *interpersonal analysis*. Through the analysis of modal elements such as verbally or visually realised questions or statements (*contact types* in figure 1), represented *distance*, *modality*, and *attitudes*, it is possible, for example, to discuss the relations set up in the text as equal or unequal, or as dominated by someone.

In the intertextual element of the recontextualisation, which is the final phase in the analytic hunt for the model reader, I discuss the *discourses* (here as a countable noun, cf. Fairclough 1995: 18–19), defined as ways of looking at and thinking about the world, *genres* (norms for interaction through text), and other texts that are present in the particular ad. The analysis of discourses and genres relates to what Fairclough (1992: 104) calls *interdiscursivity*, the analysis of other text to what he calls *manifest intertextuality*. The extratextual part of the analysis is concerned with more general presuppositions, for example those of clothing and fashion; girls and boys are supposed to wear different clothes.

4. THE ADVERTISEMENTS ANALYSED

An analysis of 5 advertisements aimed at children, teenagers, and young adults is presented here. All the ads were published in 2000. The results come from a larger study, Björkvall (2003), where 14 ads were selected from a corpus of 1170 ads from the Swedish magazines that are most frequently read by 7–29-year-olds (*Orvesto konsument 1999, Barnmediaindex 2000*).

The selection is based on the one or two most advertised product and/or service categories in each target group. In addition, a qualitative judgement was made of whether the selected ads were in one way or another representative, in a qualitative rather than statistical sense, of the larger corpus of ads aimed at the particular target group. It should be noted that the predominant group of readers of a magazine, according to its readership statistics, are also considered the main target group for the ads published in the magazine.

In figure 2 the product and service categories to which the ads analysed in this article belong are presented.

Figure 2. Target groups and advertised products/services

Boys/men 7–19: media products (e.g. computer games, films)

Girls 7–12: media products, girls/women 13–19: clothes

For boys aged 7–19 and girls between 7–12, ads for media products or services form without comparison the most common product and/or service category. Consequently, an ad for a computer game from Lego will be discussed. This ad was published in the Swedish version of the comic magazine *Donald Duck & C:o*, which has both boys (even teenagers) and girls (not as many teenagers) as target groups. In addition, an ad for a VHS/DVD (*Toy Story 2*) from the Swedish edition of *Spider-Man*, a magazine that is primarily read by boys aged 7–12, will be discussed. An ad addressed to girls but not boys of the same age will also be included in the discussion: *The Little Mermaid II* VHS/DVD from *Min Häst (My Horse)*. For the female teenagers a clothing ad for underwear from Sloggi will be presented. This ad was published in the teenage magazine *Vecko-Revy*, and also in the Swedish edition of *Elle*.

5. RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS

The first main result is that many of the discourses that tend to dominate in the advertisements with male target groups draw upon success through force of action and leadership. The action and, in some cases, leadership-oriented discourses are for example found in the *Toy Story 2* ad from *Spider-Man* (figure 3) and in the computer game ad from Lego (figure 4).

Figure 3. *Toy Story 2* VHS/DVD (*Spider-Man*, 12, 2000: 2)



The *Toy Story 2* ad, exclusively targeted at boys, is ideationally dominated by action verbs that offer actor roles to the model reader: *Häng med* ('come along'), *missa inte* ('don't miss'), *du [...] kan hjälpa* ('you [...] can help'), *bämta hem* ('download'). The characters depicted in the upper part of the ad are all actively asking questions to the model reader (- *Har du sett Woody?* ['Have you seen Woody?'], - *Har du sett min näsa?* ['Have you seen my nose?']), 'thinking' (represented by the raised left hand of the character with the moustache, Mr Potato Head), and 'walking' (Woody, who is on the poster).

Figure 4. Legoland computer game (*Donald Duck & C:o*, 45, 2000: 18)



Similar action orientation is found in the ad from Lego. It should be mentioned that even though the Swedish edition of *Donald Duck* has both female and male readers, boys and young male teenagers predominate (*Barnmediaindex 2000*). In this ad the boy is acting, which is ideationally realised by the right hand writing with a pencil. The girl, on the other hand, is not writing but posing.

The boy in the ad is positioned closer to the viewer (or to the model reader) than the girl is. Thus, he is represented as less distanced than the girl. He is larger in relation to the girl, and he is in that way more visually salient; he is represented as if he is both closer and more important to the model reader than the girl is.

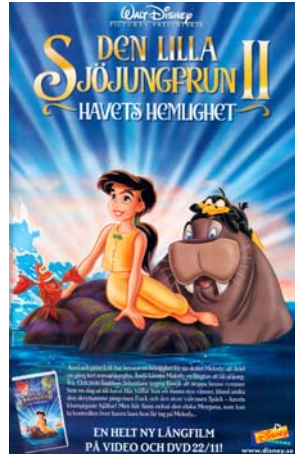
The boy is visually connected to the salient word *boss* in the headline. The smoke behind the helicopter forms a vector that connects the written *You're the boss* to the visual representation of the boy (and not to that of the girl). The boy is also dressed in a way that would be possible for an adult Swedish “boss” at, say, a construction site to dress. The girl is not dressed as an adult; she has a girlish pink cat on her shirt and wears pink trousers. So, the model reader is positioned by the salient headline *You're the boss*, with a large and bold type face, and at the same time this bossiness is connected to the depicted and active boy-boss.

The leadership and action-oriented discourses that are realised and idealised in the upper part of the ad are matched by similar representations in the lower parts of the ad. The writing in the lower text blocks is interdiscursively connected to a vacancies listings genre. A computer game world, the virtual amusement park Legoland, is in need of a boss. Through verb phrases with action verbs, such as *utforma, skapa och styra ett virtuellt Legoland* (“design, create and govern a virtual Legoland”) and *lösa komplexa arbetsuppgifter* (“solve complex work tasks”), an active and leadership-oriented position as the boss of Legoland is offered to, and created for, the model reader.

The ads with female target groups are not leadership and action-oriented, although the “female executive” is sometimes to be found in ads in *Elle* magazine and the like. Instead, the discourses tend to draw upon certain perceptions of female looks as well as on the female body. We have already seen an example of female posing in the Lego ad, but in the Little Mermaid II ad from Disney (figure 5), and in the Sloggi

ad (figure 6) this is even more obvious.

Figure 5. The Little Mermaid II VHS/DVD (*Min häst*, nr 25, 2000: 51)



Melody, the main character of the ad and of the film, is just sitting in the centre of the ad looking dreamingly into the sky. Again, this female main character of the ad as well as of the film is only once verbally represented as an actor: *she rymmer [...] en dag ut till havs* ('escapes one day out to sea'). This can be compared to the active, male, main characters of the other Disney advertisement, *Toy Story 2*, discussed above.

Figure 6. Sloggi underwear (*Vecko-Revyn*, 26, 2000: 74; *Elle*, 11, 2000: 290)



In the underwear ad from Sloggi, the target group is older, but also wider: females from approximately 13 years up to their late twenties and early thirties. Here we find some female action, but of a very special kind. There is also a female pose that can be recognized from so many earlier underwear ads, or for that matter from ads for other products.

The action is taking place in the upper image of the ad. The interaction between the two women is ideationally represented through the seatbelt that functions as an interconnecting vector. Being dressed in only their underwear, the interaction bet-

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ween the women depicted is very physical, and it could be argued that some kind of sexual playfulness is represented. So, in this case there is female action, or interaction, that the model reader is exposed to, but the action is focused on the female body, and the model reader is not invited to take part. This is, as mentioned, matched by rather static female poses at least in one of the three images on the lower, or real, part of the ad.

An advertisement for Sloggi underwear, but with male target groups (figure 7), illustrates just how different the ideational and interpersonal representations can be depending on the gender of the target group.

Figure 7. Sloggi for men underwear (*Café*, 11, 2000: 235)



Here, the model reader is interpersonally exhorted to *BE ACTIVE!*, and the line of underwear is called *sloggi for men® ACTIVE*. The hazy outlines of the figure's arms and legs function as vectors that symbolise action and movement. There are of course also similarities with the other Sloggi ad: the human body is for example exposed just as in the Sloggi ad targeted at women.

Another result of the analysis more concerns the presupposed success of the model readers. The advertised product tends to be presented to the model readers in a number of ads with female target groups as a solution, or the key to the success that is otherwise lacking in their lives. The Sloggi ad with female target groups (figure 6) exemplifies this. The model reader of this advertisement is interpersonally exhorted to not to be a *WANNABE* and to become *somebody*. Through the composition of the ad, the smiling female models in the back seat of a car or limousine are presented as ideals, and interpersonally the same models are represented from a low angle and are thus given power in relation to the viewer. In this way the model reader is constructed as inferior and the models as more or less unattainable ideals; the way for the model reader to reach equality is to purchase the underwear and move from being a *WANNABE* to becoming *somebody*.

In the advertisements with male target groups, on the other hand, the tendency is for the model readers to be constructed as individuals that already are competent and successful. The advertised product or service is just needed to increase or main-

tain this competence and success. Among the ads reproduced in this article, this is especially evident in the ad from Lego where the dominating discourses all revolve around the leadership competence of the applicant for the position as boss, who in this case is the same as the model reader, ready to step into the text world of the ad and the computer game advertised.

Finally, a number of results of the analysis can be related to *homosociality*, referring to the monogendered symbolic ties that are constructed between sender, represented persons in the ads, and the model reader (cf. Hirdman 2001). The homosocial ties in the ads with male target groups tend to be based on a strong and equal interaction between the participants, predominately male, represented in the ad and the model reader, or between the sender and the model reader. The persons connected to the text, including the model reader, usually have something in common, for example power of action (e.g. the Toy Story 2 ad in figure 3, the Lego ad in figure 4) or the ability to take the lead³ (the Lego ad).

The typical male homosocial construction of power of action is exemplified in the Toy Story 2 ad where model reader is invited into the action oriented male group consisting of Mr Potato Head, Woody, and Buzz Lightyear (with the astronaut's outfit). This is achieved through the interpersonal use of direct questions and through direct exhortations to the model reader: *-Har du sett Woody?* ('-Have you seen Woody?'), *-Har du sett min näsa?* ('-Have you seen my nose?'), *Häng med på deras behvilda äventyr* ('Come along on their totally wild adventures'), *missa inte* ('don't miss'), *hämta hem samlarbilder och mycket mer* ('download collectable images and lots more'). The model reader is invited to enter into this text world as someone who is equal to, and share interests with, the toys that inhabit it, and who is thus willing to do things with the main characters of the ad (e.g. come along on a certain type of wild adventure or download collectable images).

In the ads with female target groups, while the homosocial relationships which the model reader is woven into, tend to be constructed as less equal they are also less pronounced. The homosocial ties are weaker because the individuals represented in the ads tend not to engage in interaction with the model reader, e.g. they rarely look at the model reader (cf. Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996: 121–146). The model reader is instead invited to view and envy the females represented in the ads and this contributes to the inequality of the representation of female homosociality.

The Sloggi ad targeted at women (figure 6) is an example of how unequal and weak the construction of female homosociality can be. The models depicted in the upper part of the ad are, as already pointed out, occupied with themselves and not involved in any interpersonal interaction with the model reader; they are ideals the model reader cannot match and they are not interested in making contact with the model reader. The exhortative clauses in the ad (*Be somebody NOT JUST A WANNABE*) contribute to the construction of the model reader as a "wannabe" who is not yet ready to be placed at the same status level as the young women in the ad.

³ Inventiveness, aggressiveness and creativity are other examples of such male homosocial values from other ads analysed in Björkqvall (2003).

Female homosociality also relates more to the *heterosocial* in the sense that the female ties tend to be constructed in relation to men and masculinity. This is achieved through the explicit representation of men in many of the ads with female target groups (there are generally few female participants in Swedish ads with male target groups). For example, in the mid-lower image of the Sloggi ad for women (figure 6) there is a man in the background who is looking at the models dressed in underwear and high heel shoes. More implicitly, and more importantly I would argue, the heterosocial tendencies in ads with female target groups are often realised through the presence of a *male gaze*, through which women are represented according to a male norm (van Zoonen 1994: 87). Here the Sloggi ad, with the women wearing underwear and high heel shoes and interacting in a very physical way, is a good example of how ideology plays an important role in visual discourse. The model reader of the ad, even though the ad has a primarily female target group, looks at the ad through eyes dominated by a male norm for how women should look (and could act).

6. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this article was to discuss how commercial model reader identities are constructed and offered to empirical readers of contemporary Swedish magazine advertising. The analysis of the different ads with different target groups reveals that characteristics of the model reader identities do in fact differ, and that it is possible to discuss the differences in many cases in light of to the gender of the target group. In context of both the theories of a late modern consumer culture and a gender system, the model reader identities can also be related to different *ideal types of consumption* suggested by Jansson (2001). Many of the model readers in the ads for young male target groups tend to relate to a *reproductive* type of consumption. The model readers of these ads are supposed to consume the advertised products in order to reproduce their identities; they are already capable of leading others just as they already are action-oriented (and inventive, creative and so on). On the other hand, the model readers in many of the ads targeted at girls and teenage women relate to a *pretentious* type of consumption, in which the products are consumed not to express who consumers are, but who they want to be.

In this way a gender system is reproduced in the ads. Boys and young men do not need to change their identities in the same way as women. Girls and young women need to work on and improve their identities and in a consumer culture this is achieved to a large extent through (pretentious) consumption.

Hopefully, this article has shown that it is possible, through linguistic and semiotic analysis, to discuss the complexity of late modern meaning making in the mass media. My ambition has been to show how meaning can be made in verbal as well as visual discourse, and how these in many ways are inseparable.

In conclusion, it can be claimed that in what commentators like Lash (1988) call the de-differentiated postmodernity at least two categories remain very differentiated. To be a boy or young man is still very different from being a girl or young woman. At least in contemporary Swedish advertising.

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THE COVERT DEPICTION OF WOMEN IN TV ADS: FROM SUBJECTS TO SEXUAL OBJECTS

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Abstract: This paper illustrates how contemporary advertisers sometimes make covert use of female sexual imagery in their TV ads in order to persuade audiences buy the product with the implicit promise of certain sexual reward attached to the purchase. A selected group of some 20 Spanish and British advertisements has been examined to show how women are still portrayed as sexual objects, a fact that makes the male audience the dominant group and leaves women in a weaker situation. Following a multimodal approach (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001), we analyze pictorial, musical, and linguistic modes used in the TV ad that will be seen to favour the creation of certain assumptions on the part of the audience about women, without these being overtly communicated by the advertiser. I will show that these assumptions about sexual rewards are thus added to explicit assumptions about the product advertised, thus creating an indissoluble connection that is eventually interiorized by TV audiences without further questioning. Underlying the analysis is my intention of being critical (Wodak and Meyer 2001) with regards to the “taken-for-grantedness” of ideological messages (Van Dijk 1998) hidden in advertisements that use images of women in order to reproduce and perpetuate an impoverished imagery of women as sexual objects.

Key words: Critical Discourse Analysis, covert communication, overt communication, multimodal approach, TV ads.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays the power of advertising is undeniable, it is everywhere we go, or look. Advertising exerts a great influence on our everyday habits and modes of life, to the point that it has been called “the most potent influence in adapting and changing habits and modes of life, affecting what we eat, what we wear and the work and play of the whole nation” (Fox 1984: 97).

The discourse of the mass media has been, from its beginnings, an instrument of cultural reproduction that is highly involved with power structures. It has been compared with “such long-standing institutions as the school and the church in the magnitude of its social influence” since it “dominates the media, it has vast power in the shaping of popular standards, and it is really one of the very limited groups of institutions which exercise social control” (Potter 1954: 167).

TV advertisements as social practices still seem to lean more towards supporting powerful groups in society and, as such they help reflect and create values about the world that are then taken, learnt and reproduced by viewers. In order to exert their power or control, advertisers need to establish a connection with the target audience. One way of doing so is the representation of gender by means of stereotypical imagery.

Stereotypes are especially attractive to advertisers because they are easily re-

cognized by audiences and because they have proved to be a successful shorthand way of communicating certain beliefs, which are shared to a certain extent by many members of the audience.

Even though one would expect advertising to keep pace with societal change, some modern ad messages still make use of outdated stereotypes concerning women and their traditional roles in society. Among these stereotypes, which are sometimes the reflection of traditional and demeaning portrayals of women, we find that women are still: “[...] the mothers, the daughters, the wives, the widows, the page 3 girls, the stars” (Caldas-Coulthard 1993). Similar results have been obtained by the studies on female imagery carried out by Pingree, Hawkins, Butler & Paisley (1976), Goffman (1979) and even by the later studies by Kilbourne (1987), Courtney & Whipple (1983) and Lazier-Smith (1988). All these studies have acknowledged that even if women are sometimes portrayed in less traditional roles, TV ads do not faithfully represent the complexity of women’s lives nowadays.

In this article, I am interested in ascertaining how TV commercials and thus advertisers (the entities ultimately responsible for these commercials) make use of covert depictions of women as sexual alluring rewards in return for the purchase of the product advertised. It is also my contention that this portrayal brings about a consequent *dehumanisation* and progressive transformation of women into something that brings them closer to *sexual objects*, rather than to human subjects.

In order to test and confirm these hypotheses I have analysed a corpus of TV advertisements that pervasively use images of women using a *multimodal approach* to commercials (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996) alongside the basic *notions of covert/overt* means of information transmission (Tanaka 1994, Sperber & Wilson 1986); and the two levels of analysis for advertisements, namely, the *reward* and *product* dimensions reported by Crook (2003).

In the ensuing section, I will present the basic theoretical notions that lie at the core of my analysis before commenting on the method of analysis and the criteria for the selection of the corpus I have employed.

2. SOME BASIC THEORETICAL CONCEPTS FOR THE ANALYSIS OF TV ADS

The fact that sexual female imagery is pervasively used to sell products is not new and has been extensively documented (cf. Courtney & Whipple 1983). However, the fact that these portrayals of females as sexual objects can be damaging and can convey a distorted view of women is less obvious and raises less concern among viewers.

Obviously, advertisers do not normally confront their audiences with the explicit claim that their lives can be enhanced if they buy the product, or that women will feel attracted towards men just for using one deodorant or another, or for driving a certain make of car. Rather, they tend to convey these assumptions in less explicit or *covert* ways. This confirms the belief that advertising’s persuasive trappings are much more complex in this respect than they appear at first sight.

Thus, in order to show how advertisers convey certain assumptions in a covert or non-explicit way, it is necessary to consider the basic distinction between two

types of information transmission, namely, *ostensive-inferential* and *covert* means of communication (Tanaka 1994).

These two notions fall within a cognitive approach to communication, the Relevance Theory (RT henceforth) framework of analysis (Sperber & Wilson 1986). Within this framework of analysis, ostensive communication takes place when the communicator produces a stimulus which makes it mutually manifest to communicator and audience that the communicator intends, by means of this stimulus, to make manifest or more manifest to the audience a certain set of assumptions (Sperber & Wilson 1987: 700). According to RT, speakers communicate their thoughts in the form of assumptions to alter or implement the hearer's cognitive environment or shared assumptions. Moreover, within this framework, speakers, when processing information, will try to balance costs and rewards: they will derive certain assumptions to the extent that the contextual effects in that context are large/worth the effort; similarly, the drawing of such an assumption must involve a small effort to process in such a context.

On the contrary, in cases of covert communication, the speaker communicates or points out some information to the hearer but she/he does not make such an intention manifest. Thus, it is the hearer who takes the largest share of the responsibility in recovering the speaker's meaning since she/he cannot have expectations of optimal relevance.

If we apply the notions of overt/covert means of information transmission to the discourse of TV advertising, we are faced with a two-way situation: advertisers may decide to:

[...] undertake an efficient, *overt* attempt to secure their audience's attention and make it mutually manifest that they intend to convey a particular piece of information or, on the other hand, advertisers may opt to put information across in a *covert* way, in which case they do not make their informative intention mutually manifest and leave it up to the audience to either pick up on the information, or not. (cf. Taillard 1999: 156) (italics are mine).

In other words, in cases of *overt communication*, the audience can have expectations of relevance, that is to say, they know that the speaker has produced a stimulus and that they will obtain the greatest cognitive rewards in exchange for less processing effort. Notwithstanding, in cases of *covert communication*, the speaker has not made mutually manifest his/her intention to communicate a certain set of assumptions, and thus, the audience cannot create expectations of relevance. Under these circumstances, the use of covert stimuli tries to overcome this deficiency.

The notion of *covert communication* is especially interesting in the analysis of the discourse of TV ads, because advertisers normally avoid to overtly transmitting certain assumptions about the rewards that can be obtained with the purchase of the product, especially when these assumptions may have sexual overtones. Among the means of covert communication *non-verbal stimuli* in the form of images and music are of special importance in the discourse of TV ads.

In short, I contend in this article that the presence of sexual female imagery, reinforced by the use of music and narrative, serves in some TV commercials as covert stimuli that trigger the recovery of certain assumptions with regards to the product and its purchase and which are never explicitly transmitted by the linguistic mes-

sage of the product itself. These assumptions lie within the realm of sex and associate the purchase of the product with certain sexual rewards.

Moreover, the detailed analysis of a corpus of TV commercials would allow me to corroborate that certain advertising practices covertly encode bias and legitimize assumptions about the sexual behaviour of women and men, which sometimes seem to dehumanize women by turning them into mere sexual objects.

3. METHODOLOGY OF ANALYSIS AND CORPUS

Advertisements clearly send two main types of messages: a) a linguistic message and b) others: non-verbal by means of images, music, etc. Thus, in order to provide a full analysis of a corpus of TV commercials, a *multimodal approach* (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001) is needed. Visual images and music are crucial for the correct interpretation of TV commercials, especially when music and images seem to embody the essence of communication and overt linguistic claims about the product are peripheral or auxiliary (Cook 1992: 37). Moreover, it is my belief, following Cook (1992), that the effect of an ad is not to be found exclusively in any of these modes alone, but in their combination.

Since it is my purpose to assess how women are depicted as sexual objects in advertisements, I have selected a group of some 20 Spanish and British ads, aired on different channels in the last 3 years. Only products unequivocally addressed to men were selected since the presence of sexual imagery/stimuli in products addressed to women, as in the case of perfumes, bras, shampoos, shower gels, etc., seems to be tied up with the nature of the product itself or at least its use is more justified. Thus, I was much more interested in commercials exclusively addressed to men where an indissoluble fusion of product and the female presence seems to take place and is consequently suggested to male spectators who may be the prospective buyers or consumers.

For the analysis of commercials, two dimensions (also cf. O' Donohoe 1997: 272 as reported in Crook 2003) have been distinguished in that they help in the creation, rejection and strengthening of assumptions in the processing of the commercial:

- 1) **Product-Claim Level:** advertisers offer information or claims about the product. The modes ascribed to this dimension are the linguistic message, which can be viewed on the screen or transmitted by a voiceover.
- 2) **Reward Level:** the *reward* implicitly promised for watching or buying the product. This dimension normally appeals to the more emotional side of viewers and offers them additional benefits that are, at first sight, unrelated to the product itself. Music, images and non-verbal communication are the modes that advertisers use at this level.

Although I am not concerned with the supremacy of one dimension over another, and acknowledging that both are an integral part of TV ads, it is true however that many commercials nowadays give a prominent role to the reward dimension in line with the belief that pictures communicate better than words, images or arguments (Brierley 2002: 139) (cf. Leiss *et alii* 1986 for a similar insight into the shift from *product-centred advertising* to *user-centred advertising*).

Notwithstanding, this two-levelled distinction cannot be maintained when the verbal information about the product is absent from TV commercials. This is especially true when the product advertised is already well-known to the audiences, when it

has a certain prestige among viewers or when advertisers are more interested in making an impact on the audience or in having them remember their product for another reason.

Advertisers take advantage of the *reward dimension* as the *loci* used to covertly transmit certain assumptions about the product and the benefits its purchase might bring about, without overtly communicating them. The viewer is thus left as the one responsible for the drawing of certain conclusions about the product. This is an added benefit for the advertiser who cannot be accused of sexism.

Due to space limitations I have carried out a detailed analysis of one TV commercial that illustrates the underlying assumptions presented and shows how what is explicitly communicated about the product intertwines with implicitly communicated information to favour the drawing of certain assumptions about the product and the possible sexual rewards obtainable in return for its purchase. The TV commercial selected is *Axe touch spray deodorant*.

4. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.1. AXE SPRAY DEODORANT TOUCH: RELYING ON A WELL-KNOWN BRAND. LESS TALK AND MORE ACTION.

This TV ad is characterized by the fact that the linguistic message is almost non-existent. The advertiser relies on the fact that viewers are familiar with the brand name of the product, *Axe/Lynx*, for the Spanish and British ads respectively. This TV ad is clearly addressed to men and has been aired in Great Britain and Spain during the month of March 2004, and is basically made up of *mini-drama* (Leech 1966) between a young man and a series of young and beautiful women. The mini-drama makes use of non-verbal stimuli in the form of images and music. The catchy tune “Feeling the Love” by the pop group *Reactor* is played as the ad unfolds. Below, I provide the lyrics for the reader’s consideration, although they are only partially played in the commercial.

Feeling the love

You’re looking my way, you’re looking good

- 1. The girls look in the boy’s way, as soon as he enters the bus station.

Needs no explaining, it’s understood

- 2. Physical attraction needs no explaining.

Electric shivers, across my skin

It’s like a fever, and you’re my only medicine

Could I be dreaming your touching

- 3. Play on words with the word “touching” and the name of the deodorant spray “touch”.

I’m feeling the love as it flows through the air

Lighting my fire, igniting desire

It’s hotter than heaven in here.

- 4. Many of the girls are sweating, it is clear that it is very hot outside.

You show me yours, I'll show you mine

- 5. This coincides with the display of female body parts.

Don't hurry baby, take your time
Know what I'm thinking, you think the same

- 6. This clearly relates to the boy's thoughts and the girls' desires.

Tear up the rulebook, and maybe we can play the game

Could I be dreaming your touching
I'm feeling the love as it flows through the air
Lighting my fire, igniting desire
It's hotter than heaven in here

The linguistic message and the only explicit piece of information about the product come in the form of a closing line superimposed on the screen and uttered by a male voiceover. It reads: *Touch. The new fragrance by Lynx/ Touch la nueva fragancia de Axe*, for the British and Spanish version, respectively. Thus the information we obtain about this spray deodorant is that it is called *Touch* and it is a new fragrance by *Lynx* or *Axe*. The rest of the information is obtained on the basis of covertly transmitted stimuli, namely, music and images.

This commercial also posits a case where advertisers rely less on the *claim-product dimension* and have decided to make their ad memorable in a rather different way. The visual and musical modes appeal to the emotional side of the viewer, and thus they lie within the realm of reward. But what exactly is the reward to be obtained in return for the purchase of the *Touch* deodorant? In what follows and short of images, I briefly sketch how the TV ad unfolds in some 54 seconds:

1. A young man carrying a hold-all comes into a bus station.
2. Music starts.
3. A blond girl turns to look at him.
4. Another girl turns round to look at him while he sits down on a bench.
5. He sits in front of a girl who is wearing a red dress and who also looks at him. (He seems to be surrounded by beautiful women!)
6. He pulls out a map from his bag and draws an imaginary route with his finger.
7. While he is drawing the route, we get a close-up of the girl in red who looks at her neck because a drop of sweat has suddenly appeared.
8. This drop of sweat follows movement of the boy's finger's and the sweat follows down her neck in a very sensual manner.
9. We get another close-up of the girl's eyes while she looks at him (as if acknowledging his power over her).
10. Next he opens his bag, and when he pulls it open, the zip makes a sound which coincides with another girl's boots, which, out of the blue, are pulled open as if by an imaginary force.
11. The girl looks at him delighted when she realizes what has happened to her boot.
12. The blonde girl looks at him as if she were expecting him to cast a spell on her, she has been witnessing what has happened to the others and it looks as if she wants the same.
13. Next he pulls up his sleeve to check the time and the blonde's girl mini-skirt is also pulled up as if by magic revealing a close-up of her thighs.
14. We get a close-up of his arm-and almost simultaneously of the skirt being pulled up. (skirt and legs in close-up)
15. The girl exclaims "oh" in surprise.
16. She looks at him and seems to realize the dimension of his powers.
17. A very sexy girl enters the room, and looks at him in a very insinuating way.
18. (Music: *It's like a fever and you're my only medicine*)
19. She looks at him provocatively.

“The covert depiction of women in TV ads: from subjects to sexual objects”

20. He acknowledges the gaze.
21. Now he's holding a book and opens it, knowing the effect this is going to have on her.
22. He opens the book and the buttons of the girl's blouse burst open.
23. He quickly closes the book with a snap and now we get close-up of the boy's eyes and of the girl's eyes, and she seems to be winking at him, as if to say that she liked it, and so he decides to open the book again and we get another close-up of the girl's cleavage.
24. The girl's look makes the boy decide to open the book again, because she seems to have enjoyed the effect that he has on her.
25. Linguistic message: *Touch la nueva fragancia de Axe/Lynx the new fragrance by touch.*

On completion of the TV ad, the viewer is left with the following overtly communicated pieces of information after reference assignment and contextualization within the genre of the commercial takes place:

- 1) The TV commercial is about a new deodorant spray by the brand name *Axe*. It is called *Touch* and it offers a new fragrance. This is further backed up by the appearance of the deodorant container at the end.
- 2) The advertiser wants me to buy/use *Axe* because otherwise she/he would not have bothered to produce the commercial. The informative and communicative intentions of the advertisers are recognized.

When confronted with the mini-drama or non-verbal situation that takes place during the TV ad, the audience is invited to recover certain assumptions and to combine them with already existing ones, on the basis of visual and musical communicated stimuli, that is to say, the imagery of beautiful girls showing different parts of their bodies, and the lyrics of the music that accompany the different close-ups. Thus, from the scenes presented the following assumptions can be derived:

- 3) A man enters what seems like a bus station and his presence has a great influence on the beautiful girls there. They all seem aware of his presence and feel attracted to him.
- 4) This man is able to make the girls sweat, the zips of their boots unzip just as he unzips his holdall bag. He can also pull up their mini-skirts and deliberately make the buttons on their blouses burst open to get a view of their cleavage.

Up to this point, the boy's abilities seem totally inexplicable if it weren't because the audience is invited to combine, in their search for relevance, the assumptions presented above with the ones obtained from the linguistic message at the end, and to further reach the following assumptions:

- 5) The boy in the mini-drama is able to control the actions of women surrounding him apparently because of his new deodorant. *Touch* allows him to have the same effect on them as if he were touching them but without actually doing it. A corollary of this would be the following:
- 6) Anyone using *Touch* could be able to control women and make them feel attracted to them, and what is more, make them want to have a sexual encounter of the type depicted in the commercial.

The recovery of the last assumption is quite logical, especially if the audience is familiar with a series of TV ads which are part of the promotional campaign of *Axe*, where the situations depicted are quite similar: women feel irresistibly attracted to those men who use *Axe*.

Moreover, the sexual nature of the encounter depicted is corroborated by the lyrics of the song “Feeling the love”. These lyrics help corroborate the already presented assumptions due to the sexual overtones they convey, since they are explicitly referring to a sexual encounter between a man and a girl. Moreover, the melody helps create or impart a certain mood for the processing of the commercial and also streng-

thens the final conclusions about the ability of men to control and have sexual encounters with women.

Notwithstanding, under no circumstance has the advertiser overtly communicated any of the above assumptions. I am, in fact, responsible for pointing them out to you at this very moment. Even, it could be argued that different individuals might obtain different assumptions about the encounter. In any case, these assumptions are the outcome of the audience's search for relevance, and of their attempts to interpret and reconcile the presence of non-verbal stimuli in the reward dimension and the linguistic claims about the product advertised.

However, I am most interested in the way women and ultimately men are depicted in the TV commercial and I turn to this now. Once the young man in the ad is aware of his potential thanks to the deodorant *Touch*, the following weaker assumptions about women and their behaviour can be reached without much difficulty by the audience, either male or female. I refer to them as "weaker" because there is less explicit evidence for them:

- 7) Women dress provocatively.
- 8) Women are attracted to the smell of *Axe*.
- 9) Women abound when a man uses *Axe*.
- 10) Women are easily manipulated, just like everyday objects (map, zip of a bag, book, etc), and easily controlled by men.
- 11) Women seemed to like being controlled by men who wear *Axe* since they are all depicted as trying to get the young man's attention.

A further argument to corroborate these ideas is way the characters in the mini-drama interact with the viewers. Kress & Van Leeuwen's (1996) grammar of visual design is of great help for their consideration of two key aspects, viz., *the size of frame* and the direction of the *people's gaze* in this commercial. The commercial emphasizes a greater level of intimacy between the participants and the viewer as it reaches the end. Although we get views of full bodies, the TV ad focuses on specific female body parts (as portrait shots), especially as the commercial reaches its end. In other words, women are gradually being fragmented into different body parts: arms, legs, legs and waist, face and cleavage. This fragmentation enhances the portrayal of women as parts, rather than as a whole, with its consequent objectification. In the same way that we get close-ups of the objects that the young man manipulates, we get close-ups of female body parts that could also be manipulated.

If we consider the *gaze* of the people represented in the commercial, they seem to be offering the product, rather than demanding its purchase since they do not look directly at the audience, but rather look at each other; however, it is clear that "contact is established even if it is only on an imaginary level" (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996: 112). The indirect gaze in this commercial is evidence of an indirect way of addressing the audience, and thus is an indirect way of selling the product and the intended assumptions.

Women are, in one word, depicted as *active* subjects (cf. Lakoff 1977), they are the *seducers*, *temptresses* and the *initiators* of the relation. But at the same time, women are depicted as objects, their body parts are presented in close-ups and the inference is that they are easily manipulated by men who in turn view them as parts, rather than wholes. Men, on the contrary, are portrayed as indirect seducers and in control of the

situation. As Kilbourne (2000: 271) states "Men conquer and women ensnare, always with the essential aid of a product".

Finally, with a lesser degree of certainty and only on the basis of visual imagery, the audience is also invited to recover, form or create the following assumptions (among others) about women and men as a social group, or more precisely, about the sexual behaviour of women/men, or at least, of young beautiful women/men:

- 12) Women are easily persuaded to have sex with a man.
- 13) Women are seductive, temptresses in disguise and sexually insatiable.
- 14) Women compete against each other if a man is involved.
- 15) Women need undivided attention from men.
- 16) Men can be easily persuade a woman to have sex with them.
- 17) Men can seduce women very easily.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Underlying this analysis my intention was to be critical (Wodak & Meyer 2001) with regard to the "taken-for-grantedness" of ideological messages (Van Dijk 1998) hidden in advertisements. My analysis of TV commercials seems to corroborate that they make use of pervasive images of women in order to covertly depict them as sexual rewards. This use of sexual female imagery helps reproduce and perpetuate an impoverished imagery of women as sexual objects, and at the same time helps build a negative mental representation or model (Van Dijk 2001) of the way society perceives women.

In the TV ads analysed, portrayals of women conform to stereotypical imagery: women are depicted as behaving in implicitly sexual and subservient ways. Women pursue sex and are pursued for sexual gratification. They are also implicitly offered as a sexual reward in return for the purchase of the product. Men, on the contrary, are the dominant group, they control the situation, they can control women and they take decisions with regard to when and with whom to have a relationship.

By tapping into stereotypes about women, advertisers save audiences some processing effort in their attempt to understand the commercial and to reconcile the presence of overt information about a product, and covertly communicated assumptions about rewards obtainable from the purchase of the product.

Therefore, the imagery used has powerful socializing effects that can shape cultural consensus with regard to gender, and more specifically, with regard to the sexual behaviour of men and women. Although it is difficult to assess the extent to which these stereotypes affect individuals, it is clear that TV commercials of the sort analysed here, favour, at the very least, a climate in which certain attitudes and values flourish and are perpetuated, such as the attitude that women are valuable only as objects of men's desire (Kilbourne 2000).

Thus, it is safe to state that TV ads of this sort can have a cumulative effect and can gently bias the way we think (cf. Sutherland & Sylvester 2000, as reported in Crook 2003) and shape our culture and society in a negative way. The use of sexual imagery in these TV ads reinforces already existing prejudices and beliefs against women which dictate that they should be pretty, have sexy bodies, be up and ready for sex, they also have to take the initiative in relationships with men but have to passively

display themselves for onlookers. Although TV ads are harmless and even funny in appearance, they help create negative mental models/mental representations in the target audience, especially in younger generations that assimilate them without even noticing it.

In addition, advertising practices such as the ones presented here legitimise the ideology of male supremacy by depicting women as not very intelligent human beings, unable to think clearly when it comes to choosing a man, for example, and being mesmerized by a perfume, or as pursuers and manipulators of sex. Finally, these portrayals of women promote a culture of materialism, envy and prejudice against women and leave them in an inferior position to that of the dominant group, made up of men.

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TOGETHER, *MA NON TROPPO*: A DISCOURSE-ANALYTICAL APPROACH TO RACE RELATIONS IN *BOSTON PUBLIC*¹

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Abstract: The present study attempts to contribute mainly to the development of conceptual tools for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of texts in order to better integrate “sociological and linguistic positions” (Weiss & Wodak 2003: 9). Thus, I propose an innovative approach to the analysis of a specific American television show, *Boston Public*, in order to explore the representation of ethnicity in this particular type of media discourse. The method suggested is an interdisciplinary one where elements of discourse analysis, interpersonal communication and media studies are combined. It is argued that this framework provides the necessary tools to go beyond the mere quantitative examination of the number and types of roles played by minorities on television to include a necessary qualitative description of the types of relationships that are being established among members of different races. The results suggest, among other things, that this show does not present informal, close relationships between Blacks and Whites as a relevant element of American society.

Keywords: Media studies, discourse analysis, interpersonal communication, race relations, television shows.

“In answer to the roll call, I am answering the question as to why I first started watching Boston Public. Well, I am a young teacher just trying to pick up some tips on how the teachers on that show deal with their students, manage their classrooms, handle sensitive issues, etc. It is a show I can really relate to”.

Answer:
“Take it from someone with a long history in education. NEVER do anything these teachers do with their students in their classrooms, or out. Almost everything that occurred in the opening would have gotten each teacher involved FIRED on the spot”.

1. INTRODUCTION

In a recent collection of papers within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the different contributors voiced a generalized plea for the consolidation of interdisciplinarity² as the basis of both the theoretical and the practical goals of

¹ I am grateful to Professor Steve Duck and to Marco Briziarelli for their insightful comments on earlier versions of this paper. I would also like to thank Professor Bradley Greenberg for his valuable information about existing literature on this topic, and Barry Pennock for his title suggestions.

² Even though a distinction between the terms “interdisciplinarity” and “multidisciplinarity” is established in the introduction of this book, the different contributors seem to use the two terms interchangeably (cf. Van Dijk’s chapter and Graham’s chapter). In this paper I will refer to “multidisciplinarity” which, in my opinion, acknowledges the different identities or emphases of the various disciplines (that is, it does not “reduce them to one another” (Weiss & Wodak 2003: 8), while at the same time allowing the incorporation of useful terminology and methodology in order to produce more comprehensive analyses.

the approach (Weiss & Wodak 2003, see also Wodak & Meyer 2001). Thus, it was argued, an interdisciplinary method has proven to be useful for the study of key theoretical concepts such as knowledge and discourse (cf. Van Dijk 2003) and also in the development of research methodologies (cf. O'Connor 2003) which can better give an account of multifaceted communicative phenomena. Multidisciplinarity, then, represents the most powerful tool for the examination and understanding of the complex practices people engage in when producing and processing meanings and, maybe most importantly, for the analysis of the relations between these discursive practices and the societies that they (re)produce. As Weiss and Wodak (2003: 8) explain, "an object of research can be characterized by different dimensions requiring conceptual tools of different theoretical contexts. Basically, the use of heterogeneous tools of different theories should not be rejected provided they may be integrated on the conceptual level".

The present study attempts to contribute mainly to the development of conceptual tools for CDA in order to better integrate "sociological and linguistic positions" (Weiss & Wodak 2003: 9). The collaborative position that I will advocate is a rather unusual³ one, namely that between discourse analysis (in its critical, politically committed version), media studies (specifically the analysis of television shows), and interpersonal communication, concretely the social-psychological study of relationships. I intend to combine different aspects of these disciplines for the quantitative and qualitative analysis of an American television show, *Boston Public*. Thus, I will argue that adding a relational perspective to the analysis of multimodal⁴ data gives us the possibility of determining, not only the incidence of particular characters in television shows, but also, and perhaps more interestingly, the kind of relationships that are being established among different television characters through the display of specific verbal and nonverbal communication. If we add a focus on race to this framework, we are left with the opportunity of looking at race relations on television from an innovative and comprehensive point of view. This type of analysis can help us understand in a deeper way the representations of different ethnic groups in the media and the implications of those portrayals about the role that minorities are supposed to play in a particular society—in this case, the American one. This paper will thus examine the possible ideological effects of *Boston Public* in terms of what the show communicates about interracial communication, the characteristics that it attributes to Blacks and Whites and the possible influences of these portrayals in the formation of specific beliefs about and attitudes towards minorities (Graves 1999; Van Dijk 1987).

As revealed by the conversation above taken from the *Boston Public*'s online forum, audiences may approach television programs in a variety of ways. Some viewers, as the first passage illustrates, rely on a particular show in order to get information that they will later apply to their real lives. Some other viewers, as exemplified by

³ But see Martín Rojo & Gómez Esteban (2003) for an interesting application of organizational communication concepts to the analysis of discourse about women in management positions.

⁴ According to Kress (2001), a multimodal view of discourse analysis implies combining the examination of visual and textual elements.

the second extract, make use of their own experience to reject the portrayals that they see on the show and are able to identify some of the unrealistic situations and the equally unrealistic solutions to these situations that the characters encounter every week⁵.

The opinion expressed by the first viewer in this example should constitute an incentive for critical discourse analysts to put a stronger emphasis in their studies on the ways in which different television programs represent reality. Thus, if there are people who really understand television as a window of the world that allows them to experience situations and be exposed to people otherwise they would never know about (Van Dijk 1984), it is the task of critical scholars to analyze the extent to which television programming provides viewers with an ample range of depictions and interactions that in fact serves (among others) the purpose of introducing viewers to unknown places and people in an adequate way.

The study of race relations on television constitutes an excellent starting point for the carrying out of this task. In fact, analyses of the portrayal of race in the media have become more and more relevant for communication scholars over the past decades, especially in the USA, where the multiethnic character has always been part (although not always recognized) of the definition of society. Thus, as the different ethnic minorities strive to find a place in the television industry and programming, academics within various disciplines have become increasingly interested in exploring the ways in which different ethnic groups are represented on television and the possible effects that these depictions may have on television viewers (for a recent discussion, see Hartwood & Anderson 2002).

However, and in spite of this recent and necessary awareness of the importance of discussing race and its relation to media, research is still limited to particular products such as advertising, children's television and, most frequently, television news (cf. Dixon & Linz 2000; Entman 1990). As for discourse-analytical approaches to race (which tend to be carried out, for the most part, in the European continent), Van Dijk's continue to be the most influential studies. Thus, the goal pursued by Van Dijk (1984, 1987) of "contributing to a more profound and effective understanding of a major problem of [...] "Northwestern societies" (1987: 14), has been at the basis the most remarkable studies of racism in Europe (cf. Weigel, Loomis & Soja 1980; Van Dijk 1991, 1993; Martín Rojo & Van Dijk 1997).

However, the emphasis in this type of research has also been significantly placed on the analysis of television news and newspapers as the main sources in the construction of the dominant consensus (cf. Van Dijk 1987). The attention paid to fictional shows, on the contrary, has been scarce in American research and is virtually absent in European analyses on the media's representation of race. One could argue (rightly, for the most part) about the scarce relevance of analyzing representations of minorities in European sitcoms and dramas, due to the lack of a consistent presence of ethnic groups which are still in the process of establishing themselves as an integrated part of some European societies (in fact, as Van Dijk's analysis showed (1987),

⁵ In Bourdieu's terms, the dominant groups have the "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1991).

most of the times they are still referred to as "foreigners"). However, we should not forget to consider the incredible amount of American products that are exported to Europe and broadcast on the different national and regional television channels on a daily basis all over the continent. In fact, the issue becomes extremely significant when taking into account that viewers are more likely to interpret as real situations and people with whom they do not have direct contact. Thus, the possible ideological construction of race relations in American television shows, whether we like it or not, affects all of us.

Needless to say, the examinations of race representations in other kinds of programs such as television news is extremely important and much needed as well, but we must not forget that fictional programs, even though they may not show 'real people' (like news are supposed to do), definitely provide, through the array of characters presented, symbolic representations not only of the different races, but also of the ways in which these races interact and the relationships that are established among them. These different representations, together with the ones that we find in other kinds of programs, constitute an important source of reference for viewers. Therefore, they must be given as much emphasis by researchers as are advertisements or news if we are to understand the entirety of the ways in which race relations are portrayed on television.

The goal of the present analysis is then to pay attention to this understudied area of research, but also to try to overcome some of the limitations of the few analyses of race in situation comedies and dramas that *have* been made. Thus, by analyzing a particular television show, Fox's *Boston Public*, I will test the above mentioned multi-disciplinary framework in an attempt to combine the contributions of media studies (mainly quantitative) and those of discourse analysis and interpersonal communication (which include a qualitative component) in the analysis of television content. I will be looking in an exhaustive and innovative way at the interactions between the two racial groups represented in the show, Blacks and Whites, but also at the interactions among members of the same race, that is, White/White and Black/Black interactions. By doing this, I intend to offer insights on the beliefs about race relations that this show presents to its audience.

2. RACE RELATIONS ON TV: THE QUANTITATIVE OVEREMPHASIS IN MEDIA STUDIES

Since the most important studies on racism within the CDA framework mentioned above will probably be well-known, I would like to offer here a brief review of the contributions to the analysis of race from the American 'media studies' perspective. This examination will also provide a better understanding of why it is necessary to develop a more comprehensive model for the study of race relations on television. It is therefore useful to briefly consider the main concerns, methods, objects of analysis and results of those analyses that have governed the study of the different race portrayals on television in the United States over the past decades.

If we were to condense the essence of the ways in which race on American television has been explored in just one word, that word would undoubtedly be

“quantification”. Thus, frequency of appearances, first, and quantity of diversity in those appearances (such as range of roles played), second, have been almost exclusively the objects of analysis when examining race depictions on television shows. Researchers have often contrasted the percentages of frequency of appearance for each racial group with statistics of the US census to conclude that television not only does not portray accurately the racial distribution of the population, but it is very far from doing so⁶. In fact, they assert, in the television world, Whites are overwhelmingly overrepresented whereas all of the other racial groups or ethnicities (African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Hispanics or Native-Americans) are underrepresented.

Research has also shown that, apart from being a smaller minority on television than they are in the real world, non-Whites are usually relegated to secondary roles in the different programs. In a striking example, Braxton (1999, cited in Wood 2001: 282) looked at the prime-time schedule for fall 1999, which was labeled a “whitewash” (Graves 1990), and showed that “of the 26 new entertainment programs that the major broadcast networks (ABC, CBS, Fox, NBC) announced in the late summer, not a single one featured a minority person in a leading role”.

As for the examination of diversity, research has shown that, when it is included, it is almost exclusively limited to African-Americans, whereas other groups that make up a significant percentage of the American population, such as Hispanics (12.5%), Asians (3.6%) or Native Americans (0.9%)⁷ are almost totally absent (Graves, 1999). Writing in 1980, Greenberg *et alii* denounced the almost total absence of Hispanic-Americans on television, stating that “[i]f being on television confers status, omission implies lower status” (1980: 5) and predicted that they “expect[ed] these portrayals to increase greatly in incidence and importance during the next decade” (1980: 5). However, the sad truth is that this prediction is very far from becoming a reality. As the NOW’s 2002 report argues:

the number of people of color in the U.S. has grown dramatically over the last ten years, to 30.9% of the population. However, aside from the handful of shows centered around African-American families, racial and ethnic diversity in primetime is minimal. With the introduction of just one show, George Lopez, the Latina/o population on TV increased dramatically. Asian-American women may be the most under-represented people on television. Last season only **four** Asian-American actresses (out of 277 total female actors) filled substantial roles [...] No regular characters played by Native American or Middle Eastern women could be found. (NOW, 2002: 17, emphasis on the original).

Unfortunately, this situation has inevitably led to the limitation of studies to the African-American population, since the very small number of characterizations of other minorities such as Hispanics and the even a smaller number of *significant* charac-

⁶ This argument is the essence of Hall’s encoding-decoding model, a classic reference for critical approaches to media, where he distinguished among “dominant”, “negotiated” and “oppositional” readings of media content and conceptualized viewing as a struggle rather than as a mere reception and absorption of the messages coming from the television screen (see also Miller & Philo 2001 for a recent development of these arguments).

⁷ According to the 2000 US census, Hispanics constitute the biggest minority in the USA (12.5% of the population), followed by African-American (12.3%), Asian Americans (3.6%) and Native Americans (0.9%). Television programming, as this review will show, includes significantly lower percentages of all of these groups.

terizations makes an in depth content analysis of them an impossible task to carry out (Greenberg 1980).

As far as role portrayals are concerned, research suggests that the representations of minority groups are "limited in number and restricted in the characteristics and roles assigned [to them]" (Graves 1999: 711). In his study of television shows, Graves concluded that "[v]isible racial-ethnic groups are not only underrepresented in the social world of television, but they are segregated by the type of show and portrayed in limited roles" (Graves 1996: 69). Likewise, Gerbner and Signorelli's role analysis of the portrayals of minorities showed that they were presented as less serious and more family oriented than white characters (Gerbner & Signorelli 1985).

The contributions of research from a quantitative perspective have been decisive to the discussion of race portrayals in television shows, especially by pointing out the imbalances regarding the number of roles played by visible racial groups and the segregation with regards to the types of roles that each group plays. However, as Greenberg (1994) states: "new research efforts appear to be receding at a time when public consciousness about minority issues is rising" (1994: 273). This is undoubtedly unfortunate if we consider how vital it is, especially at a time when most Western societies are multiethnic, to make sure that the media show racial diversity and productive interracial relationships.

But not only do we need to keep on studying race relations on television; we also need to move on from the quantitative level of analysis and implement it with detailed discourse-based descriptions of the kinds of interactions or relationships that are established among the different racial groups. Moreover, it is essential to analyze social communication interactions within and between the races, because "[t]he viewer is not likely to examine characters in isolation from other characters, but by primary comparisons with adjacent images and behaviors" (Greenberg 1994: 15).

The few existing qualitative analyses (linguistic and relational) have led to important findings with regards to the types of interactions between Blacks and Whites, such as that Black characters on television rarely discuss racism or race relations (Baptista-Fernández & Greenberg 1980) or that only 13% of the interracial egalitarian situations on television could be rated as displaying personal friendliness and/or mutual respect (Weigel *et alii* 1980; Auletta & John 1985). However, this line of research was almost totally abandoned in the 1990s (with the notable exception of Greenberg 1994) and this tendency to underestimate the possibilities and the need for the examination of race relations on television has unfortunately remained until nowadays.

A final important consideration regards the fact that results based on purely quantitative methods may be misguided in different ways. First of all, the mere quantification of minority appearances does not allow us to notice important details such as where and in what way we find minorities represented. Second, quantification of appearances does not tell us whether the different characters interact mostly with characters of their own race or if, on the contrary, there is a substantial occurrence of interracial interactions and relationships. Third, we need to take into account that when we talk about sitcoms or dramas we are also talking about audiences who 'follow' these programs on a weekly basis rather than watching a different program every week. Therefore, a quantitative general analysis of the diversity included in all programs in

the different networks becomes somewhat irrelevant when considering that most people do not actually watch all these programs but select only a few of them. It is therefore useful to concentrate on a particular show and explore the different representations that it provides, and whether or not they are consistent across episodes and thus promote a particular ideology⁸. As Greenberg *et alii* put it: “a more intensive examination of just what goes on during those shows over multiple episodes may provide some clues as to their potential influence” (1994: 308).

3. METHOD

3.1. THE SHOW: BOSTON PUBLIC

Fox’s *Boston Public* is a relatively new show (the fourth season is currently being aired on American television channel Fox) that focuses on the daily occurrences in a high school in Boston, mainly from the angle of the faculty’s experiences. The emphasis in *Boston Public* is therefore on the numerous problematical situations that high school teachers face and have to solve on a daily basis. These troubles arise both from the different teacher-student relationships and from the relationships established among co-workers. However, the show also includes issues that theoretically affect teenagers in their attempts to cope with their personal and educational development in today’s society. The program is mainly oriented towards (and watched by) young audiences. Because of its selection of subject matters, *Boston Public* was recently included in NOW’s list of “socially responsible shows” (NOW’s report 2002).

3.2. SAMPLE

The present analysis concentrated on a sample consisting of 5 different episodes selected randomly from a corpus of the second and third seasons of the show. Even though this was a small amount of data, it served the purpose of allowing the testing of a discourse/relational analysis of race representations.

3.3. MEASURES

3.3.1. Frequency analysis

Since, as I argued in the previous section, the quantitative method constitutes an important source of information for the study of race portrayals, the examination of the five episodes included a quantification of: 1) appearances in terms of race, 2) the roles played by Black and White characters and 3) the types of interactions in which the characters were involved.

In order to quantify the types of communication, I used Baptista & Fernandez and Greenberg’s definition of “interaction”. Thus, “[a]n interaction began with

⁸ Understood here in Gramscian terms as a hegemonic process by which the ruling class presents a view of society where its particular interests are presented as the general ones. Thus, the power relations between the dominant and the subordinate are not established through mere force and coercion, but through the attainment of a sufficient degree of consent.

something being said by one of the sample characters and ended when one of the characters left the scene” (1980: 16). However, to their binary distinction, White/White interactions versus interracial interactions, I added a third category which included interactions with only Black participants. The goal was to obtain the third necessary element of comparison that could help determine if the kind of communication displayed by Black and White characters was consistent independently of the race of their interlocutors.

The racial factor was not only combined with the number of interactions, but also with the location those interactions. The purpose of this combination was to look for patterns regarding the places in which viewers are able to see the different races interacting. Thus, I identified two different locations: a “work setting” category, which included all the high school locations (classes, offices or the teachers’ lounge, for example) and also the exterior surroundings (mainly the parking lot outside), and an “outside of work” group comprised any other location where scenes were shot, such as streets that were not next to the high school, the local bar or the teachers’ houses.

3.3.2. *Qualitative analysis*

In order to provide the needed, more exhaustive analysis of the show that I proposed above, I also focused on the quality of the interactions in the different episodes and examined: 1) the *topics* that were discussed and 2) the *kinds of relationships* among the characters that were implied by those interactions. As far as topics are concerned, I identified four different categories:

- Interactions that dealt with work issues.
- Interactions where the personal relationship between the characters (whether it was friendship or a romantic relationship) was discussed.
- Interactions that dealt with domestic topics outside of the personal relationship (such as family problems).
- Interactions that explicitly made reference to racial issues.

The main goal of this type of coding was to try to determine if the content of the conversations suggested racial differences regarding the characters’ likelihood of discussing particular issues (Weigel *et alii* 1980, 1995).

However, once the frequency of appearance, the amount and the location of interactions were quantified in relation to race, and once the different topics discussed were identified, a key question still remained unaddressed: What type of relationships were being established through the different interactions? In other words, was there a particular level of intimacy, formality, cooperation or conflict depending on the characters’ race? In order to address this issue, I analyzed the data following Auletta & John’s model to determine “how the relationship message is communicated among interracial characters” (1985: 302), which distinguishes three mutually exclusive attributes of relational messages: independent, dependent and interdependent. According to Auletta and John, independent communication manifests itself in “judgmental feedback, disconfirming or ignoring another, lack of self-disclosure, rejecting or moving against another as in attacking another and an unwillingness to collaborate” (1985: 304). Second, they understand dependent communication as “not expressing opi-

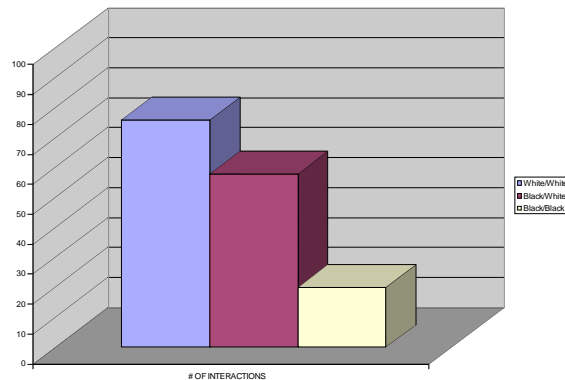
nions, especially those which differ from those of other participants, communicating a high level of agreement even when agreement contradicts self-interest, not exerting influence over discussion topics, and allowing other participants to select topics and to direct discussion” (1985: 304). Lastly, interdependent communication should include “active feedback for understanding, confirming the other, self-disclosing, collaborative communication and emphatic or interpretive listening” (1985: 305).

The application of Auletta and John’s model to the discourse analysis of the data permitted the implementation of the results obtained mainly through quantification. When more than one category was present in an interaction, I classified the different relational messages according to the type of communication that was *mostly* used. Moreover, to their combination of independent, dependent and interdependent interactions with the race variable, I added the distribution of topics in order to determine not only the general interacting differences across races, but also if there were identifiable patterns in the ways in which a particular issue was discussed in interracial, White/White and Black/Black encounters.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The quantification of the different characters revealed that out of a regular cast of 10 actors, 4 were African-American (the high school’s principal, his daughter, and two of the teachers) and 6 were White (the vice principal and 5 teachers). No other minorities were consistently represented, and thus the show reflected the general tendency of prime-time programming and presented a world where Hispanic-Americans, Asian Americans or Native-Americans were almost totally invisible.

Table 1: Comparison of White/White, Black/White and Black/Black interactions



As for the quantification of interactions, figure1 shows that interracial interactions were slightly more infrequent than interactions with only White characters, and that even though Black characters constitute almost half of the regular cast, they were not frequently shown interacting with just members of their own race. White characters were therefore present in 86% of the interactions analyzed, versus a 49% of interactions that included Black characters. These results prove how analyzing the number of characters that represent each race in isolation can be a misleading procedure. Thus, even though the cast of this show is highly balanced in terms of Black and

White appearances, White characters are still in a dominant position because of their presence in the vast majority of storylines developed in the show.

Fig. 2.1: Comparison of location of interactions and race

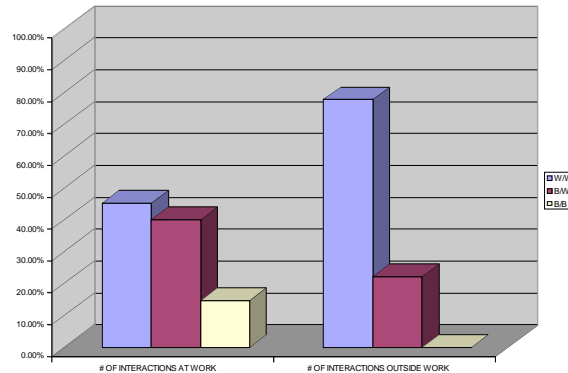
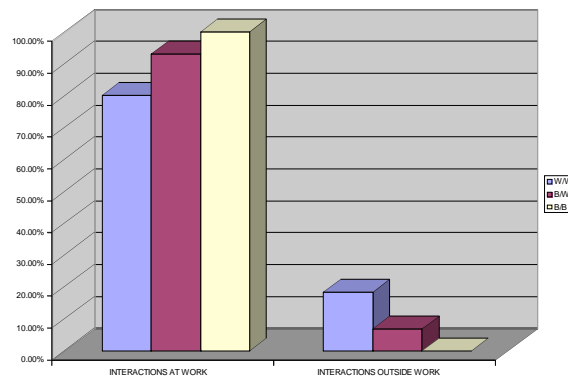


Fig. 2.2. Place of interactions per race



As figure 2.1 shows, the quantification of the location of the interactions analyzed showed that, in general terms, the majority of the communication in the show occurred within the boundaries of the school and its surroundings. This is not surprising if we take into account that life at the high school is the main environment from which the different subplots develop in *Boston Public*. It is important to note however, that when looking at how the types of interactions in each location were distributed across the three racial categories, there was a considerable disproportion depending on the race of the interactants involved. Thus, as table 2.2 shows, the great majority of interactions outside of the work setting corresponded only to White characters, whereas there was a significant 0% of interactions outside of the work environment that showed only Black people. What this means is that Black people were considerably less likely than White people to be seen in a more personal dimension. Blacks were mainly shown engaged in purely professional tasks. In addition, the relationship between the Black teachers and their students never surpassed the limits of the work setting, and thus in the occasions when Black teachers were addressing students’ problems, they always did so within the boundaries of the high school. On the contrary, viewers were

exposed to a significant number of situations that presented White characters either engaged in activities that were not directly related to their jobs or taking their professional responsibility outside of the boundaries of the high school. This limited depiction presents Black characters as less approachable and less capable of developing close relationships outside of work, and suggests that conversations in which Blacks participate are restricted either to professional topics or to the formal setting of the work place.

Table 3.1: Combination of race and topic of interactions. Total results

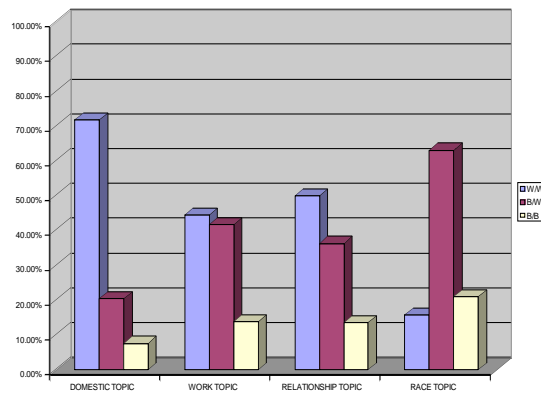
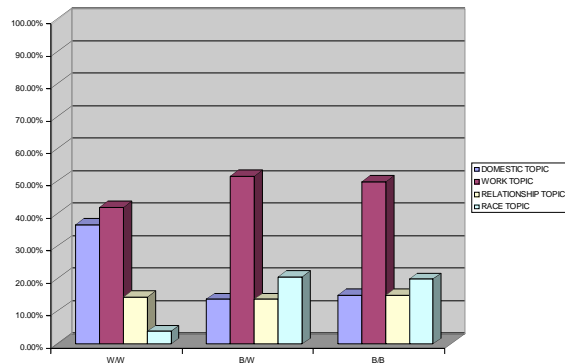


Table 3.2: Combination of race and topic of interactions per race



As some of these examples show, the introduction of the topic factor helped to support the interpretation that there were distinguishable patterns for White/White, Black/White and Black/Black interactions. When comparing specifically the race and the topic categories, new remarkable tendencies emerged. Thus, table 3.1 shows how, in general, work was the most discussed topic in all types of interactions (percentages in column 6). This is an outcome consistent with the previous observation that the show centers on high school life and the difficulties of being a teacher. Nonetheless, there were some relevant differences across categories: The ‘work’ topic was significantly higher than any other topic for B/W and B/B interactions. This did not happen, however, in the W/W category, where the second most frequent topic, ‘do-

mestic issues’, had only a slightly lower percentage than the ‘work’ topic. Moreover, the comparison of the percentages of each specific topic across racial categories (table 3.2) confirmed that White/White interactions included a considerable higher amount of domestic and relationship topics (71.79% and 50% respectively), whereas the race topic was discussed mostly in interracial interactions.

Again there are noticeable implications of these differences. Discussing domestic and relationship topics indicates a type of rapport that goes beyond the mere professional aspect to include elements of friendship or romantic involvement. Table 3 indicates that this type of relationships was usually developed in the show among White characters, whereas interracial relationships and relationships between Black characters tended to be only professional.

The interactions that dealt with racial issues were also distributed in a remarkable way. Thus, even though the White/White category included significantly more interactions than the other two, (76 as opposed to 56 for B/W and 20 for B/B), the percentage of interactions about race between White characters was extremely low when compared with interracial interactions and even with Black/Black interactions. We need to take into account that the total of B/B interactions was almost four times smaller than that of W/W interactions, but still in this sample Blacks discussed racial issues more than Whites did. The percentages within race are equally relevant. Thus, the proportion of race topics within the W/W category is the smallest of the entire table for any topic, only a 3.94%. The dangerous possible consequence of this representation is that it distances White characters (and White viewers) from racial controversies and it sends the message that these issues supposedly are not discussed by Whites unless they are communicating with a member of a different race. For Black characters, on the contrary, race was the second most discussed topic, suggesting that they considered it to be an issue much more than Whites did. According to the conversations in this show, then, only minorities possess a visible racial identity, whereas the White race is presented as ‘invisible’ in the sense that it appears as the norm, thus never constituting the object of analysis (Katz, Earp & Jhally, 1999).

Fig. 4.1: combination of type of relationship and race. Total results

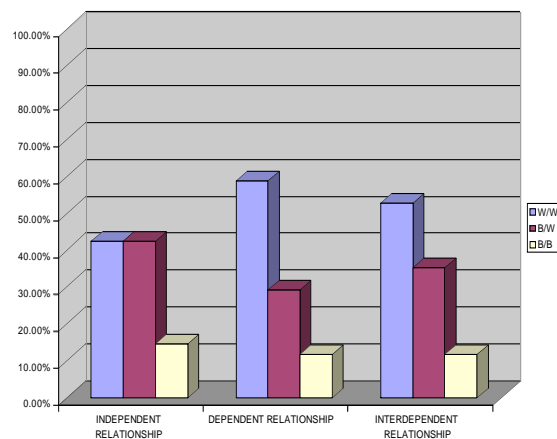
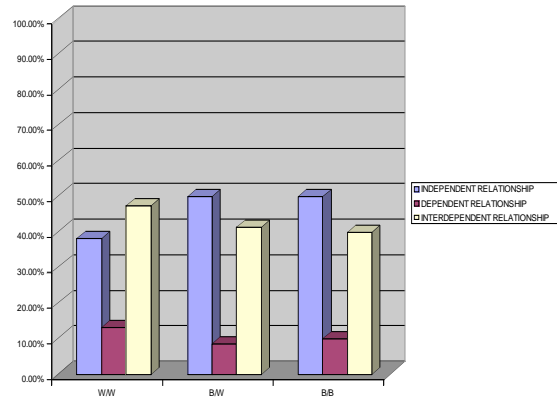
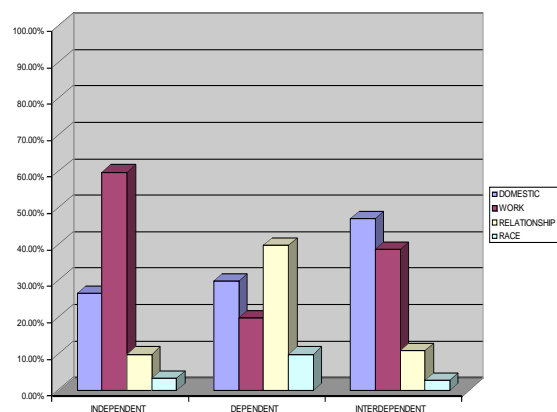


Fig. 4.2: combination of type of relationship and race per race



As illustrated in table 4.2, by far the least frequent type of relationship represented in the show was the dependent one. In the few occasions when characters would feel obliged to express agreement or to conceal discrepancy with another character, this necessity was directly related to their subordinate position (a student versus a teacher or a teacher versus the principal) rather than to their race. Interdependent relationships were slightly higher within White/White interactions and consequently independent relationships were relatively lower for this group, but in general both the independent and the interdependent categories were the most represented and they were also quite equally distributed across and within races (see fig. 4.1). This suggests that, even though conflicts and disagreements were common among the three categories (since most of the topics presented in the show are controversial), the different characters usually spoke their mind freely independently of their race or the race of the person to whom they were talking. In this sense, the show offered a laudable equal treatment of Blacks and Whites. The incorporation of the topic variable, however, resulted in significant differences across the groups.

Table 5.1: Combination of topic and type of relationship for White/White interactions



“Together, *ma non troppo*: a discourse-analytical approach to race relations in *Boston Public*”

Table 5.2: Combination of topic and type of relationship for White/White interactions

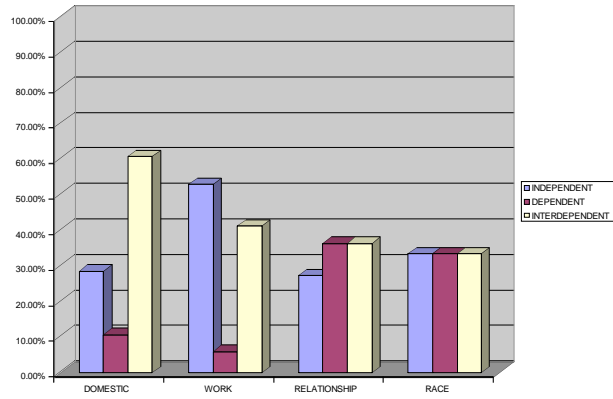


Table 5.3: Combination of topic and type of relationship for Black/White interactions

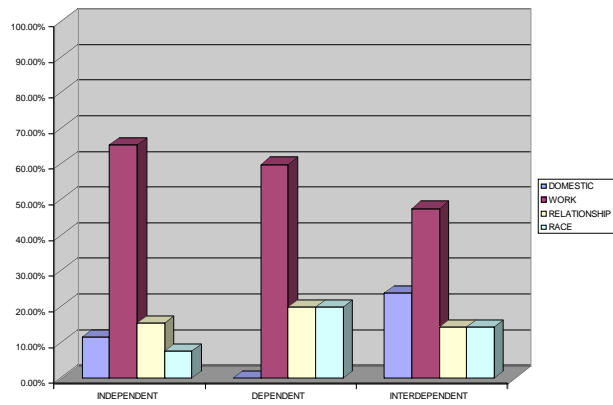


Table 5.4: Combination of topic and type of relationship for Black/White interactions

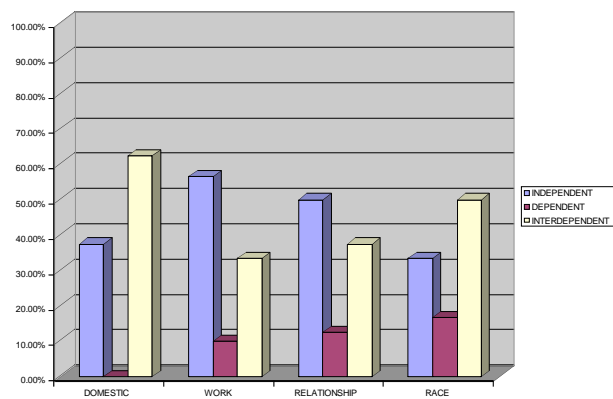


Table 5.5: Combination of topic and type of relationship for Black/Black interactions

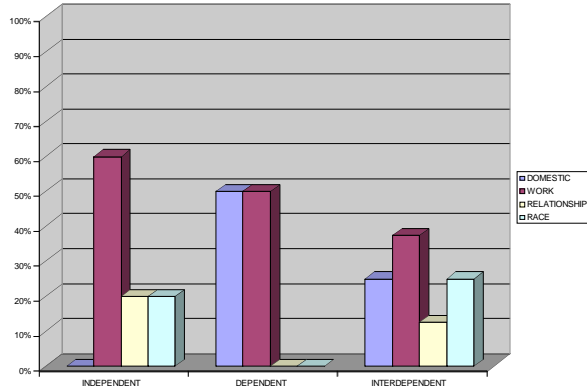
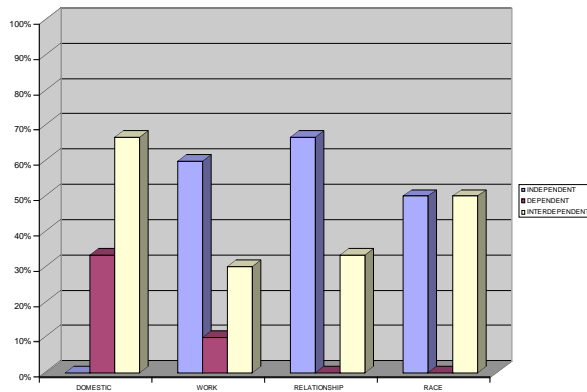


Table 5.6: Combination of topic and type of relationship for Black/Black interactions



Tables 5.1 through 5.6 combine the types of relationship established through interactions with the topics discussed in these interactions. The three different combinations, White/White, Black/White and Black/Black are analyzed separately in order to single out how each group deals with specific issues in the show.

For the White/White group, the ‘work’ topic was mostly approached in an independent way. This was consistent across the different groups and it could be again a result of the show’s emphasis in relationships and controversies within the high school. Thus, the different episodes frequently included scenes where coworkers expressed their teaching differences or where students confronted teachers about different issues.

The few examples of dependent communication in the White/White group were mostly found when the characters were discussing their intimate relationships. The main factors that led individuals to conceal particular feelings or opinions were economic or expertise imbalances that made them feel inferior to their partners. However, when White characters were discussing other types of personal issues with other White characters, the communication was carried out mostly in an interdependent way.

In the Black/White group, the work category scored highest for the three different types of relationship. This is a consequence of the disproportionate number of interracial interactions that dealt with work issues. However, the other topics also had a significant representation in the independent, interdependent and dependent categories. When looking at the predominant type of communication within each topic, it is worthy of note that domestic issues, even though they were not very frequent, were mostly dealt with in an interdependent way.

As for the work and relationship topics within the B/W group, even though they were more frequent than the domestic one, they prompted more situations of independent communication between the characters. It is important to note here that the numbers that reflect the amount of interracial interactions that dealt with relationships (15%) might be misleading. Thus, for example, one of the episodes featured the Principal's daughter (Black) getting involved with a White student. The story, however, did not last even until the end of that episode and, moreover, the character had been previously presented in the show as gay. As for the second instance, the interactions took place within the fictional setting of a musical. Therefore, although portrayed in the show, the possibility of interracial romantic relationships was never presented as serious.

As for the race topic, it is important to notice that half of the interracial exchanges related to race were interdependent, and they occurred especially within the classroom environment, but also outside of it. This can definitively be interpreted in a positive light if we consider that not only are viewers of this show exposed to interracial dialogue of race issues (as shown by the quantification of interactions), but they can also find examples of ways of handling this matter in a productive manner.

As for the Black/Black group, and in spite of the low number of interactions, the majority of them related to work, there were still some relevant distributions. For example, the independent type of communication was illustrated in the absolute majority of cases by the work topic. This means that Blacks were not only represented in the show as communicating unproductively with White coworkers, but also with coworkers of their own race.

As for the type of relationship predominant within each topic, results indicate that domestic topics are mainly discussed by Black characters in an interdependent way, whereas the race topic offers an equal amount of independent and interdependent representations. On the other hand, work and relationships are dealt with mostly in an independent way. The case of relationships is relevant because not only are interactions between Blacks who are romantically involved full of conflict, but also, in one of the scenes, the force used by the Black male character in order to handle the conflict with his girlfriend is dangerously close to becoming physical. This situation will actually develop in later episodes into an abusive relationship. Of course one cannot claim that this one representation of violence among Black couples can send a particular message about the ways in which they relate to others, but if we take into account that this happens within the context of a predominant portrayal of Black/Black relationships as conflictive, then it is significant that this perception is emphasized by the depiction of violent incidents.

To sum up, the analysis of the data revealed both positive and potentially da-

maging patterns in the portrayal of Blacks and Whites, both separate and together, in the show *Boston Public*. On the optimistic side, and looking at the overall numbers for types of interactions, (table 4) race did not have a direct influence in the type of communication (independent, dependent or interdependent) in which the different characters engaged. Moreover, and contrary to previous findings (Baptista-Fernández & Greenberg 1980), racial issues were a common topic of discussion in the show, and half of the times in which the conversations about race were interracial, the dialogues between the characters were constructed in an interdependent way. Interdependency was also the tendency for the discussion of domestic issues among characters of different races, although this type of conversation did not occur very often.

However, when adding the place and the topic variables to the categories of race and type of interaction, several differentiating patterns emerged. First of all, Blacks were almost exclusively portrayed within the professional boundaries and discussing work issues, both with White characters and with characters of their own race. Whites, on the other hand, appeared often performing activities with and relating to other White people not associated with the work environment.

As for the topics discussed, even though work was predominant in the three groups, its percentage was much higher for interracial conversations. It is also significant that in the interactions where Blacks were present the topics discussed rarely included domestic and relationship issues, whereas for Whites these topics were talked about almost as much as work ones. In addition, even though race issues were regularly present in the show, the weight of these discussions was carried out mostly by Black characters. Thus, race was almost never discussed when only White people were in the scene. Lastly, Blacks were portrayed as uncooperative when talking to White or other Black coworkers (although dependent communication in the work category was consistent across the three groups) and Black couples tended to be portrayed in conflict situations more often.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

At the beginning of this paper, I argued for the necessity of discourse analyses of media texts, and specifically of those which concentrate on race, to embrace other related disciplines, such as interpersonal communication or social psychology, to produce more detailed examinations of the portrayal of the different racial groups on television. This analysis has attempted to show the validity of the above stated argument. By applying quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis to the show *Boston Public*, I employed a framework that takes into account not only the amount of interactions between Black and White characters, but also the type of relationships among these characters that are established through discourse. Moreover, by employing methodological tools found in social-psychology (Auletta & John's model for relational communication) and implementing them with the incorporation of the topic variable, I was able to discern less obvious patterns in the ways in which particular issues are communicated and dealt with across White/White, Black/White and Black/Black interactions.

The results of this examination suggest that this may constitute a useful way

of analyzing the discourse media texts, since subtle differences that were not perceptible at the general level emerged after the more exhaustive stage of the analysis. In conclusion, and due to the limited amount of data used for this analysis, we can only speak about communication *tendencies* in the show *Boston Public* and speculate on the possible presence of these differentiations at a broader level (the show as a whole, or even other TV programs). Bearing this in mind, the data examined suggest that this particular show does not present informal, close relationships between Blacks and Whites as a relevant element of American society. Also, Blacks seem to be significantly more confrontational and less capable of self disclosing than Whites. Thus, even in Black/Black interactions, the domestic and relationship topics were infrequent, and dependent communication is prevalent among Blacks for work and relationship issues.

It seems therefore that television is still far from offering acceptable depictions of ethnic minorities. The main reason for this is simply that achieving a truthful picture of American society is not television's goal. Instead, the main purpose of the different programs is to obtain a particular audience (mainly potential consumers) that they can then deliver to the advertising industry. Thus, as long as prime time shows continue to be forced to meet the requirements of a few corporations, diverse, integrated and productive representations of race relations will continue to be a utopia.

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THE SCIENCE UPDATE IN BRAZILIAN TELEVISION NEWS: SOCIAL ACTIONS OF A CULTURAL PRODUCT

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Abstract: This paper aims at analyzing the representation of science and of the scientist in Brazilian television news. It draws on theories from Functional Grammar, Critical Discourse Analysis, Media and Intercultural Studies. Results suggest that the popularization of scientific information identifies research activity with medical/health research and excludes social and human sciences from the process of social recognition of their status of scientificity by not legitimizing it. It is argued that the genre science update in Brazilian television news is a cultural artifact, product of problematic intercultural communication.

Keywords: science, culture, social practices, discourse.

1. INTRODUCTION

Critical Discourse Analysis has largely been used in the investigation of media genres, having in the news a fundamental source of insight. Power abuse in the representation of genre, immigration and race, for example, are frequent objects of study. However, researchers of CDA have not yet sufficiently turned their attention to how scientific discourse (re)produces identities and authority relations as researchers from Sociology, Philosophy of Science and Science of Information have. Nor have they approached the cultural, and therefore cognitive, dimension of science popularization. This paper aims at analyzing the social actions of the genre science update in Brazilian television news as a cultural artifact, product of problematic intercultural communication.

The premise of such a reflection is that textual properties are indicators of social and cultural processes of status and authority negotiation. A culture is here understood as a complex system of reference for text production and interpretation, informing its members with norms of values, beliefs and behavior. The genre science update in Brazilian television news is here taken as a cultural artifact, product of problematic intercultural communication between the culture of the scientific community and the culture of journalists and news makers, which are responsible for the production and distribution practices related to the genre. The journalists and newsmakers' culture take into account the culture of the lay audience, with its informative and stylistic demands. The genre negotiates social cultural contradictions and differences among the three reference systems directly or indirectly involved in its production, distribution and interpretation processes.

The paper draws on theories from Systemic Functional Grammar, Critical Discourse Analysis, Media Studies and Intercultural Studies to analyze the thematic development of 33 news about science broadcast from June through August/2000 in 5 Brazilian television news. The texts that constitute the data are seen as structured so-

cial practice. On the one hand, they contribute to the maintenance of social cultural identities, the news as a reliable source of information and the scientist as a modern hero, and, on the other hand, silence the knowledge produced by human and social sciences. As discursive events, such texts actualize social practices informed by cultural reference systems.

We share with Paty (1997: 10), researcher devoted to the Philosophy of Science, his perspective about the scientific labor. Paty sees science not simply as knowledge governed by reason, but as also connected to a cultural context and based on cultural values. The author admits that scientific discourse works through social actions and that this paradoxically changes society and science itself. In investigating how news genres represent scientific discourse we hope to contribute to the understanding of the social construction of the identity of the scientist and of the status of scientific authority.

2. THE GENRE SCIENCE UPDATE IN BRAZILIAN TELEVISION NEWS AS THE PRODUCT OF PROBLEMATIC INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

It is part of every researchers' work to share their investigation results with their discourse community by attending conferences, teaching seminars and publishing articles (Swales 1993). However, sometimes their results generate interest beyond their discourse community, opening up space for scientific popularization in the mass media. There are basically three ways in which science may become of interest to the lay audience and, therefore, to journalists and news makers: science may be the source of some kind of conflict, it may be used by political or social groups to support their arguments or it may be expected to resolve conflicts "by providing an ultimate answer to the issue" (Peters 1999: 253). Peters (1999) identifies sources of intercultural communication difficulties between scientists and journalists. The empirical research developed by the author confirms what readers familiar to both media and academic writing styles would expect, but moves further by associating such difficulties to discursive practices related to different cultural systems.

Some of the sources of intercultural communication difficulties between journalists and scientists would be the disagreement on the critical role of science popularization, on the entertaining function it may perform, on the more appropriate writing style to the scientific popularization and on the level of control each culture should have on the final text. According to Peters, more often than scientists, journalists attribute to their own culture a critical role toward the scientific activity. They also accept more easily an entertaining function to scientific popularization and, therefore, are more ready to admit a less rigid and serious style of writing. On the other hand, scientists expect journalists to influence the audience to support their investigation goals more often than journalists are willing or prepared to do it. Scientists also would like to revise the final version of the popularization text more often than journalists will allow them to.

The intercultural communication difficulties mentioned above arise from different cultures, that is, scientists and journalists, however temporally, participate in different cultural systems. Participating in a cultural system is here taken as the produc-

tion of discursive practices based on, in terms of the discussion Golden (2004) presents, both an intertextuality and intersubjectivity characteristic of a given group. Members of the same cultural group participate in its intertextuality by attributing and constructing meaning in approximately the same way when dealing with semiotic manifestations. The concept of intersubjectivity, Golden (2004: 8) says, implies that there are many cultural references shared by members of a social cultural group and many subjective experiences that take place within commonly shared social cultural structures, though individual in every case. A culture is a reference system for meaning construction and attribution, that, on the one hand, presents its members with a rhetorical and ideological space of movement and at the same time delimits the capacity for interpreting the world its members will develop.

Journalists and scientists generate, evaluate and judge science popularization practices based on different cultural systems. It is possible to say the results presented by Peters (1999) are indicators of ethnocentric attitude. Such an attitude would be the tendency members of a given cultural group have to consider their own semiotic manifestations as “normal” and “non problematic”. The semiotic manifestations produced by other cultural groups, which share a different system of meaning construction and attribution, are taken as “abnormal”, “problematic” and, frequently, inferior (Lévi-Strauss 2000). The genre science update in Brazilian television news is not therefore a socially ratified way of using language, as Fairclough (1995) regards genres, but a *culturally* ratified way of using language. As a cultural artifact, such genre is a product of problematic intercultural communication between the culture of the scientific community and the culture of journalists and newsmakers.

Developing on the CDA’s three-dimensional framework (text, discourse practice, social practice) (Fairclough 1992), a genre can be seen as a culturally ratified language use that actualizes discourse practices through texts. Such texts are, on the one hand, produced, distributed and consumed in approximately the same way, and, on the other hand, connected to certain social cultural practices. They negotiate contradictions and differences, allowing, sometimes problematic, social interaction as they present social actors with representations of the world (Fairclough 1995). A multi-functional view of the genre science update in Brazilian television news, taken from systemic linguistics (Halliday 1994) is essential to the understanding of how the structure of argumentation that characterizes the genre can be connected to broader social cultural practices.

3. ARGUMENTATION STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL CULTURAL PRACTICES OF PROBLEMATIC INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

It is a basic assumption of systemic linguistics that it is possible to map relations between language and social structures. In this sense, there is no innocent use of language. A language is seen as a system that presents language users with options. Every choice made in this system is meaningful, that is, constitutes a way of representing the world, a way of interacting with others and a way of structuring information (Halliday 1994). Thus, language is functional and should, therefore, be functionally approached.

Texts actualize a series of options in a language system ideationally, for texts represent the world, interpersonally, for they establish social interaction between participants in discourse, and textually, for texts structure information in terms of relevance, coherence and cohesion. The ideational, interpersonal and textual study of 33 news about science in 5 Brazilian television news programs¹ allows the observation of recurrent rhetorical strategies, part of the argumentation structure of the genre science update in Brazilian television news. Such rhetorical strategies, culturally informed as stated above, may be connected to specific social cultural practices.

Texts in their ideational functioning constitute systems of knowledge, representing experience and the world (Fairclough 1995: 6). Current scientific information in the news is associated with specific areas of research. In other words, there is a range of subjects that are represented as science. Such a selection operates a double representation: first, the status of scientificity and second, the identity of the scientist. The genre science update in Brazilian television news represents as scientific knowledge the investigation developed by the medical and health areas of research and thus connects the scientist's identity to the researchers of these areas. Almost all the broadcasts in the corpus belong to these areas, though there are a few about NASA and investigations in Mars. Researchers from other areas of knowledge, such as social and human sciences, for example, fall apart from the discursive representation of the scientist's identity and their research does not receive the ideational status of scientificity.

In their interpersonal functioning, texts constitute social subjects, establishing interactional relations between the language users. According to the functional grammar (Halliday 1994: 68), when a speaker asks a question, for example, he is assuming an interactional attitude by the attribution of a complementary role to the person with whom he speaks. The genre science update in Brazilian television news incorporates a dialogic attitude, theatricalizing a social interaction that tries to overcome the impersonality the television experience provokes. The following examples are taken from the corpus. The questions are translated between brackets:

- (1) A maçã com casca se mostrou mais eficiente ainda: bloqueou sessenta por cento das células cancerosas. Quantas maçãs uma pessoa precisaria comer para obter o mesmo efeito? Segundo a pesquisa, apenas uma. (How many apples does someone have to eat to obtain the same effect?)
- (2) Depois de dez anos de pesquisa, cientistas de seis países conseguiram mapear noventa e sete por cento do código genético. É o esboço mais completo do que é o ser humano. O resultado vai mudar radicalmente o tratamento e a prevenção de doenças. Mas como? Por que? O código genético está lacrado dentro de nossas células... (But how? Why?)
- (3) A doutora Cathy Verbas utilizou o mesmo princípio da vacina contra a pólio: uma forma concentrada do vírus para destruir o próprio vírus. Mas isso já havia sido tentado antes contra a AIDS. Por que funcionou desta vez? (Why has it worked this time?)

Obviously enough, when the journalist asks questions he does not really expect an answer from the audience. He himself answers the questions he asks. Such

¹ The names of news programs from which the broadcasts were recorded are *Jornal da Globo*, *Jornal Nacional*, *Jornal da Bandeirantes*, *Jornal da Noite* and *Jornal da Cultura*. The broadcasts were recorded between June and August of 2000.

questions are, thus, rhetorical. They theatricalize a dialogic situation. The times and contexts of production and consumption of the broadcasts are different. Assuming a dialogic attitude by asking questions that theatricalize a real interaction, the genre attributes to the audience a complementary active role. Such a rhetoric strategy stimulates a sensation of intimacy between the journalist and the audience, making the news more attractive and competitive with other sites of engagement that may be available at the same time. Scollon (1998: 249) defines sites of engagement as "(...) those windows constructed of social practice through which the texts become available for appropriation". Magazines, the radio, the TV, billboards, may be understood as different sites of engagement, which would constantly compete for the attention of subjects.

Textually, texts have to organize information in coherent and cohesive ways, but also in terms of what the speaker considers more relevant or new information to his reader or listener. In the Functional Grammar, a theme is not related to what the text is about. The concept of theme makes reference to a system of information distribution related to the relevance the speaker attributes to each part of his discourse production. In English, Portuguese, and in many other languages, the theme occupies initial position in the sentence and what follows it is called rheme (Halliday 1994: 37). When the theme is also the grammatical subject of the sentence, that is, a more conventional choice of information, it is not marked. When, on the other hand, the theme is not the grammatical subject of the sentence, a less conventional choice, therefore more creative and likely to operate rhetorical effects, the theme is said to be marked. Martin (1997: 26) broadens the concept of the theme, extending it to larger units of discourse. The thematic principle than can be observed beyond the sentence, as following a method of development throughout the text.

The analysis of the thematic development of the genre science update in Brazilian television news presents a recurrent content: scientific discoveries. The criteria used to separate themes from rhemes were:

- i) The end of the journalist's first turn of speech with consequent change of speaker;
- ii) The end of the announcement of the scientific discovery and beginning of further explanations and interviews;
- ii) Changes in the visual semiotic system, delimiting an initial stage and a complementary one.

The thematic method of development of the genre science update in Brazilian television news may be considered a marked one. The genre rewrites information from scientific contexts, in which reference to the field of research and explanation on the methodology used to analyze data precede the announcement of the research results. The news thematizes discoveries by placing the announcement of researchers' results in initial position in the broadcasts. The following are examples taken from the corpus studied. A version in English of each example is given between brackets:

- (4) Boa Noite. O homem entrou hoje num lugar que só Deus conhecia. A frase é de Francis Collins, o representante do governo americano na comissão encarregada de decifrar o mapa genético dos seres humanos. O resultado desse trabalho foi anunciado hoje nos Estados Unidos e na Europa e é um sucesso. (Good evening. Today mankind has been to a place only God new about. The statement is Francis Collins', the American government leader of the team in charge of the human being genetic map unraveling. The results of this research have been announced today in the United States and in Europe, and are a success.)

- (5) Cientistas americanos que pesquisaram a relação entre os alimentos e a saúde da pele descobriram que uma dieta pobre em açúcar e rica em proteínas é bastante eficaz contra as rugas. (American scientists who research the relationship between food and health have discovered that a diet poor in sugar and rich in proteins is very efficient against the wrinkles.)
- (6) Pesquisadores comprovaram que depois de 40, depois dos quarenta, os homens que não cuidaram da alimentação na juventude aumentam as chances de ter um ataque cardíaco. (Researches have confirmed that after the 40's men who haven't taken care of their diet in their youth have higher chances to have a heart attack.)
- (7) Cientistas da NASA encontraram pela primeira vez evidências de que existe água em estado líquido na superfície de Marte. (NASA scientists have found, for the first time, evidences of the existence of water in the liquid state in the surface of Mars.)

It is interesting to broaden up the analysis above by looking at what Halliday calls given and new information distribution (Halliday 1994: 299). He explains there is a strong semantic relationship between the theme-rheme system and the given-new information distribution. The theme is what the speaker or writer chooses to make more evident by placing it in first place; the information considered given is what he believes his reader or listener already knows or may use in the interpretation of the message. A conventional non-marked option would place given information in initial position so that the reader or listener could use it as a context of reference for accessing the rest of the message. The genre science update in Brazilian television news selects a rhetorically relevant strategy of information distribution. It matches marked themes with new information in initial position. The rhetorical effect is a semantic manipulation, that is, the generally called research results in the academic discourse community are celebrated as discoveries in the media context.

The ideational, interpersonal and textual argumentation structure of the genre science update in Brazilian television news is functional in relation to the objectives, values and rules of meaning construction and interpretation of the journalists and news makes' culture. Journalists and news makes take into account the demands of information and style of the audience's culture. Scientists, whose reference system for meaning construction and interpretation operates in different ways, do not always understand or are ready to accept such market pressures. As the result of intercultural problematic communication and being ideationally, interpersonally and textually coded as discussed above, the genre science update in Brazilian television news enacts discourse practices that actualize social cultural practices.

Firstly, the genre helps to maintain the status of news as a reliable source of information. The news simultaneously celebrates scientific discoveries and its own readiness to cover them. Secondly, the genre makes news a more competitive site of engagement by adopting a dialogic and relaxed style. Current scientific information is good news – discoveries of new medicine, vaccines, health treatment- and/or curios and/or entertaining. Thirdly, the genre science update in Brazilian television news contributes to the discursive construction of the scientist as a medical/health researcher and attributes the status of scientificity to the knowledge produced in these areas of research. Last but not least, it excludes researchers from other areas of knowledge, such as social and human sciences, from the discursive construction of the scientist's identity. The knowledge produced by them is silenced.

4. CONCLUSION

The popularization of scientific information in Brazilian news is one of the news' discursive survival strategies, both keeping its status as a reliable source of information and making it more competitive with other sites of engagement. As a product of problematic intercultural communication, the genre science update in Brazilian television news is a cultural artifact. It brings the language of the news closer to the discourse of entertainment, maps the identity of the scientist onto the researchers of the medical/health areas, and, as a consequence, the status of scientificity onto the knowledge produced in these areas. A possible conclusion is that the type of knowledge produced by human and social science researchers, for example, is not functional to at least one of the objectives of journalists and newsmakers' culture: the maintenance of the competitiveness and reliability of its own genres. Genres are then culturally ratified discourse practices that actualize social cultural practices.

Finally, uncomfortable as it is, it is necessary to recognize the weakness of the present work. It is limited to the negative critic, as defined by Fairclough (2003). Positive critic, in which alternative ways of construing discourse are identified, still has to be developed. We expect, however, to have contributed to the understanding of science popularization as a problematic intercultural phenomenon with social cultural implications.

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CINE Y VIOLENCIA DE GÉNERO: LECTURA DE *VIRIDIANA* DESDE UNA SEMIÓTICA PSICOSOCIAL

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Resumen: *Viridiana* de Buñuel (1961), nos plantea, como espacio textual, una oportunidad para el despliegue de una Semiótica Psicosocial de la Violencia de Género, una ocasión para producir un texto reflexivo sobre los modos de representación de las múltiples formas de violencia, simbólica y física, que padecen las mujeres, y que contribuyen dramáticamente a la construcción de la subjetividad, tanto femenina como masculina, en sus papeles respectivos de “objeto-víctima” y “sujeto-verdugo”.

Palabras clave: Violencia de género, semiótica psicosocial, subjetividad, análisis crítico del discurso, cine.

Abstract: Buñuel's *Viridiana* (1961), outlines us, as textual space, an opportunity for the deployment of an Psychosocial Semiotics of the Gender Violence, an occasion to produce a reflexive text on the modes of representation of the multiple forms of violence, symbolic and physical, that suffer the women, and that contribute dramatically to the construction of the subjectivity, feminine as well as masculine, in their respective papers of “object - victim” and “subject - hangman”.

Keywords: Violence of gender, psychosocial semiotics, subjectivity, critical discourse analysis, cinema

1. INTRODUCCIÓN

Podemos considerar todo film como “espacio textual” (Talens/Company, 1984), sobre el que las miradas de espectadores y analistas construyen sentidos concretos, configurando el “texto” en sí, interpretándolo desde las diversas posiciones de sujeto. De este modo, la tarea ante el film no será la de extraer el significado, sino la de producir el sentido, o mejor, los sentidos, tantos como espectadores (en sus respectivas posiciones) se sitúen ante el espacio textual fílmico y lo actualicen como texto. Por lo tanto, como afirma Talens (1986), no se trata de reproducir el monólogo de un autor, sino de producir un diálogo con el film que responda a nuestros propios interrogantes. Dialogismo que, según Bajtin (1979) caracteriza todo discurso humano.

Desde este punto de partida, *Viridiana* de Buñuel (1961), nos plantea, como espacio textual, una excepcional oportunidad para el despliegue de una Semiótica Psicosocial de la Violencia de Género, una ocasión para producir un texto reflexivo sobre los modos de representación fílmica de las múltiples formas y niveles de violencia, simbólica y física, que padecen las mujeres (y por ende, la sociedad en su conjunto), y que contribuyen dramáticamente a la construcción de la subjetividad, tanto femenina como masculina, en sus papeles respectivos de “objeto-víctima” y “sujeto-verdugo”.

Subjetivación ésta, como “víctimas y verdugos”, en la que confluyen, de distintas maneras, tanto la violencia en sí (los hechos), como los modos de representarla fílmicamente (los discursos), ya que son tanto las prácticas discursivas como las no

discursivas las que construyen al sujeto (Foucault, 1970). Aquí el foco recaerá sobre la representación fílmica, sobre la práctica discursiva, sobre *Viridiana* y su estatuto semiótico, pero sin obviar el “referente psicosocial”, una realidad que el film, como todo lenguaje, no refleja pero sí refracta (Volosinov, 1929).

La construcción de los sujetos y sus relaciones de poder a través de los discursos, resulta un eje temático común a las diferentes corrientes de Análisis Crítico del Discurso y de Psicología Social Crítica, y la apertura de la noción de texto/discurso a su acepción más multisemiótica, no sólo verbal sino audiovisual, conecta también con los trabajos de Semiótica Fílmica y de Estudios Culturales. Una “Semiótica Psicosocial” interesada por la construcción de la subjetividad y la intersubjetividad, sus conflictos y sus violencias, en la matriz de los textos culturales, beberá de todas estas fuentes.

Por todo ello, el diálogo que se establecerá con *Viridiana* en el presente trabajo será sólo uno de los muchos posibles, y pretenderá plantear interrogantes acerca de la formación de discursos culturales y sociales sobre la violencia de género, en su polimorfismo de antecedentes y manifestaciones, y de su relación con la construcción de sujetos potencialmente agentes y pacientes de dicha violencia.

2. DIALOGANDO CON *VIRIDIANA* SOBRE VIOLENCIA DE GÉNERO

Comencemos el “diálogo” resumiendo el argumento de *Viridiana*, para pasar después a leer entre las líneas de su entramado.

Viridiana es una joven novicia a punto de tomar los votos, cuando recibe la orden de su madre superiora de visitar a su tío Don Jaime, a quien apenas conoce. Cuando llega a su hacienda, Don Jaime se enamora de ella, debido al extraordinario parecido que tiene con su esposa, que murió la misma noche de la boda y a quien no ha podido olvidar.

La última noche antes de su partida, logra convencerla para que se ponga la ropa nupcial de su tía y le pide matrimonio. Tras la reacción de la novicia escandalizada, decide cambiar de plan y, ayudado por su criada Ramona, narcotiza a *Viridiana* e intenta poseerla, pero renuncia en el último momento. Al día siguiente, le confiesa lo que ha pasado y ésta huye horrorizada. Cuando va a tomar el autobús que la llevará de nuevo al convento, es informada de que su tío se ha suicidado.

Viridiana regresa a la hacienda de su tío, se siente culpable de su muerte y decide no regresar al convento. En su testamento, Don Jaime deja en herencia la casona a su sobrina y a su hijo ilegítimo, Jorge, de quien nunca quiso saber nada. Jorge, que ha llegado junto a Lucía, su amante, se dispone a arreglar y explotar la hacienda, con su afán práctico y productivo. *Viridiana*, por su parte, desea habilitar en sus propiedades un albergue para pobres, y empieza por llevar allí a algunos mendigos. Pronto se ven las diferencias entre ambos y su relación se vuelve tensa. Mientras tanto, Lucía, celosa de la atracción que Jorge siente por su prima, lo abandona.

Un día, Jorge y *Viridiana* deben ir a la ciudad para hacer ciertas gestiones. Los mendigos, creyendo que no volverán hasta el día siguiente, organizan un transgresor banquete en la casa. Jorge y *Viridiana* regresan antes de lo previsto y los mendigos huyen al pueblo. Dos de ellos se quedan y, mientras Ramona va a buscar ayuda, intentan violar a *Viridiana*, después de haber puesto fuera de combate a Jorge. Este le pide a uno de los mendigos que mate al otro a cambio de dinero, logrando salvar a su prima.

Cuando todo ha terminado, *Viridiana* renuncia a su anterior vida y se dispone a iniciar una nueva relación con su primo. Así, al final del film, *Viridiana* entra en la habitación de Jorge, y se une a él, junto a Ramona, en una simbólica partida de Tute.

Planteado el argumento, emprendamos una disección o análisis, en forma de asociación/interpretación libre, de los elementos conectables con la relación Sexo/Género, con su definición de Identidades/Subjetividades/Intersubjetividades, y con

las distintas variedades de “Violencia” implícitas y explícitas en las mismas.

“Viridiana”, además del título del film, es el nombre de la “protagonista”, sin embargo su protagonismo, como es habitual en el caso de los personajes femeninos en el cine de una sociedad/cultura patriarcal, lo es en tanto que objeto pasivo de deseo y dominación masculina. Deseo y dominación que representan la matriz de la Violencia de Género.

El inicial rol de novicia de Viridiana la hace, simbólicamente, una “esclava de Dios” (“Dios”, el “Hombre” con mayúsculas, la máxima expresión simbólica en la cultura occidental del “Nombre del Padre”, en su doble acepción cristiana y lacanianiana), sometida a la autoridad que otras mujeres, las monjas, detentan vicariamente por delegación de ese “ente masculino”; delegación simbólica que las instituye como agentes del “Nombre del Padre”, que las inviste de masculinidad asexuada. Así, la “Madre Superiora” que ordena a Viridiana que visite a su tío en contra de su voluntad, desencadenando de este modo trama y drama, lo hace en representación del “Padre Superior”, iniciando el curso de la violencia simbólica en forma de dominación autoritaria, y presentando su hábito religioso como un implícito pero potente travestimiento de masculinidad fálica, que anticipa a otros travestidos (Don Jaime y el leproso) mucho menos sutiles pero igualmente claves en la narración.

Ya las palabras de la “Madre Superiora”, agente de Dios/Hombre en la Tierra, y mensajera/transmisora de la voluntad/deseo de Don Jaime (doblemente agente del “Poder Masculino” por tanto), manifiestan con claridad una de las más evidentes dimensiones del control del hombre sobre la mujer: la material y económica, cuando le presenta como argumento persuasivo para que le visite (en contra de su voluntad) el hecho de que su tío pagó su manutención y sus estudios. El chantaje económico, directo o indirecto, es un viejo y maldito instrumento que el hombre suele utilizar para satisfacer sus deseos contra la voluntad de la mujer, violentándola por tanto, convirtiéndola en mercancía de su economía libidinal.

Desde la llegada de Viridiana a las propiedades de su tío, Don Jaime quisiera que su propia sobrina pasara a convertirse en una más de sus propiedades, “poseerla” en todos los sentidos, manifestación clara de violencia contra la libertad e identidad de la mujer como persona; consecuentemente, la cámara nos la muestra como “objeto de deseo”, desde una enunciación “masculina” del “Significante-Mujer”. Así, los sucesivos encuadres nos van mostrando/narrando cómo Viridiana, en la relativa soledad de su cuarto (la criada, Ramona, la espía como mirada vicaria/sicaria de su amo), desnuda por este orden descendente su pelo, su pecho y sus piernas, tres elementos clave para el ojo “voyeur” masculino y su visión, cargada de deseo, del “Icono-Mujer”. Esta “puesta en escena” de la situación refuerza su estilo “voyeurístico” al incluir una forzada e innecesaria (inverosímil) -salvo como escenografía del deseo- postura “de puntillas” en los pies de Viridiana, una especie de “tacones invisibles”, cuya única función es cargar aún más de erotismo la imagen de sus piernas desnudas (no olvidemos que en Cine las imágenes no muestran realidades, sino que narran representaciones, “puestas en escena”, escritas audiovisualmente).

A un nivel simbólico, resulta significativa la secuencia en la que Viridiana y Don Jaime conversan sobre el hijo ilegítimo de éste (Jorge), y ante la reprensión moral de Viridiana a su tío por no haberse hecho cargo de él, Don Jaime contesta que “ese

inocente no quedará olvidado", e inmediatamente su atención y la de la cámara enunciativa se posan en una pequeña abeja que está a punto de ahogarse y a la que Don Jaime salva "gentilmente", usando para ello el palito que llevaba en la mano mientras paseaba y conversaba con Viridiana. Pudiera entenderse al himenóptero como trasunto del "inocente" del que ambos hablaban, y del que acabará ocupándose, pero lo cierto es que "la abeja" es femenina, Don Jaime se refiere a ella como "pobrecilla", y la salva utilizando un objeto de características "fálicas", tanto por su forma alargada, como por su doble uso "de poder": para señalar y así afirmar sus argumentos mientras discute con Viridiana el tema, y después, para "salvar la vida" a la "pobrecilla" abeja.

Tanto si interpretamos al desvalido insecto como representación del "inocente hijo ilegítimo" o de la propia Viridiana, ambos tienen una cualidad "femenina", "objetual" de "víctimas" a los que el "sujeto/ agente/masculino" Don Jaime debe "salvar" (¡las mujeres y los niños primero!). Demasiado a menudo, la injerencia masculina en la libertad femenina adopta la engañosa forma de "salvación" y "ayuda": "lo hago por tu bien", como si el Hombre fuera el "padre eterno" y la Mujer la "eternamente infantil", a la que hay que "salvar y proteger" y de paso dominar. La dominación masculina en ocasiones resulta más "gentil", y el "palo fálico" funciona como asidero para "salvarse", otras veces la "gentileza" brilla por su ausencia, y el "palo fálico" golpea sin piedad.

En otra secuencia, de saturación simbólica mucho mayor, y clave para el desarrollo de la trama, Don Jaime da rienda suelta a su travestismo fetichista, el cual le permite invocar el fantasma de su amada muerta. Tanto el acto de Don Jaime con sus fetiches, como la memorable interrupción del mismo por la aparición de Viridiana sonámbula (como una fantasmal e inesperada respuesta a su invocación), han sido ampliamente analizadas por otros trabajos (Sánchez-Biosca, 1999), aquí sólo vamos a referirnos a dos aspectos que subrayan la asimetría en la correlación de fuerzas y posiciones entre hombres y mujeres.

Por un lado, el momento en que Don Jaime se calza el zapato de su difunta esposa (de la cual es trasunto la propia Viridiana) evidencia la diferencia de tamaño entre el pie masculino y el femenino, y metonímicamente, la mayor envergadura, peso y fuerza del cuerpo masculino frente al femenino, hecho relativamente "natural" y "generalizado" (con importantes matices y excepciones...) pero con dramáticas y crueles consecuencias, en demasiadas ocasiones trágicas y fatales, en cuanto a la violencia de género. Este "hecho físico" y "natural", representa también de forma simbólica otras asimetrías de poder mucho menos "físicas y naturales", producidas por las diferencias económicas, legales, sociales y culturales que constituyen de manera tan desigual la posición de unos y otras.

Por otro lado, el sonambulismo de Viridiana la coloca en una posición de falta de consciencia y responsabilidad de sus actos, de fragilidad y vulnerabilidad ante el entorno, que puede representar simbólicamente el estatus concedido en las sociedades machistas a las mujeres, la atribución de debilidad y dependencia respecto a la condición masculina. Además, dicho estado pone a Viridiana al alcance impune de la mirada deseante de Don Jaime, facilitándole lograr el sueño de todo "voyeur": no sólo ver sin ser visto, sino estar inmediatamente presente junto a su objeto de deseo sin que éste se aperciba. De ese modo, la mujer deviene objeto pero no sujeto de deseo, no tiene op-

ción de participar en un intercambio libidinal o de rechazarlo, de corresponder a la mirada del hombre o contraponerle la suya propia, su posición pasiva e inerte/inerme la asimila a la escultura de pechos desnudos que el encuadre nos muestra a su lado. Negar la mirada, la voluntad y la agencia de la mujer, es una clara forma de violentarla.

Volvemos a encontrar una muestra del poder económico y “benefactor” del hombre sobre la mujer en la conversación que Don Jaime mantiene con su criada Ramona, en ella se cuenta cómo el hacendado recogió a la mujer y a su hija Rita, en momentos difíciles para ambas, haciéndose cargo de ellas y obteniendo la permanente gratitud y abnegación de Ramona, a su servicio “para todo” hasta el final. Ante la pregunta de Don Jaime a Ramona acerca de “la estima” que ésta le profesa, ella le responde que poco agradecida sería si no lo “quisiera” con todo lo que hizo por ella y por su hija, reuniéndoles cuando no tenían adónde ir.

Resulta muy significativa la cuestión de “la estima” de la mujer (criada) hacia el hombre (señor) al menos por dos razones: 1ª porque se llama “estima” a lo que en realidad es una deuda por favores recibidos, una cosa es “querer” y otra “deber”, y 2ª porque con el engañoso nombre de “estima”, se invoca una obediencia incondicional, más allá de la moral y, por supuesto, de la solidaridad entre mujeres, que llevará a Ramona a funcionar como instrumento (de nuevo la mujer como objeto) de Don Jaime para violar la voluntad y el cuerpo de Viridiana. La situación ejemplifica cómo el poder económico es uno de los pilares (no el único) que sostiene la dominación masculina de la mujer, comprando la “estima” y la obediencia femenina cuando esto es posible, y poniendo a unas mujeres contra otras, como eslabones en la cadena de objetos y deseos del hombre.

En esta misma conversación de Don Jaime con Ramona, éste utiliza una expresión tristemente significativa si hablamos de violencia de género. Al referirse al desagrado y contrariedad que le provoca la firme voluntad de Viridiana de volver al Convento, ignorando sus peticiones para que se quede, Don Jaime dice “a veces me dan ganas de sentarle la mano encima”... y es que la fuerza de voluntad, la firmeza, la discrepancia con el deseo masculino son traducidas como “ingratitude” por Don Jaime, y a sus ojos ésta parece “justificar” el uso de la violencia para lograr la propia satisfacción. Finalmente Don Jaime no golpeará a Viridiana, pero la Violencia de Género tiene otros caminos.

Así, Don Jaime acaba perpetrando el primer intento de violación que Viridiana sufre en el film. Violación “no consumada” pero sí cometida, ya que pese a no alcanzar la meta sexual última, sí que supone una transgresión de la voluntad de Viridiana. Voluntad que parece carecer de importancia a los ojos de Don Jaime y de su servil criada Ramona, comparada con el peso del deseo masculino que, disfrazado de “amor”, justifica para la lógica machista la adopción de las medidas más radicales.

Pese a la extrañeza de Ramona ante los planes de su “amo”, y los remordimientos del propio Don Jaime que frenan el desenlace final de sus abusos, los dos accionan el mecanismo avasallador que deja a Viridiana, de nuevo inerte/inerme, tendida en el lecho como la novia que nunca fue, y a disposición de su captor. Ambos consideran, si no plausibles al menos justificables los métodos utilizados, lo cual representa una lacra de la cultura machista y una de las causas de la violencia de género: la creencia de algunos hombres, y lo que es aún más insidioso, de algunas mujeres, de

que los fines de los hombres justifican sus medios, “mi marido me pega lo normal”, “te pego porque te quiero”, “la maté porque era mía” son frases de la cultura machista, ajenas al film, pero que ilustran esta subordinación de la voluntad y de la corporeidad femeninas al deseo y criterio, a veces brutal, de los hombres. Esta conexión de las abusivas acciones de Don Jaime con la secular cultura machista se encuentra representada simbólicamente por la figura del “toro negro”, y su alusión al carácter amenazante y violento de cierta forma de entender la sexualidad masculina; Rita, la hija de Ramona, es doblemente testigo de la violencia sexual masculina: onírica y simbólicamente en el “toro negro” de su sueño, y realmente en la escena de amago de violación que observa furtivamente desde la ventana.

Como ocurre en otras muchas películas, la construcción de la muñeca por parte del hombre (una de las fantasías misóginas más extendidas en la cultura y el arte occidental), se inviste de deseo sexual y de dominación del “significante mujer”, pero con una diferencia importante: si la Galatea de Pígameo no tiene ni voz ni voto, por su carácter artificial e inhumano, Viridiana participa de la conversión, de la construcción del objeto-mujer. Accede a la propuesta de Don Jaime, no sin remordimientos, y se disfraza de novia virginal, en una puesta en escena que nos remite a la literatura gótica y tenebrista. Pero el gesto sumiso de la novicia no podía durar demasiado, por eso se hacía necesario convertirla en una muñeca que, con su quietud, no explicitara el hecho de ser una mujer mortal, tal vez la compañera “ideal” del fetichista que vive rodeado de objetos.

Don Jaime se detiene arrepentido antes de poseer sexualmente a la indefensa/drogada Viridiana, pero sus remordimientos no le impiden mentirle el día siguiente para que ella se crea “deshonrada” y así no pueda volver al convento, cuando le confiesa la verdad, con lágrimas en los ojos, no deja de ser una retórica al servicio del mismo fin, y al comprobar que la ha perdido definitivamente, sin haberla tenido nunca, las lágrimas son sustituidas por una malévola sonrisa en la soledad de su despacho, cuando maquina el último de sus planes: su suicidio y el testamento que la unirá a su hijo Jorge como copropietarios de la hacienda. El “¡mía o de nadie!” que suele acompañar el más trágico final de la violencia de género, la muerte de la mujer a manos del hombre para que ningún otro la posea, es sustituido aquí por un implícito “¡si no puede ser mía, será de mi hijo!”, que pese a parecer mucho menos trágico y violento, no deja de ejercer una fuerte “violencia de género” simbólica e indirecta, en forma de acción estratégicamente planeada para condicionar totalmente la vida de una mujer, Viridiana, anulando su libertad para decidir qué hacer con su vida, y lanzándola en brazos de otro hombre, trasunto “mejorado y actualizado” del propio Don Jaime, su hijo Jorge.

Como los dos coguionistas de *Viridiana*, Julio Alejandro y el propio Buñuel reconocen, el suicidio de Don Jaime marca el final de la primera parte del film, en la cual nos hemos detenido más. Rastreadremos ahora con mayor brevedad algunos elementos relevantes para nuestro asunto de la segunda parte y desenlace de la historia.

Jorge, el hijo ilegítimo de Don Jaime, es su heredero tanto en propiedades como en deseo sexual por Viridiana, y por lo tanto, en la tarea de “acoso y derribo” de la “pureza” de la misma, misión tan maquiavélica e indirectamente “encomendada” por su padre. Jorge mostrará una actitud de “poder masculino” más expansiva y efectiva que la de Don Jaime, más “moderna”; el “hombre aristocrático decadente” es sucedi-

do por el “hombre burgués e industrioso”.

Este “macho moderno” trae a la hacienda su propia “relación de dominación masculina”, la que mantiene con su amante, Lucía, la cual, mientras limpia sus zapatos, reconoce “tenerle muy mal acostumbrado” (expresión típica para referirse a la abnegación femenina hacia el hombre); pero ésta decidirá abandonarle celosa de la atracción que él siente hacia Viridiana. Este abandono, no obstante, le resultará “doblemente ventajoso” a Jorge, ya que encontrará dos nuevas “esclavas” sobre las que ejercer su poder sexual. En efecto, la herencia de su padre es tan “bien aprovechada” por Jorge, que logra hacer todo lo que Don Jaime no pudo: no sólo ejerce su poder sobre las posesiones materiales de la hacienda, transformándolas para hacerlas funcionales y rentables, sino sobre las mujeres que, para su mirada masculina, parecen formar parte del conjunto de posesiones heredadas, Ramona y Viridiana, a las que (por este orden) acaba “poseyendo” totalmente, cosa que el difunto nunca hizo. Es el triunfo vicario y paradójico de Don Jaime, cuya estrategia le permite, como al Cid, ganar batallas después de muerto.

Así, las arteras maniobras de Don Jaime consiguen condicionar profundamente la vida de Viridiana, quebrar su voluntad de “pureza” (aunque no sea él sino su hijo quien la “disfrute como mujer”...), desviarla de su circunstancialmente escogido “servicio a Dios”, para llevarle a reconvertir su “humanismo cristiano” en un “servicio al hombre” (entendiendo “hombre” como “humanidad en general”, pero finalmente como el género masculino de Jorge).

Este “humanismo” de Viridiana, su “vocación de servicio”, su “entrega a los demás”... cualidades “prototípicamente femeninas”, son interpretadas como “estar podrida de beatería” por Jorge cuando se aplican al asilo y cuidado de los mendigos (otra cosa muy distinta sería si los cuidados se los dirigiera a él...), son vistas como muestras de debilidad, ingenuidad e ignorancia, ya que, en un “Mundo Masculino”, donde la fuerza, la agresividad, la competitividad, la insolidaridad y la desconfianza son los valores dominantes, las cualidades de “cuidado y servicio”, con las que se define y construye la imagen de la mujer, son consideradas secundarias respecto a las del hombre, pero valiosas como auxiliares del mismo, siempre que no se “desperdicien” en otros menesteres. Así, desde un punto de vista machista, común aunque con matices al “machismo antiguo” de Don Jaime y al más “moderno” de su hijo Jorge, la mujer debe cuidar y satisfacer a su hombre (y por extensión a su familia, a su señor...) y no perder demasiado tiempo con otras dedicaciones...

El film representa muy gráfica y efectivamente estas profundas diferencias entre Viridiana y Jorge, entre sus respectivos y estereotípicos roles de género, mediante un montaje en paralelo que nos muestra alternativamente imágenes de las actividades simultáneas de ambos: mientras Jorge, “el hombre”, dirige las tareas de los obreros en los campos, Viridiana, “la mujer”, reza el “Angelus” con sus mendigos. En ese montaje conceptual, encontramos los significantes del “pragmatismo moderno” que se pretende represente al sujeto activo masculino, y del “anacronismo religioso” que se atribuye al objeto/sujeto pasivo femenino cuando emplea fútilmente su supuesta predisposición a la piedad.

Como “prueba” del error de Viridiana al desperdiciar sus cuidados con mendigos, éstos acabarán traicionando gravemente su confianza. Más concretamente,

aquellos de talante más criminal y lascivo, y cómo no, de género masculino, el cojo y el leproso, llevarán la traición mucho más lejos intentando violar a su benefactora; se trata pues del segundo intento de violación de Viridiana en el film, que de nuevo vuelve a significarse en la historia como un involuntario objeto de deseo ¿el sino inevitable de la mujer?... La ingenuidad de Viridiana hacia los mendigos señala su “bondad”, pero también su ignorancia, tan “femeninas” ambas desde un planteamiento patriarcal y machista; en contraste, será el papel “providencial” de Jorge el que le salvará cuando los dos mendigos intentan violarla, la “preclara” y “resuelta” mente masculina es la que gana tiempo hasta que llegan “las fuerzas del orden”, cómo no, también de género masculino.

Finalmente, el “menage a trois” de Jorge con sus “dos mujeres”, tan metafórica y sugerentemente representado por el juego de tute (con el fin de superar la censura), supone la sutil pero total dominación masculina sobre el pequeño “harén”. Y así, Viridiana, el personaje femenino y protagonista que da nombre a la película, en realidad no hace otra cosa que ir, conducida o empujada, de una subordinación a la influencia de lo masculino a otra: Dios, Don Jaime, los mendigos violadores, Jorge... Víctima o protegida, objeto de deseo o de violencia, pero siempre “objeto”.

3. CONCLUSIONES

“Ficciones” y “Realidades” interactúan en la constitución discursiva, es decir “Semiótica”, de lo “Psicosocial”. Así, se conectaría la exploración de tres procesos de construcción: del imaginario socio-sexual, del sentido textual, y del sujeto espectador (Colaizzi, 1990, 1993), tanto femenino como masculino, y tanto teórico como histórico. La articulación del carácter de construcción social, textual, cultural e histórica, de imaginarios, sentidos, sujetos y realidades podría sentar la base para una “Semiótica Psicosocial”.

Colaizzi (1993) nos habla de cómo, a través de los textos, se va construyendo un “imaginario socio-sexual”. Ese imaginario dominante en la era moderna, nos muestra al hombre como “sujeto” y a la mujer como “objeto”, ejemplificados por *Robinson Crusoe* (de Daniel Defoe) y *Pamela* (de Samuel Richardson).

Como hemos expuesto, el film *Viridiana* permite a nuestra mirada acceder a una serie de discursos eminentemente sexistas. La protagonista (en cierto modo como Pamela), es un “sujeto ausente”, dado que su presencia lo es como “objeto”, o dicho de otro modo, se trata de un “sujeto paciente” (pasivo) cuya subjetivación o construcción identitaria consiste en “sujetarse” a la dominación del “sujeto agente” (activo), “el hombre”, en cualquiera de las sucesivas formas o personajes en los que se encarna en la película, pero especialmente en la del triunfante y democráticamente dictatorial Jorge (que manifiesta bastantes paralelismos, en su “industriosidad y enseñoreamiento”, con Robinson Crusoe).

La mujer representada por Viridiana es objeto de deseo y víctima de una u otra forma de violencia de género tanto en el estado de “Orden” (el “viejo orden” de Don Jaime y el “nuevo orden” de Jorge) como en el de “Caos” (el “carnaval” de los mendigos), ya que si los discursos dominantes subyacentes, más allá de cualquier otra discrepancia, tienen el machismo en su base, tanto la “Ley” como la “Subversión” aca-

ban haciendo a la mujer objeto de deseo y violencia, más o menos brutal o sutil, física o simbólica, pero violencia de género al final. La participación de Viridiana en el contexto en que se enmarca, el de la sociedad patriarcal, no contradice al mismo: como mujer-objeto, se disfraza y cumple los distintos roles que la sociedad ha marcado para la mujer, siempre en la constante relación con el sujeto-hombre.

El doble placer de la mirada del espectador (Mulvey, 1988) podría satisfacerse en su dimensión narcisista por la identificación con los protagonistas masculinos, con el “malogrado” Don Jaime, o particularmente con el “bien parado” Jorge, y en su vertiente escopofílica por la observación de Viridiana como “objeto de deseo”, con un matiz de fetichismo, voyeurismo o sadismo, según el momento de la trama. Esto convergería con la idea del cine como espectáculo para el “placer masculino”, el espectador se identificaría con el personaje masculino, activo agente deseante, para gozar así del personaje femenino, pasivo objeto del deseo. Tanto hombres como mujeres deberían así tornarse “espectadores masculinos” para disfrutar del film. Pero, ¿es ésta la única o principal opción de recepción?

La capacidad subversiva de *Viridiana*, en lo que al sexo/género se refiere, podría radicar en mostrar tal sexismo, tal “violencia de género”, de forma tan evidente, que evidencia también la presencia enunciativa de la cámara, cómo actúa, para quién y contra quién, lo cual permite procesos identificatorios alternativos con la “generación” de “espectadores femeninos”, tanto hombres como mujeres, capaces de experimentar “displacer” ante las situaciones y hechos narrados. Un sexismo como elemento retórico, que no sugiera la reproducción y perpetuación del mismo en la realidad extradiscursiva, sino su transformación y subversión, a través de prácticas de resistencia, por parte de los sujetos espectadores.

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