Communicating Conflict: Multilingual Case Studies of the News Media

by

Elizabeth A. Thomson,

University of Wollongong

and

P.R.R. White,

University of Adelaide

Editors.

Acknowledgements

Chapter 1

The News Story as Rhetoric: linguistic approaches to the analysis of journalistic discourse

P.R.R. White
University of Adelaide

Elizabeth A. Thomson
University of Wollongong

(A) Introduction

For all manner of political, economic and technological reasons, newspaper journalism[1] around the world is in a state of flux. These forces of change include the growth of the internet, the continuing expansion of English as a world language and the ever widening reach of transnational media companies such as Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation. While these forces seem to be pushing largely in the direction of a homogenisation or globalization of journalistic practices and outputs, substantial variation remains, nevertheless, in the conditions under which news is reported around the world. In some countries, for example, there are well established traditions of newspapers serving party-political or religious sectarian interests while in others the ultimate purpose of newspapers has longstandingly been to serve the owner's commercial interests. In some countries the leading newspapers are read by mass audiences running into the millions while in other countries circulations of even the most influential titles are much smaller, running only into the tens of thousands. In some countries there is a clear distinction between 'broadsheet', so called 'highbrow', newspapers and 'tabloid', so-called 'lowbrow', newspapers, with the broadsheets aiming for a university educated, typically

middle-class readership and the tabloids aiming for a less educated, typically working-class audience. In other countries, there are few or no 'tabloid' newspapers, with the 'lowbrow' functions being performed by weekly gossip magazines or even in those countries' 'sports' newspapers. There are also important differences in what is sometimes termed the 'professionalisation' of journalism. For example, there are differences around the world in the types of training journalists typically receive, the degree to which journalists assert the right to make decisions autonomously of owners or state controllers, and the degree to which there are formalised codes of practice specifying, for example, that journalists should protect their sources or endeavour to provide coverage which is 'fair, balanced and impartial'. It is also noteworthy that not all journalistic cultures operate with the notion that it is possible to distinguish between the 'objective' and the 'subjective' or the related notion that so-called 'factual information' can and should be separated from opinion.

This diversity in the conduct of newspaper journalism around the world has received some coverage in the media studies and media sociology literature. For example, in their recent *Comparing Media Systems – Three Models of Media and Politics*, Hallin and Mancini (2004) provide a detailed account of similarities and differences in the political economy of print journalism as it operates in Europe, the UK and north America. However, there is little work available which has as its primary focus the comparison of news reporting discourse across this diversity of journalistic cultures. (One interesting exception to this rule is van Leeuwen's discussion of the journalistic language of Vietnam's English-language *Vietnam News* – see van Leeuwen 2006.) Thus it remains

difficult to determine how similar or different are the genres, styles and rhetorical workings of news reporting language as it operates around the world. This lack of knowledge is of concern in its own right, since it means that we remain unclear as to the degree to which different languages and cultures have developed their own individual journalistic styles and structures. But it is even more troubling given the possibility that global forces may be acting to homogenise journalistic practices internationally. Without this knowledge it will be impossible to determine, for example, whether or not Anglo-American modes of journalistic discourse are coming to dominate internationally and, in the processes, supplanting local styles and text types.

One of the objectives of this volume is to provide material which can begin to fill this gap. The authors of a number of the chapters offer detailed linguistic analyses of news reporting texts from a range of journalistic cultures, including those of Japan, China, Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia, France, Finland, Spain and Latin America. One purpose of the current chapter is to provide an overview of the key findings presented in those chapters. The other purpose is to set out the theoretical framework upon which many of these authors rely and, in so doing, to outline what we believe to be some fruitful lines of linguistic enquiry for those interested in comparing and contrasting journalistic discourse across cultures. It is to this second purpose that we now turn.

(A) Approaches to cross-cultural journalism analysis

If our concern is with comparing and contrasting news discourse across cultures, there are any number of aspects of journalistic language we might attend to. Having noted, for example, that news journalism constitutes a distinctive style or register in languages such as English and Japanese, we might be interested to determine the degree to which this is the case in other languages. Having noted the high degree to which news journalism in English is concerned with speculating about the future (see, for example, Jaworksy et al. 2003 or Neiger 2007) we might explore the degree to which this is also a preoccupation of other journalistic cultures. We have chosen, however, by way of one possible starting point, to focus on what we see as a key broader issue, at least for those journalisms with which we are currently familiar – specifically those properties of journalistic discourse which underlie news journalists' claims that their texts have the special epistemic status of being 'objective', 'neutral' and 'impartial'. More narrowly, this means we choose to attend to the interrelated issues of the structuring of the typical 'hard news' item as a supposedly 'objective' text type and those properties of hard news reporting style which may function to background or obscure the subjective role of the journalistic author in constructing the text. We believe that these issues suggest lines of enquiry which can very usefully be applied to the task of developing comparisons of news reporting discourse across cultures.

Before we begin we must firstly declare what might be considered a bias, or at least a particular cultural orientation. Most of the work on the news item as text type upon which we rely (for example Iedema et al. 1994, Iedema 1997, White 1997, 2000a, 2000b,

2003b, 2004, 2006) has considered only English language texts, and mostly texts

constructed in the Anglo-Australian, rather than north American, journalistic tradition.

Accordingly we cannot avoid having a particular type of English language news

journalism as our primary reference point. There are obvious theoretical and analytical

dangers here which we may not be able to escape entirely but which we hope to mitigate

through an awareness of the cultural specificity of the account which we use as our

starting point.

(A) The textual architecture of the news report

We turn firstly to considering the structure of the typical hard news report as a

distinctive text type or genre.

We provide below two instances of English language hard news reports which

exemplify the textual architecture which Iedema et al. (1994), Iedema (1997) and White

(1997, 2000a, 2000b) have argued is typical of contemporary English language news

reporting. Our purpose here is to provide a model of textual organisation against which

the structure of news texts in other languages can be compared and contrasted. For the

purpose of this exemplification, we have chosen items which, while in English,

nevertheless were produced by media organisations based in non-English speaking

countries. The first item is from the English-language website of the Qatar-based,

Arabic-language Al Jazeera news network and the second from Israel's English-

language *Jerusalem Post*. Both items cover an incident in the West Bank 1n 2006 in

which five Palestinians were killed by Israeli troops and two of the Israeli soldiers were

wounded. (The items have been slightly abbreviated for the purposes of this paper.)

Text 1 – Al Jazeera

Five Palestinians killed in Israeli raid
[Feb 23, 2006]
Israeli troops have killed five Palestinians during the biggest raid against West
Bank fighters for months, stoking tension as Hamas leaders hold talks to form
a new Palestinian government.
Clashes began in Nablus on Thursday after the army expanded the scope of its
operation from Balata refugee camp, on the outskirts, into the city centre,
blocking main roads and forcing schools and some businesses to close.
Medics said three armed men were among the dead in Nablus on Thursday.
Two other men were shot dead when Palestinians confronted troops with
stones and petrol bombs.
An Israeli military official in Jerusalem said troops were searching for suspects
involved in planning bombings and other attacks.
The Israeli army said its forces had opened fire when they came under attack as
they tried to arrest wanted people planning to strike Israel. Two Israeli soldiers
were wounded.

<div align="center">Outrage</div>

Angered by the deaths, hundreds of Palestinians marched in the streets
shouting "Death to Israelis, death to occupation".
 The main targets of the raid have been Islamic Jihad, which carried out two
suicide bombings in Israel in recent months, and al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, an
armed group that is part of the mainstream Fatah movement.
In Gaza, Islamic Jihad said they fired seven rockets at Israel in response to the
Nablus operation, in which a senior commander in the group was killed on
Tuesday.
Palestinians said more than 50 people had been injured during confrontations
and more than two dozen others had been arrested.
The latest deaths in Nablus took the toll to eight over five days.
It was the deadliest raid into the occupied West Bank since mid-2005.

<div align="center">Condemnation</div>

Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, described the Israeli raid as " a war crime
aimed at continuing the escalation and undermining Hamas efforts to form a
government".
"We are committed to resistance and the occupation will pay the price for these
crimes"
In the Gaza Strip, Hamas continued talks with other parties aimed at forming a
government.

But Ahmed Qurie, the outgoing pime mnister, said chances were slim that their long-dominant Fatah party would join a Hamas government.

Qurie said Fatah wanted to concentrate on rebuilding itself after its election defeat.

Text 2 - Jerusalem Post

Two soldiers wounded in Nablus mission

[Margot Dudkevitch - Feb 23, 2006]

Five Palestinians were killed on Thursday and two soldiers wounded, one moderately, during fierce gun battles and clashes in Nablus where Operation Northern Lights continued.

Four of the dead were identified as senior members of the Fatah Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades, including Muhammad Shtewi, 33, who was responsible for numerous shootings in which soldiers were killed.

According to security officials, in recent months Shtewi had maintained close contacts with Hizbullah operatives in Lebanon, had purchased weapons and carried out shootings and bombings.

OC Samaria Col. Yuval Bazak told *The Jerusalem Post* that Shtewi shot and killed paratrooper company commander Capt. Shahar Ben-Yishai in the Balata refugee camp in May 2004. He was also involved in fatal shootings on the trans-Samaria highway, including the shooting on January 5, 2005 in which Sgt. Yossi Attiah and Lt. Ariel Bouda were killed, Bazak said.

Acting on intelligence on Shtewi's location, paratroopers surrounded a building in Balata. As the soldiers approached, Shtewi and his aides, Hassan Fathi Hajaj, 26, and Muhammad Hamis Amar, 36, opened fire and threw grenades at them, wounding two soldiers.

Minutes later the three were shot and killed.

The moderately wounded soldier, who suffered a broken leg, was airlifted to the Rabin Medical Center's Beilinson Campus in Petah Tikva, and the second soldier, who suffered a hand wound, was taken by ambulance.

Searching the building, soldiers found grenades, a Kalashnikov rifle, an M16 rifle and an M203 rifle with an attached grenade launcher.

Bazak sharply rejected claims by international relief organizations, including the Physicians for Human Rights organization, which accused soldiers of firing indiscriminately at relief workers. Physicians for Human Rights said three of the wounded Palestinians were relief workers, and in one instance soldiers pulled one of them out of an ambulance.

"I would like to stress that under no circumstances were shots fired by soldiers at medical teams or ambulance drivers. I checked the claims myself, and in one instance discovered that one of the wounded Palestinians who they claimed was an ambulance driver was a fugitive called Wa'el Amar," Bazak said.

Soldiers entered the hospital where Amar was taken and took him for treatment in Israel, Bazak said.

The IDF operation was launched in response to the increased terror threats stemming from Nablus refugee camp, where fugitives affiliated with the Fatah and Islamic Jihad have joined forces. Dubbed a hotbed of terror, four explosive belts manufactured in the city were caught at checkpoints in recent weeks.
"Our goal is to harm the terror organizations' capabilities and their motivation," Bazak said. "So far we have succeeded, but people should be aware that we are talking about a battle zone. Soldiers operating in the city in recent days have come under constant gunfire."

(B) The news story opening – headline and lead

One of the most distinctive properties of conventionally constructed English language news reports is the way they begin – launching the reader, without any background or preamble, directly into what can be seen as the maximally newsworthy heart of the issue under consideration. It is this property which the journalism training literature attempts to capture in its description of the news item as having an 'inverted pyramid' structure. By this the reporter is said to begin with what is 'most important' and to then proceed progressively to what is 'least important'. Obviously assessments of 'importance' are culturally and ideologically relative, as is clearly indicated by a comparison of these two items. Thus for Al Jazeera, those aspects of the event assessed as most significant are that (1) five Palestinians have been killed, (2) this is the largest action by the Israelis in recent time and (3) it is likely to increase tension as Palestinian leaders seek to form a new government. In contrast, for the *Jerusalem Post*, what is most significant is that (1) two Israeli soldiers have been wounded, (2) five Palestinians have been killed, (3) there has been a violent clash, and (4) the Israeli military is conducting an ongoing operation in the West Bank. Nevertheless, despite these differences in 'angle', the two reports are

similar structurally in the way in which they pack the opening headline and lead with these maximally impactful details.

(B) The body of the news report

The second phase of the contemporary news report - the body which follows the headline/lead - acts to specify, elaborate and comment on the various strands of information presented in the opening. It is noteworthy that this specification and elaboration is typically presented non-chronologically and discontinuously. That is to say, events are seldom presented in continuous step-by-step sequence in the order in which they occurred, and when dealing with a particular aspect or sub issue, the writer typically attends to this at different points in the body of the report, rather than dealing with it exhaustively in a single section. To demonstrate this discontinuity with respect to the Al Jazeera report, we provide below, for comparison purposes, an alternative working of the text's content under which chronological progression has been maintained. Paragraph numbering is used to show the original positioning of material.

> (2) Clashes between Israeli forces and Palestinian fighters began in Nablus on Thursday after the Israeli army expanded the scope of its operation from Balata refugee camp, on the outskirts, into the city centre, blocking main roads and forcing schools and some businesses to close.

(4) An Israeli military official in Jerusalem said the troops had moved into the area in order to search for suspects involved in planning bombings and other attacks.

(7) Their main targets were the Islamic Jihad, which carried out two suicide bombings in Israel in recent months, and al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, an armed group that is part of the mainstream Fatah movement.

(5) The Israeli army said its forces had opened fire when they came under attack as they tried to arrest wanted people planning to strike Israel.

(3) There Palestinians were killed then and (5) two Israeli soldiers were wounded.

(3) Two other Palestinians were later killed when the Israeli troops were confronted by men with stones and petrol bombs.

(6) Angered by the deaths, hundreds of Palestinians marched in the streets shouting "Death to Israelis, death to occupation".

(10) The deaths took the toll to eight over five days (1) in what has been the biggest raid against West Bank fighters for months,

Work by Iedema et al. (1994) and White (1997, 2000a, 2000b) suggests that, accordingly, the body of the typical news item can be broken down into self-contained components which typically perform one or more of the following functions in relation to the headline/lead.

- Elaboration or Reiteration: One sentence or a group of sentences provides more detailed description or exemplification of information presented in the

headline/lead, or acts to restate it or describe the material in the headline/lead in different terms.

- Causes: One or more sentences describe the causes or reason for some aspect of the 'crisis point' presented in the headline/lead.

- Consequences: One or more sentences describe the consequences flowing from some element of the crisis point of the headline/lead

- Contextualisation: One or more sentences places some aspect of the crisis point of the headline/lead in a temporal, spatial or social context. For example, the geographical setting will be described in some detail or the 'crisis point' will be located in the context of preceding, simultaneous or subsequent events. Prior events of a similar nature may be described for the purpose of comparison.

- Attitudinal assessment: Some form of judgement or evaluation is passed on some element of the headline/lead. Typically, at least in the broadsheet media, the assessment is made by an external source i.e. via quoted material attributed to an expert, political leader, eye-witness, community leader, spokesperson etc.

An analysis of the construction of the *Jerusalem Post* report which attends to these relationships is set out below

> [*headline/lead*]
> **Two soldiers wounded in Nablus mission**
> Five Palestinians were killed on Thursday and two soldiers wounded, one moderately, during fierce gun battles and clashes in Nablus where Operation Northern Lights continued.
>
> [*elaboration – details of those killed*]
> Four of the dead were identified as senior members of the Fatah Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades, including Muhammad Shtewi, 33….

[*causes – reasons why these men were targeted*]
According to security officials, in recent months Shtewi had maintained close contacts with Hizbullah operatives…[he] shot and killed paratrooper company commander Capt. Shahar Ben-Yishai….

[*elaboration – details of the action and additional details of those killed*]
Acting on intelligence on Shtewi's location, paratroopers surrounded a building in Balata. As the soldiers approached, Shtewi and his aides, Hassan Fathi Hajaj, 26, and Muhammad Hamis Amar, 36, opened fire and threw grenades at them, wounding two soldiers. Minutes later the three were shot and killed.

[*elaboration + consequences – details on the wounded soldiers and what happened to them subsequently*]
The moderately wounded soldier, who suffered a broken leg, was airlifted to the Rabin Medical Center's Beilinson Campus in Petah Tikva, and the second soldier, who suffered a hand wound, was taken by ambulance.

[*elaboration – further details of the action*]
Searching the building, soldiers found grenades, a Kalashnikov rifle, an M16 rifle and an M203 rifle with an attached grenade launcher.

[*attitudinal assessment*]
Bazak sharply rejected claims by international relief organizations, including the Physicians for Human Rights organization, which accused soldiers of firing indiscriminately at relief workers. Physicians for Human Rights said three of the wounded Palestinians were relief workers, and in one instance soldiers pulled one of them out of an ambulance.
"I would like to stress that under no circumstances were shots fired by soldiers at medical teams or ambulance drivers …

[*causes*]
The IDF operation was launched in response to the increased terror threats stemming from Nablus refugee camp…,

[*attitudinal assessment*]
"Our goal is to harm the terror organizations' capabilities and their motivation," Bazak said. "So far we have succeeded, but people should be aware that we are talking about a battle zone. Soldiers operating in the city in recent days have come under constant gunfire."

This arrangement leads us (following Iedema et al. 1994 and White 1997, 2000a) to conceptualise texts organised in this way as involving a relationship between a central 'nucleus' (the headline/lead) and a set of dependent sub components which can be

thought of as 'satellites' to that 'nucleus'. Thus the headline/lead dominates the text, providing its focus or angle with the subsequent satellites operating only to elaborate on, explain or comment on material presented in that opening. Thus the body of the text does not develop new meanings but, rather, acts to refer back to the headline/lead through a series of specifications.

A crucial feature of the body of these types of text is the fact that the most important relationship is between individual satellites and the headline/lead rather than between adjacent satellites. That is to say these types of news report are not organised as a linearly unfolding text. The sub-components of the news story body do not link together to build a linear semantic pathway by which meaning is accumulated sequentially, as the text moves through some predetermined sequences of distinct stages. Rather, textual structure is formed as individual sub-components enter into the dependency relationship of specification, not with immediately preceding or following textual elements, but with the headline/lead, which thereby acts as the textual centre of gravity, or nucleus.

Again following Iedema et al. and White, we use the term 'orbital' to characterise the relationship between the 'satellites' which make up the body of such texts and the central headline/lead 'nucleus' which they specify. This orbital arrangement is illustrated diagrammatically in the following figure.

[insert Figure 1]

Figure 1: Orbital structure illustrated

It is clear that texts organised orbitally in this way occur with great regularity in contemporary English-language hard news reporting and can be seen as the 'typical' mode or textual organisation. However, tellingly, there is a substantial body of work indicating that this has not always been the case and that this headline/lead-dominated, orbital arrangement did not become dominant in English-language news journalism until the late 19th or early 20th century (see, for example, Schiller 1981, Iedema et al., 1994, Iedema 1997, Allen 2004).

Obviously a number of key issues for cross-linguistic journalism analysis arise from these findings as to textual structure. For example, is it the case in other news reporting traditions that there is one textual architecture which dominates? Have there been changes over time in the textual architectures most typically used by news journalists? Is this headline/lead-dominated orbital arrangement found in the journalisms of other languages and if so, does it play the same dominant role there as in English-language journalism?

Two of the chapters in the book attend specifically to this question of textual architecture. In chapter 4, Thomson, Fukui and White present evidence that the two Japanese news items have their own distinctive structure, separate from the

lead/dominated, nucleus-satellite arrangement as this has been observed in English-language journalism. In chapter 8, Knox and Patpong present somewhat similar findings in the context of Thai news reporting, at least to the extent that they show one of the two news items they analyse has a structure which is significantly different from the English-language model. Of course, nothing at all conclusive as to text architectural tendencies can be derived from these findings, since the authors of both chapters focus on just a couple of instances of news reporting and make no systematic attempt to determine how news reports are typically organised in those cultures. The findings are, nevertheless, suggestive that different conventions of textual organisation may be operational in those journalistic cultures.

(A) Evaluation and journalistic style

The two previous news items share another key property. The operate with what we would term the same 'journalistic voice' (again following the work of Iedema et al. 1994, White 2000a, 2004, 2006, and Martin & White 2005). Journalistic voice is a taxonomy for classifying and grouping news media texts according to the use they make of certain key evaluative meanings. More specifically, it is a taxonomy which attends to how the author manages the attitudinal meanings by which positive or negative assessments are conveyed or activated. The 'journalistic voice' taxonomy itself relies on work within what is known as the appraisal framework (see for example, Iedema et al. 1994, Martin 2000, White 2000a, 2002, Macken-Horarik & Martin 2003, Martin &

White 2005). Appraisal theory has been developed over the last 15 years or so by a group of researchers concerned to develop an analytical model which could better deal with the way language construes attitude and enables writers/speakers to position themselves evaluatively with respect to the viewpoints of potential respondents and other speakers/writers.

In terms of the analysis of journalistic discourse, the following insights of appraisal theory are key.

Types of attitude

Appraisal theory holds that positive and negative assessments (which it groups together under the heading of 'attitude') can be divided into those which involve (a) emotional reactions (what the appraisal framework terms 'affect'), (b) assessments of human behaviour and character by reference to some system of conventionalised or institutionalised norms (what the appraisal framework terms 'judgement') and (c) assessments of artefacts, texts, natural objects, states of affairs and processes in terms of how they are assigned value socially, for example in terms of their aesthetic qualities, their potential for harm or benefit, their social significance, and so on (what the appraisal framework terms 'appreciation'). For example (relevant items are underlined):

> (**affect** – emotional reaction)
> It was, then, with **<u>fury</u>**, that I returned home on Saturday to find my own country rumbling with the mumbles of the peaceniks.

> (**judgement** – normative assessment of human behaviour, i.e. by reference to notions of ethical/unethical, honest/dishonest, courageous/cowardly, capable/incapable, normal/abnormal, and so on)

To see police **brutally** **manhandling** demonstrators was not only shocking but representative of more **repressive** regimes, such as China.

(**appreciation** – assigning a social value to objects, artefacts, texts, states of affairs, i.e. by reference to aesthetics and other systems of social valuation)
The new president's speech was **elegant** and **well-woven**, sounding a panoply of themes without seeming **scattered**.

Inscribed (explicit) versus invoked (implicit) attitude

Appraisal theory also attends closely to the possibility that attitudinal evaluations may be more or less explicitly articulated. It applies the label 'inscribed' attitude to locutions which carry an attitudinal value (positive or negative assessment) which is largely fixed and stable across a wide range of contexts. For example, via lexical items such as *corrupt, virtuously, skilfully, tyrant, coward, beautiful, abused, brutalised*. This 'inscription' of attitude is contrasted with formulations where there is no single item which, of itself and independently of its current co-text, carries a specific positive or negative value. Rather, the positive/negative viewpoint is activated via various mechanisms of association and implication. For example,

He only visits his mother once a year, even though she is more than 90 years

old.

The term attitudinal 'invocation' (and also attitudinal 'token') is used of such instances.

Within formulations which indirectly 'invoke' attitude in this way, appraisal theory

makes a further distinction between formulations which contain no evaluative lexis of

any type and those which contain evaluative material but not of an explicitly

positive/negative type. In the first instance, the positive or negative assessment is

'evoked' via purely experiential ('factual') material which, as a result of being selected

and brought into focus within the text, has the potential to trigger a positive or negative

reaction in the reader via processes of attitudinal inference. In the second instance, the

positive or negative assessment is 'provoked' via material which, while evaluative, is not

of itself positive or negative – for example, via intensification, comparison, metaphor or

counter-expectation. For example,

invocations/tokens of attitude

> (**evocation** – triggering positive/negative responses by means of a focus on
> purely informational content)
> George W. Bush delivered his inaugural speech as the United States President
> who collected 537,000 fewer votes than his opponent.

> (**provocation** – triggering positive/negative responses by means of
> formulations which are in other ways evaluative)
> Telstra has withdrawn sponsorship of a suicide prevention phone service - **just
> days after** announcing a $2.34 billion half-yearly profit.

> (Here *just days after* construes surprise on the part of the journalist author –
> the action by Telstra, Australia's, primary, government-controlled
> telecommunications provider, is assessed as unexpected, or at least as coming
> sooner than would be expected. The formulation thus has the potential to
> 'provoke' in the reader a negative assessment of Telstra's actions.)

It is a feature of attitudinal invocations/tokens that they are typically conditioned by the

co-text and will often be subject to the beliefs, attitudes and expectations the reader

brings to their interpretation of the text (i.e. their reading position.) Thus, for example, a

US Republican supporter may not interpret the above proposition that Mr Bush received

'537,000 fewer votes than his opponent' as signifying anything untoward or wrongful

with regard to Mr Bush's presidency. Similarly it is highly likely that such a proposition would not be presented in attitudinal isolation and that there will be other indicators elsewhere in the text as to the attitude being taken towards Mr Bush's election. These indicators will act to influence or condition how this particular piece of information should be interpreted evaluatively.

(B) The voices of English-language broadsheet news reporting

The work on journalistic voice cited above has found that English-language broadsheet news reporting[2] (as opposed to commentary and opinion) is typically conducted in one or other of two 'voices' or 'styles' (termed 'keys' in Martin & White 2005), where 'voice' references a particular pattern in the use and co-occurrence of evaluative meanings. These two evaluative arrangements are termed 'reporter voice' and 'correspondent voice'. Reporter voice is shown to be used most typically by 'general' reporters and for the 'hard news' coverage of such events as accidents, disasters, protests, crimes, court proceedings and warfare. As will be discussed in some detail below, this reporter voice involves a substantial curtailment of the author's use of explicitly attitudinal meanings, particularly with respect to inscribed judgement. Correspondent voice most typically occurs in the work of specialist or rounds journalists (i.e. 'correspondents') and in the context of news items covering local or international politics. Correspondent voice texts involve some curtailment of inscribed attitude, but the constraints are less extensive than in reporter voice. Thus writers

operating in correspondent voice will, on their own behalf, explicitly assess human behaviour by reference to notions of human capacity, tenacity and normality, but will refrain from explicitly making ethical judgements about right and wrong, good and evil. In contrast, journalists operating in reporter voice mode refrain from all such judgements of human behaviour, confining such evaluations to the quoted words of external sources. A third voice, termed 'commentator voice', is most typically found in the context of the overtly argumentative and subjective text types (i.e. opinion pieces, commentaries and editorials) and is substantially less common on the news pages. The full array of attitudinal meanings is available to those writing in this commentator style. (For the account of journalistic voice upon which we specifically rely here, see Martin & White 2005: 164-184).

The system of journalistic voice as a set of options with respect to the occurrence and co-occurrence of attitudinal values is presented diagrammatically below in Figure 2.

[insert Figure 2]

Figure 2: Journalistic Voice

Reporter voice, which the two news items presented above both instantiate, is outlined in some more detail below.

Inscribed Judgement

There is a very high probability that any explicit (inscribed) positive or negative

judgements (assessments of human behaviour and character by reference to notions of

ethics and social acceptability) will be confined to material attributed to outside sources.

Thus there will be no or very few instances of the journalistic author explicitly, in his/her

own words, passing judgment on human actions and behaviours.

Inscribed Affect

In those texts where there are few or no instances of inscribed authorial judgement, there

will also be no instances of the author describing his/her own emotional responses.

Thus authorial affect appears incompatible with reporter voice. Against this, it is

observed that texts without inscribed authorial judgement do, with some regularity,

include instances of the author reporting on the emotional responses of third parties,

even if the frequency of such instances within individual texts is not high. Thus the

author reporting that others are 'pleased', 'upset', 'troubled' etc is compatible with

reporter voice. Two instances of observed affect were present in the Al Jazeera report

above.

Outrage

Angered by the deaths, hundreds of Palestinians marched in the streets
shouting "Death to Israelis, death to occupation".

Inscribed Appreciation

Instances of inscribed authorial appreciations (assessments by the author of objects,

artefacts, happenings and states of affairs by reference to aesthetic and related systems

of social valuation) do occur in the texts which, on the other hand, exclude instances of inscribed authorial judgement and affect. However, even while they occur with some regularity across corpora of news reporting texts, they occur at relatively low frequencies. Thus, of the 42 texts in their corpus which Martin & White (2005) classify as reporter voice (on the basis that they contain no values of inscribed authorial judgement and affect), 35 have at least some instances of inscribed authorial appreciation, at a rate of between 0.9 and 6.3 instances per 500 words. Some examples of formulations from reporter voice texts which involve inscribed authorial appreciation are set out below (appreciations underlined and in bold).

Labour has delivered a **sharp** warning to teachers.

In spite of Mr Blunkett's **robust** message, he got a standing ovation from more than half the delegates.

Defense Minister Beniamino Andreatta took a **harsher** line, demanding that the pilot be prosecuted.

"We are fed up," said Mauro Gilmozi, the mayor of this **picturesque** town of 3,600.

All that remains is a **mangled** heap of yellow metal on the bloodstained snow.

Anger continued to build in Italy, an **important** U.S. ally and home to seven **major** U.S. military installations.

A mile up the road, in a depression out of sight of the surrounding countryside, they found the place, a **desolate** old house

As the security situation **deteriorated**, Washington and London appealed for both sides to avoid all-out combat.

In terms of explicit attitude, then, reporter voice is an arrangement under which some types of attitude (i.e. inscribed authorial judgement and affect) are curtailed while others occur with some regularity (i.e. inscribed authorial appreciation and observed affect.)

Invoked (tokens of) attitude

With respect to the activation of attitudinal positions by means of the less direct

mechanisms outlined under the heading of 'invoked' attitude (or 'tokens' of attitude),

the research cited above indicates that both evoked attitude (via 'factual' propositions)

and provoked attitude (via intensification, comparison, counter-expectation etc) occur

regularly in reporter voice texts. The following extract from a reporter voice text

illustrates how invoked attitude frequently operates in these types of texts.

> (1) The families of British detainees at Guantanamo Bay are to take their fight
> for the men's release to the US with the help of the foremost American civil
> liberties group, they announced yesterday.
> (2) Politicians, campaigners and lawyers joined relatives of the prisoners to
> launch the Guantanamo Human Rights Commission at the House of
> Commons.
> (3) Nine Britons and three British residents are among the 660 men who have
> been held at the American naval base in Cuba for more than two years without
> charge or access to lawyers. Another 11 Europeans, several from France,
> Sweden and Germany, are also detained at Camp Delta.
> (4) "We have to speak not only to the courts of law but to the court of public
> opinion," Nadine Strossen, the president of the ACLU, said. She said there was
> growing concern over the Bush administration's actions in the "war on terror".
> (5) "It is plain and clear that the treatment of these 660 being held without
> charge, without access to a lawyer, without access to a court, violates the most
> fundamental of human rights," said Philippe Sands QC, professor of law at
> University College, London. [*Guardian*, 21/01/04: 4]

We notice that in paragraph 5, a strong explicitly negative judgement of the US

administration is conveyed by the text, but as is conventional in reporter voice texts, this

is only through the quoted words of an outside source. Thus Philippe Sands QC is cited

as saying that the treatment of the prisoners in Guantanamo Bay 'violates the most

fundamental of human rights'. No such explicit value judgements are passed in the words of the journalist author. Nonetheless, there are several authorial formulations which have the clear potential to trigger related attitudinal positions. For example, the families of the detainees are said to have taken their 'fight' to the 'foremost' American civil liberties group. In some contexts, of course, 'fighting' will have negative associations but here it has the potential to trigger a positive sense of vigour or determination on the part of the families. The term 'foremost' is of itself an appreciation (since it involves an assessment in terms of social saliency and not a judgement of propriety or social acceptability), but it nevertheless has the potential to cast the 'fight' by the family in a positive light. It is a potential sign that the families are well equipped and capable in conducting their campaign. The reader is also told that the prisoners have been held 'for more than two years without charge or access to lawyer.' The experiential material here – i.e. two years with charge or access to lawyers – has a clear potential to trigger a negative view of the authorities' behaviour as callous and improper. This potential is enhanced by the use of 'more than' which suggests a term longer than would have been expected, thus flagging that there is something evaluative at stake. We suspect that 'just over two years', as a possible alternative formulation, would have been less of an attitudinal provocation.

In this extract, then, we observe attitude which has been indirectly invoked by the author acting to support and lay the evaluative groundwork for the attitudes which are

elsewhere explicitly announced in quoted material. As already indicated, this is a common occurrence in reporter voice texts.

(B) Journalistic voice and the Nablus reports

Returning our attention to the two news items discussed above, we observe that, as instances of reporter voice, they too function evaluatively via an interaction between attitudes invoked in the author's own words and attitudes overtly announced in the words of attributed sources. The invocations and attributed inscriptions of the two texts point, of course, in different evaluative directions. As a consequence the two texts are able to advance different value positions while maintaining the semblance of authorial neutrality or detachment which is the touchstone of reporter voice texts. Focusing more closely on the two texts, we can observe the following:

Attributed inscribed attitude

In keeping with the arrangements outlined above, the authors of both texts almost exclusively confine inscribed judgement to the words of quoted external sources. In the Al Jazeera text, these take the form of assertions by a Hamas spokesman that the Israeli action constitutes a 'war crime'. In the *Jerusalem Post*, these firstly take the form of assertions by the Physicians for Human Rights organisation that the Israelis fired 'indiscriminately' at relief workers, a contention which is immediately refuted by another source, the Israeli military spokesperson. Secondly there are the assertions by the same military spokesman that the Israelis have 'succeeded' in their goal of 'harming

the terror organization's capabilities'. There is also the interesting case of the formulation, with respect to the Nablus refugee camp, that it had been 'dubbed a hotbed of terror'. The phrase 'hotbed of terror' is obviously explicitly judgemental of the residents of the camp, and the author has taken the step, through 'dubbed', of attributing the assessment to an external source, even while remaining vague as to who exactly has done this 'dubbing'.

There is the one instance where the author offers an observation, in her own words, which might be read as inscribed judgement – i.e. 'The IDF operation was launched in response to the increased **terror threats**'. However, it is clearly the case that in this context the application of the term 'terror' (and 'terrorist') has become so institutionalised and conventionalised that it no longer constitutes an individual, subjective assessment on the part of the author.

Agency and attitudinal implications

In the opening few sentences of the Al Jazeera report, it is the Israeli army which is presented as very much the primary initiator of events. For example, they act as agents in 'killing' five Palestinians, 'stoking' tensions, 'expanding' the scope of their operations, 'blocking' main roads, and 'forcing' schools and businesses to close. In all these cases there is the potential for such 'factual' description to evoke negative assessments of the Israelis.

In contrast, the opening sentences of the *Jerusalem Post* report are essentially devoid of agency. Thus the agent is deleted from the short-passive, 'five Palestinians were killed' and agency is left unspecified in the nominalised, 'fierce gun battles and clashes.' The first explicitly specified agent is the now dead 'Shtewi' who is presented as active in having 'maintained' close contacts with Hizbullah and having 'carried out' shooting and bombings. Obviously an opposite evaluative potential is made available here – one in which it is the dead men who are cast in a negative light. This potential is strengthened by the subsequent listing of 'facts' pertaining to the dead men's alleged involvement in prior attacks and killings.

Lexis and attitudinal associations

In both texts there are lexical choices which, while perhaps apparently neutral, reveal certain attitudinal associations upon closer examination. Consider that Al Jazeera labels the Israeli action a 'raid' while the *Jerusalem Post* labels it a 'mission' and an 'operation'. While the term 'raid' is clearly not fixed attitudinally – it does not necessarily carry a positive or negative value – it does have a potential to be associated with negative assessments. For example,

Looters raid Arafat's home, steal his Nobel Peace Prize.

Botched Paramilitary Police Raids: An Epidemic of "Isolated Incidents"

In contrast, the term 'mission' has a clear association with positive assessments. By way of evidence, there is the fact that we speak of 'rescue missions' but not 'rescue raids' and the fact that a Google Web search produces almost 23,000 hits for 'botched raid'

but only 800 for 'botched mission', and around 280,000 hits for 'successful mission'

but only 55,000 for 'successful raid'.

(A) Journalistic voice and the news report across cultures

The English-language, reporter voice news item is thus revealed as a device by which it

becomes possible for the author to advance a particular value position while at the same

time backgrounding his/her attitudinal role, at least to the extent that explicit authorial

judgements are avoided. In this it stands in contrast with correspondent voice news items

which do less to background the author's subjective role and in contrast to commentator

voice texts where the author's subjective role is fully on display. These findings do

suggest possible lines of analyses for the comparison of news reporting discourse

across cultures. For example, is it the case that other cultures operate with a similar

division between 'reporter', 'correspondent' and 'commentator' attitudinal

arrangements? Is it the case that other journalistic cultures establish a more 'objective'

voice by curtailing the use of inscribed judgement by the author and typically employ

this in reporting misadventure, crimes, legal proceedings and warfare? While none of the

following chapters in the book attempt to directly address such questions, a number of

the chapters do nevertheless consider the issue of journalistic voice and provide findings

which at least suggest that there is considerable variation as to the attitudinal

arrangements in play across journalistic cultures.

Chapter 2 is a study which presents the range of opinions across the French political spectrum towards the handover of power to the interim Iraq government. Three news stories from left-wing, ring-wing and centre-left newspapers are analysed to reveal the lexicogrammatical choices employed by each. The analysis enables a comparison of the journalist voice, evaluative positioning and ideological stance that characterize each text. The right wing, _Figaro_ article takes an ideological position that accepts as legitimate the American action in Iraq, using few evaluative resources as in 'hard' news. The centre left, _Le Monde_ article is less 'neutral', using attitudinal inscription to represent the handover as an example of America's failed interventionist foreign policy. Finally, the left wing, _Libération_ article is the least 'neutral', taking an overt evaluative approach which is critical of the Coalition and Iraqi authorities**.**

Tran in Chapter 3 presents an appraisal analysis of an on-line Vietnamese news story from the _Nhan Dan_ Daily reporting on the Abu Ghraib prisoner scandal and how this scandal exposes America's disregard for human rights. White's notion of 'reporter' voice is investigated through an analysis of the attitude and engagement choices within the story. The reporter takes an openly anti-American stance - a stance saturated with inscribed instances of appreciation and judgement, bearing little resemblance to White's characterization of reporter voice. Yet, the engagement choices, which rely heavily on external voices to support the overt attitude of the reporter, are typical of hard news.

Chapter 4 reports on a study of two Japanese front page lead stories from two broadsheet newspapers, the _Asahi_ and _Nihon Keizai_. Both stories report on the handover of power to the interim Iraq government. The two 'factual' stories were chosen to investigate the nature of authorial voice using appraisal analysis - attitude and engagement - to determine the extent to which the evaluative choices mirror those outlined for 'reporter' voice by Martin and White 2005. The study shows that both stories take a particular subjective stance in relation to the handover while at the same time appearing to be 'objective' and 'neutral'. This is achieved through the utilisation of 'reporter' voice.

In Chapter 5, Sano looks at the rhetorical strategies of four Japanese newspaper editorials which address issues relating to the Iraqi war, and identifies the evaluative commonalities between. The study investigates the textual organization, the semantics and the evaluative choices within the editorials, noting that all four advocate their ideological positions using a similar generic organization based on three obligatory elements: Inducement, Empathetic Construction and Position. Within these elements of structure are distinct patterns of evaluation, particularly in relation to the use of attitude. Sano explains that the motivation behind this rhetorical strategy relates in part to the notion of _homologization_ (Ikegami 1991), a cultural practice of finding commonality.

McDonald, in Chapter 6 presents an analysis of how mainland China maintains

symbolic control over Taiwan in *The China Daily*. Looking at rhetorical structures and using a concordancing program, the study examines coverage of Taiwan from 2002 to 2005. Within the context of competing ideologies and histories, China uses its state controlled press to perpetuate its one China policy through linguistic tactics of exclusion and delegitimization.

Chapter 7 presents a theoretical discussion on the notion of journalistic voice. Lukin argues that the notions of register and contextual configuration need to be considered as part of the analysis. This is demonstrated through the analysis of journalistic voice in two Spanish language news texts reporting on the handover of power to the interim Iraqi government. While, the appraisal analysis reveals some differences between the texts, Lukin argues that the significance of the differences is better captured through a registerial approach, incorporating a contextual configuration.

Chapter 8 is a comparative case study of English and Thai reporting on the Tak Bai protest in Southern Thailand in 2004. One English story, which is critical of the actions of the authorities and one Thai story, which supports the authorities are compared in terms of the construal of the protest and the respective ideological positions. The study illustrates how each story manifests a different organizational structure, using particular appraisal choices to support the ideological position.

In Chapter 9, Kitley illustrates how "much of what we see or read in the mass media about military conflict is a highly managed version of events" (Kitley in this volume, p.?). Using the story of the kidnapping and death of the journalist Era Siregar in 2003 during marital law operations in Aceh, Indonesia, Kitley demonstrates military conflict management. This is achieved first, through a study of agency in the headlines of the stories relating to the kidnapping, and second, through the study of the nucleus/orbital structure of key reports on the incident from three Indonesian on-line newspapers.

Chapter 10 is a study of 'reporter' voice in three Swedish language news stories reporting on the appointment of a new CEO for the Finnish Broadcasting Company (YLE). Höglund focuses on how the writer's and interviewees' voices interact in the narrative sequences to create an evaluative stance. She demonstrates that the writer has two options: to either build the interviewees' voices into the argumentation of the story as either 'facts' or general knowledge, or to arrange the voices of the interviewees as direct quotations to support the writer's argument. Further, the evaluative stance of the writer is further supported by headlines, leads and subheadings.

And finally, Chapter 11 sets out to demonstrate that evaluative keys are as distinguishable in news photos as they are in news copy. Economou demonstrates two such keys, those of Visual Record and Visual Interpretation Key. These two keys are distinguishable according to the range of visual appraisal choices available to

them. These two visual key descriptions are applied to three Australian and three

Greek verbal/visual texts from the weekly news review section of two broadsheets,

The Australian Sydney Morning Herald and the Greek _Eleftherotypia_ . The study

shows that all six photos are examples of Visual Interpretation Key, using the

evaluative strategies of re-instantiating factual news photos and introducing a visual

contextual metaphor of an art or cinema genre aimed at 'pulling-in' more readers.

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Endnotes

1 The term 'newspaper journalism' is used here to cover news reporting as it operates not only in print but also on the computer screen (i.e. via the internet). A distinction is intended between news journalism where the primary modality is that of the written word ('newspaper journalism') and journalism where the primary modality is either the spoken word (i.e. radio and online podcasts) or the spoken word in combination with the moving image (i.e. television and vodcasts)

2 It should be noted that so far little systematic work has been done on 'voice' in the English-language 'tabloid' media. It does seem likely, however, that the tabloids operate with options as to evaluative arrangement which are significantly different from those which have been observed in the broadsheet media.

3 'Headline/lead represent the incident or statement selected for the reader's attention as inherently newsworthy, as having compelled itself upon the reporter as obvious subject matter … an unavoidably appropriate starting-point.' (White 1997: 24).

4 White (1997:104) argues that the starting-point of a news item is the identification of an event or situation construed as 'threatening to damage, disrupt or rearrange the social order in either its material, political or normative guise'. But perhaps from certain conservative ideological positions the journalist chooses not a point of disruption but the reassurance of continuity or the restoration of order by the legitimate authorities.

Chapter Two

When is a Handover not a Handover? A case study of ideologically opposing French news stories.

Alice Caffarel and Elizabeth Rechniewski

University of Sydney

(Level A Heading) Abstract

This chapter examines three articles from the French press, from *Libération* (TEXT 1), *Le Figaro* (TEXT 2), and *Le Monde* (TEXT 3) (the first two form the core of our analysis) devoted to the handover of power by the Americans to the provisional Iraqi government at the end of June 2004. The handover was brought forward by two days, apparently because of fears that the due date - the 30th June - would be the signal for a wave of bombing, and it was presented in very different ways in the world's media, depending on the legitimacy assigned to the war and subsequent American occupation. The articles studied here represent the range of opinion that existed across the French political spectrum, from qualified support to opposition to the war. Through an analysis of appraisal, attribution, transitivity and agency we compare the journalistic voice, evaluative positioning and ideological stance that characterize each text.

_____

Founded in 1973 in the wake of the May events of 1968, _Libération_ was launched as a radical alternative to the mainstream press, paying equal salaries to all its employees, and refusing advertising. Because of low circulation it ceased publication in February 1981 and was relaunched in May of the same year as a more orthodox if still left-wing paper. It sees itself as an independent, voice, not afraid to challenge received ideas or to undertake in-depth research. Its circulation is less than 150,000. Its readership is overwhelmingly young, educated, urban, professional, left-wing: 50% in Paris, 50% outside, mostly in other large cities (Albert 2004: 146).

Le Figaro was founded in 1826 as a satirical weekly, became a daily in 1866 and was for a long period the leading newspaper in France. A 'dreyfusard' paper at the end of the nineteenth century, it was taken over from 1922 to 1934 by François Coty, an entrepreneur with fascist sympathies. Since the second world war it has adopted a right-wing position, first as a supporter of the 'Mouvement Républicain Populaire' (MRP), then as a supporter of gaullism and more recently of the governing 'Union pour un Mouvement Populaire' (UMP). _Le Figaro's_ circulation was 352,000 copies in 2003 (it also prints a number of popular supplements). Its readership is considerably older than that of _Libération_, more provincial and of course more conservative on a range of political and social issues.

Le Monde, perhaps the best known of the French dailies, was founded in 1944 with the aim of being a serious and authoritative paper of the centre-left. It reached the height of its readership in 1980 with 445,000 sales, but in the 1980s it lost readers to the left, to *Libération*, and to the right, to *Le Figaro*. Its circulation has continued to fall steadily to reach around 370,000 today, but the newspaper is still considered indispensable reading for the educated élite and the political class.

The articles published in these three papers on the 'handover' of power in Iraq at the end of June 2004 should be read in the context of the widespread hostility towards the American intervention felt amongst the French population and famously articulated by President Chirac. This chapter concentrates on the analysis of two articles published in *Libération* and *Le Figaro*, since these papers adopted clearly contrasting viewpoints on American intervention. The article that appeared in *Le Monde* is analysed less extensively, with our attention focused on the opening paragraphs, in order to provide a further point of comparison with the positioning of the other two papers. Although each paper published a number of articles and editorials on June 29th relating to the handover, we have chosen to analyse those articles which addressed most directly the events surrounding the handover of power, and which appear to be 'event' or 'hard news' stories.

A 'hard news' or 'event' story is characterized by certain linguistic and generic conventions:

- a headline plus lead which 'signpost key meanings' (White 1997 : 111);

- a non-linear, orbital structure whose components are: elaboration; explanation; justification; contextualisation; appraisal (White 1997: 101);

- a concern with numerical and factual precision (Dijk 1988: 87);

- an absence of explicit personal, subjective engagement by the journalist;

- a predominance of attitudinal tokens (implicit evocation of attitude) over explicit inscription.

These latter two characteristics in particular give the 'event' story the appearance of a neutral, objective stance. In fact, as we will show in relation to our articles, analysis within the appraisal framework reveals this 'objective' stance to conceal ideological positioning.

We will address the question of how the handover is represented by looking at three features of the texts: appraisal; attribution; transitivity.

TEXT 1: _Libération_, 29 June 2004: _«La Coalition transfère un semblant de pouvoir»_ The Coalition transfers a semblance of power (See Table of original text and translation in Appendix).

As a left-wing newspaper, _Libération_ adopted from the outset a critical position on the intervention in Iraq, tinged with the anti-Americanism which exists, particularly on

the left, in France. On the same day as this article appeared, an editorial entitled '*Pari (Gamble)'* listed all the powers which do not devolve to the new Iraqi governmment, while concluding that the gamble could not be said to have failed until it had at least been tried. And also, on page 6, appeared an article on the reaction in Washington: *'«L'échec irakien» hante la Maison Blanche* (The 'Iraq failure' haunts the White House)'. The article '*La Coalition transfère un semblant de pouvoir* (The Coalition transfers a semblance of power)' has been chosen for analysis because it has some of the features of a 'hard news story': with its immediate focus on the few hours before, during and after the handover, it recounts the same event covered by the other two newspapers studied for that day. Neither an opinion piece, an editorial, an issues nor a background article, it appeared in the section of the paper devoted to world affairs.

(Level A Heading) Attitude

(Level B Heading) 1. Attitudinal inscription

In contradisctincton to the characteristics to be expected of the 'event' story, the article in *Libération* opens with an example of attitudinal inscription: the title - which always of course orients the reader's interpretation of the rest of the article[3] - offers explicit appraisal: '*La Coalition transfère un **semblant de pouvoir*** (The Coalition transfers a **semblance of power**)', emphasising the unreality of the handover. And in the body of the article the ceremony is described as taking place in secret: une remise des pouvoirs en catimini, sans gloire et, surtout, sans le moindre caractère solennel/ a surreptitious, inglorious handover, bereft of any ceremony, a negative judgement

since such lack of ceremony contradicts the expectations of what might be considered normal for such an occasion. These explicit evaluations are applied to non-human targets, and involve opinions rather than emotions. Evaluations of 'states of affairs' rather than of individuals may be more in keeping with the 'objective' stance of the 'event' story (White 2004: 234). The combined effect of these explicit inscriptions, however, is to convey the handover as underhand, illegitimate, and illusory. This effect is supported by more implicit forms of appraisal: attitudinal tokens.

(Level B Heading) 2. <u>Attitudinal tokens: Information</u>

The choice of what information to provide and where to place it in the article is a mechanism of attitudinal tokening. There are a number of examples in this article where positive or negative assessments are provoked by informational content. The opening lines place the issue of secrecy at the head of the article:

> *<u>Le secret avait été très bien gardé. La plupart des ministres n'avaient été prévenus que la veille. Peu de personnalités avaient été invitées hier matin, vers 10 h 30, à la cérémonie de transfert de pouvoir.</u>*
>
> The secret had been very well kept. Most of the ministers had been informed only the day before. Few dignitaries had been invited to the ceremony of the handover of power held around 10.30 yesterday morning.

The passive form puts 'secret' in theme position: it is this aspect of the ceremony which is highlighted. Keeping a secret can be positive or negative but in this context secrecy suggests the Americans feared disruption by the insurgents if the news had been known to more than a handful of people - a fear which throws suspicion on the trustworthiness of the Iraqi officials. The reader is given the further information that there were few dignitaries present and that journalists were kept away, details which underline the secrecy and the haste with which it was performed.

In order to take place at all, the ceremony required the armed support of the Americans:

Elle a donné lieu à un formidable déploiement de forces. Autour du Premier ministre Iyad Allaoui et de quelques ambassadeurs étrangers et officiels irakiens, se sont agglutinés des dizaines d'hommes des forces spéciales américaines, survolées par un hélicoptère de reconnaissance Kiowa et un hélicoptère de combat Apache.

> It involved a very significant deployment of troops. Dozens of American special forces, watched over by a Kiowa surveillance helicopter and an Apache combat helicopter, stuck closely to the prime minister Iyad Allaoui and a few foreign ambassadors and Iraqi officials.

The reader is told that it took place in the secure zone, that there was constant surveillance from helicopters overhead (which are named as military helicopters) and

close protection by American soliders. Intensification is found in the adjective:

'_**formidable** déploiement de forces_ (**very significant** deployment of troops)' and in

the metaphor '_se sont agglutinés_ (stuck closely to)', one of the few examples of

metaphor in the text. The positive or negative force of these intensifiers can only be

decided from the context, but here they acquire a critical meaning, emphasising the

unreality of a handover that requires such intense military intervention.

(Level B Heading) 3. Attitudinal tokens: Attribution, sourcing

There are also in the article particularly interesting tokens evoked by the choice and

order of presentation of quotes, and by the juxtaposition of quotes and information.

The very act of selecting a source for inclusion in the report carries with it evaluative

and ultimately ideological consequences. White (2006) identifies the mechanisms

available by which the reader can be positioned in regard to this attributed material as

authorial endorsement, authorial distancing, and reference to the evidential standing

of the source

There is one clear example in the article of authorial distancing, in the choice of verb

to introduce indirect speech:

> _Le nouveau pouvoir irakien **n'a pas caché** que la crainte d'une explosion de_
>
> _violences avait provoqué ce changement de date._

The new Iraqi authority **did not conceal** the fact that fear of an explosion of violence had led to the change of date.

The use of this verb and negative construction suggests that other actions of the authority may have been concealed, or that they might have been expected to wish to conceal this fact.

But the principal mechanism of authorial distancing in this article is the framing of the attributed material, whether through the use of introducing verbs such as 'it is claimed', or the juxtaposition of the quoted words with events that seem to discredit them. Illustrations are found here in the contrast between the reporter's description of the immediate context and the words of the person quoted, for example, in the contrast between Allaoui's description of the ceremony as a 'historic day' for a 'new Iraq': *Allaoui l'a pourtant qualifié de «jour historique», la naissance du «nouvel Irak» après quatorze mois d'occupation*, and the journalist's portrayal of the measures taken to keep the ceremony secret. And the positive assessment of the situation put forward by the advisor to the Minister of Culture, Jawad Bashara, is ridiculed by being juxtaposed to the report of the attack on his ministry:

Au ministère de la Culture, Jawad Bashara, écrivain et conseiller du ministre, se félicite du changement de date: «Cela a permis de couper l'herbe sous les pieds des terroristes qui se préparaient à fêter l'événement à leur manière.» **A peine** avait-il

commenté l'événement que des inconnus ouvraient le feu sur ce ministère, sans faire de

victimes.

> At the Ministry of Culture, Jawad Bashara, writer and ministerial advisor, is
>
> very pleased with the change of date: 'It's cut the ground from under the feet of
>
> the terrorists who were planning to celebrate the event in their own way.'
>
> **<u>Hardly</u>** had he finished speaking when unknown assailants opened fire on the
>
> ministry, without causing casualties.

These contrasts between optimistic words and the reality on the ground are

emphasised by the use of intensifiers such as 'however' and 'hardly'.

Another mechanism for undermining the credibility of a speaker is to use one quote to

contradict another. For example Sheikh Mehdi al-Souimaidi contradicts Allaoui's

optimism: '*Ce transfert ne sert à rien* (This handover is pointless)'. The journalist

accords this religious leader - described as close to the insurgency - a prominent

voice in the text: his quote is longer and, as it is placed towards the end of the article,

it leaves the more vivid impression on the reader. Moreover the information given to

the reader about Sheikh Mehdi - his position and his experience - contributes to his

evidential standing and thus lends authority to what he says. The second half of the

lengthy quote from Jawad Bashara who, as a member of the new government, might

be expected to offer only positive comment, also offers a negative view of the

handover and of the tasks awaiting the government. He explicitly contradicts Allaoui's words that this is a 'historic day':

«Mais ce n'est pas pour autant un jour historique. Nous sommes toujours sous occupation. En théorie, nous sommes libres, indépendants, souverains. Mais pas sur le terrain».

'But for all that this is not a historic day. We are still under occupation. In theory we're free, independent, sovereign. But not on the ground.'

The final quote, which, because of its position, functions as a conclusion to the article, supposedly records the opinion of the ordinary 'man in the street', a toyshop owner:

Patron d'un magasin de jouets, Abou Hammar est encore plus sévère: «Les Américains se moquent de nous. Transfert ou pas, quelle différence ! L'Irak est toujours dans les mains de la CIA...» Et Iyad Allaoui ? «Lui, c'est un dur, un type sévère. C'est bien. C'est ce qu'il faut aux Irakiens.»

The owner of a toyshop, Abou Hammar is even more severe: 'The Americans are laughing at us. Whether there's a handover or not, what difference does it make! Iraq is still in the hands of the CIA…' And Iyad Allaoui? 'He's a strong man, tough. That's good. That's what the Iraqis need.'

But of course this quote too has been selected by the journalist - how is the reader to know how typical this sentiment is? Chosen no doubt because it accords with the overall positioning of the article, this final quote highlights the conflict that exists within Iraq, between Iraqis, a conflict that is also conveyed by the series of contradictory quotes from Iraqi figures.

An important feature of this article is the way that the quotes structure the text and contribute strongly to the evaluative positioning. This function of attribution - its role in structuring the text and orienting the argument - has been little commented on in the theoretical literature. A number of models of the structure of the 'news report' propose a 'nucleus-satellite' structure, where the order of presentation does not significantly change the ideological positioning. In the case of this article, we argue that it would not be possible to change the order of the quotes without changing the argument. The first quotes are from the new Iraqi prime minister and the president - their statements are immediately disqualified, as we have seen, by the context in which they are placed. Allaoui's subsequent quote simply illustrates the relative powerlessness of the new government, which was not even consulted about its own inauguration (so he contradicts his own claims, in his own words, about it being a 'new Iraq'). The later quotes contradict even more radically the position affirmed by Iyad Allaoui and the Coalition. The text thus acquires a 'narrative drive' which guides the reader through the conflicting quotations to arrive at the final dismissive summary of the events provided by the toyshop owner.

The journalist feigns a degree of neutrality by allowing the political and social actors to speak at some length for themselves; but in reality distancing or endorsement are achieved through the choice, context and order of presentation of the quotes. Note too the *scénographie* - the 'scene of enunciation' - created by the journalist. As Dominique Maingueneau (1998:71) argues: 'every discourse attempts to convince by installing the "scene of enunciation" which legitimises it'. Here, the description of the ceremony and the use of quotes in direct speech appear to install the reporter in the middle of the action, as an eyewitness, even though we are told that journalists were kept out of the way. His access to a range of spokesmen lends his positioning added credibility. His use of quotes installs an apparent dialogism at the heart of the article: an exchange between spokesmen, and between the implicit positioning of the journalist and those quoted. However dialogue is in fact 'closed off': the mechanisms of authorial disendorsement already discussed are techniques for disclaiming and denying the words of others.

(Level A Heading)   **Transitivity**

In the Headline and subheadline, as shown in the analysis presented below, the Coalition/American administration function as Theme and are explicitly represented as Agent (responsible for/instigator of) this (not quite) a handover. However the recipient/Beneficiary of the handover remains implicit and what is being handed-over is represented as reduced, as only a part of the overall power. This

reductive/restrictive evaluative prosody runs through the whole text: clause 2, we have the restrictive _ne…que_ (only), in (3) _peu de_ (few), in (4b) _une souveraineté limitée_ (limited sovereignty), in (6) _de courte durée_ (short-lived) and finally in (7) with a shift from restrictive to negative with _l'impression d'une remise des pouvoirs en catimini, sans gloire et, surtout, sans le moindre caractère solennel_ (the impression of a surreptitious, inglorious handover, bereft of ceremony) where the handover is represented as an impression rather than a reality, as there is nothing to bring it to the fore. This final representation of the event is what stands out throughout the text and is reflected by its method of development realised through theme selections which step by step construct the event as being a secret in (1), with few dignitaries in (3), limited sovereignty in (4b) culminating with 'the event' as Theme of an attributive relational clause in (6) where the Attribute is :'short-lived'.

TEXT 1 :

Headline
[Actor/Agent] _La coalition_ [Proc: material:effective] _transfère_ [Goal/Medium] _un semblant de pouvoir._
The Coalition transfers an appearance of power

Subheadline
Irak
[Circ :Time/Cause] _Avec deux jours d'avance par crainte d'attentats,_ [Actor/Agent] _l'administrateur américain_ [Proc: material:effective] _a cédé_ [Goal/Medium] _la place, mais **pas toutes les compétences**,_ [Beneficiary] _au gouvernement irakien._
Two days early, for fear of attack, the American administrator has handed over his position**, but not all the powers**, to the Iraqi government.

Bagdad envoyé spécial
Baghdad special envoy.

(1) [Range] *Le secret* [Proc :mental :middle] *avait été très bien gardé*.
The secret had been very well kept.

(2) [Addressee/Beneficiary] *La plupart des ministres* [Proc :verbal :middle] ***n'avaient été prévenus que*** [Circ :Time] *la veille*.
Most of the ministers had been informed only the day before.

(3) [Range] ***Peu de*** *personnalités* [Proc : material :middle] *avaient été invitées* [Circ : Time] *hier matin, vers 10 h 30,* [Circ : Place] *à la cérémonie de transfert de pouvoir.*
Few dignitaries had been invited to the ceremony of the handover of power held around 10.30 yesterday morning.

(4a) [Proc : materiel :middle] *Intervenu* [Circ :Time] *avec deux jours d'avance sur la date prévue,*
Taking place two days earlier than planned,

(4b) [Goal/Medium*] ce retour à une souveraineté limitée de l'Irak*
[Proc :material :effective] *a été formalisé* [Actor/Agent] *par un échange de documents entre Paul Bremer et le Premier ministre Iyad Allaoui.*
this return to limited sovereignty was formalised by an exchange of documents between Paul Bremer and the Prime minister Iyad Allaoui.

(5a) [Actor/Agent] *L'administrateur américain* [Bene…] *lui*
[Proc :material :effective] *a remis,* […ficiary] *ainsi qu'au président intérimaire Ghazi al-Yaouar,* [Goal/Medium] *une lettre de George W. Bush,*
The American administrator gave him, and the interim president Ghazi al-Yaouar, a letter from George W. Bush,

(5b) [Proc :verbal :middle] *demandant* [Range] *la reprise des liens diplomatiques*
[Circ :place] *entre les deux pays,*
requesting the resumption of the diplomatic ties between the two countries,

(5c) [Proc :material :effectif] *rompus* [Circ :Time] *en 1990.*
broken off in 1990.

(6) [Carrier/Medium] *L'événement* [Proc :relational :attributive] *a été* [Attribute/circ]
de courte durée.
The event did not take long.

(7) [Actor/Agent] *Il* [Proc :material :effective] *a donné* [Beneficiary] *à la capitale irakienne* [Goal/Medium] *l'impression d'une remise des pouvoirs en catimini, sans gloire et, surtout, sans le moindre caractère solennel*.

It created in the Iraqi capital the impression of a surreptitious, inglorious handover, bereft of ceremony.

(8) [Attributor/Agent] *Allaoui* [Carrier/Medium] *l'* [Proc :relationnal :attributive] *a pourtant qualifié* [Attribute/Range] *de «jour historique»,* [Reprise Carrier/New] *la naissance du «nouvel Irak» après quatorze mois d'occupation.*
Allaoui however characterised it as a 'historic day', the birth of a 'new Iraq' after fourteen months of occupation.

(9a) *Lorsque* [Actor/Medium] *les habitants de Bagdad* [Proc :material :middle] *ont commencé à apprendre* [Range] *la nouvelle,* [Circ :Time] *environ deux heures plus tard,*
When the inhabitants of Baghdad began to learn the news, about two hours later,

(9b) [Actor/Medium] *Bremer* [Proc :material :middle] *s'était déjà envolé* [Circ :Place] *pour les Etats-Unis pour les Etats-Unis* [Circ :Means] *à bord d'un avion militaire.*
Bremer had already taken off for the United States on board a military plane.

(10a) *Auparavant,* [Actor/Agent] *il* [Proc :material :effective] *avait dissous* [Goal/Medium] *l'Autorité provisoire de la coalition (CPA),*
Before doing so, he had dissolved the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA)

(10b) *qu'* [Actor/Medium] *il* [Proc:material:middle] *avait présidée* [Circ: Time] *pendant treize mois.*

over which he had presided for thirteen months.

The overall transitivity resources of the text point to the construal of the event as a non-event. This is what the author wants to foreground. The people responsible for making this event a non-event are foregrounded in the Headline and subheadline but the body of the text focuses on the event rather than the people involved in it (as we, as readers, know who they are and the headline and subheadline make it clear): who kept it secret, warned ministers too late, and invited only a few dignitaries are left implicit (in (1), (2) and (3)) by means of passive constructions.

The event of the handover itself is represented in (4b) not as being brought about by people but by another event which is nominalised as 'an exchange of documents'. As the text revolves around the handover it is not surprising that we find a few material processes of transfer in the text _transfère_ (transfers) , _a cédé_ (gave up), _a remis_ (handed over), _a donné_ (gave). What is transferred or given are however: an appearance of power, a position but not all the powers, a letter from G.W Bush, and an impression. Thus the overall transitivity resources of the text, in conjunction with the thematic progression and mechanisms of attitudinal inscription and tokening, interact to construe the handover of power to the Iraqi government as a sham.

Further analysis of the text suggests that there are additional layers of implied meanings whose interpretation depends on the sophistication of the reader. Certain elements of the political/ideological positioning are put forward more explicitly than others. Thus it is readily apparent that the reporter portrays the handover as illusory: the title summarises as much and orients the reader's interpretation of the rest of the article. But there is further information given in the article, judged therefore to be relevant by the journalist, which we have not yet analysed; in particular, the journalist refers to the fact that the oath was sworn on the Koran, indeed this item of information is highlighted by a subheading_: Serment sur le Coran_ (Oath on the Koran). This information does not appear in the _Figaro_ article. What is the relevance, or the significance, of this information? Is the journalist perhaps drawing the reader's attention to the danger of religious interests dominating the exercise of power? Or

again, in the final quote, the toyshop owner speaks of the need for a strong man to put

an end to factionalism. By the use of this quote is the journalist reminding us that

Saddam was just such a strong man and thus indicating the foolhardiness, indeed the

pointlessness, of America's invasion?

A certain complicity is supposed between journalist and reader, for the article

demands the reader's active participation in its interpretation. The 'construed reader'

of the text is one who will share the presuppositions in the text; there is little overt

argument here. In particular, the reader is expected to recognise the incongruity of the

juxtaposition of optimistic quotes and the 'reality' on the ground, and to interpret this

incongruity as a negative comment on the pretentions of American claims. The article

builds on the expectations of its readers; it does not challenge their preconceptions.

_____

TEXT 2: <u>Le Figaro</u> **29 June 2004** (See original text and translation in Appendix)

Iraq: souveraineté contrôlée: Les Etats Unis ont avancé de deux jours le

transfert de pouvoir aux nouvelles autorités

Iraq: controlled sovereignty. The United States have brought forward the transfer of

power to the new authorities by two days

In this case the title is more nuanced, even contradictory - _souveraineté contrôlée_ (controlled sovereignty) is an apparent oxymoron - and ambiguous, since the adjective leaves unclear the extent, nature and agent of the 'control': controlled by whom? the Americans? NATO? Or both? We shall show that while this article lays greater claim than _Libération_ to being an unbiased, objective report, showing characteristics typical of the 'hard news story', the positioning can be readily identified through analysis of transitivity, appraisal and generic structure. The claim to neutrality can be seen in the absence of explicit appraisal; in the neutral voice of the reporter, distanced from the events as from judgement; and in the foregrounding of facts rather than opinion.

To take the last point first, there is a preoccupation with precision, with citing numbers, dates, quantities (30 June; two days; 14 months; 1990; 2 hours later; since last year; 26 heads of state). Official acronyms are used (CPA); participants are carefully named, with their titles; all these details contribute to the impression of purely informational content and moreover support the authority of the journalist, who is apparently well-informed and familiar with this topic. The journalist presents a _scénographie_ in which he is distanced from events over which he has nevertheless an authoritative over-view; there are no references to the personal position of the journalist: the tone is disengaged, flat, neutral, with almost no explicitly appreciative language.

(Level A Heading) **Appraisal**

In the quasi absence of attitudinal inscription, we turn to attitudinal tokens to identify the positioning of the article. As in the article in _Libération_, it is above all by examining the information supplied, and the context and order of its presentation that the orientation can be discerned.

The first point to be made is that, just as significant as the information that is supplied, is that which is omitted. What is deemed relevant? Comparison with the other articles about the handover allows us to identify some important inclusions and exclusions. We note for example that in _Le Figaro_ no reference is made to the extensive security arrangements. Moreover the advance of the ceremony by two days is presented as a 'decision' rather than as a hasty, unplanned reaction to the threat of violence:

A l'approche de la date prévue pour le transfert de souveraineté, les violences s'étaient amplifiées dans le pays, ce qui a sans doute pesé dans la décision d'avancer de deux jours la passation de pouvoir pour «prendre de court la guérilla», selon l'expression de Tony Blair.

As the date for the transfer of sovereignty grew closer, violence in the country had increased, a factor which undoubtedly influenced the decision to bring forward the handover of power in order to - in the words of Tony Blair - 'seize the initiative' from the insurgents.

To describe the bringing forward of the handover as a 'decision' to 'seize the initiative from the insurgents' - quoting uncritically Tony Blair's words - accords greater foresight and control to the Coalition's actions. This interpretation is also offered in the sub-headline, where the US are shown as agents in the decision to bring forward the handover, rather than it being forced upon them: '*Les Etats-Unis ont avancé de deux jours le transfert du pouvoir aux nouvelles autorités* (The United States have brought forward the transfer of power to the new authorities by two days)'.

(Level A Heading) **Attribution**

The quotes cited are brief and are those which would be made available by official sources. The journalist does not seek out the more colourful views of critics of the situation. Blair's quote and one from Paul Bremer, '*qui a qualifié d' «historique» cette journée* (who called this an "historic" day)', are presented without authorial distancing. They are not juxtaposed, as in the *Libération* article, to a grim portrayal of events on the ground, nor are they contradicted by quotes from others. It is significant too that the only quotes are from Coalition leaders and not from the Iraqis themselves. This accords with the thrust of the whole article, which sidelines the Iraqis: they are bystanders rather than actors.

The designation of the events and the participants follows the official nomenclature, that used by the Coalition to represent its actions, a choice of lexis which represents,

of course, an ideological choice. Thus despite the qualification in the title, the

handover is referred to in the body of the article as: *le transfert du pouvoir, le retour à*

la souveraineté, le transfert de souveraineté, la passation de pouvoir (the transfer of

power, the return to sovereignty, the transfer of sovereignty, the handing over of

power) - terms which the Coalition would use because they do not problematize the

reality of the handover. The handover is nominalized throughout and it is

accomplished by another nominalization : '*formalisé par un échange de documents*

(formally confirmed by an exchange of documents)' - nominalizations which occult

the difficult questions relating to agency and effectiveness.

Another example of nominalization to avoid engaging with the question of agency is

the use of the term '*les violences* (violence)' in the explanation for bringing forward

the handover: '*les violences s'étaient amplifiées dans le pays* (violence in the country

had increased)'. Who is responsible for the violence? what forms has it taken?

directed against whom? civilians? Iraqi forces? Americans? 'Violence' avoids the

alternative terms: resistance, insurgency etc, that are explicitly marked ideologically.

But the choice of 'violence' is itself an ideological one, suggesting unmotivated

actions, and once again is a term that the Coalition would be likely to use.

(Level A Heading) **Transitivity**

An examination of the transitivity resources suggests that, unlike _Libération_, _Le Figaro_ does appear to construe the handover as a genuine handover of power, implicitly foregrounding the event as a success as shown in the analysed text below :

TEXT 2 : _Irak : souveraineté contrôlée_
Iraq : supervised sovereignty

(1) [Circ : Manner] _Avec deux jours d'avance sur l'échéance initialement fixée au 30 juin_, [Actor/Agent] _la coalition_ [Prc : material&effective] _a remis_ [Goal/Medium] _le pouvoir_ [Beneficiary] _au gouvernement intérimaire irakien_, [Time] _hier_ [Place] _à Bagdad_.

Two days before the initial deadline set at 30 June, the coalition handed power to the

interim Iraqi government yesterday in Baghdad.

(2) Parallèlement, [Actor/Medium] _les pays de l'Otan, réunis en sommet à Istanbul_, [Proc : material] _ont donné_ [Range] _leur feu vert_ [Purpose] _à l'entraînement des forces irakiennes_.

At the same time, NATO member nations at a summit in Istanbul gave the green light for

the training of Iraqi forces.

(3) [Goal/Medium] _Le retour à la souveraineté de l'Irak_ [Proc : material&effective] _a été formalisé_ [Actor/Agent] _par un échange de documents entre l'administrateur américain Paul Bremer et le premier ministre Iyad Allaoui_, [Time] _lors d'une cérémonie qui a mis officiellement un terme à quatorze mois d'occupation_.
The return to Iraqi sovereignty was formally confirmed by an exchange of documents between the American administrator Paul Bremer and the Prime Minister Iyad Allaoui during a ceremony which officially ended the occupation of fourteen months.

(4a) [Actor/Agent] _M. Bremer_, (4b)_<<qui a qualifié d' «historique» cette journée>>_, [Proc : material&effective] _a remis_ [Beneficiary] _à M. Allaoui et au président intérimaire Ghazi al-Yaouar_ [Goal/Medium] _une lettre de George W. Bush_

Mr Bremer, who called this an 'historic' day, gave Mr Allaoui and the interim president

Ghazi al-Yaouar a letter from George Bush

(4c) [Proc : verbal&middle] _demandant_ [Range] _la reprise des relations diplomatiques entre les deux pays,_

requesting the recommencement of diplomatic relations between the two countries

(4d) [Proc :material&effective] *rompues* [Time] *en 1990*.
suspended since 1990.

(5) [Time] *Deux heures après la cérémonie*, [Actor/Medium] *Paul Bremer* [Proc : material&middle] *a embarqué* [Place] *à bord d'un avion militaire à destination des Etats-Unis,* [Time] *après la dissolution de l'Autorité provisoire de la coalition (CPA), qu'il présidait depuis l'an dernier.*

Two hours after the ceremony, Paul Bremer boarded a military plane bound for the

United States following the dissolution of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA),

over which he has presided since last year.

(6) [Actor/Medium] *Les nouveaux dirigeants irakiens* [Proc :material&middle] *ont ensuite prêté* [Range] *serment*.
The new Iraqi leaders were then sworn in.

(7a) [Time] *A l'approche de la date prévue pour le transfert de souveraineté*, [Carrier/Medium] *les violences* [Proc : relational&attributive/Attribute] *s'étaient amplifiées* [Place] *dans le pays*,

As the date for the transfer of sovereignty grew closer, violence in the country had

increased,

(7b) [Carrier/Medium] *ce qui* [Proc : relational&attributive/attribute] *a sans doute pesé* [Place] *dans la décision d'avancer de deux jours la passation de pouvoir pour «prendre de court la guérilla», selon l'expression de Tony Blair.*

a factor which undoubtedly influenced the decision to bring forward the handover of

power in order to - in the words of Tony Blair - 'seize the initiative' from the insurgents.

(8) [Time] *Dans le même temps*, [Place] *à Istanbul*, [Actor/Medium] *les vingt-six chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement de l'Alliance atlantique* [Proc : material&middle] *ont donné* [Range] *leur feu vert* [Purpose] *à un rôle modeste de l'Otan* [Place] *en Irak*.

At the same time in Istanbul, the twenty-six heads of state and government of the

Atlantic alliance gave the green light for a limited role for NATO in Iraq.

From the start, in clause (1), the Coalition functions as an explicit Agent (handing over the power) and the interim Iraqi government as an explicit recipient or Beneficiary of the power. The success of the handover is further foregrounded in clause (3) where the handover ceremony is represented as having put an end to fourteen months of occupation and in (5) as having dissolved the provisional authority of the Coalition. The success of the event is brought about by the Coalition alone. Only in (6) do we find the 'New Iraqi Leaders' are Actor but in a middle ranged clause where they simply take an oath rather act upon the world. Only in the final clauses do we find some evaluative meaning with regards to the event. Thus, in (7) the handover of power is said to have probably '*sans doute'* been brought forward to cut short further violence from the guerilla, foregrounding again the actions of the Coalition as positive. Although the title points to 'a controlled sovereignty', clause (8) refers to that control by NATO as being modest. Contrary to what transpires in the *Libération* article where the handover of power to the Iraqis is represented as reduced and limited, here, through the use of the term 'modest', it is the control of that power by NATO which is presented as reduced, thus foregrounding the actions of the Coalition as being for the benefit of the Iraqi people.

However, analysis of the structure of the text as a whole suggests the event can be construed in a slightly different way. The article opens and closes with reference to the role of external powers: the Heads of State and NATO. In each sentence concerning NATO's role (the second and the last), the reference to the organisation's

intervention, participation in training etc is introduced by adverbial expressions (both meaning 'at the same time') that emphasise the simultaneous timing with the transfer: 'parallèlement' and 'dans le même temps':

> *Parallèlement, les pays de l'Otan, réunis en sommet à Istanbul, ont donné leur feu vert à l'entraînement des forces irakiennes*

> *Dans le même temps, à Istanbul, les vingt-six chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement de l'Alliance atlantique ont donné leur feu vert à un rôle modeste de l'Otan en Irak.*

These expressions, placed at the head of the sentence, suggest that the handover was a carefully planned process : coordination and planning in which the Iraqis were however not involved. These references to outside powers give added weight to the adjective '*contrôlée*' in the title. Their position at the beginning and the end of the article creates a framework for the handover which contributes to the impression of a concerted effort between the Coalition and NATO to bring about a handover which has more to do with these two powers than with the Iraqis.

TEXT 3: *Le Monde* **29June 2004** (See original text and Translation in Appendix)

Headline

George W. Bush transmet aux Irakiens un pays dévasté.

George W. Bush transfers a devastated country to the Iraqis.

<u>Subheadline</u>

<u>Etablir prospérité et démocratie. A l'heure du transfert de souveraineté, le pari américain de l'après-Saddam a échoué.</u>

To establish prosperity and democracy. At the moment of the handover of sovereignty, the American post-Saddam gamble has failed.

To provide a further comparison and framework for our analysis of these two articles, we have included a brief reference to the article that appeared in <u>Le Monde</u> on the same day. As a centre-left newspaper, we might expect its positioning to be situated somewhere between the two others. However the title announces starkly the failure of the Americans and we find here a marked use of attitudinal inscription, particularly in the designation of the Actors, and a syntactical structure that undermines the credibility of the Americans' promises. Because we are only analysing the first paragraph, we reproduce below the passage in its entirety:

[1]*<u>"Le 30 juin n'est pas une date magique", avait averti le secrétaire américain à la défense, Donald Rumsfeld.</u>*

'The 30th June is not a magic date' the American Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld had warned.

[2]*<u>A l'heure du transfert officiel du pouvoir des forces de la coalition au gouvernement intérimaire d'Iyad Allaoui - avancé de deux jours au dernier moment -,</u>*

tout porte à croire que le "Nouvel Irak" annoncé par les tombeurs de Saddam

Hussein n'est pas pour demain.

At the moment of the official transfer of power from the coalition forces to the interim government of Iyad Allaoui – brought forward at the last moment by two days – everything indicates that the 'New Iraq' announced by Saddam Hussein's vanquishers will not appear tomorrow.

[3]*Si l'intervention des Etats-Unis a permis de libérer la population du tyran de Bagdad, elle n'a en rien ouvert cette perspective radieuse de la prospérité promise par George W. Bush.*

If the United States' intervention has enabled the liberation of the population from the tyrant of Baghdad, it has in no way ushered in the dazzling vision of prosperity promised by George W. Bush.

[4]*Quatorze mois après la fin de la guerre contre Saddam Hussein, la guérilla contre les forces d'occupation a réussi à plonger le pays dans un climat de violence et d'anarchie qui rend presque extravagante l'idée de la reconstruction.*

Fourteen months after the end of the war against Saddam Hussein, guerrilla warfare against the occupying forces has succeeded in plunging the country into a state of violence and anarchy that makes the idea of reconstruction seem extravagant.

A marked characteristic of this article is the balanced sentence construction: it is often the case that the first half of the sentence recalls the promises that accompanied American intervention or the hopes of a return to normality, while the second half recounts the reality of the situation. This structure starts in the lead and continues throughout the first paragraph. This contrast is further underlined in a number of ways, for example in sentence [2] *tout porte à croire* (everything indicates that) is a form of evidential standing, since it suggests that the weight of evidence is strong; and in [3] *elle n'a en rien ouvert* (it has not in any way) intensifies the negation. Note also the internal semantic balance between ***guerre contre Saddam Hussein*** and ***guérilla contre les forces d'occupation*** (only the French is quoted because of the semantic similarity of the terms) which puts both parties on an equal footing in terms of the legitimacy of their armed action.

In what are in effect non-marked quotes, the journalist adopts ironically the terms that the Americans use to describe Saddam Hussein and the Americans themselves. For example the journalist refers to the Americans as *les tombeurs de Saddam Hussein* (the overthrowers of Saddam Hussein) which is how the Americans would now like their intervention to be understood. However, the series of lexical items that refer to the Americans ends with the negative description: *forces d'occupation* (forces of occupation), an expression that foregrounds their oppressive role and undermines any legitimacy that might have been associated with the earlier designation.

Saddam Hussein is referred to as the _tyran de Bagdad_ (tyrant of Baghdad)- the

American view of him which has become one of their justifications for the war. The

frequent references to Saddam Hussein (four including the title) suggest, however,

that the journalist is adopting the American perspective for ironic ends, reminding the

readers of the current justification for the war, after that offered by the 'weapons of

mass destruction' had been discredited. By focusing their action as primarily against

Saddam Hussein, the journalist personalises their intervention and makes it appear

limited in scope: not the 'war on terror' but the war on one man, even if a tyrant. Does

calling him the tyrant of Baghdad - with its echoes of the 'thief of Baghdad' - make

him appear, moreover, as a minor, relatively unimportant dictator?

Conclusion

In contrast to the _Libération_ article, in _Le Figaro_ few evaluative resources run through

the experiential structure of the text. The _Le Figaro_ article lays claim to being a

neutral chronicle of events, a hard news story. But like all such articles, its starting-

point, the orientation offered by title and lead, and the successive linguistic and

semantic choices made, contribute to its ideological positioning. This type of article

typically avoids explicit value judgements by the reporter about the morality,

competence, normality etc of participants, explicit evaluations of events and entities

and adopts a 'strategy of partial impersonalisation'. But this claim to impartiality is 'a

ploy', a 'rhetorical stratagem' (White 1997:130), since analysis reveals an ideological

position which accepts as legitimate the American action in Iraq, and as 'natural' and

'normal' its intervention in its governance (and the intervention of other Western powers such as NATO). The narrative drive of the article highlights the restoration of order through the beneficent actions of the Coalition and indeed identifies this stage as one of progress as the Coalition's plans for post-Saddam Iraq unfold in a predictable and coordinated manner. Thus in this case the focus of the journalist falls on the 'rearrangement of power relationships' represented by the handover rather than on disruption to the social or political order[4]. This ideological position can be further related to a world view which is 'realist' in regard to the necessary role of the superpower.

The article in _Le Monde_ does not adopt the same format of claimed neutrality, it is of more mixed form: attitudinal inscription and syntactical structure explicitly represent the handover as a further example of the Americans' failed intervention. The handover is not a further step in the evolution of the processes of governance but a symbol of all that has gone wrong: the initiative taken out of the hands of the Americans, the devastation and anarchy in the country, the presence of a strong and violent resistance. Its positioning is from a perspective that is critical of American action, does not take their claims seriously, and adopts a tone of irony towards the difference between their words and deeds.

The article in _Libération_ is closer to _Le Monde_ than _Le Figaro_ in terms of its use of attitudinal inscription. The title abandons any pretence of neutrality and orients the

reader to interpret the account in a way that is critical of the Coalition and Iraqi authorities. The article contains a range of attitudinal tokens which create a layered text whose interpretation supposes that the construed reader shares a broader interpretive framework with the journalist. Whereas the 'ethos' and 'tone'[1] of the *Figaro* article are those of detached authority, the 'ethos' and 'tone' created by the journalist of *Libération* invite the complicity of the reader. References to the Koran, to the background to the events, the significance of the juxtaposition of words and deeds, rely on an educated and sophisticated readership which will recognise and appreciate the use of irony and shares a world-view which is suspicious of the aims and achievements of American intervention in the world. The article construes the event not as the restoration of order but as a further stage in the unfolding chaos of post-Saddam Iraq; it does not recount progress but a vicious cycle of violence and counter-violence and even foreshadows the possibility of regression to rule by a new strong man or a religiously-based regime.

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Endnotes

1 Maingueneau (1998: 81) argues that the speaker or writer creates an 'ethos': a personnality, a certain character and even a physical presence which he 'holds out to the co-enunciator to mobilise him, to lead him to identify physically with the text' (our translation).

Appendix

TEXT 1: _Libération_

La coalition transfère un semblant de pouvoir	**The Coalition transfers a semblance of power**
Irak	_Iraq_
Avec deux jours d'avance par crainte d'attentats, l'administrateur américain a cédé la place, mais pas toutes les compétences, au gouvernement irakien.	Two days early, for fear of attack, the American administrator has handed over his position, but not all the powers, to the Iraqi government.
Baghdad - envoyé spécial	_Baghdad – special envoy._
Le secret avait été très bien gardé.	The secret had been very well kept.
La plupart des ministres n'avaient été prévenus que la veille.	Most of the ministers had been informed only the day before.
Peu de personnalités avaient été invitées, hier matin vers 10 h 30, à la cérémonie de transfert de pouvoir.	Few dignitaries had been invited to the ceremony of the handover of power held around 10.30 yesterday morning
Intervenu avec deux jours d'avance sur la date prévue,	Taking place two days earlier than planned,
ce retour à une souveraineté limitée de l'Irak a été formalisé par un échange de documents entre Paul Bremer et le Premier ministre Iyad Allaoui.	this return to limited sovereignty was formalised by an exchange of documents between Paul Bremer and the Prime minister Iyad Allaoui.
L'administrateur américain lui a remis, ainsi qu' au président intérimaire Ghazi al-Yaouar, une lettre de George W. Bush,	The American administrator gave him, and the interim president Ghazi al-Yaouar, a letter from George W. Bush,
demandant la reprise des liens diplomatiques entre les deux pays	requesting the resumption of the diplomatic ties between the two countries,
rompus en 1990.	broken off in 1990.
L'événement a été de courte durée.	The event did not take long.
Il a donné à la capitale irakienne l'impression d'une remise des pouvoirs en catimini, sans gloire et, surtout, sans le moindre caractère solennel	It created in the Iraqi capital the impression of a surreptitious, inglorious handover, bereft of ceremony.
Allaoui l'a pourtant qualifié de «jour historique», la naissance du «nouvel Irak» après quatorze mois d'occupation.	Allaoui however characterised it as a 'historic day', the birth of a 'new Iraq' after fourteen months of occupation.
Lorsque les habitants de Bagdad ont commencé à apprendre la nouvelle, environ deux heures plus tard,	When the inhabitants of Baghdad began to learn the news, about two hours later,
Bremer s'était déjà envolé pour les Etats-Unis à bord d'un avion militaire.	Bremer had already taken off for the United States on board a military plane.
Auparavant, il avait dissous l'Autorité provisoire de la coalition	Before doing so, he had dissolved the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA)
qu'il avait présidée pendant treize mois.	over which he had presided for thirteen months.
Serment sur le Coran.	Oath on the Koran
Quelques heures plus tard, la prestation de serments s'est faite dans l'un des Palais de la zone verte, le périmètre «sécurisé» du centre de Baghdad qui abrite le gouvernement irakien et le QG de la coalition.	A few hours later the swearing–in took place in one of the palaces of the Green zone, the 'safe' zone in the centre of Baghdad which is home to the Iraqi government and the Coalition headquarters.
Elle a donné lieu à un formidable déploiement de forces.	It involved a very significant deployment of troops.
Autour du Premier ministre Iyad Allaoui et de quelques ambassadeurs étrangers et officiels irakiens, se sont agglutinés des dizaines d'hommes des forces spéciales américaines, survolées par un hélicoptère de reconnaissance Kiowa et un hélicoptère de combat Apache.	Dozens of American special forces, watched over by a Kiowa surveillance helicopter and an Apache combat helicopter, stuck closely to the prime minister Iyad Allaoui and a few foreign ambassadors and Iraqi officials.

Les journalistes ont été tenus à l'écart.	The journalists were kept well away.
Les nouveaux dirigeants irakiens ont prêté serment sur le Coran.	The new Iraqi rulers took the oath on the Koran
Le président Ghazi al-Yaouar a juré le premier, s'engageant à «préserver la souveraineté, l'indépendance et l'unité de l'Irak».	The president Ghazi al–Yaouar went first swearing to "defend the sovereignty, the independence and the unity of Iraq".
Le Premier ministre a lancé un appel remarqué aux cadres baasistes	The Prime minister's appeal to Baathist ranks to join his administration was particularly noted
pour qu'ils viennent rejoindre son administration.	
De son côté, le général Mark Kimmitt, chef adjoint des opérations militaires de la coalition, a indiqué	For his part, general Mark Kimmitt, second in command of the Coalition military operations, indicated
qu'aucun accord formel n'avait été signé avec l'exécutif irakien sur le statut des forces étrangères qui resteront.	that no formal agreement had been signed with the Iraqi executive concerning the status of the foreign troops that will remain.
Le nouveau pouvoir irakien n'a pas caché	The new Iraqi authorities did not hide the fact
que la crainte d'une explosion de violences avait provoqué ce changement de date.	that the fear of an explosion of violence had led to the change of date.
«Nous avons été informés que les pouvoirs seront transmis aux Irakiens aujourd'hui (lundi, ndlr) pour des raisons de sécurité»,	"We have been informed that the handover of power will take place today (Monday – ed note) for security reasons"
a déclaré Iyad Allaoui à l'AFP.	Iyad Allaoui declared to AFP
Dans la mosquée Oum al-Tambol, cheikh Mehdi al-Souimaïdi, le principal leader religieux salafiste irakien, proche de la guérilla, a mal caché sa surprise, puis son mécontentement	In the Oum al-Tambol mosque, sheikh Mehdi al-Souimaïdi, the principal saafist religious leader, close to the guerrilla forces, found it hard to conceal his surprise, then his dissatisfaction
en apprenant, par Libération, la nouvelle:	on learning the news from *Libération:*
«Ce transfert ne sert à rien.	"This handover is pointless.
Aujourd'hui même, les soldats américains ont arrêté un imam et ses trois frères.	Just today, American soldiers have arrested an imam and his three brothers.
Il n'empêchera pas les attaques de la résistance	It won't prevent attacks by the Resistance,
si elle veut attaquer»,	if it wants to"
a commenté le religieux, lui-même récemment libéré de la prison d'Abou Ghraib,	commented the religious leader, who was himself recently released from Abou Ghraib prison
où il était détenu depuis le 1er janvier.	where he had been held since 1st January.
«Plus d'excuses».	"No more excuses"
Au ministère de la Culture, Jawad Bashara, écrivain et conseiller du ministre, se félicite du changement de date:	At the Ministry of Culture, Jawad Bashara, writer and ministerial advisor, is very pleased with the change of date:
«Cela a permis de couper l'herbe sous les pieds des terroristes	"It's cut the ground from under the feet of the terrorists
qui se préparaient à fêter l'événement à leur manière.»	who were planning to celebrate the event in their own way."
A peine avait-il commenté l'événement	He had hardly finished speaking
que des inconnus ouvraient le feu sur ce ministère,	when unknown assailants opened fire on the ministry,
sans faire de victimes.	without causing casualties.
«L'essentiel, <<...>> c'est que les Irakiens ont leur destin en mains	"The essential thing" […] "is that the Iraqis control their own destiny."
<<ajoute-t-il>>	he added,
Le gouvernement n'a plus d'excuses:	"The government has no more excuses:
il doit préparer les élections,	it has to prepare for elections
rétablir les services publics	re-establish public services
et récupérer la souveraineté de l'Irak.	and regain Iraqi sovereignty.
Mais ce n'est pas pour autant un jour historique.	But for all that this is not a historic day
Nous sommes toujours sous occupation	We are still under occupation.
En théorie, nous sommes libres, indépendants, souverains.	In theory we're free, independent, sovereign.
Mais pas sur le terrain.»	But not on the ground."

Patron d'un magasin de jouets, *Abou Hammar est encore plus sévère:*	The owner of a toyshop, Abou Hammar is even more severe:
«Les Américains se moquent de nous.	"The Americans are laughing at us
Transfert ou pas, quelle différence !	Whether there's a handover or not, what difference does it make!
L'Irak est toujours dans les mains de la CIA...» …	Iraq is still in the hands of the CIA…"
Et Iyad Allaoui ?	And Iyad Allaoui?
«Lui, c'est un dur, un type sévère.	"He's a strong man, tough.
C'est bien.	That's good.
C'est ce qu'il faut aux Irakiens.»	That's what the Iraqis need."

TEXT 2: *Le Figaro*

Irak : souveraineté contrôlée	**Iraq: Supervised Sovereignty**
Les Etats-Unis ont avancé de deux jours le transfert du pouvoir aux nouvelles autorités.	**The United States has brought forward the transfer of power to the new authorities by two days.**
Avec deux jours d'avance sur l'échéance initialement fixée au 30 juin, la coalition a remis le pouvoir au gouvernement intérimaire irakien, hier à Bagdad.	Two days before the initial deadline set at June 30th, the Coalition handed power to the interim Iraqi government yesterday in Baghdad.
Parallèlement, les pays de l'Otan, réunis en sommet à Istanbul, ont donné leur feu vert à l'entraînement des forces irakiennes.	At the same time, NATO member nations at a summit in Istanbul gave the green light for the training of Iraqi forces.
Le retour à la souveraineté de l'Irak a été formalisé par un échange de documents entre l'adminstrateur américain Paul Bremer et le premier ministre Iyad Allaoui,	The return to Iraqi sovereignty was formally confirmed by an exchange of documents between the American administrator Paul Bremer and the Prime Minister Iyad Allaoui
lors d' une cérémonie qui a mis officiellement un terme à quatorze mois d' occupation	during a ceremony which officially ended the occupation of fourteen months.
M. Bremer, qui a qualifié d' «historique» cette journée,	Mr Bremer, who called this an 'historic' day,
a remis à M. Allaoui et au président intérimaire Ghazi al--Yaouar une lettre de George W. Bush	gave Mr Allaoui and the interim president Ghazi al-Yaouar a letter from George Bush
demandant la reprise des relations diplomatiques entre les deux pays,	requesting the recommencement of diplomatic relations between the two countries,
rompues en 1990..	broken off in 1990.
Deux heures après la cérémonie, Paul Bremer a embarqué à bord d' un avion militaire à destination des Etats-Unis, après la dissolution de l'Autorité provisoire de la coalition (CPA),	Two hours after the ceremony, Paul Bremer boarded a military plane bound for the United States following the dissolution of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA),
qu' il présidait depuis l'an dernier.	over which he has presided since last year.
Les nouveaux dirigeants irakiens ont ensuite prêté serment.	The new Iraqi leaders were then sworn in.
A l' approche de la date prévue pour le transfert de souveraineté, les violences s'étaient amplifiées dans le pays,	As the date for the transfer of sovereignty grew closer, violence in the country had escalated,
ce qui a sans doute pesé dans la decision d'avancer de deux jours la passation de pouvoir	a factor which undoubtedly influenced the decision to bring forward the handover of power by two days
pour « prendre de court la guérilla », selon l' expression de Tony Blair.	in order to - in the words of Tony Blair - 'seize the initiative" over insurgents.
Dans le même temps, à Istanbul, les vingt-six chefs d'Etat et de gouvernment de l'Alliance atlantique ont donné leur feu vert à un rôle modeste de l'Otan en Irak.	At the same time in Istanbul, the twenty-six heads of state and government of the Atlantic alliance gave the green light to a limited role for NATO in Iraq.

TEXT 3: *Le Monde*

Etablir prospérité et démocratie.	Establishing prosperity and democracy.
A l' heure du transfert de souveraineté, le pari américain de l' après-saddam a échoué.	At the moment of the transfer of sovereignty, the American gamble on post-Saddam Iraq has failed.
«Le 30 juin n'est pas une date magique» avait averti le secrétaire américain à la défense, Donald Rumsfeld.	"The 30th June is not a magic date" the American Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld had warned.
A l' heure du transfert officiel du pouvoir des forces de la coalition au gouvernment intérimaire d' Iyad Allaoui	At the moment of the official transfer of power from the coalition forces to the interim government of Iyad Allaoui
- avancé de deux jours au dernier moment -	- brought forward at the last moment by two days –
tout porte à croire que le 'Nouvel Irak' annoncé par les tombeurs de Saddam Hussein n'est pas pour demain.	all circumstances indicate that the 'New Iraq' announced by Saddam Hussein's vanquishers will not appear tomorrow.
Si l' intervention des Etats-Unis a permis de libérer la population du tyran de Bagdad,	If the United States' intervention has enabled the liberation of the population from the tyrant of Baghdad,
elle n' a en rien ouvert cette perspective radieuse de la prospérité promise par GeorgeW. Bush.	it has in no way ushered in the dazzling vision of prosperity promised by George W. Bush.
Quatorze mois après la fin de la guerre contre SaddamHussein, la guérilla contre les forces d' occupation a réussi à plonger le pays dans un climat de violence et d' anarchie	Fourteen months after the end of the war against Saddam Hussein, guerrilla warfare against the occupying forces has succeeded in plunging the country into a state of violence and anarchy
qui rend presque extravagante l' idée de la reconstruction..	that makes the idea of reconstruction seem excessive.

Chapter 3

The nature of 'Reporter' voice in a Vietnamese hard news story

Tran Thi Hong Van

Vietnam National University, Hanoi, College of Foreign Languages

Elizabeth A. Thomson

University of Wollongong

(Level A heading) Abstract

Hard news in English is characterized as being 'factual', 'neutral' and 'objective'. However, research shows that, despite the characterization of 'neutrality', reporters take a subjective stance towards the event or issue being reported (White 1997). This stance is a veiled stance, in the sense, that the journalist avoids explicit opinion, preferring to use indirect invocation and the 'voices' of other authoritative sources to present and or support the writer's position. While the register of hard news is well understood in English, this is not the case in Vietnamese. Further, journalism in Vietnam occurs within the context of a Communist state, which undoubtedly influence the news stories.

This chapter sets out to investigate the nature of a hard news story in Vietnamese published in the *Nhan Dan Daily* (The People's Daily). The on-line article reports on

the Iraqi war, particularly the Abu Ghraib prisoner scandal. Appraisal theory, notably, attitude and engagement, is used as the tool of analysis to explore the reporter's opinions and ideological positioning expressed in the article. The analysis reveals the reporter's negative attitude towards the US government as well as the strategies used to engage other parties in support of the reporter's point of view.

(Level A heading) Background

Before looking at the news article in detail, it is useful to consider the nature of the context of news reporting in Vietnam under the control of a Communist state. The first newspaper, the French-sponsored *Gia dinh Bao* (The Family's Paper) dated back to 1869 in the South. This paper was used as a tool for propaganda for both the nationalistic and colonial sides. In the North, Ho Chi Minh's revolutionists first had their newspaper published in 1925. The paper, called *Thanh Nien* (The Youth), was actually the predecessor of the present most popular newspaper, *Nhan Dan* (The People's Daily).

Nowadays, there are more than 350 newspapers, magazines and journals printed in Vietnam. The papers cover almost every field of life such as science, law, security, education, sports, army, just to name a few. The Vietnam News Agency releases and receives news to and from media in Vietnam and the rest of the world. Known as the official government wire service, this organization releases information that the government considers as most significant for distribution. Along with the Vietnam

News Agency is the _Nhan Dan_ (the People's Daily), which is the Communist Party's primary national newspaper. All government and party workers are supposed to read the _Nhan Dan_ every day, which brings to readers news and information in line with the Party's policies and regulations. _Thanh Nien_ (the Youth), another popular weekly mainly has young people as its readers while _Phu Nu_ (Women) covers most aspects of women's life.

Under Vietnam's Press Law (1989), common people have the right to express their opinions either via reporters' words or by writing articles themselves. However, freedom of expression is limited to the extent that people are encouraged to say what they think as long as it does not harm the prestige of the Party, or the State to any extent. Similarly, reporters' freedom of expression is also protected by the State. No organization or individual can restrain or obstruct reporters' activities. At the same time, however, no one can use the right to freedom of expression and freedom of the press to violate or undermine the interests of the State and the people of Vietnam.

Interestingly, despite what appears to be a limited right of expression, regulations in Vietnam's Press Law (1989) reads that the press is not censored before distribution. Journalists are allowed to criticize or condemn in print any misconduct by the Party's and/or the State's organizations and their staff as well as disseminate the general public's work and opinions. If an article is censored prior to publication, then the newspaper has to justify the censorship with appropriate reasons, either by mail or

printed in the paper (Vietnam's Press Law, 1989).

However, the reality is that the freedom of speech, as emphasized in Press Law, has to be used in a 'proper' (*đúng đắn*) way. To make sure every journalist uses this right of freedom of speech properly, there is always a copy editorial process before an article is published in any Vietnamese newspaper. The copy editor of a newspaper, especially those run by the State like the *Nhan Dan*, must have a good command of the State's and the Party's guidelines, and of policies in specialized aspects as well as be well-informed of important social, and political events (Criteria for recruiting state employed editors – State Employee Administration Document, 1993). This is to ensure that the content of the article does not include information that 1) provokes people to protest against the State; 2) provokes violation, crime and sex; 3) reveals State's secrets, military, economic, security secrets as well as other types of secrets regulated by law; and 4) provides misinformation that offends organizations and individuals (Vietnam's Press Law 1989). In short, while freedom of expression is enshrined in law, the everyday working reality includes a form of editing or self-censorship designed to protect the authority of the State.

The *Nhan Dan* newspaper's first issue was published in 1951 in the War Zone of *Viet Bac* during the resistance war against French colonialism. Today the daily *Nhan Dan* has a circulation of 180,000 copies, the weekend one has 110,000 copies, the monthly paper has 130,000 copies (www.nhandan.com.vn), and further, there is an on-line

version. *Nhan Dan'*s readers are not restricted to any social group but as mentioned, the Party's members and State's employees and officials are expected to read the paper for up-to-date news as well as to stay abreast of policies and guidelines by the Party and the State.

Nhan Dan is believed to be one of the most reliable sources of information among newspapers circulated in the country. The paper distributes news and information related to politics, life, business, culture and sports, albeit from the point of view of the State.

(Level A heading) The *Nhan Dan* article

Before discussing the linguistic analyses of the article, it is useful to have a look at the context of situation of the story. It is common knowledge in Vietnam that America invaded Iraq in March 2003. The reasons it presented to the rest of the world included Iraqi production and use of weapons of mass destruction, relations with terrorist organizations and human rights violations.

Whether or not the stated justifications were convincing to other nations is beyond the scope of this chapter, however, Vietnam did not support the American action. Yet, Vietnam never officially stated its opposition to America's war on terror in an international forum.

The reason for this can be explained by the fact that Vietnam currently enjoys good relations with the US after efforts by both governments to put the past behind them. "The two-way trade between Vietnam and the US increased from US$220,000 in 1994 – the year the embargo was lifted – to over US$6.4 billion in 2004" (Vietnam Trade Office in the US 2002). Even though Vietnam has a productive relationship with the US in terms of trade, Vietnam is not listed in the group of governments that supported the Iraq war (among those being Australia, Azerbaijan, Colombia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Ethiopia, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Korea, Poland, Demark, Portugal, and Spain (One World – Nations Online 2007). Vietnam remains opposed to America's war on terrorism and this is directly expressed in the article selected from the _Nhan Dan_ newspaper.

The article, titled "US mask stripped off in Iraq", is about how the US "human rights" mask has been stripped off after a series of mistakes since the US invaded Iraq, especially the scandal of Iraqi prisoners being abused by US soldiers. According to the article, despite efforts to hide and censor information about US troops in Iraq, President Bush's government has now lost control of the situation. Photos of US soldiers abusing Iraqi prisoners firstly outraged many Americans, which was followed by embarrassment and consternation. According to the article, American citizens asked that soldiers be punished for their inhumane acts as well as asked for an apology from the US President and British Prime Minsiter.

The article also quoted international organizations and world leaders who criticized the Bush's government, namely the International Red Cross, Amnesty International, the Italian and Australian Prime Ministers, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Emirates.

In concluding the article, the reporter emphasizes that even though the US often boasts about their "human rights" protection, what they are doing in Iraq proves the opposite. He also points out that the war has brought President Bush's and P.M Blair's credibility to the lowest level so far and that the two leaders are facing an increasingly serious wave of anger against them and protests from the public.

(Level B heading) Appraisal Analysis

By investigating attitude and engagement, the analyses will demonstrate how the negative portrayal of the US by the article reporter is achieved. This is followed by a discussion on the nature of the appraisal choices. Within attitude, the three categories of judgement, appreciation and affect are investigated. Authorial inscribed judgement is explicit positive/negative assessments by the author of human behaviour in terms of social norms. Inscribed appreciation is explicit positive/negative assessments by the author of objects, artifacts, happenings and states-of-affair by reference to aesthetics and other systems of social valuation. Authorial affect refers to the announcing by the author of his/her own positive/negative emotional reactions. And finally observed' affect relates to the emotional reactions of others as 'observed' by the author.

The analysis also makes reference to White's (2000, 2002, 2003) and Martin & White's (2005) framework for analyzing the means by which speakers/writers position themselves with respect to what others have previously said on the topic and with respect to how those addressed are likely to respond – what within appraisal theory is termed 'engagement'. This account of 'engagement' is influenced by Bakhtin's notion that all verbal communication is in some way dialogic (see, for example, Bakhtin 1981). Accordingly White and Martin (2005) & White (2000, 2002, 2003) distinguish broadly between utterances which offer no overt acknowledgement of the dialogic context in which the text is operating (what are termed 'monoglossic' utterances – i.e. bare assertions on the part of the speaker/writer) and those which acknowledge in various ways the dialogic, multi-voiced context in which the text is operating (what are termed 'heteroglossic' utterances – i.e. those involving modality, attribution, concession, negation and related formulations.)

The article is reproduced in translation with the appraisal analysis highlighted within the body of the text. The analysis relates to the evaluation as it appears in the original Vietnamese and may not directly match with the English translation. The analytical key is provided. Also, the full Vietnamese text is supplied in the Appendix.
[insert 'C 3Key' word file here]

[insert 'C3 analysed translation' file here]

(Level C Heading) Engagement

The proposition which is under attack in this story is that the Bush government is in control of the situation in Iraq.   The authorial voice of the story takes the position that the US is **not** in control at all (*Mặc dù ra sức bưng bít, kiểm duyệt thông tin về hoạt động của quân Mỹ tại Iraq, nhưng đến lúc này, chính quyền của Tổng thống Bush đã không còn kiểm soát được tình hình*). This position is backgrounded in the first paragraph of the story with details about the discovery of the US abuse of Iraqi prisoners in Abu Graib gaol. This discovery is the catalyst for the 'unmasking' of American foreign policy which uses the rhetoric of human rights as a guise for interfering in the affairs of sovereign states.

In the subsequent two paragraphs, this position is attributed to a number of compelling voices, such as the American public at large, the American Upper House Committee on Military Force, the commanding division of the American troops in Iraq, the Iraqi people, a world court, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Emirates and Allied Prime Ministers such as Italy's Berlusconi and Australia's Howard. Further, the authorial voice introduces the possibility that the US government themselves are finding it difficult to hide the true situation thereby strengthening the authorial proposition with concessions by the US (*Mới đây, Tòa án thế giới về Iraq với "Đoàn bồi thẩm lương tâm" gồm 14 người là những chiến sỹ hòa bình, học giả, lãnh đạo nghiệp đoàn ra tuyên bố tại New York rằng Mỹ đã phạm tội ác chiến tranh ở Iraq….*). Another similar strategy by the reporter is using

Amnesty International to entertain the possibility that British soldiers are implicated in the killing of Iraqi civilians (*Tổ chức ân xá quốc tế đã tố cáo binh sỹ Anh sát hại thường dân Iraq, những người hoàn toàn không có khả năng tạo ra các mối đe dọa*). In the fourth paragraph, the author takes the specific example of the US in Iraq and generalises to suggest that US foreign policy dishonestly operates under the guise of 'human rights':

> *Vụ bê bối này đã một lần nữa vén lên bức màn mà lâu nay nhà cầm quyền Mỹ cố che đậy bản chất thực của cái gọi là "chính sách nhân quyền" do họ lạm dụng để đánh lừa dư luận, đe dọa, can thiệp và vu cáo làm hại các quốc gia độc lập và có chủ quyền khác trên thế giới.*
>
> This **scandal** [j] has once more *unveiled the truth* [j] that the US government has always **tried to hide** [j]– the nature of the **so-called <dist> "human rights policy"**[j], which they have used to **cheat** [j] the public, **threaten** [j], **intervene** [j] and **harm** [j] other independent and sovereign nations.

This generalisation suggests an underlying and ongoing resentment towards the US in relation to their role in the war in Vietnam in the 1960s. This is not just a report about what is happening in Iraq. It is a report which demonstrates *again* another imperialist action of the US against sovereign nations, actions which have profoundly affected the sovereign nation of Vietnam. And not surprisingly, the Vietnamese nation still resonants with anti-American sentiment, which comes through in this report.

The story finishes with the authorial voice negatively evaluating the US government, but also suggesting that the 'wave of anger' and criticism of US war crimes will eventually impact negatively on the US, which is here represented as a country which sows misery and mishap:

> *Làn sóng phẫn nộ và lên án tội ác chiến tranh của Mỹ tại Iraq tiếp tục lên cao, lan rộng và gây ra những hậu quả cho chính những kẻ đi reo giắc đau khổ và tai nạn cho người khác.*
>
> The **wave of anger** [3ʳᵈaf] and **criticism** [j] of US war **crimes** [j] in Iraq continues to rise and results in bad effects for those who **sow misery** [j] and cause **misfortune** [j] for others.

(Level C heading) Attitude

Even without quantifying the instances of attitude in the translation of the news story, it is evident from a cursory glance that the story overwhelmingly uses explicit, negative attitude. The reporter does not attempt to appear 'objective' or 'neutral' through the use of invoked evaluation. The reporter clearly takes an anti-American stance using inscriptions as the evaluative strategy of choice. The story negatively evaluates the US and its military actions in Iraq, using inscriptions of appreciation, judgement and affect, as evidenced in the example below:

> *… một vụ bê bối tiềm ẩn những hậu quả khó lường đối với nhà cầm quyền Mỹ trong khi họ đang rất lúng túng chưa tìm được giải pháp thoát khỏi vũng lầy Iraq sau một năm chiếm đóng bất hợp pháp, hao người và tốn của.*
>
> … a **scandal** [j] which entails potential negative consequences to the US authority who are (at the same time) **puzzled** [af] by the problem of getting out

of the Iraqi **swamp** [ap] after one year of **costly illegal occupation** [j].

Significantly, when positive evaluation occurs, it is in relation to the authorial position that America is not in control in Iraq. The positive evaluation relates to the exposure of the American strategy of using the rhetoric of human rights as a guise for interfering in the affairs of sovereign states. Exposing the guise is evaluated positively using instances like *bóc trần* (stripped off) and *làn sóng phẫn nộ và lên án tội ác chiến tranh của Mỹ tại Iraq tiếp tục lên cao, lan rộng* (the resistance … is becoming stronger) and the nature of America as being hypocritical comes through in the negative judgement *bản chất thực của cái gọi là "chính sách nhân quyền"* (the true nature of the so-called "human rights policy").

This pattern of negative evaluation is not isolated to the authorial voice, but is also evident in the words of other voices in the text. For example,

> *Nhiều người Mỹ khi được xem những bức ảnh, nghe những mẩu chuyện của người tù, cai tù … nói về cảnh lính Mỹ giết hại dân thường, ngược đãi tù nhân Iraq, đã bày tỏ sự bất bình, kinh hoàng và cảm thấy xấu hổ, nhục nhã cho đội quân tự xưng là "những người giải phóng" cho nhân dân Iraq. Họ lên án giới cầm quyền đã lừa dối, bưng bít và làm sai lệch thông tin.*
> Many Americans, after seeing photos and hearing stories from prisoners and guards about US soldiers **killing civilians** [j] and **abusing Iraqi prisoners** [j] showed their **discontent** [3rdaf], **consternation** [3rdaf] and **felt ashamed** [3rdaf] of those **"fight-for-freedom** [j] **"** troops. They **condemned** [j] the

American authorities for having **cheated** [j], **hidden** [j] and **distorted** [j] the truth.

In this example, the authorial voice inserts negative judgements of the actions of the US, such as killing civilians and abusing prisoners and then uses the voice of the American public to insert negative observed 3rd party affect and negative judgements. Words like *bất bình* (discontent), *xấu hổ, nhục nhã* (consternation), *lừa dối*(cheated) and *làm sai lệch* (distorted) etc., support the authorial position adding weight to his/her proposition that American is not in control and hiding this reality from the world.

To sum up, this article is explicitly anti-American. The reporter's opinion is clearly evident and is supported by other voices who also disapprove of America's actions. The other voices serve to endorse the reporter's position that the US is not in control in Iraq, and is thus another example of the interfering foreign policy that America propagates.

(Level A heading) Discussion

According to Martin and White (2005), the evaluative key of 'reporter' voice in hard news in English is characterized by an attitudinal configuration which includes a low probability of authorial inscribed judgment, no authorial affect, some inscribed authorial appreciation and some 'observed' affect (ibid p.178).

Taking this characterization and applying it to the patterns of evaluation in the _Nhan_

Dan article, it is immediately obvious that the _Nhan Dan_ article does not display the

configurations of 'reporter voice' which White (2000) and Martin & White (2005)

observed to operate in a substantial proportion of hard news reporting in the English

broadsheet media. For example, rather than having a low probability of explicit

authorial judgement and appreciation, the article is saturated with overt instances.

Further, rather than having no examples of affect, there are examples of both 1st and

3rd party (observed) affect. It would thus be a mistake to suggest that this article uses

the evaluative key of 'reporter' voice. Whether or not this is representative of the

hard news style of reporting in Vietnamese is unclear. Analysis of just one article is

inadequate and further research is required to determine whether it is typical for

factual information and authorial opinion to be mixed in this way in Vietnamese news

coverage or whether there are cases of news reporting where explicit authorial opinion

is excluded. It is perhaps significant that this is an instance of reporting on a political

topic. In the English-language broadsheet media, news reporting of political events

is typically not conducted in 'reporter voice' but in a style where explicit authorial

judgements occur with some regularity (what Iedema et al., 1994, White 2000 and

Martin & White 2005 term 'correspondent voice'). In the English-language

broadsheets, 'reporter voice' is more typically the style adopted in such contexts as

police rounds, crime and law reporting. It therefore would be of interest to investigate

the attitudinal arrangement employed by Vietnamese reporters when dealing with such non-political topics.

Even though there seems to be a kind of censorship process which is applied to most articles, especially those involving political points of view, anti-US opinions don't seem to undergo that process (Nguyen 2007 *pers. comm.,* 9 May).   It looks like Vietnam's experience with the US during the war 30 years ago has brought this country enough confidence to judge what the US is doing in Iraq despite the fact that Vietnam is enjoying improved economic relations with America.

In conclusion, this suggests that, despite the good relations between the US and Vietnam, there is definitely room in Vietnamese society for negative assessments of the US and its foreign policy. Taking into account that *Nhan Dan* is the most read state-run newspaper in Vietnam, its publication has considerable influence on the population, their thinking and their opinions. Consequently, the opinion of the reporter as well as the newspaper has a guiding influence. While all news has to pass through a censorship filter to ensure that it is not against Party's guidelines, it appears, in this case, that the reporter's opposition to America's war in Iraq is not contrary to the State's point of view.

(Level A heading) References

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(Level A Heading) Appendix 1

[insert Original Vietnamese article pdf file]

Chapter 4

Evaluating 'reporter' voice in two Japanese front page lead stories

Elizabeth A. Thomson,

University of Wollongong

Nagisa Fukui,

University of New South Wales

&

P.R.R. White,

University of Adelaide

(Level A Heading) Abstract

The _Asahi_ newspaper is the second most read national broadsheet newspaper in Japan and is considered left wing and anti-American (Komori _et al_. 2002).   The _Nihon Keizai_ Newspaper is a broadsheet which specializes in the economy and is motivated by economic imperatives.

In this study, one front page lead story from the _Asahi_ newspaper and one from the _Nihon Keizai_, both of which report on the handover of power to the Iraqi Interim Government on June 28, 2004, are selected to investigate the nature of the 'reporter' voice in Japanese.

The analytical tools used are appraisal analysis (Martin & White 2005) and generic structure potential analysis (Hasan 1996). The study demonstrates that these lead stories are far from being 'neutral' and 'objective' - the authorial reporters in each article take an evaluative position in relation to the handover of power to the new provisional Iraqi government. However, despite the presence of reporter positions, these positions are not overtly expressed but rather are presented through two different rhetorical strategies, construing two different covert arguments but within a similar organizational structure. The chapter concludes that White's definition of 'reporter' voice as it applies to English, equally applies to these two Japanese news stories.

(Level A heading) Background

Research by Martin and White (2005), and earlier by White (2000) and Iedema, Feez and White (1994) has shown that the 'voice' of English language broadsheet hard news is expressed in a particular evaluative key. This key, referred to as 'reporter' voice has a particular configuration in English. "Reporter voice can be seen as a regime of strategic impersonalisation by which the author's subjective role is backgrounded" (ibid p.183). The configuration has an attitudinal profile which includes a low probability of authorial inscribed judgment[1] and inscribed appreciation[2] with no authorial affect[3] and some 'observed' affect[4] (ibid p.178).

While significant research has been done on hard news in English (White 1997, 2000; Martin & White 2005), research on hard news in Japanese is new. This chapter sets out to evaluate the nature of 'reporter' voice in Japanese. Does the 'reporter' voice as outlined by Martin and White (2005) for English manifest in Japanese? Is the hard news report a kind of narrative and does it act "to construct and to naturalise a model of social stability, morality and normalcy" (White 1997, p.101) while at the same time maintaining "an 'objective', 'neutral' and 'impersonal' mode of meaning making" (*ibid*, p.101)?

Two news stories are used in this study to evaluate 'reporter' voice in Japanese. Both are front page, lead stories, reporting on the politically significant handover of power to the Iraqis by America's Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA). According to White's definition, both stories can be characterized as hard news. They appear as the major story on the front page of their respective newspapers and report on a significant, perceived 'reversal of fortune' for the Iraqi people. Further, as described in Chapter one of this volume, hard news stories in English share a specific kind of generic structure. These stories "achieve their informational and rhetorical objectives through a non-linear, 'orbital' structure in which dependent 'satellites' elaborate, explain, contextualise and appraise a textually dominant 'nucleus'" (White 1997, p.101). And so, a further question is whether hard news in Japanese is structurally like hard news in English?

In order to answer these questions, the linguistic approach is twofold. First, the articles are analyzed using appraisal theory as a means of exploring the interpersonal meanings and, second the generic elements of structure and rhetorical organization are investigated to reveal the structural organization.

However, before embarking on a description of the results of the linguistic analyses, it is necessary to consider the context of newspaper culture in Japan and the context of situation as it relates to the two news stories. The following section will sketch the nature of the Japanese newspaper industry followed by a description of the two newspapers, the _Asahi Shimbun_ and the _Nihon Keizai Shimbun_, hereafter referred to as _Asahi_ and _Nikkei_ respectively.

(Level A Heading) The context of newspaper culture in Japan

This section will briefly describe a number of features of the Japanese Newspaper industry. This includes the historical background of news media, the circulation, the types of newspapers and editorial practices.

The first daily Japanese newspaper, _Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun_ (now _Mainichi Shimbun_) was established in 1872. Home deliveries began in 1875, a first around the world. Shortly after the _Mainichi_, the _Yomiuri_ appeared in 1874, followed by _Asahi_ in 1879. However, newspaper circulation didn't flourish until 1946 when restrictive

government controls were lifted. These controls included the quashing of left wing

views and any unfavourable 'truths' about the direction of the World War II.

Post 1946, journalism in Japan enjoyed new regulations which aimed at 'objectivity

of news'. Much later in the year 2000, the Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors

Association adapted these 'objectivity' regulations into 'The Canon of Journalism'',

which is current today (Nihon Shinbun Kyokai 2004).

According to the Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association, in 1999 there

were 108 daily newspapers across the country. Five general-interest national dailies

publishing different editions across the country carry the same political, economic and

cultural reports but vary in their local news coverage and advertising. Both the _Asahi_

and the _Nikkei_ are two of the top five dailies.

Editorial practices in Japan are distinctive. In particular, there is a practice in print

journalism which is known as the practice of 'three readings' (The Japan Newspaper &

Editorial Association 1994). Articles are structured so that the reader has three possible

options when it comes to digesting the article. A level 1 reading involves skimming the

Headline and sub-headlines; a level 2 reading includes the headlines and the lead. The

lead is usually more than an opening sentence, rather it is usually a summary of the facts

of the story contained within an opening paragraph. And finally, a level 3 reading

involves the headlines, the lead and the body of the article, in other words, the entire

piece.

This 'three readings' practice is managed within each newspaper by the *Seiribu* (the Arrangement Section), which is responsible for the headline. Once an article is written it is sent to the *Seiribu* where decisions are made in relation to the headline, the layout, the location of the story in the paper and the newsworthiness of the story. While this resembles editorial practice in the west, the *Seiribu* is considerably more interventionary (Nihon Shimbun Kyookai 1994).

(Level B Heading) The *Asahi* Newspaper

As mentioned the *Asahi* was first published in January 1879, in Osaka. It established its Tokyo branch in 1888. Since then it has expanded its branches all over Japan, and is now a national paper. *Asahi Shinbunsha* (Asahi Newspapers Ltd) claims that it has about 800 thousand subscribers, the second largest in Japan after *Yomiuri*.

Asahi's political stance is considered left wing, but in actual fact, the paper's stance tends to vary from time to time. In the early period, it actively supported the *Meiji* government, having received financial support from them. However, when it reported negatively on the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905), the peace settlement and the Treaty of Portsmouth, the Japanese government banned its publication for 35 days. During the *Taishoo* period (1912-1926), *Asahi* continued its anti-government view. Then, during the Second World War, like other Japanese newspapers, *Asahi* supported

the government and the war effort until the end. After the war, _Asahi_ published an editorial article expressing regret at the partisan reporting of the war, proposing a more objective approach. Since then, _Asahi_ has been critical towards the Japanese government, and has reported on environmental issues and poor government yet at the same time, reporting on North Korea and China in a friendly, conservative manner.

As a result, questions have been raised about the reliability of the Asahi's reporting from a number of quarters. Anti-_Asahi_ groups point out that their stories are not necessarily authentic or verifiable. For example, the newspaper denied the North Korean kidnapping of Japanese citizens. And in the late 1960s, _Asahi_ published an article which supported the Cultural Revolution in China (Inagaki 2002, p. 38). As a result, _Asahi_ journalists were the only foreign correspondents allowed to remain in China at that time (Komori 2002: 42). Their methods of reporting and the ways in which their journalists write the headlines have been said to be unreliable (Inagaki 2002: 198). In the past, fictitious and inaccurate stories have been identified, for example, the _Itoritsu_ Interview in 1950; sanitising Japanese textbooks in 1982 and the 'damage' done to the coral reef in Okinawa in 1989.

In relation to the United States, _Asahi_ has been described as critical towards the Bush government. Post 9/11, _Asahi_ campaigned that America was at fault, and that this partially explained the presence of terrorists groups. In general, the aim of _Asahi_'s

news reports have been to attack American values (Komori 2002: 205). For this reason, *Asahi* is considered anti-American.

(Level B Heading) The *Nihon Keizai* Newspaper

The *Nihon Keizai* newspaper was established in December 1876 as an economic weekly paper by Mitsui Bussan (Mitsui & Co., Ltd) and became an independent newspaper company in 1946. Since then it has been the largest economic paper in Japan. These days, *Nikkei* has over 300 thousands subscribers.

Nikkei was established as an economic paper, thus the percentage of coverage of economic related articles is high. Further, the economic issues stories have strong influence on stock prices or business performance. In general, the choice of front page news in *Nikkei* is determined by economic imperative. Yet, *Nikkei* also reports on social and political events as well. Consequently, articles which are not directly related to economics such as the handover story do appear on the front page.

(Leve A Heading) The context of situation
(Level B Heading) Field
As mentioned the field of both the *Asahi* and the *Nikkei* articles is the politically significant handover of power to the provisional Iraqi government by America's Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA). This occurred two days earlier than expected.

Only after the ceremony was over was the event made public. This sparked debate over why it was unexpectedly and secretly brought forward.

(Level B Heading) Tenor

Both articles are written in the 'plain'[5] form, which is typical of newspaper style. The 'plain' form is a form of the verb which does not select for formality or honourification, thus requiring less copy space. Further, the headlines consist of minor clauses and, in the body of the articles, redundant verbs and/or participants are elided. These again are typical features of the tenor of print journalism in Japan. Consider the Nikkei Headline, 'Devolution of Sovereignty to Iraq. As a precaution against terrorist, (the handover) is brought forward' (*Iraku ni shuken ijoo. Tero keikai de maedaoshi).* The verb is elided in the first section, while the 'handover' is elided in the second.   Essentially the readership is the middle class of Japan, with the *Nikkei* appealing more to those interested in business.

(Level B Heading) Mode

Both articles are print based hard news and purport to present a factual account of the events of the handover. However, as it will be demonstrated both articles do more than that. They each present a particular stance, using 'facts' as evidence or else inserting other voices to support the respective positions. In this sense, both articles are persuasive.

(Level A Heading) Results

This section will describe the results of the linguistic analyses of each story, initially

presenting the appraisal analysis of each news story respectively. The section will

conclude with a summary centering on how the language choices in relation to

evaluation and structural organization conspire to construe particular stances. These

results will then be compared to White's description of 'reporter' voice in English.

(Level B Heading) The Nikkei story

An English translation of the text is provided below. Different font styles have been

employed to identify attitudinal language and textual contexts in which they occur.

The Japanese and romanized versions are provided in Appendices 1 and 2.

Key
<u>bold underlining</u> = inscribed (explicit) negative attitude
bold = invoked (implied) negative attitude
<u>italics underlined</u> = inscribed positive attitude
italics = invoked positive attitude
attributed material (i.e. quotes) = Arial font

The sub-type of the attitude is indicated in square brackets immediately following the
relevant span of text.
[j] = judgment (positive/negative assessments of human behavior in terms of social
norms)
[ap] = appreciation (positive/negative assessments of objects, artifacts, happenings
and states of affairs in terms of systems of aesthetics and other systems of social
valuation)
[af] = affect (positive/negative emotional responses); 1st-af = first-person or authorial
affect; 3rd-af = observed affect, i.e. the reporter describing the emotional responses of
third parties

[insert *Nikkei* pdf file here – no caption required]

(Level C Heading) Inscribed attitude on the part of the author

Leaving aside for the moment the material attributed to outside sources, we notice that there are only a few instances of inscribed attitude in the author's own words. One of these is the term 'terrorist' (*tero*) as used to describe those forces fighting against the US and its Allies. This term has become so 'conventionalised' as a way of designating this grouping that it hardly constitutes subjectivity or assessment on the writer's part. Otherwise, with respect to explicit evaluation, the writer confines himself to two instances of appreciation, one instance of observed affect, and one wording which is only marginally an instance of explicit judgement.

[appreciation]

1. The **<u>deterioration</u>** [ap] of public safety such as incidences like the frequent occurrence of terrorism by anti American resistance forces has not been stopped, (*[[hambei teikoo seiryoku ni yoro tero mo himpatsu suru]] nado, chian no **<u>akka</u>** [ap] ni wa hadome ga kakatte orazu,*)

2. and the future of the new nation is **<u>threatened</u>** [ap].
(*shinsei-kokka no zento wa **<u>tanan</u>** [ap] da*)

[observed affect]

3. There is a **<u>fear</u>** [3rd-af] that anti-American forces were planning a large scale

<u>terrorist</u> [j] attack,

(*[[hambei seiryoku ga shuken ijoo no shikiten o hyooteki ni daikibo na **<u>tero</u>** [j] o*

*shikakeru]] **<u>osore</u>** [3rd-af] ga ari,*)

[explicit judgement]

4. Iraq has begun establishing <u>full scale</u> [j] political power

(*Iraku wa [[rainen yotei sareru]] <u>honkaku</u>-seiken [j] no juritsu ni muke*

fumidashita)

In instance 1, the evaluation is of the condition of public safety – i.e. that it is

'deteriorating' - and hence is appreciation rather than judgement. Similarly in

instance 2, the evaluation is of a future state of affairs. Such assessments do, of

course, have the potential to imply or invoke further evaluations, specifically of those

who may be seen as responsible for these parlous states-of-affair, a point which will

be taken up below.

In instance 3, it is not the writer himself who is presented as doing any evaluating but

rather some unspecified grouping in the community – those who purportedly 'fear'

(*<u>osore</u>*).

In instance 4, _honkaku_ ('full scale') might, perhaps, be treated as indicating a subjective assessment of the new Iraqi government as being capable or powerful, and hence would analysed as passing a judgement on human behaviour. However, it seems more plausible to treat this, not as subjective appraisal on the part of the writer, but rather as legalistic characterisation which references the capabilities of the new government according to the legal arrangements under which power was handed over.

In terms then of instances of clear-cut inscribed attitude on the part of the author, we can say these are limited to the two instances of appreciation _akka_ (deterioration) and _tanan_ (threatened) by which the conditions in Iraq are negatively evaluated.

(Level C heading) Invoked attitude on the part of the author

When we turn to those evaluations which are invoked rather than inscribed, we observe that these play a major role in the attitudinal work being done by the text. These typically act to invoke a negative view of the US and its allies, and especially of their continued presence in Iraq now that there has been a handover of power.

We have already mentioned the inscribed appreciations of the current and continuing situation in Iraq. These inscriptions have the potential to invoke an attitude, specifically a judgement of the negative capacity of those in charge of Iraq – i.e. the US and its allies – for not being able to avert this _chian no akka_ ('deterioration in

public safety'). This is a case where an inscription of one type of attitude (i.e. appreciation) has the potential to invoke a different type of attitude (i.e. judgement). Here, tellingly, the US forces are not overtly declared to be incompetent or ineffective. The inference is left up to the reader to supply or not to supply, according to their reading position.

Then there are several invocations which are directed against the continued presence of the US and it allies in Iraq. For example,

Iraq has begun establishing <u>full scale</u> political power **[j]** which will happen (after the election) next year but, **the Allied forces mainly composed of the US army will remain in Iraq as a multinational force** [j].

This sentence begins positively enough (as already discussed) with the description of the Iraqi government as beginning to gain 'full scale power', but then the writer adds,

but the Allied forces mainly composed of the US army will remain in Iraq as a multinational force.

(…*ga, Beigun shutai no rengoo-gun wa takoku-sekigun to shite Iraku ni todomaru*)

Here the conjunctive 'ga'(*but*), which comes at the end of the previous clause, is significant. It signals the assumption by the writer that what comes immediately after the *ga* is counter indicated for the reader by what went immediately before. Thus the text projects onto the reader the expectation that the Allied forces would <u>*not*</u> remain

once there was an Iraqi government with 'full scale political power'. The continuing

presence of the US and its allies is thus, by implication, construed as untoward and

the reader is positioned to view this in negative terms.

Later in the text, material is presented which has a very strong potential to invoke the

view that the US decision to stay in Iraq puts it at odds with the United Nations. This

is achieved through the following.

Kokuren-anzen-hoshoo-riji-kai no ketsugi ni motoduki Iraku wa "kanzen-na

shuken" o kaifuku suru.

Based on the decision/resolution of the United Nations Security Council, Iraq is

to restore "complete sovereignty".

[[Fusein-seiken-hookai-go, Iraku de chian no sekinin o ninatte kita]] bei-ei-

shudoo no rengoo-gun wa takoku-sekigun to meishoo o kae chuuryuu o keizoku

suru. Zantei-seiken wa [[chooki-teki na seisaku ni kansuru]] kettei-ken ga naku

[[CPA ga dashita]] hoorei mo yuukoo da.

The coalition led by US/UK which had responsibility for public safety in Iraq

after the collapse of the Hussein government, changed its name to the

multinational forces **and continues to occupy (the country)**.[j]

The provisional government doesn't have the power **[j] to decide long term**

policy and laws announced by the CPA will also be valid **[j].**

The potential implication here, obviously, is that 'the US is preventing Iraq from gaining *kanzen na shuken* (complete sovereignty). The writer clearly sets out here to juxtapose the UN resolution with the reality of the situation in Iraq following the handover. The reporter asserts that 1. the coalition forces continue to occupy the country, albeit under a new name of multinational forces, *takoku sekigun*, 2. the new provisional government does not have the power to decide long term policy and 3. laws promulgated by the occupational authority remain valid. Thus, the current situation is not moving towards complete sovereignty as would be expected given the UN resolution, rather the country is still, for all intents and purposes, under coalition control. For those readers who regard UN resolutions as having moral force, this has the potential to invoke an assessment of impropriety on the part of the US, and it seems plausible to regard this as the reporter's own position.

In the concluding sentences the writer introduces material which might appear to be incidental but which clearly has the potential to invoke a negative view of the US leadership.

> *Buremaa-shi wa shikiten shuuryoo choku-go, Senooru-hoodookan-ra to tomo ni kuuro de Iraku o shukkoku.*
> Mr. Bremer immediately following the completion of the handover ceremony, together with the spokesperson, Senor and others departed Iraq by air.

The potential inference here is that this is a sign of cowardice - the reporter is suggesting that the American's could not have gotten out of there any faster.

Against these invocations of a negative viewpoint, there is at least one formulation which has the potential to imply a positive viewpoint.

2003 nen 4gatsu no Fusein seiken hookaigo, [[14kagetsu amari ni wataru]] senryoo-toochi wa shuuryoo shi, Irakujin ni yoru shuken-kokka ga tanjoo shita.

The occupational rule which continued for 14 months following the collapse of the Hussein Government is over and, *a sovereign nation run by the Iraqi people has been born* [j].

This positive formulation suggests the reporter views the handover as a step in the right direction. Yet, the impropriety of the US remains.

(Level C heading) Inscribed attitude by quoted sources

Two instances of inscribed attitudinal assessments are present in material attributed to outside sources, both of which present positive appreciations of the situation in Iraq now that power has been handed over.

*[[Shuto Bagudaddo chuushin-bu de 28nichi ni hiraita]] shookibo na shikiten de, Iraku no Yawaru daitooryo wa "**rekishi-teki** na hi da"to nobe,*

*Buremaa bei bunmingyooseikan wa "shoorai o **rakkan** shite iru" to hatsugen shita.*

Iraqi President, Yawar said, "(This) is an ***historic*** day" [ap] and Bremer, the

US Civilian Administrator, announced, "the future is ***optimistic***". [ap]

(Level C) Management of attitude and alignment in the _Nikkei_ story

By this analysis, then, it becomes clear that the report operates with both inscribed

and invoked attitude and that some of these suggest a positive viewpoint of the

situation in Iraq and the handover while others suggest a negative viewpoint.

However, it is also clear that the negative material outweighs and potentially

overwhelms the positive by dint of both its frequency of occurrence in the text and its

positioning in the text. Thus we note that the positive assessments of the two quoted

government leaders are not only counterbalanced by negative assessments on the part

of the writer, but also that the latter part of the report is entirely taken up with material

which potentially casts the US in a very negative light. Further mechanisms by which

the writer manages attitudinal positioning will be outlined in the following section on

structural organisation. While it would be wrong to suggest that the Nikkei story is an

analytical exposition, it is, at the same time, a piece which takes up a position in

relation to Iraq's sovereignty. In other words, it is expository in the sense that it takes

a subjective stance. The reporter's stance is that Iraq should be restored to complete

sovereignty (_kanzen na shuken_).

(Level C heading) Structural organization.

Having described the strategies of attitudinal alignment employed by the reporter, it is now useful to consider these meanings in relation to the organizational structure of the news story. This section will discuss the structural organization of the _Nikkei_ story, illustrating how the engagement strategies of the reporter and the instances of attitude pattern in motivated ways within the structural elements of the news story. Each of the elements of structure are realized by particular semantic attributes which are, in turn, realized by particular lexicogrammatical choices. While this chapter makes no general claims in relation to the generic structure of hard news in Japanese, it is interesting to note that both articles manifest a similar organizational structure which resonates with the 'three readings' practice of print journalism in Japan.

In total, the _Nikkei_ story consists of 31 clauses[6] organized into two distinct parts. The first part, consisting of 12 clauses, serves primarily as an 'introduction' which comprises a Headline which includes two Sub-headlines, a Synopsis and a Source, that is, the identification of the story's reporter. The second part, consisting of 19 clauses, begins with a Sub-headline which is followed by the main story. The main story consists of five paragraphs consisting of four elements of structure which we have labeled as Explanation, Recount, Exposition and Recount respectively. Each element of structure serves to construe a particular kind of meaning which is realized

through selected language features. The organization of the story is illustrated in Table 1.

The Headline has three parts. The main headline refers to the handover, with the two following sub-headlines referring to the fact that the handover was brought forward due to the threat of terrorism and that the occupation was over. The Headlines are distinct not only due to the size and bolded fonts but also because they consist of minor clauses of Participants and Circumstances with either all or part of the Process elided. As discussed above, the selection of the Headline for news stories in Japan is the task of the _Seiribu_ at each company. From an ideational point of view, the headline and the sub-headlines in the _Nikkei_ story present the facts of the situation. The _Seiribu_ selected 'the devolution of sovereignty to Iraq' (_Iraku ni shuken ijoo_) as the Headline, supported by three related facts: the bringing forward of the handover as a precaution against terrorists (_Tero keikai de maedaoshi)_; the end of the occupation (_14kagetsu no senryoo toochi shuuryoo_) and the date for national parliamentary elections (_Rainen 1gatsu ni zantei gikai-sen_). The _Seiribu_ decided what information was to be made most prominent. It was the return of Iraq's sovereignty.

An important observation about the sub-headlines is their location in the story. Two of the sub-headlines immediately follow the Headline, however, the third sub-headline occurs just before the Main Story, functioning to signal the start of the Main Story. The sub-headline in this case, which states that parliamentary elections will be

held in January, is unrelated to the ideational meanings within the main story. Only one clause in the main story relates to the election and this occurs towards the end. This suggests a lack of cohesion between the sub-headline and the Main Story. The reason for this lack of cohesion relates to the previously mentioned practice of 'levels' of reading. If a reader only does a level 1 reading, then only the Headline and Sub-headlines are digested. In this situation, the reader would glean the essential, key ideational meanings from the headlines. The choice of what ideational and interpersonal meanings are placed in the Headline(s) is thus crucial from the editorial committee's point of view. In the case of the *Nikkei* story, were a reader to do a level 1 reading, they would miss the reporter's position. This only becomes clear with a level 3 reading, that is, only by reading all the elements of the main story would the reader come to know the reporter's subjective stance. A level 2 reading, involving the reading of Headlines and Synopsis would only suggest at the reporter's stance. This is because the covert strategy of juxtaposing the reporter's invoked positive judgements of Iraqi rule with his inscribed negative appreciation of the security situation on the ground in the Synopsis is only part of the overall construal of the reporter's position.

A further element in the introduction of the *Nikkei* story is the Source. It consists of a geographical location and the name of the reporter. In this case, the reporter, Mr Kibe, Hidemitsu is on the ground in Bahrain, filing the story from there.

The substantive element within part one of the story is the Synopsis, which consists of 8 clauses and which provides a summary of the handover. Rather than use the term Lead which suggests a summarizing sentence directly following the headline, as in English hard news stories, Synopsis is used to acknowledge that the summary consists of a paragraph. In the _Nikkei_ story, there are eight clauses in the Synopsis. The reader is provided with the 'who', 'what', 'where' and 'when' of the event, while at the same time being covertly exposed to the reporter's invoked positive judgements of the handover in parallel with his inscribed negative judgements of the ongoing threat terrorism poses to the new nation of Iraq.

[insert Table 1]

Part Two of the news story opens with a Sub-headline, as mentioned above, signaling the beginning of the Main Story. The Main Story has four elements of structure. Each element has distinctive patterns of attitude and engagement. Clauses 14-16 serve as an Explanation, giving the reasons for bringing the handover forward. Apart from the use of the language of cause and effect, _kore ni yori ijoo ga dekinaku naru jitai o sakeru tame_ (**in order to** prevent an attack which could prevent the handover), this element of structure uses bare assertions to express inscribed negative appreciations and affect. Clauses 17- 20 serve as a Recount of the key quotes of major players, such as the new Iraqi President and the US civilian administrator, as well as, lists the attendees and explains that an Allegiance Ceremony was also held during the handover. While the Recount is expressed in the past tense using projecting clauses,

in contrast with the Explanation element, it also acknowledges the voices of Yawar and Bremer, both of which express inscribed positive appreciations.

Clauses 21-25 serve as an Exposition, which is the central element of the story. Within this element, Clause 21, _kokuren-anzen-hoshoo-riji-kai no ketsugi ni motoduki Iraku wa "kanzen na shuken" o kaifuku suru_ (Based on the resolution of the United Nations Security Council, Iraq is to restore "complete sovereignty"), while not, of course, presented as any sort of argumentative proposition, nevertheless does have the potential to imply or at least to reference some sort of argumentative thesis, namely the proposition that the US **_should_** be taking action to ensure that full sovereignty is restored. The reporter does not make an explicit statement of their position. However, the combination of interpersonal and textual lexicogrammatical choices are collectively employed to invoke the reporter's opinion that the US is failing in its duty. The 'arguments' for the position appear in Clauses 22-25 as negatively invoked bare assertions by the reporter. The arguments include the continued occupation by the coalition forces, the lack of power of the new provisional government and the ongoing validity of the existing CPA laws.

The final element of structure in the main story is another short Recount, listing a series of post-handover events expressed in the past tense and, which, from the reporter's position, cast the Americans in a poor light. By drawing the reader's

attention through invoked negative judgements to Bremer's rapid departure, the reporter suggests poor behaviour on the part of the Americans.

To sum up, the information in the _Nikkei_ story was collected first hand by the reporter who witnessed the proceedings and the speeches of the handover. The reporter presents the information neutrally as impersonal fact using mostly by means of bare assertions on his own part.   Overt reporter evaluations are minimal, yet invoked judgement is present. Further, the rhetorical organization of the information into an organized structure consisting of elements or stages sets up a contradiction between the UN resolution on Iraqi sovereignty and the actual facts of the occupation. This enables the handover to be negatively evaluated by the reporter in an indirect manner. The story is thus, an exposition incongruently construed.

(Level B heading) The _Asahi_ story

An analysis of the Asahi in translation is provided below. The Japanese and romanized versions are provided in Appendices 3 and 4.   In the analysis, instances of attitude have been identified and classified as (a) positive or negative, (b) inscribed or invoked, (c) as judgement, appreciation or affect and as (d) attributed to an outside source or unattributed (i.e. journalist's own assertions). Refer to the key in the previous section on the _Nikkei_ story.

[insert _Asahi_ pdf file here – no caption required]

It is clear that this report differs from the previous item in the amount of space it gives over to words attributed to outside sources – here specifically the views and observations of an unidentified US government official. As a consequence, it is necessary to attend closely to how the journalist author handles this material and the viewpoint it contains. We will firstly consider separately those attitudes conveyed in the journalists own words and then secondly those conveyed in the attributed material. Then we will consider the interactions between the two and the fact that the writer aligns attitudinally with the words of the government official.

(Level C Heading) Attitude on the part of the journalist author(s)

With respect to the journalist author's own words, the attitudinal values are directed at (1) negative assessments of those involved in attacks on the US and their allies, (2) negative assessments of the current state of public order in Iraq and (3) a positive assessment of the US authorities for the way they handed over power.

The armed elements/terrorists

Like the author of the previously analysed *Nikkei* report, this writer uses the term *tero* ('terrorist') as an inscribed negative judgement of those involved in attacks on the US and its allies. As before, this can be regarded as such a conventionalised usage that it can hardly be regarded as an individual assessment on the part of a reporter. It needs to be regarded, instead, as a communal assessment which reporters now take for

granted. However, this report also uses *busoo seiryoku* (armed elements), a term which invokes attitudinal negativity, coupled with the author's observation that <u>*busoo seiryoku ni yoru koogeki wa osamaru kehai wa naku*</u> (there is no indication that the attacks by the armed elements have calmed down). Together they invoke a negative judgement of these people, at least for those operating with a reading position by which such attacks are regarded as wrongful action.

<u>*The state of public order*</u>

A negative view of the current situation in Iraq is inscribed through the journalist's observation that the attacks by the armed elements have not 'calmed down' *(osamaru kehai wa naku)* and that there is a need for an 'improvement' (*kaizen*) in public safety (*chian*).

<u>*The authorities and the early handover*</u>

The US authorities and the early handover of power are indirectly evaluated through the attitudinal invocation of,

> The official announcement of the planned 'bringing forward', as a result of *the consideration of such things as maintaining the public peace*, [j] didn't occur until the process was concluded.

> <u>*Nittei no maedaoshi wa [[chianjookyoo nado o kooryo shita]] kekka de, hikitsugi shuuryoo made kooshiki happyoo wa nakatta.*</u>

The potential implication here is that the authorities have acted sensibly in bringing the handover forward in this way in order to maintain the peace.

In terms of the journalist's own words, then, the attitudinal work is largely a matter of inscribed negative appreciation of the state of public order in Iraq (it is not 'calm' and needs 'improvement') and invoked positive appreciation of the authorities and their decision to bring forward the handover (they have acted responsibly in seeking to maintain peace). The insurgents are judged negatively through both inscription and invocation.

(Level C Heading) Attitude and the attributed material – the viewpoint of the 'US government official'

The attitudinal work of the attributed material is largely done by means of inscribed judgement – both negative assessments of the armed elements and positive assessments of the US and Iraqi authorities and the handover of power they have arranged. These inscriptions are supported in several places by invocations.

The armed elements

As in the journalist's own words, the armed elements are characterised as *tero* (terrorists). They are also said to have been *booryoku* (violent) - a wrongful act and to have been *ura o kaki* (outwitted) - a judgement of negative capacity on their part.

There are also several descriptions which have the potential to invoke negative assessments – for example the assertion that their attacks will continue after the handover and that they will probably seek to target the elections.

The authorities and the handover

The US government official inscribes positive approval of the capacity and resolve of the Iraqi authorities at a number of points. For example, the handover is said to have allowed for a *kyooka* (strengthening) of Prime Minister Allawi's leadership, to have demonstrated the *nooryoku* (aptitude) and the *ishi* (will) of the Iraqi authorities for administration, and that their *jumbi ga totonotte iru* (preparations are in order). The capacity of the authorities is also positively evaluated by the observation that they have *ura o kaki* (outwitted) the armed elements. The early handover itself is explicitly evaluated as a *yuukoo* (valid) counter-plan. Attitudinally supportive invocations include the observation that the authorities acted in order to *tero no higai o chiisaku shiyoo* (minimise terrorist damage) - implying a responsible, concerned approach.

Interestingly, the government official is also reported to have reported on the positive emotional reaction of US President Bush, who is said to have *kangei shite iru* (welcomed) the handover.

(Level C Heading) Attitudinal alignment and the management of attributed material

From this analysis it is clear that there is a consonance between the mostly invoked value position being advanced by the words of the journalist author and the frequently inscribed value position being advanced in the attributed material. Specifically we notice,

- Both the journalist and the quoted source explicitly evaluate the armed elements as _tero_ (terrorists) and invoke a negative assessment of their continuing to attack the US and its allies.

- Both the journalist and the quoted source invoke a positive viewpoint by which the authorities are seen to have acted sensibly in deciding to bring the date of the handover forward. The quoted source takes this further through explicit positive judgements of the capacity and resolve of the new government.

(Level C Heading) Structural organization

The elements of structure in the _Asahi_ article are similar to the _Nikkei_ article in that there are two parts to the story. Part 1 is introductory, consisting of Headlines, Sub-headlines and a Synopsis. Unlike _Nikkei_ however, the Source is not in Part 1 but rather in Part 2 of the article. Part 2 begins with a sub-headline which is followed by the Source. The Main Story has four elements: a Preview, two Explanations and a Recount. The organization of the story is illustrated in Table 2.

The elements of structure within the article conflate with the engagement strategies. The Synopsis serves to realise the Reporter's position: that the authorities have acted sensibly in deciding to bring the date of the handover forward. As mentioned, it is in the Synopsis that we learn about the facts of the handover and the reporter's opinion that the most important task for the new provisional government is to improve security in the country. In essence, it is presented in a neutral, impersonal manner as fact, while the main story is attributed using reported projection by the American official.

[insert Table 2]

Within the main story, the Preview serves to organise the rest of the article using the terms, _Keii_ (Circumstances) and _Haikei_ (background) which signal the subsequent explanations and recount. The first Explanation element in the main story begins with a sub-heading, _Riyuu_ (Reasons) and presents the US position, which is explicitly stated in Clauses 19-22, that preparations for the handover were in order and that the bringing forward was a valid counter-plan for public security. This is attributed material. At this point, another subheading, _Keii_ (The details [of the background to the bringing forward]) fronts the subsequent Recount which describes the steps involved in the decision to bring the handover forward again using the attributed words of the US official. This section recounts when the decision was made and who got told etc. The main story concludes with a final sub-heading _Temboo_ (The Prospects) which fronts the rhetorical question by the reporter about the future of Iraq in light of continuing attacks. The answers to the question are attributed to the US official who reiterates the point that attacks will continue and that the early handover will not

improve public safety. Armed attacks will remain an issue, probably targeting the election next year.

In terms of the levels of reading, regardless of whether the reader reads only the Headlines in isolation, or in conjunction with the Synopsis and/or the Main story, the reader will be presented with the position that the handover was brought forward as a precaution against terrorists.

In light of the analysis, it is telling to note that the *Asahi* position is not anti-American as could be expected from the comments in the media literature. Rather, the *Asahi* article takes a conservative stance and appears to be supportive of the US action.

(Level A Heading) Discussion

As mentioned, the work on journalistic voice by Martin and White (2005), White (2000) and Iedema, Feez and White (1994) has found that a significant proportion of the 'hard news' reports in English language broadsheet journalism feature very few or no instances of inscribed authorial judgement, no instances of authorial affect, occasional instances of inscribed authorial appreciation and occasional instances of observed affect (i.e. the reporting of other people's emotional reactions). Thus the attitudinal arrangement in English language broadsheet news reporting which as been termed 'reporter voice' can be seen as limiting or entirely excluding inscribed

authorial judgement and affect, while allowing for observed affect and inscribed authorial appreciation (for a full account, see Martin & White 2005: 167-185).

[insert Table 3]

In terms of authorial judgement in _Nikkei_, there are 9 instances by the reporter, of which only two are inscribed, both being the naturalized term, _tero_ ('terrorist'). There is no authorial affect. There is one instance of observed affect and two instances of inscribed authorial appreciation - _akka_ (deterioration) and _tanan_ (threatened). These appear at the end of the Synopsis when the reporter steps out from behind the 'facts' and makes a personal evaluation. The attitudinal arrangement here, then, appears to entirely similar to that which has been observed to operate in the English language broadsheet media. The same constraints on the use of attitudinal values which constitute 'reporter voice' in English language broadsheet reporter seem to be in operating here.

In _Asahi_, the instances of judgement by the reporter are even less that in _Nikkei_ – with only one instance, again the naturalized word, 'terrorist'. There are three instances of inscribed authorial appreciation relating to peace, calming the terrorists and improving security. The same 'reporter voice' arrangement with respect to attitudinal values seems to be in operation in the _Asahi_ article.

In terms of their use of attribution, both texts are compatible with English language broadsheet reporter voice, as defined in the journalistic voice literature (Iedema et al 1994, White 2000, Martin & White 2005). That literature has demonstrated that, while there may be a tendency for reporter voice texts to have higher frequencies of attribution than commentator and correspondent voice texts, nevertheless, reporter voice texts with lower frequencies of attribution do occur with some regularity. Of the two news stories, _Asahi_ relies heavily on attribution to make the case for the early handover being related to maintaining security, while _Nikkei_ uses bare assertions, only introducing two short attributions by Yawar and Bremer.

(Level A Heading) Conclusion

To conclude then, the two Japanese articles use 'reporter' voice to present a particular stance towards the early handover of power to the interim Iraqi government. The _Nikkei_ writer takes a broad, liberal, middle class position that the US should be taking action to ensure that full sovereignty is restored to Iraq. In contrast, the _Asahi,_ takes a conservative position that the authorities have acted sensibly in deciding to bring the date of the handover forward in the interests of public safety. It looks specifically at the motivations behind the early handover.

Both articles follow a similar organizational structure which relates to the practice of 'three' readings. Each story consists of the Headlines, a Synopsis and the Main Story.

Each can be read at any of the levels. However, the writer's stance in the _Nikkei_ article would not be clear to a reader without reading the three levels. It is only hinted at in the Synopsis (Level 2 reading) and not evident at all in the Headlines (Level 1). However, a level 1 reading of the _Asahi_ presents the writers position at the outset.

Finally, the most striking difference between the two stories is their engagement strategy. _Nikkei_ relies on bare assertions, that is, the words of the writer, to present the argument that full sovereignty should be restored, while _Asahi_ uses attribution as the predominant strategy for inserting assessments and building the reporter's position. It is through the words of the US official that we come to know why the handover occurred earlier than planned.

(Level A Heading) Reference List

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Endnotes:

1 authorial inscribed judgement - explicit positive/negative assessments by the author of human behaviour in terms of social norms.

2 inscribed appreciation - explicit positive/negative assessments by the author of objects, artifacts, happenings and states-of-affair by reference to aeshetics and other systems of social valuation.

3 authorial affect - the announcing by the author of his/her own positive/negative emotional reactions.

4 observed affect - the reporting by the author of the positive/negative emotional

reactions of 3rd parties.

5 the 'plain' form in Japanese is a neutral, grammatical form of the sentence-final verb

which does not select for formality or honorification. This neutral form is short and

concise compared to the other formal and honorific alternatives, thereby saving valuable

print space. It is thus a defining feature of the register of print journalism (Thomson

2005: 35).

6 The 31 clauses are a mixture of both minor and major clauses, the minor clauses

typically featured as headlines and subheadlines.

(Level A Heading) Appendix 1
Nihon Keizai Shimbun **(The Japanese Financial News), 29 June 2004**

Clause #	Japanese
1	*IRAKU NI SHUKEN IJOO*
2	*Tero keikai de maedaoshi,*
3	*14kagetsu no senryoo toochi shuuryoo*
¶1	
4	*[Baareen = Kibe Hidemitsu]*
5.	*Iraku no rengookoku zantei tookyoku (CPA) wa 28 nichi gozen juuji (Nihonjikan doojitsu gogo 3ji) sugi, Iraku zantei seifu ni shuken o ijoo shita.*
6.	*2003 nen 4gatsu no Fusein seiken hookaigo, [[14kagetsu amari ni wataru]] senryoo-toochi wa shuuryoo shi,*
7.	*Irakujin ni yoru shuken-kokka ga tanjoo shita.*
8.	*Iraku wa [[rainen yotei sareru]] honkaku-seiken no juritsu ni muke fumidashita ga,*
9.	*Beigun shutai no rengoo-gun wa takoku-sekigun to shite Iraku ni todomaru.*
10.	*[[Hambei teikoo seiryoku ni yoru tero mo himpatsu suru]] nado, chian no akka ni wa hadome ga kakatte orazu,*
11.	*shinsei-kokka no zentoo wa tanan da.*
12.	*(Takoku sekigun wa 3men "Kyoo no kotoba" sanshoo) = kanren kiji 2,3,8, 9 men, shakai men ni*
13.	*Rainen 1gatsu ni zantei gikai-sen*
¶2	
14.	*Shuken ijoo wa [[toosho yotei sarete ita]] 30nichi kara futsuka maedaoshi de jisshi shita.*
15.	*[[Ham-bei seiryoku ga shuken ijoo no shikiten o hyooteki ni daikiboo na tero o shikakeru]] osore ga ari,*
16.	*[[[[kore ni yori ijoo ga dekinaku naru]] jitai o sakeru]] tame nittei o henkoo shita to mirareru.*
¶3	
17.	*[[Shuto Bagudaddo chuushin-bu de 28nichi ni hiraita]] shookiboo na shikiten de, Iraku no Yawaru daitooryo wa "rekishi-teki na hi da"to nobe,*
18.	*Buremaa bei bunmingyoo seikan wa "shoorai o rakkan shite iru" to hatsugen shita.*
19.	*Shikiten ni wa hoka ni Arawi shushoo, Sareha fuku-shushoo, Mafumuudo saibanshochookan, Ricchimondo ei-Iraku-tokubetsudaihyo ga shusseki.*
20.	*Yawaru daitooryoo-ra wa shukenijoo-go, seishiki na sensei-shiki o okonatta.*
¶4	
21.	*Kokuren-anzen-hoshoo-riji-kai no ketsugi ni motoduki Iraku wa "kanzen-na shuken" o kaifuku suru.*
22.	*[[Fusein-seiken-hookai-go, Iraku de chian no sekinin o ninatte kita]] bei-ei-shudoo no rengoo-gun wa takoku-sekigun to meishoo o kae*
23.	*chuuryuu o keizoku suru.*
24.	*Zantei-seiken wa [[chooki-teki na seisaku ni kansuru]] kettei-ken ga naku*
25.	*[[CPA ga dashita]] hoorei mo yuukoo da.*

¶5	
26.	*Arawi-shuushoo wa shikiten-go, kisha-dan ni taishi,<<27 >> to nobeta.*
27.	*<< rainen 1gatsu futsuka ni zantei-kokumin-gikai-senkyo no jisshi o yotei shite iru >>*
¶6	
28.	*Buremaa-shi wa [[Iraku ni kokkoo no saikai o motomeru]]Busshu-bei-daitooryoo no shinsho o tewatashita.*
29.	*Beikoku wa 1990-nen no wangan-kiki o ki ni Iraku to dan-koo shite ita.*
30.	*Buremaa-shi wa shikiten shuuryoo choku-go, Senooru-hoodookan-ra to tomo ni kuuro de Iraku o shukkoku.*
31.	*CPA wa kaisan shita.*

(Level A Heading) Appendix 2

[insert *Nikkei* Japanese.doc file here]

(Level A Heading) Appendix 3
***Asahi Shimbun* (The Asahi News), 29 June 2004**

Clause #	Japanese
1	*IRAKU NI SHUKEN IJOO*
2	*Tero keikai, futsuka maedaoshi,*
3	*Bei-Ei senryoo tookyoku wa kaisan*
¶1	
4	*Bei-Ei ni yoru Iraku zantei senryoo tookyoku (CPA) wa 28nichi , kyuukyo 30 nichi no yotei o maedaoshi shite,*
5.	*Iraku zantei seifu ni shuken o ijoo shita.*
6.	*Nittei no maedaoshi wa [[chianjookyoo nado o kooryo shita]] kekka de, hikitsugi shuuryoo made kooshiki happyoo wa nakatta.*
7.	*CPA wa kaisan shi,*
8.	*[[sakunen 4gatsu no Fusein-seiken hookai irai tsuduite kita]] Bei-Ei no senryoo toochi wa yaku 1nen 3kagetsu de syuuryoo shita.*
9.	*Chuuryuubeigun wa [[senryoogun ga Iraku chuuryuutakokusekigun ni ikoo shita]] koto o akirakani shita*
10.	*Shikashi, [[busoo-seiryoku ni yoru koogeki wa osamaru]] kehai wa naku,*
11.	*zantei seifu ni totte [[rainen 1gatsu matsu made ni yotei sareru zantei-kokumin-gikai-senkyo ni muketa]] chian-kaizen ga saidai no kada ni naru.*
12.	*(2men ni 'jijikokukoku', 6, 7, 38, 39 men ni kankei-kiji)*
13.	*1shuukan mae kara kentoo,*
14.	*ketsudan wa zenjitsu*
¶2	
15.	*[Isutanbuuru = Ishigoo Riki]*
16.	*[[Kita-taiseiyoo-jooyaku-kikoo (NATO) shunoo- kaigi ni shusseki no tame, Toruko hoomon-chuu no Busshu bei-daitooryoo ni dookoo shite iru]] Bei-seifu-kookan wa 28nichi gozen (Nihon-jikan doojitsu gogo), [[totsuzen*

okonawareta]] shuken-ijoo no keii to haikei osetsumei shita.

¶3	
17.	*[Riyuu]*
18.	*Kono taimingu de maedaoshi ni fumikitta riyuu ni tsuite doo-kookan wa <<19,20,21,22>> to setsumei shita.*
19.	*<<1) [[(3gatsu kara samidare-shiki ni susumerarete-kita) zantei-seifu no kaku-seifu-kikan ni taisuru]] kengen no ijoo wa kongetu 24kka ni kanryoo shi,*
20.	*shuken-ijoo no jumbi ga sudeni totonotte ita.*
21.	*2)[[[[30 nichi no ijoo o niranda]] busoo-seiryoku no booryoku, tero ga kappatsuka suru]] naka, [[maedaoshi o shita]] hoo ga chian-taisakujoo yuukoo da*
22.	*to zantei-seifugawa ga handan shita tame da,>>*
¶4	
23.	*[[[[Nittei o maedaoshi suru]] koto de, busoo-seiryoku-gawa no ura o kaki, [[tero no higai o chiisaku shiyoo to iu]] nerai ga atta]]]] koto o akirakani shita ga,*
24.	*"Bussyu daitooryoo wa zantei-seifu no hassoku irai, [[kanoo na kagiri hayaku zantei-seifu ni kengen o ijoo suru]] koto o mokuhyoo ni shite-kita"*
25.	*to setsumei.*
26.	*[[[[Busoo-seiryoku no odokashi ni kusshita]] mono dewa nai]] koto o kyoochoo shita.*
¶5	
27.	*Sarani, <<28>> to nobe,*
28.	*<<[[syuken-ijoo ga sooki ni kanryoo shita]] koto wa "Arawi syushoo no shidoo-ryoku-kyooka ni tsunagaru">>*
29.	*<<30>>to igi o setsumei shita.*
30.	*<<"[[[[[[shin-seifu ga kokka o unei suru]] nooryoku to ishi to jumbi ga totonotte iru]] koto o Iraku kokumin ni shimesu]]mono da">>*
¶6	
31.	*[Keii]*
32.	*<<33>> (kookan wa itta).*
33.	*<<Maedaoshi no kentoo ga hajimatta no wa "yaku 1shuukan mae kara">>*
34.	*27 nichi ni natte*
35.	*Arawi shuushoo ga saishuuteki na ketsudan o kudashi,*
36.	*doojitsu gogo, Toruko taizai-chuu no Bussyu daitooryoo ni, [[Bureemaa bei-ei-zantei-senryoo-tookyoku (CPA) daihyoo◊Raisu daitooryoo-hosakan to iu]] ruuto o tsuuji tsutaerareta.*
37.	*Daitooryoo wa tadachi ni ryookai,<<38>>*
38.	*<<"kangei shite iru">>*
39.	*to iu.*
¶7	
40.	*[[Nihon o fukumu]] yuushi-rengoo-sanka-koku ni taishite wa, CPA kara 28nichi gozen, jizen ni tsuukoku shita*
41.	*to shite iru.*
¶8	
42.	*[[CPA ni kawatte beiseifu no daihyookikan to naru]] zai-Iraku-beitaishikan o hikiiru Neguroponte taishi wa, [[suujitsu chuu ni chakunin suru]] yotei.*
43.	*30nichi no shikiten wa,<<44>> yotei doori jisshi sareru*
44.	*<<shuken ijoo ga maedaoshi sareta nimo kakawarazu>>,*

45.	*to iu.*

¶9

46.	*[Temboo]*
47.	*[[Gekika suru]] busoo-seiryoku no tero ya shuugeki wa, shuken ijoo no maedaoshi de doo naru no ka.*
48.	*Doo-kookan wa <<49, 50>> to mitooshi o katari,*
49	*<<"shuken-ijoo go mo tsuzuku.*
50	*(rainen 1gatsu no jisshi o mezasu) senkyo ni shooten o ateru daroo">>*
51.	*[[maedaoshi ga chian jookyoo no kooten ni wa musubitsukanai to mite iru]] koto o akiraka ni shita.*

¶10

52.	*Tadashi, [[Arawi shushoo ga kaigen-rei o fukoku suru]]kanoosei ni tsuite wa <<53,54>> to noberu ni todometa.*
53.	*<<"Arayuru taisaku o toru ga,*
54.	*kaigen-rei no ketsudan wa kudasarete inai">>*

(Level A Heading) Appendix 4

[insert *Asahi* Japanese.doc file here]

Chapter Five

The rhetoric of editorials: a Japanese case study

Motoki Sano

The National Institute for Japanese Language

(Level A heading) Introduction

In June 29 2004, the handover of sovereignty to Iraq was reported in the Japanese press. Four out of the five national broadsheets, *Asahi*, *Yomiuri*, *Mainichi* and *Sankei*, chose the handover as the main subject matter of their editorials on that day. Via the construal and reconstruction of the handover, the writers of the editorials advocated their particular ideologies and views of this event.

This chapter presents a case study that examines the persuasive or rhetorical strategies used by the writers in these four Japanese editorials, exploring how the writers advocate their ideological positions about the issues relating to the handover. The rhetorical strategies of the writers are explored by examining i) the textual organization, ii) the semantics, and iii) the evaluative expressions contained within the editorials. Using this approach, this chapter will both identify the rhetorical strategies and examine how these strategies are represented by semantic and lexicogrammatical resources. This chapter especially focuses on the commonalities of rhetorical strategies that are found in the editorials.

The chapter is composed of five parts. The first part introduces the corpus of the study; the second part reviews studies of rhetorical strategies in Japanese written persuasive texts; the third part describes the approaches that the present case study employs; the fourth part illustrates the presence and realizations of rhetorical strategies that are common to all the editorials; and finally, the fifth part summarizes the arguments and discusses why certain rhetorical strategies are commonly found within all four editorials. In each part, examples of the editorials are used along with their translations. The translations may appear as 'unnatural' English because they reflect the lexicogrammatical features of the original.

(Level A heading) Corpus

The corpus of the study is composed of the above-mentioned editorials from the four national broadsheets published on June 29, 2004[i]. Specifically, these are:

- λ   *Asahi* Newspaper *iraku-jin-ni yoru iraku-ni* (Iraq by Iraqi people). p.3

- λ   *Mainichi* Newspaper *iraku kokumin no shinrai* kachitore (Win the trust of Iraqi people). p.5

- λ   *Sankei* newspaper *mizukara saiken no ketsui-o* (The determination of Iraqi people for the restoration). p.3

- λ   *Yomiuri* newspaper *iraku saiken-ni totte juuyoo na ippo* (An important step for the restoration of Iraq). p.2

To a greater or lesser degree, each editorial essentially proposes different arguments. The ***Asahi*** editorial suggests that the Bush government has the primary responsibility to both construct the environment in which the United Nations Resolution for Iraq can function, and to gain an understanding of the Iraqi people. The ***Mainichi*** editorial recommends that the Iraqi interim government gains the understanding of Iraqi people, unites the nation and eliminates terrorism. The ***Sankei*** editorial advocates that the Iraqi interim government requires the determination of Iraqi people as well as the intelligence and military force of other countries such as the US. The ***Yomiuri*** editorial proposes that the handover of sovereignty is an important step for the democratization of Iraq. The arguments of *Mainichi* and *Sankei* are similar as they both suggest actions to the Interim government. In addition, the proposition of *Asahi* resembles that of *Sankei* as they both emphasize the role of the US, although the editorial of *Asahi* is antagonistic toward the US, while that of *Sankei* is sympathetic.

Issues concerning studies of rhetorical strategies for written expository/persuasive texts in Japanese

The rhetorical strategies of Japanese written persuasive texts have been addressed within the field of contrastive rhetoric and functional linguistics by scholars such as Hinds (1980, 1983, 1987, 1990), Maynard (1996), Kubota (1997), and Spyridakis and Fukuoka (2002). These studies provide a foundation of an examination of the rhetoric found in written persuasive (exposition) texts in Japanese.

Hinds (1980, 1983, 1987, 1990) proposes three features of Japanese rhetorical style:

ki-sho-ten-ketsu structure, reader-responsibility and the 'quasi-inductive' style. Hinds

defines (1983) the *ki-shoten-ketsu*, quoting Takemata (1976) as follows:

A. ki	First, begin one's argument.	
B. shoo	Next, develop that.	
C. ten	At the point where this development is finished, turn the idea to a subtheme where there is a connection, but not a directly connected association (to the major theme).	
D. ketsu	Last, bring all of this together and reach a conclusion.	

(Hinds, 1990: 188)

He exemplifies the structure by using *Tenseijingo*, which is a commentary column of

Asahi newspaper.

Hinds' (1987) concept of 'reader-responsibility' refers to his summation that Japanese

compositions are not designed to show the links between structural elements

explicitly. Instead, it is left to the readers to make the links:

Japanese readers, then, are required to build transitions themselves in the course of

reading an essay organized along these lines [*ki-shoo-ten-ketsu*]. The

responsibility for creating the bridge lies with the reader in Japanese, while it lies

with the writer in English (p.151)

The 'quasi-inductive style' (1990) refers to the way that Japanese writers tend to

present their main idea towards the end of the text, with the preceding paragraphs

only being implicitly or ambiguously connected to the main idea. Maynard's (1996)

study, which also examined Japanese newspaper columns, supports Hinds' idea that the main idea of the text tends to appear towards the end.

However, more recent publications such as Kubota (1997), Spyridakis and Fukuoka (2000, 2002) and McCagg (1996) challenge Hinds' arguments. Kubota's (1997) work criticizes Hinds by saying that his findings are applicable to only certain texts in a particular genre and his ideas are over-generalized. Spyridakis and Fukuoka (2000, 2002) suggest that both inductive and deductive approaches can be used in written Japanese exposition. These studies are important not only for their challenge to Hinds' ideas, but also for their identification of some of the rhetorical patterns employed in the Japanese texts.

The problem with all these studies is that they often do not associate the rhetorical strategies with particular semantic or lexicogrammatical resources, meaning, they are not able to illustrate how these rhetorical strategies are expressed. For instance, although Hinds proposes the *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* structure, he does not clearly specify what kind of meaning or lexicogrammatical resources are necessary for the realization of the structure *ki-sho-ten-ketsu*. Because of this, the recognition criteria of the structure are also not evident. In order to shed light on this problem, the present case study not only identifies the rhetorical strategies in the newspaper editorials but also explores the semantic and lexicogrammatical resources that realize the rhetoric. In order to do this, the resources of Systemic Functional theory are employed.

(Level A heading) Approaches used to explore the rhetorical strategies used in the editorials.

In order to explore the editorials' rhetorical strategies, the present study employs Hasan's Generic Structure Potential (GSP) approach (Hasan, 1978, 1979, 1984a, 1985) and Martin and White's (2005) classification of the strategies for expressing ATTITUDE. The GSP approach is used to identify the generic structure of the editorials and the meanings that realize those structures. Martin and White's classification is used to identify the lexicogrammatical resources that, in part, realize the meaning. Figure 5-1 represents these relationships.

Figure 5-3 approaches for identifying rhetoric strategies and their realizations
<Insert Figure 5-1>

(Level B heading) Generic Structure Potential approach

The Generic Structure Potential (GSP) approach, developed by Hasan (1978, 1979, 1984a, 1985), is designed to show the variations in text structure that are available for a writer/speaker of a community within a certain situational type (Hasan, 1985). This approach represents the variations of the structure by specifying;

…all those elements of structure whose presence is obligatory, if the text is to be regarded as a complete instance of a given genre by the members of some sub-community;

…all those elements whose presence is optional, so that the fact of their presence or absence, while affecting the actual structural shape of a particular text, does not affect that text's generic status;

…the obligatory and optional ordering of the elements *vis-à-vis* each other, including the possibility of iteration.

(Hasan, 1996: 53)

According to Hasan (1984a), the elements of structure may contain two types of meaning; i) **nuclear meaning** and ii) **elaborative meaning**. Nuclear meaning is the obligatory semantic attribute that allows the element of a structure to achieve its function. On the other hand, elaborative meaning is optional (Hasan, 1984a). Hence, the presence of the nuclear meaning ensures the presence of the certain elements in the structure of texts. In other words, there is the relationship of *realization* between the elements of structure and the nuclear meaning. In this respect, the nuclear meaning can be used as the recognition criterion of the presence of a particular structural element.

Based on the GSP approach, the rhetorical structures of the four editorials are identified. If an element is present in all editorials, the element is classified as obligatory. If an element appears only in certain texts, it is categorized as optional. If an element is realized more than once, it is identified as iterative.

In addition, the meanings in the editorials are classified into nuclear and elaborative meanings. If a meaning is always present in one type of the element, it is classified as a nuclear meaning. If a meaning does not always appear, it is classified as elaborative. Since the present study focuses on the rhetorical strategies shared among the editorials, the present chapter will discuss both the obligatory elements and their nuclear meanings.

(Level B heading) Strategies for expressing ATTITUDE

As mentioned earlier, in order to identify the lexicogrammatical resources that are typically involved in the realization of the nuclear meanings, this study employs Martin and White's (2005) classification of the strategies for representing ATTITUDE. This classification is described in Figure 5-2. Although the network has been developed to classify the strategies for the English system of ATTITUDE in persuasive discourse, it is applicable to the majority of instances of ATTITUDE, although the realisation of some options may involve the use of different resources (Sano, 2006).

Figure 5-4 strategies for expressing ATTITUDE

<Insert Figure 5-2>

The feature 'inscribe' is the strategy that explicitly expresses how Appraisers, that is the person who evaluates, want their readers to feel about an Appraised, which is the target that is being evaluated. An inscribed Attitude 'launches and subsequently reinforces a prosody which directs readers in their evaluation of non-attitudinal ideational material under its scope' (Martin and White, 2005: 64). This strategy is

expressed by the presence of attitudinal lexis (Martin and White, 2005). An instance

is in Example 5-1 from *Yomiuri*.

Example 5-1 example of 'inscribe'
<Insert Example 5-1>

In this example, the writers use an item of attitudinal lexis '*kanyoo*' (important). This

lexical item explicitly expresses how the writers want their readers to feel towards the

action '*kizen to shite, katsu saishin-ni, seiji-purosesu no shinten-o hakaru koto*' (to

plan a development of a political process resolutely and carefully).

The feature **'invoke'**, on the other hand, is the strategy that expresses how Appraisers

want readers to feel about the Appraised **in a more indirect manner** than the feature

'inscribe'. Unlike the feature 'inscribe', the realization of 'invoke' does not involve

the presence of attitudinal lexis. The feature **'invoke'** proposes two sub-features; i)

provoke and ii) **invite**.

The feature '**provoke'** is the strategy that indirectly express the Appraiser's

evaluation of the Appraised **via the instance of lexical metaphors** (Martin and

White, 2005). The lexical metaphors may provoke evaluation by linking or comparing

the Appraised with the entity, action or phenomenon that potentially inspires a

positive or negative impression to the readers. Example 5-2 is an instance from

Sankei.

Example 5-2 example of 'provoke' via screened metaphor
<insert Example 5-2>

In this example, the lexical metaphor may provoke the writers' positive evaluation on the Appraised '*chiankaizen to fukkoo-katsudoo*' (The improvement of public safety and the activities for the restoration). The positive evaluation is provoked since the Appraised is metaphorically compared with '*kokka saiken no ryoorin*' (the wheels of the reconstruction of the nation). In this context, the term '*ryoorin*' (wheels) can metaphorically imply 'the system which brings an entity forward'.

The other feature of **'invoke'**, '**invite**', refers to the strategy that invokes the Appraiser's evaluation without using attitudinal lexis or lexical metaphor. It has two sub-features, i) **flag** and ii) **afford**.

The feature **'flag'** refers to the strategy that invokes the evaluation by signalling it via the lexicogrammatical resources such as i) counter-expectation and ii) intensification (Martin and White, 2005). The resources for counter-expectation may flag the Appraiser's evaluation as in Example 5-3.

Example 5-3 example of 'flag' via counter-expectation
<insert Example 5-3>

In this example, the Appraiser's negative evaluation is flagged by the use of the adversative conjunctive '-*ga*' (although), which is one of the resources for expressing counter-expectation.

The resources for intensification can also be used to hint at evaluation. Intensification is often expressed by the resources from the system of GRADUATION. Examples of

this include certain modifiers such as _saidai no_ (the biggest). In Japanese written texts, _fukujoshi_ (associated particles such as -_sura_ (even) and –_shika_ (only)), _kyokugenhoo_ (litotes) and _gyakugenhoo_ (paralepsis) are also used for this purpose (cf. Seto 2002; Sano, 2006). For instance, the modifier _saidaino_ (the biggest) in Example 5-4, which is a lexicogrammatical resource of GRADUATION, can invoke evaluation.

Example 5-4 example of flagged Attitude by intensification
<insert Example 5-4>

In this example, although there is no attitudinal lexis, the use of the modifier '_saidai no_' (the biggest) may invoke the importance of the Appraised '_rainen ichigatsu-ni yoteesareteiru kokumin-gikai-senkyo-o, todokoorinaku jitsugensaseru koto_' (to carry out the national parliament election planned next year without delay).

The other feature, '**afford**', refers to the strategy that invokes the Appraisers' evaluation via their selection of experiential information (Martin and White, 2005). Example 5-5 is an example of this.

Example 5-5 example of 'afford'
<insert Example 5-5>

In this example, there is no attitudinal lexis, lexical metaphor, resources for counter-expectation nor intensification. However, it may still invoke a negative evaluation towards the state of Iraq to some readers. This is because the representation of this experiential information implies that the state of Iraq is insecure.

(Level B heading) The Degree of Freedom in Alignment

The topological difference between these different strategies for expressing Attitude can be understood by recognising them as 'a cline from 'inscribe' to 'afford' according to the degree of freedom allowed readers in aligning with the values naturalized by the text' (Martin and White 2005, p.67). This cline is illustrated in Figure 5-3.

Figure 5-5 cline from 'inscribe' to 'afford'

<Insert Figure 5-3>

Inscribed Attitude, as mentioned, reinforces an evaluative position. It explicitly specifies an evaluative position of Appraisers and directs readers in a particular way. It therefore limits the range of ideological positions that the reader can align with.

In comparison to inscribed Attitude, invoked Attitude allows wider freedom of alignment. This is because invoked Attitude is indirect and therefore does not reinforce the writers' opinion but rather invites readers more gently to take on an evaluative position. Since invoked 'Attitude' is indirect, it may not suggest a specific evaluative position but rather a 'fuzzy' or 'ambiguous' one. This means it can be aligned with a wider range of ideological positions than inscribed Attitude.

In accordance with Martin and White (2005), all instances of ATTITUDE in the corpus are classified. Based on the analysis, this study investigates and compares the

use of attitudinal strategies in each of the nuclear meanings of the obligatory elements of structure. The results are presented in the following sections.

(Level A heading) Rhetorical strategies in the editorials and the realization of those strategies for advocating ideologies

As each editorial group of the four editorials has a unique background[ii] and proposes different arguments, to a greater or a lesser degree they use different rhetorical strategies. However, there are also strategies that are commonly used among the editorials. One of these strategies is the use of the three elements of structure, **Inducement (*sasoi*: IDC)**, **Empathetic Construction (*kyookan-koochiku*: EC)** and **Position (*tachiba*: PST)**. As these elements are utilized by all editorials, they can be regarded as the obligatory elements[iii]. Each of these elements will be discussed in turn.

(Level B heading) Inducement (*sasoi*)

Inducement refers to the element that invites readers into the discourse of the editorials. This element is realized by the nuclear meaning, **Invitation**. Invitation attracts and introduces the readers to the handover of the sovereignty of Iraq. Example 5-6 is an example of Invitation from *Asahi*.

Example 5-6 example of Invitation

iraku kokumin-ni totte kinoo to kyoo-wa doko-ga chigau no daroo-ka. eibei ryookoku-ni yoru iraku no senryoo-ga, tonimokakunimo owatta. senryoo-tookyoku-wa kaisan-shi, toochi-wa arawi-zanteiseifu-ni yudanerareta.

> What is the difference between yesterday and today for the Iraqi people? The occupation of Iraq by the UK and the US has, somehow, finished. CPA (Coalition Provisional Authority) was dissolved, and the sovereignty was handed-over to the Allawi Interim government.

(from *Asahi*)

In this example, the writers attempt to attract their readers by rhetorically questioning

'*iraku kokumin-ni totte kinoo to kyoo-wa doko-ga chigau no daroo-ka*' (What is the

difference between yesterday and today for the Iraqi people?). At the same time, the

writers introduce the handover of sovereignty via a recount of the event.

For the Invitation element, the writers typically utilize invoked Attitude. Table 5-1

represents this. All writers use the feature 'invoke'. Among the features of 'invoke',

'flag' is selected most frequently.

Table 5-1 selection of the strategies for realising ATTITUDE in Invitation

	Asahi	Yomiuri	Mainichi	Sankei	total
inscribed			☐		25%
invoke	☐	☐	☐	☐	100%
invoke: provoke			☐		25%
invoke: flag	☐	☐	☐	☐	100%
invoke: afford		☐	☐		50%

Invoked Attitude is utilized because of its ability to attract a wide range of readers

who may have diverse ideological positions. As mentioned, in comparison to

inscribed Attitude, invoked Attitude is more implicit and indirect. For instance,

invoked Attitude in the Invitation of the *Sankei* text may attract wider ideological

positions than in the case where inscribed Attitude is used. A part of *Sankei'*s

Invitation is reproduced in Example 5-7.

Example 5-7 example of the invoked attitude in Invitation

<insert Example 5-7>

In the realization of the Invitation, the writers invoke their evaluation via

intensification expressed by the adverbial group '*kyuukyo*' (suddenly). This

expression implicitly expresses the writers' evaluation since it may suggest that the

handover is not well planned. In other words, it may hint that the writers question the

quality of the handover. However, using this expression does not force this

interpretation. As it is implicit and indirect, other readers may not consider the

expression as evaluative at all, if they interpret the expression simply as a

circumstantial feature of the event.

This invoked Attitude attracts wider ideological positions than the case in which an

inscribed Attitude such as *fumanzokuna katachi-de* (unsatisfactorily) is used. This is

because the evaluation expressed by the invoked Attitude can be accepted by the

readers who are for or against the idea that the handover is unsatisfactory, since the

expression is implicit and ambiguous. On the other hand, the expression of inscribed

Attitude such as 'unsatisfactorily' would risk establishing the solidarity with the

readers who are against the idea that the handover is unsatisfactory.

(Level B heading) Empathetic Construction (*kyookan-koochiku*)

Empathetic Construction is the element in which the writers evoke empathy from

their readers toward the positions they are advocating. This element is realized by the

presence of the nuclear meaning, **Relativization**. Relativization connects the position

of the writers and the readers by reducing the ideological gap between them. In other words, it is the meaning that may make readers think the way the writers do. Example 5-8, which is an instance of Relativization from *Mainichi*, shows an argument that addresses the need for the Interim government to eliminate terrorism.

Example 5-8 example of Relativization

kakuchi-de tenkaisareru bakudan-tero no haikei-ni-wa, isuramu kageki-ha no kuroi kage-ga chiratsuku. isuramu-zendo-ga korera tero-shuudan no shihai-ka-ni hairunara-ba, sekai-ni tottemo shinkokuna kyooi-to naru.
Behind the scenes of bombing-terror, there is a dark shadow of radical Muslims. If Islamic nations fall under the control of terrorist groups, (that) will be a serious threat to the world too.

(from *Mainichi*)

The meaning expressed in the above example may 'relativize' the positions of the writers and the readers. This is because the meaning may evoke empathy toward the idea that the Interim government needs to eliminate terrorism, by appealing to the readers that '*isuramu-zendo-ga korera tero-shuudan no shihai-ka-ni hairunara-ba, sekai-ni tottemo shinkokuna kyooi-to naru*' (If an Islamic nations falls under the control of terrorist groups, (that) will be a serious threat to the world, too).

The realization of a Relativization typically involves the use of both inscribed and invoked Attitude. This is illustrated in Table 5-2. All four editorial writers use both inscribed and invoked Attitude.

Table 5-2 selection of the strategies for realising ATTITUDE in Relativization

	Asahi	Yomiuri	Mainichi	Sankei	total
inscribed	☐	☐	☐	☐	100%
invoke	☐	☐	☐	☐	100%
invoke: provoke	☐	☐	☐	☐	100%

| invoke: flag | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | 100% |
| invoke: afford | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | 100% |

Both invoked and inscribed Attitudes are employed to express the writers' or a third

party's evaluation of the action or phenomenon being evaluated. This evaluation can

increase the chance of sharing the main arguments that are being advocated. The

writers express the evaluation in order to motivate readers to synchronize their

ideological positions with those of the writers. For instance, the writers of *Mainichi*

use both invoked and inscribed Attitude to synchronize their ideological position and

those of their readers to evoke their empathy. An example of Relativization of *Asahi*

is in Example 5-9. The use of Relativization functions to evoke empathy with the idea

that the Interim government needs to win the trust of its people.

Example 5-9 example of inscribed and invoked Attitude of Relativization
<insert example 5-9>

In the above examples, inscribed and invoked Attitude work together to motivate the

readers. On the one hand, the inscribed Attitude explicitly states the ideological

position of the writers with which they want their readers to synchronize. That is to

say, the example of inscribed Attitude '*seikenfuan*' (the anxiety towards the

government) explicitly expresses the writers' concern about the government. On the

other hand, the invoked Attitude prepares the readers to synchronize with the position

expressed by the inscribed Attitude. For example, the afforded expression

'*zanteiseifu-wa boomei iraku-jin-ga shidoobu no tasuu-o shime*' (the head of the

Interim government is mostly occupied by defectors) can evoke a negative impression

toward the government. This is because this experiential information selected by the writers may motivate readers to evaluate the government negatively in terms of its appropriateness. It does not direct the readers, however it can invite them to the writers' evaluative position by implication. By using both inscribed and invoked Attitude, the writers reduce the chance of risking solidarity with the readers. With the effect of both inscribed and invoked Attitude, the meaning expressed as Relativization evokes empathy from the readers towards the idea that the government needs to gain the trust of its public. Figure 5-4 represents the effect of both the inscribed and invoked Attitude discussed above. To reiterate, the invoked Attitude draws readers towards the writers' position, which is explicitly expressed by the inscribed Attitude.

Figure 5-4 combined effect of inscribed and invoked Attitude in Relativization
<Insert Figure 5-4>

Invoked Attitude tempts and shifts the readers' ideological position towards the writers' position, which is explicitly expressed by inscribed Attitude.

(Level B heading) Position (*tachiba*)

Position is the element in which the editorial writers announce the positions that they want to share with their readers. In this element the writers state their main arguments, either explicitly or implicitly. This element is realized by the nuclear meaning, **Standpoint**. Standpoint construes and confirms the idea that the writers advocate in the editorials. Example 5-10 is an instance of Standpoint from *Sankei*. In this example, the writers announce the position that they want to share with their readers.

Example 5-10 example of Standpoint

> *shinsei iraku-wa korera-ni taisuru chiantaisei no juujitsu-dake de-naku, kokka kensetsu-ni hitsuyoona kokuren, beikoku-o hajimetoshita kakkoku no heiryoku to chie-o hitsuyoo to suru. naniyori hitsuyoona no-wa irkau-jin mizukara konnan-o kokufuku-shi, nozomu shakai no kensetsu-ni manshinsuru kyooryokuna ishi dearu.*

> It is necessary for New Iraq to enrich their public-safety-stabilising system against these [terrorisms] but also [to ask] other nations, especially the US and other members of the UN to provide military force and intelligence for the restructuring of the nation. What is most essential is the strong determination that (makes people) do their best for the construction of society in which Iraqi people can have hope and overcome their troubles themselves.

<div align="right">(from <u>Sankei</u>)</div>

For Standpoint, the writers typically 'inscribe' their evaluation. In the corpus, although the writers of <u>Asahi</u> only use invoked Attitude, all other writers use inscribed Attitude, as shown in Table 5-3.

Table 5-3 selection of strategies for realising ATTITUDE in Standpoint

	Asahi	Yomiuri	Mainichi	Sankei	total
inscribed		□	□	□	75%
invoke	□		□		50%
invoke: provoke	□				25%
invoke: flag	□		□		50%
invoke: afford					0%

Inscribed Attitude is typically used so that readers can confirm the value positions that are advocated by the writers throughout the texts. For instance, the writers of <u>Yomiuri</u> uses inscribed Attitude to explicitly state their value position towards the handover.

The Standpoint from <u>Yomiuri</u> is in Example 5-11.

Example 5-11 example of inscribed attitude in Standpoint
<insert Example 5-11>

In this example, the writers use the inscribed Attitude '_juuyoona'_ (important) to express their value position towards the handover. In this manner the writers confirm their value position, which they advocate throughout the text.

(Level B heading) The order of the obligatory elements

The three obligatory elements are located in the positions described in Table 5-4[iv]. The symbol '**^**' represents that the element before '**^**' precedes the element that follows '**^**'.

Table 5-4 order of the obligatory elements

Asahi	IDC^EC^EC^EC^EC^PST
Mainichi	IDC^ PST ^EC^ PST ^EC^ PST ^EC
Sankei	IDC^EC^EC^EC^ PST
Yomiuri	IDC^PST^EC^EC

In all four editorials, Inducement occurs at the start. Empathetic Construction occurs more than once in all editorials. Position appears three times in _Mainichi_. In _Asahi_ and _Sankei_, Position is located after Empathetic Construction, while in _Mainichi_ and _Yomiuri_ Position is followed by Empathetic Construction. Table 5-4 also illustrates that Position is always accompanied by at least one Empathetic Construction. Based on this, the generic structure potential of the four editorials can be summarized as below;

λ   Inducement is located in the start of the editorial. It must precede Empathetic Construction and Position;

λ   Inducement can be followed by either Empathetic Construction or Position;

λ   Empathetic Construction is iterative;

λ   Position is also iterative but must be accompanied by at least one Empathetic

     Construction.

(Level A heading) Discussion

This chapter explored the common rhetorical strategies employed in four editorials

from Japanese newspapers on June 29 2004. It also investigated how these rhetorical

strategies are expressed through the identification of rhetorical structures, nuclear

meanings and lexicogrammatical resources used for expressing ATTITUDE, based on

Hasan's GSP approach and Martin and White's classification of the strategies for

expressing ATTITUDE.

As a result, the present study found that all four writers advocate their ideological

positions by structuring the texts with the three obligatory elements Inducement,

Empathetic Construction and Position. In the Inducement element, the writers invite

the readers to consider the handover. In the Empathetic Construction element, they

evoke empathy from the readers towards the positions that they advocate. In the

Position element, the writers state their main arguments.

These elements of structure are realized by the presence of distinct nuclear meanings.

Inducement is realized by Invitation, which attracts and introduces the readers to the

handover. Empathetic Construction is expressed by Relativization, which 'relativizes'

the positions of the writers and the readers by reducing the ideological distance

between them. Position is realized by Standpoint, which announces the main

arguments.

In accordance with the different functions of these nuclear meanings, different

strategies for expressing ATTITUDE are used. For the realization of Invitation,

invoked Attitude is typically used to capture a broad readership. For Relativization,

both inscribed and invoked Attitude are utilized to synchronize the ideological

position of the writers and the readers. For Standpoint, inscribed Attitude is typically

used to confirm the advocated positions for the readers. Figure 5-5 summarizes these

points.

Figure 5-5 Interpersonal perspective of the nuclear meanings and their realizations
<Insert Figure 5-5>

In addition, the present study identified the order of the obligatory elements in the

editorials. Inducement is the first element. It is followed by either Empathetic

Construction or Position. Empathetic Construction is iterative. Position is also

iterative but it must be accompanied by at least one Empathetic Construction.

These findings suggest a prosodic shift in the editorials, which is illustrated in Figure

5-6. The grey represents the indirect and implicit representation of evaluation by

invoked Attitude, while the black represents the direct and explicit representation of

evaluation by inscribed Attitude.

Figure 5-6 Prosodic shifts through the editorials
<Insert Figure 5-6>

In the Invitation element, the prosody is '*pianissimo*', as the writers invoke their evaluation. This strategy is beneficial for the writers because Invitation is the nuclear meaning of Inducement, which is the first element of structure of a written persuasive text. In the beginning, the writers have not yet established solidarity with their readers. Without solidarity, instances of inscribed Attitude could potentially offend some readers who may have an ideological position that is in contradiction to that of the writers'. This could, in turn, potentially result in the loss of readers. Invoked Attitude reduces this risk.

In Relativization, the prosody shifts to the mixture of '*piano*' and '*forte*', as the writers combine the effects of inscribed and invoked Attitude. This mixture of the prosody is essential for the role of Empathetic Construction. This is because the combined prosody can lead the readers towards the writers' position, and synchronize those positions.

In Standpoint, the prosody changes to '*fortissimo*', as the writers typically use inscribed Attitude. This prosody contributes to the realization of Position, as, via the writers' instances of explicit and direct expressions, the readers can confirm the writers' value position. Via this prosodic shift, the advocated ideologies are shared. If this is the case, then, 'implicitness' does not characterize the rhetoric of Japanese persuasive texts as suggested by Hinds (1980, 1983, 1987, 1990) and Maynard

(1996). Rather, it seems to be the case that the implicitness in expressing evaluation shifts in accordance with the elements of structure.

But why is this rhetorical strategy common in all editorials? As the present study is only a case study, the answer to this question will be only tentative. However, it seems that instances of this rhetoric reflect the concept of _homologization_, the process of finding commonality.

Homologization is the idea that 'anything and everything deserves to be given its own proper place within the whole culture scheme' (Ikegami, 1991: 15). According to Ikegami, this idea is one of the ideals or the principles of Japanese culture, which is respected and honoured (Ikegami, 1991).

Homologization functions by 'relativising' or establishing a relationship between entities (Ikegami, 1991). It provides the 'proper' place within a whole for entities by relating them through 'superordination'. The 'proper' place can be given even to the entities that appear to be in contradiction. Ikegami illustrates the homologization of Japanese traditional clothing (_kimono_) and Western clothing (_yoofuku_) in a Japanese community:

> The two types of dress come from different traditions and thus have different values which may very well be manifested contrastively in their general function

as articles of clothing. But they can be saved from clashing with each other by having different functions assigned to them. For example, the native dress will be for ceremonial occasions and the Western one for daily occasions. Notice that the two different types of dress are here placed in metaphoric relationship: that is, the native dress is for ceremonial occasions as the Western dress is for daily occasions. Thus the two types of dress are conditional variants, the choice between them depending on the kind of occasions on which they are worn. Furthermore, the two occasions are complementary. They do not overlap. Thus the two types of dress can now coexist.

(Ikegami, 1991: 13)

Hence, the homologization can be understood as a way of dealing with conflict as well as an approach to maintain the co-existence among members of a culture, including a new member from other cultures.

However, this raises the following question: Is it practically possible to find a super-ordinate that can 'relativize' potentially conflicting elements? The methodology which Ikegami believes to be utilized in Japanese culture is to have what he calls 'an empty centre'. If a super-ordinate is 'empty' or has (or at least expresses) no clear ideological and value-laden position, the interpretation of the ideology or value of the super-ordinate is up to the subordinates. This approach allows the subordinate candidates who may have different ideological positions to have multiple

interpretations of the super-ordinate position. Hence, even if each subordinate

candidate has a different ideology from the others, they can 'be relativized' or co-exist

as a whole by connecting themselves not to each other but to the super-ordinate.

Ikegami argues that along with being 'empty', the super-ordinate has to have 'another

characteristic' in order to 'relativize' the potential subordinates. This characteristic is

the ability to attract potential _subordinate_ candidates. Ikegami specifically uses the

term 'invite' to refer to this ability of the super-ordinate. He suggests that the empty

centre 'invites, all kinds of possible reorganization based on any standard of values

and ideologies' (Ikegami, 1995:15). In other words, the centre has to be attractive

enough so that the subordinate candidates accept the potential reorganization of the

relationships as a result of the homologization.

The above discussion is summarized in Figure 5-7. Although this homologization

may not be a belief of each member of Japanese culture, it seems to be respected by a

large number of Japanese people as a similar notion is emphasized as a cultural value

of the Japanese in a variety of studies. These include studies by anthropologist

Nakane (1970), historian Aida (1970) as _hakushiteki tachiba_ (white-paper-position),

and psychologist Kawai (1982) as _chuukuu koosoo_ (blank-centre structure).

Figure 5-7 notion of homologization
<Insert Figure 5-7>

As the homologization is a strategy for dealing with conflict, it can become a way of

maintaining group consensus. According to Ikegami (1991: 15), homologization

functions within a culture such as Japan, which values group-cohesion and complementarities among the group members. It does not work in a culture which 'organizes itself around a firmly fixed set of values or ideologies, which would certainly work strongly against any relativizing movement'. He says that:

> a culture with an empty centre would thus tend to work centripetally – it is somewhat like the astronomer's black hole', which draws and absorbs everything into itself - without suffering any change at all. A culture with an empty centre can accommodate and keep in it apparently diverse elements, not in a state of conflict, but in a state of harmony with each other.
>
> (Ikegami, 1991: 15)

The empty centre, by being a 'black hole', ensures the existence of all the members in the culture.

Now, one may notice that this presents conflict in the case of editorials. Editorials, in some respect, are about advocating a particular value-laden position –i.e. the position of the writers. In order to advocate that position, it is necessary to express it to the readers. However, under homologization, if the writers show their value explicitly, this will likely result in failure. This is because the explicit expression of one's position can result in fixing a particular value and hence losing a chance to enable or establish the super-ordinate. Further, there is a potential that the consensus within the

group members will be put at risk and some members –i.e. the writers, may be consequently 'out-grouped'.

In order to solve this problem, that is to say, as a way to persuade people within the system of homologization, editorial writers may adopt the rhetorical strategy discussed in this chapter. By structuring editorials with Inducement, Empathetic Construction and Position elements, the writers generate empathy from the audience towards their own position. In other words, the writers set up their position not as just their own but also as that of their audiences'.

In this way, the writers and the audiences are 'relativized', and this establishes the writers' idea as a value of the group rather than as of the individual. In persuading this way, the writers can enable homologization, while simultaneously advocating their own value position.

Notes

[i] Japanese editorials are often written by a group of people called *ronsetsuiinkai* (editorial group), rather than an individual.

[ii] See Chapter 4 this volume by Thomson and Fukui for the different ideological positions of the Japanese newspapers.

[iii] In addition to these elements, there are optional elements such as Suggestion and Prospect, although they will not be discussed here (cf. Sano 2006).

[iv] The table does not specify the location of optional elements. (See Sano 2006 for the location of optional elements).

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Chapter Six

Maintaining symbolic control over Taiwan:

arguing with scare quotes in the Mainland press

Edward McDonald

University of Auckland

(Level A Heading) Introduction: Shadow boxing with an illegitimate opponent.

Pick up any production of an official Chinese media outlet on the issue of Taiwan, and you will be immediately struck by the proliferation of quotation marks. Not only predictably are scare quotes attached to official titles such as "President" for Chen Shui-bian or the "Legislative Yuan" for the elected law-making body on the island, let alone characterisations of Taiwan as a "nation" which possesses any kind of "national sovereignty" and might dare to promote the ultimate heresy of "Taiwan independence" to create a "Republic of Taiwan"; but any kind of phraseology which might imply that Taiwan or the Taiwanese have any authority to order their own lives through a "referendum" or by promulgating a new "constitution" – or even that they might attempt to do so under the banners of "democracy" and "freedom" – attract the same graphic warning signs.

What I am suggesting in this study is that this graphic tic is in fact the sign of something deeper which can provide an insight into the nature of the official Chinese media as well as what is really at stake in the Taiwan controversy. The real point of contention, I would claim, is a semiotic one: it is about calling things by their "proper" names: thus the care with which "incorrect" phraseology is marked out. This

goes along with a media modus operandi which I have called "reiterating symbolic control", one which works discursively to maintain a particular world view in which the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is central and essential to modern China, something that will be examined in more detail in the section entitled, 'The underlying bones of contention: politics and history'. Not only does the Mainland side refuse to acknowledge the Taiwanese world view as genuine, it also treats the Taiwanese side as illegitimate, not just in the political sense, but even as a rhetorical opponent, something that will be examined in the section, 'The rhetorical strategy: invalidating the opponent'. What is interesting about this rhetoric is that it takes place in a context when the economic, personnel and cultural links between the two sides of the Straits continue to grow stronger, and despite continued restrictions on direct travel and shipment of goods, the rhetorical ups and downs do not seem to have any direct effect on the material realm, something that will be examined in section, 'Where the semiotic meets the material: cross-Straits direct flights'.

There have of course been many treatments of how the Mainland Chinese media operate: to name only two recent collections relevant to the concerns of this study: *Political Communications in Greater China*, (Rawnsley & Rawnsley (eds) 2003, especially the articles by Huang & Lee, Renwick and Cao, and De Burgh); and *Chinese media, Global Contexts* (Lee (ed.) 2003) which explores the very current issue of how the hitherto closed Chinese media system is adapting itself to the imperatives of globalisation. The present study takes its cue from two of the chapters in the latter collection, both of which include the word "discourse" in their subtitles:

Yuezhi Zhao's exploration of how the Chinese media dealt with the issue of joining the World Trade Organisation (WTO) (Zhao 2003), and Chin-Chuan Lee's complementary study of how the US media has dealt with China over the last two decades (Lee 2003). Like Lee I attempt to "distill the frames of the…narratives" (Lee 2003: 81) of a particular newspaper, in this case _The China Daily_; and like Zhao I attempt to "provide a detailed snapshot of a key slice of a…discourse", one however that is not "highly fluid" like the Chinese media's treatment of the WTO examined by Zhao but rather rigidly consistent.

It is the nature of that consistency and the mechanisms through which it operates that I would like to examine here. This study provides a snapshot of the treatment of the issue of Taiwan independence between 2002 and 2005 in _The China Daily_, the official English-language newspaper of the Mainland government. Despite the fact that this newspaper is at least in theory directed towards an international readership, and thus would be expected to mount arguments as to why the CCP stance is superior to that of the DPP, this study will show that it in fact makes no attempt to do so. This would seem paradoxical only if we assume that the function of the Chinese media is to argue for its own _contingent_ point of view, rather than, as suggested by Zhou He (quoted in Lee 2003: 18) , to present an _absolute_ point of view in its role as what he dubs "Party publicity Inc." (on this role of the media, see also He 2003). In other words, Chinese media outlets can be best understood as disseminating one-sided "publicity" for the CCP authorities rather than as providing any sort of balanced

account of issues in the way that is claimed to be the fundamental role of the "news" media in other contexts.

In this connection it is relevant to mention the term used in Chinese for the role of such media outlets: *xuanchuan*. Literally "promotion", this term is used in Chinese to refer equally to the sort of "publicity" carried out by corporations as to the "propaganda" carried out by governments. The term also figures in the official title of the organisation which, with the State Adminstration of Radio Film and Television (SARFT), jointly controls most Chinese media organizations apart from the Xinhua News Agency and the *The People's Daily* (*Renmin Ribao*): the *Zhonggong zhongyang xuanchuanbu* or "Chinese Communist Party Central Propaganda Department", normally abbreviated *Zhongxuanbu* originally translated into in English "Central Propaganda Department", but more recently, given the negative connotations of the term "propaganda", translated as "Central Publicity Department". Given the broader use of the term *xuanchuan* in Chinese, this body's title might equally accurately be translated "Ministry of Information", and be regarded, like comparable institutions in other countries, as having the responsibility for forming and disseminating the official Government – which of course in China also means the Party – line. The *Zhongxuanbu* plays a central role in the process of "reiterating symbolic control" referred to above by providing a basic "script" for official media outlets that marks out very clearly what can and cannot be said. (A recent virulent attack by a Mainland academic on this watchdog role of the *Zhongxuanbu*, which accuses it among other things of being a stronghold for extreme leftism, can be found in Jiao 2004.)

In understanding the sort of news stories run in *The China Daily* it is also necessary to be aware of how this content is produced. Like other English-language media outlets such as China Radio International (CRI) or China Central Television International (CCTV9), the paper takes a large part of its copy (both text and visual) from the Xinhua News Agency, as well as from international wire services such as Reuters and AP. Any Chinese copy is translated into English by *China Daily* journalists, and then in most cases "polished" by a native English speaking editor. However, this "polishing" in most cases simply adds an idiomatic gloss to the grammar and vocabulary choice; it rarely goes beyond that to actual editing for content or rhetorical structure. Most such *China Daily* articles, then, read like more or less direct translations from the Chinese, with the Chinese rhetoric and style fairly closely reproduced, a process which ends up with what is still basically a Chinese text in English dress.

The present study examines the *China Daily* coverage of Taiwan over the period 2002 – 2005 concentrating on the notion of Taiwan's "legitimacy" vis-à-vis the Mainland, a broad notion which is explained in more detail below. This period of coverage includes such issues as the proposal of a referendum to reform the Taiwanese constitution; the attempts by Taiwan to join world bodies such as the United Nations (UN) or the World Health Organization (WHO); the rewriting of history textbooks to emphasis Taiwan's separateness from China; and various diplomatic actions in relation to the small number of countries that recognize Taiwan as a separate country – all of which are aimed to create momentum for the recognition

of Taiwan as a sovereign nation and which are predictably denounced by Beijing. Running alongside these is the issue of direct flights between Taiwan and the Mainland, something which has been on the negotiating table for some years, and though largely symbolic, since the lack of direct flights has not stopped trade between the two places from continuing to grow rapidly, does throw into relief the fact that all the rhetoric does have an economic basis.

The basic data for this study is a small corpus of just over 27,000 words made up of all the texts concerning Taiwan published in _The China Daily_ between 19 September and 19 December 2003, supplemented by a larger corpus of just over 46,000 words of articles specifically on the issue of direct flights dating between October 2002 and January 2005. This combined period of coverage gives a reasonably representative picture of the nature of Mainland press coverage of Taiwan across a range of issues. In contrast to the studies by Lee and Zhao cited above which call on more broad-brush types of content analysis to characterise the nature of the issues and voices present in the press coverage, this study takes a more micro focus on the actual language of the news coverage itself. Various "degrees" of focus are chosen depending on the specific topic: some of the texts are analysed in detail for their rhetorical structure; others are "trawled" using a simple concordancing program to give a snapshot of the images being created by the choice of words; or just the headlines are extracted for an economical overview of long-term coverage.

(Level A Heading) The underlying bones of contention: politics and history

Two articles from the first week of the initial data period neatly sum up the underlying basis of contention in this unequal debate. The first from September 19, 'Taiwan's representation appeal denied', describes the failure of yet another attempt by Taiwan to win official representation, or as the *China Daily* text predictably puts it "representation", in the United Nations; the second from September 24, 'Plan to rewrite history under fire', denounces the decision by Taiwan's "Ministry of Education" (sic) to separate the teaching of Taiwanese history in high schools from the mainstream of Chinese history. Both the political and the historical news stories strike directly at what is at stake in the rhetorical war between Taiwan and the Mainland: the issue of legitimacy. In order to understand the significance of this, we need to go into the background of the political origins of modern China in the Republican period of 1912-1949.

A look in the back of any current Chinese dictionary produced on the Mainland shows the "correct" political succession very clearly: 1366-1644, Ming Dynasty; 1644-1911, Qing Dynasty; 1912-1949, Republic of China; 1949 - , People's Republic of China. Official Mainland ideology goes beyond this to make the basic starting point for any media treatment of China past, present or future the claim that the whole of Chinese history can be divided into two hugely unequal parts: the pre-1949 "Old China" and the post-1949 "New China". The main unstated opponent here is not the last imperial dynasty, the Qing, to which the current regime sees itself as the natural successor. It is rather the Republican period between 1912-1949 which shows up as a

huge gap in official discourse, an unspoken alternative which is fraught with rhetorical peril for the Communist regime.

Both the Republic and the People's Republic share the same founder figure, the "Father of the Nation" (*guofu*) Sun Yat-Sen, whose picture appears alongside those of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in Tian'anmen Square on important occasions like National Day. But awkwardly for the CCP, Sun Yat-Sen was actually founder and Chairman of the Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang (KMT), which until the recent rise of Chen Shui-bian and the DPP in Taiwan was the only significant official opposition to the CCP in the Chinese region. The KMT formed the first – and so far the only – democratically elected government on the Mainland; they were the main force, alongside the United States, in defeating the invading Japanese forces between 1937-1945 – a fact conveniently ignored in the 2005 commemorations of "Victory in the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression"; between 1945 and 1971 they held the China seat in the United Nations; and until 1991 continued to claim rightful control over the whole of China.

This means that the very presence of Taiwan as a separate entity constitutes a serious challenge to the legitimacy of the CCP regime. Up until 2000 when the KMT was still in control on the island and continued to claim itself as the legitimate government of China, the Taiwan regime was at least engaged in the same debate as the Mainland, and could therefore be fought on its own terms. But when the former KMT leader, Lee Teng-hui, started claiming that Taiwan was in fact a separate country, and this stance was taken up by his protégé Chen Shui-bian who went on to

become the first non-KMT President of Taiwan, the Mainland authorities were then confronted with the far more frightening challenge that their opponent was opting out of the debate altogether. For Taiwan to claim itself as the rightful government of all China was one thing, but for Taiwan to claim that it was not part of China at all was quite another, a heresy that raised the prospect of other peripheral areas of the Chinese polity like Tibet and Xinjiang making the same claim.

All this made the spectacle of then KMT Chairman Lien Chan visiting the Mainland in 2005 to an effusive reception – to drive home the fact that the elected leader Chen Shui-bian was definitely *not* welcome – a somewhat surreal one. And in fact, on the subsequent visit by former KMT figure and now Chairman of the People First Party James Soong, the official media were obliged to delete or edit out a number of mentions by Soong of the "Republic of China", still the official name of the Taiwan regime. This official name even appears in scare quotes in the article on history text books mentioned above, in specific reference to the 1912-1949 period, although one would think even the Mainland authorities would concede that the KMT government was in fact the legitimate regime during that time: as a background article appearing on the same day puts it "The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 only changed the regime of China instead of the scope of Chinese sovereignty."

This explains why any attempt by the Taiwanese government to win legitimacy for itself must be immediately and firmly rejected by the Mainland media. Let us now look in detail at the two articles mentioned above and identify the rhetorical principles

they call on in order to bolster Mainland legitimacy and undercut Taiwanese

legitimacy.

Taiwan's representation appeal denied

Xinhua 09/19/2003

Foreign Ministry spokesman Kong Quan said yesterday that the

latest rejection of a proposal on Taiwan's "representation" in the United

Nations (UN) shows once again that the one China is the basic

principle generally observed by the international community.

The General Committee of the 58th Session of the UN General

Assembly decided yesterday not to consider the so-called "Taiwan's

representation in the UN," which was put forth by Gambia and a few

other countries, in the agenda of the current session, Kong said.

It indicates the firm determination of the vast majority of UN

members to uphold the UN Charter and Resolution 2758 of the UN

General Assembly, he said.

"There is only one China in the world, and the Chinese mainland and

Taiwan belong to one China. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of

China cannot be severed," Kong said.

It is in the fundamental interests of China to safeguard national unity,

Kong added.

Chinese Permanent Representative to the United Nations Wang

Guangya on Wednesday said the act by a very few countries to raise the

issue of Taiwan's "participation" in the UN is a gross violation of the

purposes and principles of the UN Charter and a brazen challenge to

the one-China principle widely recognized by the international

community.

In a statement at the General Committee of the UN General

Assembly, Wang said the Chinese Government "strongly condemns

such flagrant interference in China's internal affairs."

Wang said Resolution 2758 of the UN General Assembly in 1971

"has solved, in political, legal and procedural terms, the issue of China's

representation in the United Nations."

"There is simply no such issue as the so-called 'Taiwan's

representation in the United Nations'," he added.

The striking thing about the claims for legitimacy here are that they are all made

with regard to a "foreign" body, the United Nations. Since the CCP regime, unlike the

KMT regime in its early days at least, has never been elected by the people it claims

the right to rule over, one of the key bases of its legitimacy is international

recognition. This rhetorical weakness has of course long been recognised by the

various Taiwanese regimes, who have made a point of cultivating diplomatic relations

with what is now a small number of foreign countries: it was some of these countries

that made the attempt to put the issue of Taiwan's UN representation on the agenda.

The article calls on the slogan form of this claim for legitimacy, the "one China

principle": a reiteration of this being one of the obligatory symbolic acts required of

every foreign official visiting China. Another key rhetorical weapon regularly called on by the Mainland media is that objecting to "interference in China's internal affairs": since both "the Chinese mainland and Taiwan belong to China", it follows that any suggestion that Taiwan may act separately without reference to the Mainland by definition constitutes foreign interference. The closing sentence of the article, quoted from China's permanent representative to the UN, sums up the Mainland's rejection of the whole debate on this issue as illegitimate, clinched by the verbal equivalent of scare quotes, the phrase "so-called": " "There is simply no such issue as the so-called 'Taiwan's representation in the United Nations'," ".

The second article gives just as little quarter to the opposing side:

Plan to rewrite history under fire

XING ZHIGANG 09/24/2003

Taipei is using school history lessons to pursue independence for the island, mainland experts on Taiwan studies said yesterday.

They said planned changes to the school curricula are aimed at severing cultural and historical links between the island and China.

Taiwan's "ministry of education" recently published its draft guidelines for high school history textbooks, which are expected to be enacted in November.

Under the new rules, first-year senior high school students will study Taiwanese history, from the prehistoric to modern times, in their first

semester. They will study Chinese history from ancient times to the early Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) in their second semester.

Second-year senior high school students will spend the school year studying world history from the Age of Discovery to the modern era.

The guidelines, however, incorporate Chinese history from the 1500s onwards - including the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) and the "Republic of China" (1912-49) - into modern world history.

Professor Fan Xizhou with the Taiwan Research Institute of Xiamen University said the changes have exposed the pro-independence mentality of the ruling Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) administration led by Taiwan leader Chen Shui-bian.

"The separatist move is meant to confuse the Taiwanese public and disguise the historical fact that Taiwanese history is an indivisible part of Chinese history," Fan.

The proposed changes to history textbooks have also drawn heavy criticism from within the island. A number of historians and academics wrote letters to local media to express their opposition.

Wu Chan-liang, a history professor at Taiwan University, criticized the guidelines based on "the view of history that advocates Taiwan independence in a high-profile way."

The move should be considered both an academic disgrace and a serious moral crime against the Chinese people, said Professor Tseng

Hsiang-duo from Suchow University.

The arguments raised in the criticism of the revised history textbooks have a flavour of self-fulfilling prophesy: Taiwan has always been part of China, Taiwan *is* still part of China, end of story. Again there is a rhetorical weakness here in that it is only relatively recently, in historical terms, that Taiwan has been part of the Chinese polity: in effective terms, only since the final imperial dynasty, the Qing dynasty; and it is at this point in the new curriculum, as the article mentions, that "Taiwan history" turns into "world history", not "Chinese history". When the Republic of China was established in 1912, Taiwan had already been ceded to Japan in the wake of China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese war, and thus could be seen to have a similar status to "Outer" Mongolia, which unlike Inner Mongolia that has remained Chinese territory, was also taken away from China's control not long after this time.

It is interesting to note that in this article, the proposed changes are not only seen to be an offence against truth, an "academic disgrace", but also an offence against morality; and the notion that such calls for independence constitute a "serious moral crime" comes up again during the period of coverage. These kinds of arguments depend heavily on constructing one "correct" narrative; there is no attempt to deal with, let alone refute, arguments in favour of Taiwan being considered historically separate. Another source of support is that of academic authorities who are called in to act as reputable witnesses. The Mainland side has the advantage here in that not only will its own academic authorities, at least those likely to be quoted in the media, support the party line, but given that Taiwan still has a significant cohort of anti-

independence thinkers, it can also call on support from within Taiwan, as is done here.

These short examples give a good idea of the sort of rhetorical weapons employed by the Mainland media to delegitimize the Taiwanese side. In the following sections, I will go on to examine the nature of this rhetoric in more detail.

(Level A Heading) The discursive modus operandi: reiterating symbolic control

In a previous paper (McDonald 2005), I argued that the official Chinese media was better understood as dispensing "publicity" (Chinese *xuanchuan*) rather than news in the strict sense, and that this "publicity" operates according to a process I have characterised "reiterating symbolic control". Through this process, a certain world view is continually reinforced by the careful reiteration of particular verbal formulas, underlaid by key principles which serve to cement the place of the Chinese Communist Party as the rightful rulers of China. These principles include: the "New China" principle already mentioned in the previous section, i.e. that there is a clear historical break between pre-Communist and Communist China, and that moreover the succession of the Communist regime was a matter of historical necessity; the "Peiping Principle" whereby chaotic realities are "renamed" in order to give the impression that they are under control, just as the former imperial capital Peking was renamed Peiping "Northern Peace" during the unstable years of the Nationalist regime: as well as the common rhetorical trope I have somewhat facetiously dubbed

"There is only one Foreign", according to which the USA is constantly held up both as *the* model to be emulated and if possible surpassed, as well as _the_ main rival seeking to contain China's growth.

In the context of Taiwan of course, these principles all fall under the overriding control of a further principle which, unlike the others, has been explicitly articulated as a political tenet: the "One China Principle". It is no accident that this is the start and finish of all political discussion over Taiwan, or indeed of the Mainland government's international status. The recurring spectacle of every single foreign leader from the Vice-President of the United States to the Prime Minister of Vanuatu reaffirming the "One China Principle" almost as soon as they set foot in the country drives home the centrality of this principle very effectively. As the Foreign Ministry spokesman puts it in the first article given above: "It is in the fundamental interests of China to safeguard national unity". More to the point, it is in the "fundamental interests" of the CCP to allow no shadow of doubt to be expressed about the current geopolitical setup of China: the "success" of the CCP in restoring the territorial integrity of China and expelling the foreign invaders is now the pillar on which rest all its other claims to legitimacy; and as we have seen, in this Taiwan-Mainland debate, legitimacy is "number one" for both sides.

Let us now examine in more detail the nature of the discourse strategies employed. The following article, given here in excerpted form, is a background piece to the previous text on the textbook revision: this appeared on the same day on the editorial page of the paper:

History class move a vicious ploy

HU XUAN 2003-09-24

...The Taiwan authorities' moves are politically calculated, trying again to sever the connection between the island and the mainland.

Since Chen Shui-bian took office in 2000, promoting the "desinofication" and "name rectification" movements, the separatist forces in Taiwan have been engaged in a feverish attempt to remove everything from Taiwan that shows a connection to the Chinese mainland.

As many historical experts on the island have pointed out, this new draft is the typical making of the concept of "one country on each side" or "two states."

However, the Taiwan separatists are just wasting their time by undertaking this impossible mission, as history bears out the fact that Taiwan has never been an independent state but rather a part of China.…

Taiwan was placed under the jurisdiction of China's Fujian Province as early as the 12th century. After a dozen years of rivalry between Dutch and Spanish colonialists, this island became a Dutch colony in 1642. It returned to Chinese rule when Zheng Chenggong, a loyal Ming Dynasty official rebelling against the Qing-Dynasty rulers in a hope to restore authority of the Ming court, defeated and drove out the Dutch colonialists

in 1662. The island was subsequently put under the jurisdiction of the

Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) in 1683 until 1895, when it was ceded to

Japan by the Qing government as the result of the latter's defeat in the

Sino-Japanese war (1894-95).

Taiwan was again handed over to China after Japan was defeated in

World War II, under the Cairo Declaration in 1943 and the later the

Potsdam Proclamation.

All these historic documents, even including treaties like the Treaty of

Shimonoseki that ceded Taiwan to Japan, revealed a very basic

consensus that Taiwan was under the sovereignty of China....

To cut Taiwan's history away from the whole of Chinese history in

school teaching is a vicious attempt by the Taiwan separatists to

confuse the recognition of one nation among the people, in particular

the young generation, on the island.

The more editorialising tone of this piece is indicated by the highly evaluative

headline, particularly by the word "vicious", which also reappears in the final

sentence of the main text. This is a rather unusual collocation for this type of text in

English, and since no further context is given to resolve the question of whether it is

meant in its most common sense of "extremely cruel" or in its etymological sense

"pertaining to vice", it is probably better to take it simply as a piece of "snarl"

vocabulary without any precise denotation. After a brief recap of the main facts from

the previous front page piece (omitted here), the article quickly introduces what it

takes to be the motivation for this move, a "politically calculated" attempt "to sever the connection between the island and the mainland". The writer then adduces further evidence, which is itself all from the realm of discourse, and thus predictably attracts scare quotes: the "desinofication" and "name rectification" movements undertaken by the Taiwanese government of Chen Shui-bian; and the heretical concept of "one country on each side" or "two states" first introduced as a basis for cross-Straits negotiation by his predecessor and mentor Lee Teng-hui. These attempts are characterised by another evaluative term "feverish", economically suggesting the desperate expenditure of a lot of effort to little effect.

From this point on, the article goes into historical mode, building up not so much an historical argument as a chronicle. As was noted above, the "Chineseness" of Taiwan is historically on somewhat shaky grounds, since its political connection to the Mainland is a matter of a couple of hundred years old, much less than equally "peripheral" areas such as Tibet and Xinjiang. Ironically, the text itself seems, perhaps unwittingly, to point this up. Apart from an initial statement without any corroborating evidence that the island "was placed under the jurisdiction of China's Fujian Province as early as the 12th century", the historical chronicle seems to emphasise its debatable status: as the object of "rivalry" between the Dutch and Spanish, then as a "Dutch colony" in the closing years of the Ming Dynasty, "return[ing] to Chinese rule", if only briefly and somewhat irregularly as a loyalist holdout against the incoming Qing Dynasty, then "put under the jurisdiction" of the Qing for just over two hundred years before being "ceded to Japan". The passive

phraseology of "put under the jurisdiction" seems to be making a point about the possible illegitimacy of the foreign Qing Dynasty, which would seem to weaken the main point of the argument; but it may also be significant in showing that such a "slip" which could well be exploited by a rhetorical opponent is seen as of little importance here, as there is no real attempt to build up a watertight case.

The subsequent paragraphs call on the same strategy as the first article examined in this paper, bolstering China's legitimate claims over the island by appeal to international recognition of that fact – even, ironically, as shown by the very treaty which ceded Taiwan to the Japanese; as well as by the subsequent declarations by the Great Powers towards the close of World War Two, the "Cairo Declaration" and the "Potsdam Proclamation". The unmentioned competing source of legitimacy here is the fact that the current government of Taiwan, unlike that of the Mainland, is of course an elected one, something which cannot be admitted, let alone regarded as conferring any kind of legitimacy. The close of the piece then reiterates the main point that any such move will have the effect of "confus[ing] the recognition of one nation among the people", and is therefore not only politically illegitimate but morally bankrupt, particularly in leading astray the "young generation" of Taiwanese. The whole argument is self-contained and in effect circular, since not only does it assume at the start what it sets out to prove, but it makes no attempt to engage with any conflicting evidence, nor even show an awareness of the need to do so.

(Level A Heading) The rhetorical strategy: invalidating the opponent

Nonetheless, there _are_ conflicting points of view in this debate, and the proponents of those views, if not so much the views themselves, do come in for explicit attack. As the elected President of Taiwan, Chen Shui-bian of course comes in for the greatest amount of flak from the Mainland media. This can be shown economically by the use of a simple concordancing program which can pick out particular words and their surrounding context. By carrying out such a search on this corpus using the key word "Chen", we can identify the sorts of actions ascribed to him, and thus build up a profile of his image in Mainland press coverage. One of the key themes has of course to do with Chen's political status as "separatist" and "pro-independence", both of which terms tend to be linked with other words of highly unfavourable connotations:

separatist

9   **Chen** has maintained his separatism stand

27   denounced Taiwanese leader **Chen** Shui-bian for clinging to his separatist stance

79   criticism of Taiwan leader **Chen** Shui-bian for preaching separatism

109   **Chen** playing separatism through trickery

125   **Chen** has gone as far as to instigate his pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party

141   accused Taiwan authorities led by **Chen** of colluding with separatist forces

163   spur **Chen** to take much bolder steps towards independence.

180   or any other tactics used by **Chen** in order to pursue his separatist

agenda.

188   "**Chen** seems to be bent on pushing ahead with his separatist

scheme

253   **Chen** has maintained his separatism stand and rejected

264   immoral and dangerous for **Chen** Shui-bian to constantly advocate

Taiwan independence

317   **Chen** cannot only inspire the morale of the separatist forces

433   die-hard pro-independence groups led by **Chen** have apparently

stepped up their efforts

Chen covers the whole rhetorical gamut as he "instigates", "preaches", "advocates",

"plays", "pursues", "maintains" and "seems to be bent on pushing ahead" his

separatist agenda, and does so by "colluding" with other separatists and "inspiring"

their morale.

But by far the greatest proportion of mentions of Chen can be grouped under a

broad heading I have dubbed "politicking": although the term itself is never actually

used, it seems to identify a definite area in the Mainland news lexicon with the 18th

century force of this term as "playing dirty tricks":

politicking

25   **Chen** is resorting to a risky voting strategy

48   **Chen** dished out this "time-table"

68   **Chen** again played with his old bag of tricks

93   **Chen** never let an occasion pass in the United States

112   **Chen** has been playing two kinds of deceitful political tricks

123   **Chen** beat the drum hard for his plan

134   the sheer waste of resources by **Chen**, purely to improve his flagging

chances of winning

153   accused **Chen** of taking advantage of the promotion of democracy

162   The election-minded **Chen** is cannily taking advantage of the US

behaviour

173   **Chen** accused of playing dirty trick

174   accused Taiwanese leader **Chen** Shui-bian of preparing to exploit

182   accused **Chen** of taking advantage of the legislation

191   said **Chen** has been exploiting the referendum legislation

199   **Chen** Shui-bian has been playing hide-and-seek with the

208   given an incompetent performance in his position, **Chen** is still

addicted to power

222   **Chen** has been flirting with Washington

237   Obviously, **Chen** has taken advantage of the mainland's concern

247   Since the beginning of 2003, **Chen** Shui-bian has created several

"incidents"

269   Experts on Taiwan studies believe **Chen** is resorting to a risky voting

strategy

299   under this circumstance, **Chen** had to raise more radical political

ideas

312   Facing strong criticism, **Chen** again played with his old bag of tricks

330   stopovers in the United States by **Chen** will damage Sino-US ties

346   Any political lobbying by **Chen** in the United States will negatively affect

Sino-U

350   **Chen** has been pushing for re-election by playing the "r

367   **Chen** beat the drum hard for his plan for a new "constit

376   **Chen** played the diplomatic card under these circumstanc

397   accused **Chen** of taking advantage of the promotion of democracy

406   "The election-minded **Chen** is cannily taking advantage of the US

behaviour to

435   **Chen** has been exploiting the referendum legislation as

Although "playing" politics – the latter a large "bag" which includes such things as

"deceitful policial tricks", "hide-and-seek", and "the diplomatic card" – seems to be

the most common accusation here, Chen also "beats the drum" "takes advantage",

"lobbies", "dishes out", "takes advantage", and "resorts to".

   A number of other smaller content areas, many of which also appear in

conjunction with the "separatist" and "politicking" phraseology, have to do on the one

hand with Chen's foolishness and irrationality in attempting to go against Mainland

policy:

irresponsible

57   **Chen** has attempted to provoke the mainland side

78   **Chen** pursues 'dangerous' line

86   stopovers in the United States by **Chen** will damage Sino-US ties

165   Taiwan "president" **Chen** Shui-bian recently made a dangerous move

185   accused Taiwan leader **Chen** Shui-bian of starting an ill-considered

attempt

228   Taiwan "president" **Chen** Shui-bian has taken a more risky step

toward indep

235   **Chen** has mortgaged the life and property of the Taiwan

238   It has also warned **Chen** against causing trouble many times

obstinate

183   "But if **Chen** obstinately sticks to a wrong course

207   Now **Chen** is even pushing for a so-called "defensive referen

227   **Chen** has been bent on staging provocative acts

260   Taiwan leader **Chen** Shui-bian has refused to accept the one-China

prin

266   **Chen** pledged to push ahead with a referendum in a bid t

316   **Chen** pushed hard for activities of "holding a referendu

388   **Chen** has vowed to complete "constitutional" changes in

451   Now **Chen** is even pushing for a so-called "defensive refere

and on the other hand with his moral failings:

misleading

5   **Chen** distorted the facts and misled the public

118   accused **Chen** of trying to cover up his pro-independence plot

145   what **Chen** has done has repeatedly betrayed his earlier commitment

147   warn the Taiwan authorities led by **Chen** not to cheat and fool the

Taiwanese public

224   Wen accused **Chen** of planning the referendum as a cover to split the

353   **Chen** playing separatism through trickery

391   warn the Taiwan authorities led by **Chen** not to cheat and fool the

Taiwanese public

417   **Chen** accused of playing dirty trick

in bad faith

36   **Chen** has no intention of offering any goodwill gesture

37   **Chen** will never open the door to peace and co-operation

130   **Chen** has deliberately delayed the solution to the issue

131   **Chen** cannot offer anything to improve cross-Straits rel

280   it seems that **Chen** has no intention of offering any goodwill gesture

389   what **Chen** has done has repeatedly betrayed his earlier commi

shameless

170   **Chen** and his ilk would not have had the temerity to go

277   **Chen** has not even bothered to hide his deep-rooted pro-

369   **Chen** has gone as far as to instigate his pro-independen

407   spur **Chen** to take much bolder steps towards independence."

The overall effect of this profile is to invalidate Chen, not just through his dubious status as "President" of a polity that in Mainland eyes does not exist as a separate country, but as someone who is willing to stoop to any dirty trick to carry out his nefarious schemes. If we now look at a particular text, we can see how this process of delegitimization is played out discursively. The following commentary piece, given in extracted form below, is sourced to "a Beijing-based political commentator", and exhorts its readers to open their eyes to Chen's political tricks:

Being vigilant to separatism

ZHONG WEN 2003-09-27

Since the beginning of 2003, Chen Shui-bian has created several "incidents" involving cross-Straits relations designed to elicit pathos from the Taiwan public and incite their hatred for the mainland.

In April, when both sides were fighting the SARS … epidemic, the Taiwan authorities kept politicizing the virus outbreak to serve its own ends…. It also took the opportunity to …advocat[e] membership in the World Health Organization (WHO), for which only sovereign nations are eligible.

In May, when Chen's efforts to attain WHO membership were thwarted, he pushed for a referendum scheduled for March 20, 2004, to cover such topics as nuclear power, an application to join the WHO and

"congressional reform." By doing so, he went back on his own word and revealed his separatism machinations.

In June, when SARS was not effectively contained in Taiwan, Taiwan's request to declare the area free of the virus and remove it from the travel advisory list was not immediately granted by the WHO. Even though this was part of the normal procedure, Chen distorted the facts and misled the public by blaming the mainland for blocking the way.

In July, Chen's administration used Article 23 of the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region to distort and disparage the "one country, two systems" policy. In August, Chen's administration changed gear to focus on the issue of direct flights…. However, for the Taiwan authorities, the "bottom line" for the direct transportation links is "Taiwan is a sovereign independent nation."

On August 15, Taiwan's "executive yuan" unveiled an "assessment report on cross-Straits direct flights." Although the report acknowledged, to an extent, the positive impact direct flights would have on Taiwan's economy, it exaggerated the negative effects…highlighting political divisions, the "intransigence of sovereignty" and the "one side, one country" concept…..

In September, the Taiwan authorities renewed its long-standing efforts to gain United Nations (UN) membership, creating an impression of "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan" in the international

community…. this year's effort was echoed by island separatism activities, such as the demand for "the change of Taiwan's name."

In the first two years of his reign, Chen has … promoted "gradual independence" but, from time to time, has assumed a facade of "sincerity" and "good will" for improving the cross-Straits relationship. Never has he been as blatant as this year in incessantly provoking trouble.

So why this year? The answer is simple.

The "presidential" election will be held in March, so this is the campaign year.

Chen's top priority is to get votes to maintain his position. According to reports, the Chen administration has concluded that the key to victory is to incite the mainland during the campaign process so that any overreaction by the mainland can be used to attack political opponents in a wave of anti-mainland sentiment. This intention is obvious.

With half a year to go before the election, Chen's administration will undoubtedly play more of the same game…. For example, he may make a great deal of the APEC conference…. Chen will stay in the United States during his visit to South America … [and] may use his transit in the United States to stage more separatism attempts. And the March referendum will be another chance for provocation. If it is a close race,

Chen may even decide to create something bigger to achieve his

purpose.

In light of this, people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits need to be

vigilant and watch Chen's actions carefully.

Safeguarding the stability of cross-Straits relations requires a

concentrated effort.

The thematic core of this litany of supposed political skullduggery is given in

rhetorical question and answer form towards the end of the article:

Never has he been as blatant as this year in incessantly provoking

trouble. So why this year? The answer is simple. The "presidential"

election will be held in March, so this is the campaign year.

Apart from the obvious invalidating of the "presidential" tag, as indicated by the scare

quotes, one gets the sense that the whole political process of seeking to gain

advantage for one's own side, something that would be taken for granted in a party

political system, is regarded here as invalid by its very nature. The implication would

seem to be that not only does Chen Shui-bian have no right to be participating in a

"presidential" election, simply by virtue of being a politician he is suspect, with his

"authorities politicizing the virus outbreak to serve its [sic] own ends", his

government "push[ing] for a referendum", he himself "reveal[ing] his separatism

machinations", "distort[ing] the facts and misle[ading] the public by blaming the

mainland", his "administration" using the Hong Kong example as a precedent "to

distort and disparage the "one country, two systems" policy", and so on. Nothing

Chen does can be taken in good faith, because his underlying motivation is always a

separatist, pro-independence one, and this cannot be countenanced in any form.

The highly moralistic tone of the piece, as evidenced by the use of such

phraseology as "a facade of "sincerity" and "good will" " and "[n]ever has he been as

blatant", and which is characteristic of most of the treatment of Chen here, is

explained by Zhao (2003: 36) in the comparable context of WTO coverage as

reflecting the "active role" of the Chinese media in "rallying moralistic support".

Zhao also refers to some research on the Singaporean situation (Sim 2002) which

argues that "the deprivation of substantive information compels citizens to take a

moralistic stance on issues" (2003: 56, note 5), something which has obvious parallels

in this case. The moralistic tone also goes together with the complete rhetorical

invalidation of the opposing side: if you do not give any your opponent any right to

hold an opposing view, then the only explanation of that opposition can be sheer

defiant error and recidivism, something which comes through very clearly in the

rhetorical representation of Chen Shui-bian's actions and positions.

What we are seeing here seems to be rhetoric of a completely different kind from

political argumentation we are used to reading in English. The fact that the

"polishing" of this article has been less than thorough, leading to such unidiomatic

phrasings as "designed to elicit pathos from the Taiwan public" in its opening

paragraph, only points up the generic strangeness of the text as a whole. Seen as

argumentative, it would have to be judged as a complete failure, since it makes no

attempt to challenge Chen and the pro-independence side on their own terms.

However, seen as an instance of "reiterating symbolic control", it is impeccable in its

insistence on the essential "rightness" of the Mainland worldview, and by implication,

the essential "wrongness" of the Taiwanese.

This does of course raise the question of whether all this discourse simply

operates in a closed world of its own. Though, as I argued above, it would be

misunderstanding the role of media outlets like *The China Daily* to view what it is

providing as news, and therefore judge it on those criteria as "misleading" or

"unbalanced"; it would equally unrealistic to claim that the "publicity" or

"propaganda" role of the Chinese media makes them completely unresponsive to any

external reality. In order to examine this crucial issue of the relationship between the

semiotic and the material, I will go on to examine one area in which the rhetoric does

come into contact with hard economic realities: the issue of "cross-Straits direct

flights".

(Level A Heading) Where the semiotic meets the material: cross-Straits direct flights

At the beginning of 2003, the first more or less direct flights between Taiwan and

the Mainland since 1949 were initiated in time for the Chinese New Year, also known

as Spring Festival. The issue of direct flights was one of the so-called "Three Links"

between Taiwan and the Mainland – trade, postal, and transport – broken off in 1949.

Almost two years on, just before Chinese New Year 2005, *The China Daily* reflected

on the ups and downs of this process in congratulatory mode (only the first half of the article is given here):

Flights to Taiwan first in decades

XING ZHIGANG 2005-01-31

After a half-century without non-stop airline links between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan, nine charter flights took place on Saturday under a cross-Straits agreement for Spring Festival travel.

Six mainland planes landed in Taipei and one in the southern city of Kaohsiung for the first time in 56 years. Meanwhile, Taiwan's China Airlines and EVA Airways operated two non-stop flights from Taipei to Beijing the first since 1949.

Flight CA1087 of the mainland's flag carrier Air China departed from the Beijing Capital International Airport at 8 am for Taipei, becoming the first mainland commercial plane to take off.

Charter flight CZ3097 of China Southern Airlines, however, was the first mainland aircraft to land in Taiwan after a 90-minute journey between Guangzhou and Taipei.

"The dream that we had over the past 56 years finally came true today," said Chen Yunlin, minister of the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council, upon the arrival of CAL's CI581 in Beijing.

Since 1949, the Taiwan authorities have imposed a ban on trade, postal and transport links with the mainland.

In 2003, six Taiwanese airlines operated 16 charter flights between Taipei, Kaohsiung and Shanghai, with stopovers in Hong Kong or Macao. Meanwhile, mainland carriers were excluded from the indirect charter flight arrangement.

John Chang, a Kuomintang "lawmaker" who initiated the cross-Straits charter flight programme in 2002, compared Saturday's flights to "swallows that foretell the coming of spring."

"The successful launching of such charter flights has fully demonstrated that both sides of the Straits have enough wisdom, farsight and patience to solve existing problems," he told a celebration ceremony to mark the start of the historic flights in Beijing.

"We hope the charter flights will help ease cross-Straits tensions and improve bilateral relations."

In order to examine this issue, I have used a second corpus of texts from _The China Daily_ specifically on the issue of direct flights, stretching from October 2002, when the possibility was first raised by Taiwanese legislator John Chang, identified in the article above as "a Kuomintang "lawmaker" ", up to the period of the first actual direct flights in January 2005. This period of coverage, with the bulk of articles concentrated around the Chinese New Year period where so far the majority of flights have taken place, allows us to follow the political twists and turns of the issue as

represented in the Mainland media. We can get a brief but telling "snapshot" of how the issue has been treated simply by looking at the headlines of the articles over this period, the bulk of which are given below, divided into five periods.

The first period of coverage, from 31 October 2002 to 26 January 2003, includes the initial Mainland suggestion to John Chang's proposal, the initially negative Taiwanese response, the subsequent Taiwanese decision only to allow flights with stopovers in Hong Kong or Macau, the Mainland playing down of the likelihood and then the success of the flights, and the first flights themselves:

31 October 2002: Direct cross-Straits flights may start early next year

14 November 2002: Taiwan authorities reject direct charter flights

22 November 2002: Taipei's refusal dashes direct charter hopes

04 December 2002: Taiwan taking local applications for indirect mainland flights

06 December 2002: Talks needed for indirect charter flights

13 December 2002: Hopes for flights are fading

07 January 2003: Flights ready for take-off

15 January 2003: Charter flight demand subdued

26 January 2003: First Taiwan flight in 50 years lands in mainland

The second period of coverage, containing only three isolated articles between the end of January and the end of May 2003, covers the Mainland side's optimistic conclusions from the qualified success of the initial flight in relation to progress for

the "Three Links" in general, contradicted by a more gloomy forecast based on what is characterized as Chen's "ballot politics and splittist conspiracy" in the lead-up to the 2004 Presidential Election, and then a new Mainland proposal to extend the direct flights from passenger to freight:

29 January 2003: Experts: Major progress in `3 links' foreseeable this year

14 February 2003: Little progress likely for 3 links

29 May 2003: Cross-Straits freight charters proposed

The third period of coverage, between early and late September 2003, contains a flurry of indignant Mainland responses to Chen's counterproposal on behalf of the Taiwan side in which Chen had the temerity to use the "tactic of combining the "three links"" with his "one state on each side" theory", in other words, to treat the negotiations over the flights as a political issue, rather than, as claimed by the Mainland side, a purely economic one:

05 September 2003: Comment: Chen's "three links" plan fails to impress

09 September 2003: Opinion: 'Direct flight' a political football

16 September 2003: No place for politics in direct Straits flights

18 September 2003: Two-way direct flights urged

25 September 2003: Taiwan's 'abnormal' charter flight plan slammed

The fourth period of coverage, from November 2003 to January 2004, comes in the lead-up to the next Chinese New Year, in which the final result is charter flights that do not need to make a stopover, but must still fly through Hong Kong or Macau airspace, meaning that they are "direct" only in a rather "indirect" sense. The Mainland coverage varies between trying to beat up enthusiasm for progress in the "Three Links" and berating the Taiwanese side for playing dog in the manger, ending with a direct criticism of the "Taiwan authorities" for being "reluctant to take any practical steps to facilitate the charter-flight plan":

15 November 2003: Mainland airliners urge `fair chance'

15 November 2003: Calls start for direct air links during Spring Festival '

26 November 2003: Taiwan lacks sincerity over flight plan

18 December 2003: Beijing stresses 3-links policy

19 December 2003: Ministry calls for direct shipping

19 December 2003: 'Three Links' serve to improve ties

07 January 2004: Charter flight plan suffers setbacks

15 January 2004: Charter-flight ban means long trip back for Taiwanese

The fifth and final period of coverage, from early January to early February 2005, comes in another flurry from the beginning of the month of which Chinese New Year falls at the end, and contains another suggestion from Beijing, a subsequent rejection by the Mainland side of the Taiwanese request for "official", i.e. quasi government to

government, talks, and then the familiar series of upbeat reports ending with the

"historic" first direct flights themselves:

03 January 2005: Taiwan urged to agree to festival flights

09 January 2005: Taiwan group to talk on holiday flights

10 January 2005: Taiwan urged to work for direct charter flights

10 January 2005: Official: Non-stop charter flights attainable

11 January 2005: Beijing agrees to flights proposal

10 January 2005: Beijing reveals plan for cross-Straits charter flights

12 January 2005: Call for official talks on charter flights rejected

14 January 2005: Talks on charter flights to start Saturday

15 January 2005: Taiwan, mainland agree to landmark direct air links

16 January 2005: Non-stop flights, historic opening

17 January 2005: Non-stop flights a big step

17 January 2005: Taiwanese applaud charter flight pact

25 January 2005: Flights to Taiwan are selling out quickly

27 January 2005: Charter flight tickets to Taiwan selling well

31 January 2005: Flights to Taiwan first in decades

31 January 2005: A small but significant step forward

05 February 2005: Convenient flights applauded by travellers

05 February 2005: Direct flights a hit with New Year passengers

Even from this brief snapshot, we can clearly see the same themes emerging: the refusal of the Mainland side to conduct negotiations on any but its own terms; the continual derogation of Chen and the Taiwanese side as playing a political game – a criticism which the Mainland side does not acknowledge could also apply to itself; the regular representation of Mainland "reasonableness" versus Taiwanese "intransigence"; and the Mainland's unproblematic assumption of popular support for its moves. Since the press coverage only presents one point of view, it does not explain, even when we go beyond the headlines into the content of the articles themselves, why the direct flights finally came about. Any changes are simply "announced", not explained: given that from start to finish the Mainland has refused to compromise on any of its rhetorical claims, all developments must be understood as the opposing side "seeing the light", and thus as there being nothing to explain. If we look at this coverage, therefore, we do in fact get the sense of a self-contained rhetorical universe, which operates entirely on its own terms, and where as inevitably as in any fairy tale, the good eventually triumphs.

F) Conclusion: looking for a reality check

Mainland press coverage, like any sort of propaganda, does not operate in a vacuum. And one must not conclude from the fact that *The China Daily* represents the "Party line" that the Mainland authorities make decisions on Taiwan based merely on the kinds of considerations put forward in *China Daily* coverage, which given the

nature of news production in the official media largely reproduces the line put

forward by the Xinhua News Agency and the official journal of record *The People's*

Daily / Renmin Ribao. The Mainland leadership has access to various kinds of

internally available news sources, including regular translations of overseas press

sources, which give it a much more balanced view of developments than that

presented by outlets such as *The China Daily*; and there are of course numerous other

diplomatic and intelligence sources feeding in regular updates, as well as confidential

discussions between Taiwanese and Mainland representatives, and the internal

debates of the Mainland authorities themselves.

This situation would seem to leave purely discourse-based treatments of the

Chinese media standing on one leg, with the "real issues" forever out of reach. What

then is the use of studies such as the present one? The first point to note here is that

the current study was deliberately one-sided in setting out simply to examine

Mainland press coverage of the Taiwan issue: the inclusion of coverage by the

Taiwanese media, as well as that of other relevant parties like the U.S.A., would of

course give a much more balanced view of developments in this area, the clashes

between the different media treatments of the same issue highlighting issues on which

the "facts" are particularly debatable. It would also be interesting to note to what

extent the Taiwanese media adopts similar tactics of exclusion and delegitimization to

those used by its Mainland counterparts: such tactics were certainly characteristic of

the KMT regime, whose denunciations of the "Communist bandits" on the Mainland

were the equal and opposite reaction to the Mainland's attacks on the "U.S.
imperialists and their running dogs the KMT reactionaries".

But a close focus on the official Mainland rhetoric does have its uses, and
practical implications. It can be calibrated with the concrete actions of the Chinese
authorities in this area: even if, as pointed out above, changes in policy are simply
announced rather than explained, still such actions do "speak louder" than words, and
to what extent their "voice" is acknowledged in the official coverage is an interesting
question. It can also be compared with the treatment of the same issues in what Zhao
(2003: 33) refers to as "market-oriented" papers such as the *Beijing Youth News /
Beijing Qingnian Bao* or the *Southern Weekend / Nanfang Zhoumo* which give space
to a much broader range of voices, including in the *Southern Weekend* some which
even contradict the official line. It can provide a clear basis for broader treatments of
discursive processes beyond the official sphere, such as the anti-American discourses
on Chinese internet chatrooms and bulletin boards in the wake of the September 11th
attacks examined in Rosen 2003.

Such a study also has implications for other areas in which China is involved in
putting its point of view across in less unequal international debates. Of course the
very lack of equality in the rhetorical stakes between the Mainland and Taiwan is a
symptom of their huge gap in terms of size and population, though Taiwan's
economic strength and, until recently at least, its military capability have gone some
way towards redressing the balance. The material underpinning of the Mainland's
claims to Taiwan was shown by the "military exercises" conducted near the island at

the time of Lee Teng-hui's first presidential election in 1996; and the constant threats of direct military action since then, a clear theme in the _China Daily_ treatment which has not been included here, represent an all too sobering clash of semiotic representations with material realities, the relationship between those two again constituting a important area of research. The diplomatic arena is another area for which such studies would seem to have clear relevance: do Chinese diplomats give as little rhetorical quarter to their opponents as the Taiwanese are given in the pages of the _China Daily_, and if so, how would any meaningful negotiation be possible?

Such issues go way beyond the scope of the present study, but they do, I hope, show the relevance of such closely-focused studies as this. Semiotic "violence", not too strong a term for the treatment of the Taiwanese "authorities" by the Mainland media, both draws on and creates the conditions for material violence, and so an examination of its modus operandi is unfortunately only too relevant in a world where there is still far too much of both kinds.

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Chapter Seven

Journalistic voice, register and contextual configuration: a case study from the Spanish and Argentinean press

Annabelle Lukin, Centre for Language in Social Life

Dept of Linguistics, Macquarie University

(A) Introduction

In the distinction between journalistic voices in the broadsheet print media – reporter voice, correspondent voice, and commentator voice, as these have been postulated in, e.g. Iedema, et al., 1994, White, 1998, Martin and White, 2005 – the contextual parameter of tenor is crucial. Tenor, as Halliday noted in 1985, refers to:

> who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationships obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved (in Halliday and Hasan, 1985/89:12).

Tenor has been modelled in different ways within the systemic functional framework (e.g. Butt 2003, Halliday and Hasan, 1985/89, Martin, 1992, Martin and White, 2005). In relation to the study of media discourse, tenor, and its expression through the system of appraisal, has received particular attention in the work by e.g. Iedema et al. 1994, White 1998, Martin and White, 2005. The work postulates the existence of

"conventionalised 'styles' or 'regimes' of evaluative positioning" (Martin and White, 2005: 161) in the journalistic discourse of 'broadsheet media'. Martin and White, for instance, argue that variation in journalistic styles – captured in terms like 'news', 'opinion', 'analysis', 'commentary', etc – can be related to "regularities in the use journalistic texts make of the resources of appraisal" (ibid: 165).

In this model, appraisal is one of three discourse semantic systems for construing tenor in English. Together with the systems of negotiation and involvement, Martin and White propose appraisal as the third of these three 'discourse semantic' systems construing the contextual variable of tenor, which is modelled along the two dimensions of 'power' and 'solidarity'. The tenor dimensions of power and solidarity "need to be considered in relation to all three discourse semantic systems" (ibid: 34), although they suggest a particular affinity between the discourse semantic system of 'involvement' and the tenor variable of 'solidarity' (ibid). It is suggested that through selections from the appraisal systems, speakers and writers construct an interpersonal orientation to "the material they present and those with whom they communicate" (ibid: 1). The distinct journalistic voices are postulated on the basis of their differential selection from the 'systemic potential' for evaluation, i.e. from the system of appraisal (See Chapter 1 in this volume for a discussion of the realisation in selections from appraisal of the three journalist voices).

In their explanation of the nature of journalistic voices – what they refer to as evaluative 'styles' or 'regimes'- Martin and White (2005) invoke the cline of instantiation, a linguistic dimension central to the modelling of language in the

systemic functional approach (see e.g. Halliday 1992). Halliday explains instantiation as "the move between system and instance… [where] [t]he system is the pattern formed by the instances; and each instance represents an exchange with the environment – an excursion into the system in which every level of language is involved" (ibid: 20, 26). Martin and White argue for 'system' and 'reading' as the two ends of the cline, with the terms 'register', 'text type' and 'instance' as intermediate points along the way.

In their cline of instantiation for 'evaluation' (see Figure 1), the notion of journalistic 'voices' or 'keys' – one of two evaluative styles they propose - is akin to register. Register they define as "Contextual variants or sub-selections of the global meaning-making potential – involving more fully institutionalised reconfigurations of the probabilities for the occurrence of particular meaning-making options or for the co-occurrence of options" (2005: 163). Alongside this definition, we find the parallel definition for 'key': "Situational variants or subselections of the global evaluative meaning making potential – typically reconfiguration of the probabilities for the occurrence of particular evaluative meaning-making options or for the co-occurrence of options" (ibid: 164).

[insert Figure 1 about here]

Figure 1 Cline of instantiation – evaluation (Martin and White, 2005: 164)

A number of important questions arise from this proposal, such as the distinction between 'register' and 'text type', and what the difference is between a 'context' and a 'situation' implied by the use of the terms 'contextual variant' versus 'situational

variant'. I will not pursue these questions further here. More significantly, given the reliance on the concept of instantiation in establishing the status of 'key' and 'stance', I note that in Halliday's view instantiation is an "intrastratal relationship – that is, it does not involve a move between strata" (Halliday, 1992: 20). Thus the terms 'system' and 'instance' do not denote particular stratal locations. This is the basis for Halliday's claim that the cline of instantiation involves distinct vistas on the same phenomena, and his use of the climate and weather metaphor (ibid: 26). Since appraisal is a system with a stratal location, namely discourse semantics, then, following Halliday, this should means all other terms in the cline are similarly located. How, then, does key as a 'situational variant' instantiate a discourse semantic system?

In addition, the definition of 'key' as a 'situational variant' raises the issue of the relationship to 'key' to 'situation'. As a 'situational variant', does it vary with 'situation type'? This would, in stratal terms, suggest it is something like 'power' and 'solidarity' – which, as dimensions of tenor, presumably vary according to situation type, and are in this sense 'situational variants'. But given that key is some subset of appraisal, which is a discourse semantics system realising tenor, then key cannot be explained in these terms. In what sense then is key a 'situational variant'? The question is relevant if we consider it important to know what key can reveal about the nature of the context of situation.

I am suggesting that the location of 'key' as a linguistic phenomenon in relation to the dimensions of the systemic functional model is crucial to interpreting the significance

of findings from analysis of journalistic voice. But rather than deal with these issues only in theoretical terms, let us consider some analysis of journalist voice in two Spanish language news texts. In presenting this analysis, I will be considering a central concern of this volume: the degree to which the postulation of journalistic voices, and their basis in selections from the appraisal systems, is evident in reporting in languages other than English. The appraisal analysis reveals some differences between the texts: the significance of the differences, I then argue, requires a further investigation of the questions raised above.

(A) Journalistic voice in two Spanish language news stories

The two texts are news reports of the same event from Iraq in June 2004 – the so-called 'handover of sovereignty'. Each text reports this event in slightly different ways, signalled in the first instance by their headlines. The article from *La Prensa* (29/06/04*)*, an Argentinean daily newspaper, has the headline "*Irak recuperó parte de su soberanía*" (Iraq regained partial sovereignty), while *El Mundo* (28/06/04), a Spanish daily, has the headline "*Irak recupera su soberanía dos días antes de lo previsto*" (Iraq regains its sovereignty two days ahead of schedule). The qualification of 'sovereignty' as 'partial' by *La Prensa* foreshadows a more negative tone across the article with respect to the events being reported. By depicting the event in this way, the *La Prensa* text enunciates the view that sovereignty is not an all or none affair, but instead is a scalable entity, a position not taken in the *El Mundo* article[1]. This suggests the two texts have different experiential orientations.

Following the methods modelled in Martin and White 2005, Appendix 1 presents the

two texts analysed with respect to the appraisal subsystem of attitude, since it is the

take up from this system which is the basis for determinations of journalistic voice.

The analysis is summarised in Table 1. Since it is only 'inscribed' selections (see e.g.

Martin and White, 2005, section 2.6) which are deemed relevant to the determination

of the journalistic voices, the analysis shows only instances of 'inscribed' appraisal.

[insert Table 1 about here]

*There are two instances of authorial appreciation in the _La Prensa_ story which I have

not resolved as being either positive or negative. They are not included in the table.

Table 1 Summary of appraisal analysis of two texts, system of attitude only

(Martin and White, 2005)

As can be seen from **Error! Reference source not found.**, the two news articles

differ in their selections from the system of attitude. Taking the _El Mundo_ text first,

while there are instances of affect, judgement and appreciation, all appear in attributed

material. Following Martin and White, this would suggest the _El Mundo_ text is 'in'

the key of 'reporter voice'. For the _La Prensa_ article, my analysis indicates instances

of authorial affect (observed only), judgement and appreciation. The presence of

judgement (see **Error! Reference source not found.**), and in particular judgement of

the subtype 'propriety', would suggest the _La Prensa_ text is potentially in

'commentator voice', although with just a few instances of 'propriety', the text

perhaps does not have quite the profile which Martin and White describe, i.e.

journalistic texts in which "the author employs, on his/her own behalf, the language's

full attitudinal potential" (ibid: 169). Note also an alternative analysis: Peter White

(personal communication) has suggested that '*con celeridad*' *'con sordina'* and *'casi*

a escondidas' could be considered invoked rather than inscribed judgement. This

would mean the presence of only a single instance of judgement, of the type 'negative

capacity'. Since Martin and White include texts with only one or two instances of

'unmediated judgement' in the category of 'reporter voice', then we could also

consider the *La Prensa* text as an instance of this journalistic voice.

[insert Table 2 about here]

Table 2 Instances of authorial (unmediated) judgement in *La Prensa* article

Let us take both texts then as instances of 'reporter voice', and consider the

significance of this finding. If the term 'reporter voice' is "motivated by the strong

association between this voice and the journalistic role of 'general reporter' – the

journalistic function most typically associated with 'hard news' coverage" (ibid: 169),

can we conclude that both texts are realisations of the same social context? The

suggestion is that when 'in' reporter voice, reporters are doing what reporters

generally do, although what this might be is not, in my view, self evident. And if the

distinct findings [note that a more detailed discussion of the appraisal analysis would

bring out more of the differences between the two texts] show us that the reporters

and editorial staff who produced these texts are differently oriented to the reporting of

this event, then how do we understand the differences?

The remainder of my paper will consider this issue of the similarities and differences

between these two texts by simply asking what kind of context of situation is involved

in the kind of reporting which these texts instantiate. This is not to dismiss the distinctions made by Martin and White, but what underlies these distinctions can only be understood by reference to the contextual configuation as a whole. We have a kind of tenor relationship *only* in concert with the parameters of field and mode. Hasan has made the point that a "contextual configuration is like a chemical solution, where each factor affects the meaning of the others" (Hasan, 1995: 231), and that "everything in discourse – its structure, its texture, its principles of consistency and variation – is beholden to the relevant contextual configuration" (Hasan, 2004: 25). The notion of contextual configuration implies that "texts cannot be created without the *simultaneous play* of the metafunctions postulated by Halliday (1979)" (ibid: 21, emphasis added). An explanation of registral features from the point of view of this notion involves the interplay of settings across all contextual parameters. In the process of describing a register – such as 'hard news reporting' – both consistency and variation must be accounted for. Hasan suggests that "texts instantiating a diatypic variety…display consistency in structure across unique instances of the same variety, while in respect of texture, each is unique" (ibid: 23, see also Hasan, 1985/89).

To pursue a description of 'reporting' as a contextual configuration, I will now consider the two example texts with respect to mode, field and tenor. In turning to the contextual parameters, it is noteworthy that despite a long held commitment to the system network as a mode of description in SFL, that very little work has been done using system networks to describe the contextual parameters. The most elaborated

work, Butt 2003, is not yet published. In terms of published work, Hasan 1999

presents a detailed defence for a network for the contextual parameter of field

(although Hasan in the same paper suggests the proposal is "incomplete and

somewhat rudimentary", 1999: 312).

Having developed a basis for claiming the potential of the system network for

describing the contextual parameters, Hasan makes a further claim about the

relationship of the contextual variables to structure and texture.

> "Assuming that a paradigmatic description of the potential of contextual
>
> components is viable, we may claim that the options towards the primary end of
>
> the network are realizationally related to the text's structure while those towards
>
> the more delicate end would contribute to its texture…registral structure is to the
>
> texture of a text as grammatical structure is to the lexis of a clause" (Hasan, 2004:
>
> 25).

If it is reasonable to claim that the two news reports from *El Mundo* and *La Prensa*

instantiate the same register, then there are three implications from Hasan's work:

- that both the similarities and differences between the two texts will be a

  function of settings in field, tenor and mode

- that the two texts will be similar in structure, but vary in texture

- that the similarity will be seen in similar selections at the primary end of

  contextual networks, but the variation in the more delicate distinctions made in

  the networks

The third point in particular will be more readily explored in relation to field, since, as noted earlier, it is the only contextual parameter for which a reasonably elaborated system network is available.

(A) Mode of 'hard news reporting'

Let me begin by considering mode, since from this perspective, the two texts are obviously alike. If we take the dimensions of mode to be ROLE OF LANGUAGE, CHANNEL and MEDIUM (following Hasan, in Halliday and Hasan,1985/89), then in all respects these two texts are alike. In both cases, the role of language is constitutive. The channel is graphic. There is no visual or virtual contact, and, therefore no 'process sharing', since the addressee "come[s] to the text when it is a finished product" (ibid: 58). As part of this process, "the addressee is built into the text as a prosody of its meaning and its structure" (Hasan, 1999: 237). Hasan uses the term 'virtual addressee' to capture this notion – thus, the addressee of the text is "an imaginary being", a "prototype" (ibid). When the addressee is virtual, "all aspects of the interactant relation – their respective status, their social distance, the specific attributes of the addressee – are _logically_ entirely _created_ by the language of the text, none having a basis in reality for obvious reasons" (ibid, emphasis in original). Finally the medium of the text is written.

Note that Hasan 1999 revises the place of 'role of language', from a feature of the parameter of mode to that of field. I will therefore also address 'role of language' below in field, in somewhat more detail, but readers are referred to Hasan 1999 for her defence of this revision.

(A) Field of 'hard news reporting'

The notion of 'field' in general refers to the nature of the social activity relevant to the activity of speaking (Halliday, in Halliday and Hasan 1985/89). In her network for field (Hasan, 1999 – see Figure 2), Hasan proposes four systems to describe the parameter of field: MATERIAL ACTION, VERBAL ACTION, SPHERE OF ACTION and ITERATION, the most detailed of which is the system of VERBAL ACTION. I will discuss this system last, since it holds particular significance for mapping the variation between these two instances of news reporting. From the system of MATERIAL ACTION, the option [non-present: absent][2] describes the context of news reporting. From the system of SPHERE OF ACTION, the primary distinction is between [specialised] and [quotidian]. Hasan notes that "As some actions appear more specialised than others, we are in fact talking about a continuum rather than a binary division" (1999: 297). From the consumer perspective, the consumption of 'hard news' is a quotidian activity, since news is designed for mass consumption. From the perspective of the producers, the activity is 'somewhat specialised'. There is still debate about the kind of education and training which the profession and industry require, and while journalism is now a university based course, training is still conducted 'in house' in at least some news organization (see e.g http://www.abc.net.au/rn/talks/8.30/mediarpt/stories/s991627.htm)[3].

A further argument that the activity ought to be considered specialised is that what can be published by a news organization is not unregulated. In Australia, for instance, legislation pertaining to defamation, privacy and an anti-terrorism bills all provide a

framework within which determinations about what can be published are made. In addition, the profession in many countries operates against the backdrop of professional codes of ethics (also discussed below in relation to tenor). Tracing "the rise of 'objective' newspaper reporting", Allen notes that "modern newspaper journalists have endeavoured to professionalize their methods of reporting over the years", a process through which some notion of 'objectivity' was linked to the role of journalists in promoting 'the public interest' (Allen, 2004: 7). This commitment to the public interest was part of a "shift from reporting as a provisional occupation like any other to a 'respectable, professional career'", which would legitimate claims for improved remuneration and working conditions (ibid: 21). The emergence of professional codes of ethics for journalists (note there appear to be none for newspaper owners) can be seen against this historical backdrop. While 'objectivity' and related terms (impartiality, bias, etc) remain problematic, nonetheless they imply a striving for professional methods, and provide a basis on which to argue that news production is a specialised activity.

Note also a tendency, for instance in the Australian media, towards topical specialisation. Thus, media organizations, such as the ABC, Fairfax, and News Ltd will now label their reporters as specialists in the reporting of particular content areas, such as urban affairs, medical stories, the environment, defence and national security, which suggests a further dimension of specialisation to the role of journalist.

[insert Figure 2 about here]

Figure 2 Network for field (Hasan, 1999: 311)

From the fourth system of Hasan's field network, ITERATION, the selection is [stop], to indicate that each of these texts instantiates a single social activity. There is no other simultaneous activity to be considered.

Let us consider now the most elaborated of the systems: that of VERBAL ACTION. The choices from the initial options in this system are self-evident: the context is one in which verbal action is [constitutive] rather than [ancillary] and [conceptual] rather than [practical], which brings us to the options in a further three simultaneous systems. From the choice of [relation based] and [reflection based], the term [reflection based] best accounts for the activity of news reporting. As Hasan notes, activities of this type "produce semiotic constructs such as explanations, generalisations, classifications and descriptions of phenomena in the world of experience and imagination" (ibid: 289). As such, reflection based activities "position the speaker as an observer vis a vis the already existing material and social world. This is perhaps one reason why [reflection based] action is often treated not as a creative action but as that of describing pre-existing phenomena" (ibid, 290). Hasan further notes that "…The ordinary perception of such activities is that they are "about" something which already exists and whose identity is independent of [reflection based] verbal action as such…as if the human intellect were a replicator of what is and language the device by which that which is can be expressed" (ibid).

The idea of [reflection based] activities positioning the speaker as an 'observer' has a particular resonance for journalists, since some have suggested that the role of the journalist is as the first witness to history (e.g. Fisk, 2005). And controversies around

issues of 'spin' and 'bias' – at their most intense in the context of the work of the media – indicate that the practice of journalism suffers from the perception Hasan describes, i.e. that the journalist is involved in the description of pre-existing phenomena. When a charge of 'bias' is made, the assumption is that a neutral account of some event was available, but not taken up in a particular instance. As Hasan also notes, what is at issue is a philosophical question with a long history, "the old reference/correspondence theory whereby language is just a mirror of pre-existing material/social realities" (1999: 290).

From the next system, the choice is between verbal action of a [first order] – the reconstrual of some set of events – and a [second order] activity, which depends "on the existence of a first order activity" (ibid: 293). A news story can be about some (set of) event(s), or about the discoursing on those events, or some combination of the two[4]. The option of [second order] opens up a further distinction between [reproductive] and [metadiscursive], which would distinguish news reporting which involves the reproduction of what has been said, from that which involves analysis or critique (ibid). Both news stories channel only official sources, although the _El Mundo_ text gives over more space proportionally to reproducing official commentary.

The final system elaborating the option [conceptual] involves in the first instance the choice of [informing] and [narrating]. This option distinguishes verbal action which construes "goings on perceived to be current at the time of speaking" – the choice of [informing] – from verbal actions which construe events in "time that has already been experienced" - the choice of [narrating] (ibid, 291). Ignoring material in direct

quotes – all of which is grounded in verbal processes located in the past - narrating dominates the two texts under discussion here, despite there being messages (Hasan, 1983) whose temporal orientation is not to time already experienced. Take for instance the following example, from the La Prensa text:

> 8_1 *La modesta ceremonia…tuvo lugar en una sala apartada de un edificio de la zone verde,* 8_3 *un área fortificada en el centro de Baghdad* 8_4 *que ahora se llamará zone internacional.* [The modest ceremony took place in a separate room in a building in the green zone, a fortified area in the centre of Baghdad that will now be called the international zone].

The main clause in this complex, 8_1, narrates a past event. Clause 8_3 involves concurrent time, while 8_4 projects a future state of affairs. Note that both clauses not referring to past events (8_3 and 8_4) are dependent clauses, of the elaborating kind (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). Towards the end of this news story there is a more extended use of non-past time – clause complexes 26-28, which describes future states of affairs. This does not undermine the overall consideration of the activity as [narrating], but can instead be accounted for in the more delicate options of the network (see below).

Note that while I have analysed the activity of news reporting as [narrating], this does not mean that events are detailed in chronological order. As has been noted elsewhere:

> "time in the 'hard' news account is typically represented in a non-linear manner. The account which respects a chronological ordering of the events it describes is a rare exception to a general rule which holds that 'effects' or 'outcomes' are

prioritised over 'causes'. 'Perceived news value', as Bell (1991: 153) writes, 'overturns temporal sequence and imposes an order completely at odds with linear narrative point. It moves backwards and forwards in time, picking out different actions on each cycle. " (Allen, 2004: 84).

From the selection [narrating], the distinction of [inventing] vs [recounting] is available. The relevant option at this point is [recounting]. From this option, a further more delicate set of distinctions open up – which, I will argue, are crucial to mapping the variation between different instances of the register of hard news reporting. First, the option of [personal], which is the entry point for two further systems: [self] vs [other], and [episode] vs [sequence]. The option [communal] is also the entry point for two additional systems: [immediate] vs [distant], and [narrow focus] vs [wide focus]. Let us characterize each of these distinctions, in order to consider their relevance to the genre of hard news reporting. Note that apart from [self] vs [other], all remaining options should be seen as continua, rather than categorical distinctions. To take the first distinction - [personal] vs [communal] - as an example, a unit such as 'family', or 'families' is clearly larger than an individual, but smaller than units like the residents of a town or city, or the people of a nation. The choice between [episode] and [sequence] captures the distinction between what can be characterised as a single event, or a series of "(chrono)logically related events" (Hasan, 1999: 295) – with a sequence presumably being two or more related events. In terms of more delicate options available from the choice [communal], the distinction between [immediate] and [distant] – relating to time – is also clinal. As is the choice of [narrow focus] vs

[wide focus], a distinction which could be useful in assessing the principles by which a journalist determines what might be relevant to reporting a story.

In relation to the two stories under discussion here, the selection, I believe, would be first of all [communal] rather than [personal]. While the stories involve recounting actions of individuals, they come to be part of the account because of the positions they hold representing different communities of people. The time reference is to [immediate] experience, since the events have happened with the previous 24 hours of the news report – although the sequence mentioned above in *La Prensa* which focuses on a future state of affairs suggests again a slightly broader temporal orientation than in the *El Mundo* piece. In relation to the option [narrow focus] vs [wide focus], I would argue that while both are focussed around a particular event, the *La Prensa* article has a slightly wider focus, in that a number of 'facts' not directly part of the ceremony are brought into the story. On the basis that the *La Prensa* story is less tied to the [immediate] timeframe, and less narrow in its focus, a number of 'facts' are considered as relevant to the story in *La Prensa*: the contrast, for instance, between the ceremony and the commentary on the ceremony, and the absence of celebrations in Baghdad; the violence and destruction of the war; the continued presence of 160 000 Coalition soldiers, and their immunity from prosecution under Iraqi law; the opening of the US embassy, which would be the largest US diplomatic mission outside Washington, the actions by US soldiers of pulling down barbed wire, interpreted as an attempt to rid Baghdad of some of the obvious signs of the 'occupation'.

Hasan's metaphor of focal width is useful here, as it helps unpack the distinctions between the two news reports. It is not simply that the _La Prensa_ article adds a few more 'facts' into the mix, but that it 'perceives' the events with a broader 'lens'. It thus construes the specific events of the 'handover' within a broader social context, a context which it is in fact simultaneously construing – through what it selects and how these facets of the context are presented and inter-related.

To summarize the discussion so far, it is important to note that it is in the conjunction of the various selections from the four systems of field that we can understand the activity of news reporting. Thus, the production of news is an activity in which material action is [non-present:absent]; verbal action is [constitutive: conceptual: narrating: recounting…with variation in the more delicate selections; reflection based; first and/or second order: productive and/or metadiscursive]; sphere of action is [specialised]; and iteration is [stop]. From the combination of [recounting] and [specialised] we can assume that, in principle, journalists and news organizations bring some degree of expertise to the process of reporting, including the skills of researching stories, checking facts, and providing sources and evidence for claims made. Clearly, different news organizations construct stories with different 'angles', and as I have suggested, this variation can be explained by the more delicate field options in the system of verbal action, as well as the degree to which individual news organizations treat the activity as specialised, and therefore, the degree to which they require specialised training, knowledge and skills of their journalists and production

staff. The contextual parameter of tenor needs also to be discussed to understand this variation.

(A) Tenor of 'hard news reporting'

As suggested early in this paper, the parameter of tenor has been modelled in different ways in the systemic functional linguistics tradition. A brief discussion of the model adopted in Martin, 1992, and elaborated in Martin and White, 2005, was described above. Here I will adopt the dimensions postulated in Hasan (in Halliday and Hasan 1985/89, Hasan 1999): AGENT ROLE, SOCIAL RELATION and SOCIAL DISTANCE, which in any case overlap with the dimensions of power and solidarity discussed earlier. AGENT ROLE refers to "the set of roles relevant to the unfolding of the activity" (Hasan, in Halliday and Hasan 1985/89: 57). In relation to the register under study here, the question is: who is involved in the production and consumption of news? Starting from the production end, journalists clearly have a central role, although they are part of a larger production process, which includes editorial, technical and management staff. Most journalists are "employees of large companies or corporations, the primary aim of which is to maximize the return to shareholders" (Richards, 2004: 119). Thus, for commercially based media outlets, news production is in the service of business. Attracting and keeping audiences is vital to the income derived from advertising and other commercial services run by media companies – the range of which, since the arrival of the internet, have greatly diversified. The reader is thus interacting with the journalist through the instance of news story, within the framework of the shape and constraints which the production process involve.

The biography of the news organization - including its history as a business, its ownership and political affiliations, its relations to other businesses – is likely to be relevant to understanding its orientation to the production of news. Not all such relevant information on news organizations is easily available, but it is possible to say something about the two news papers from which the sample articles are drawn have quite different histories as organizations. *El Mundo* – founded on October 23, 1989 by Alfonso de Salas, Pedro J. Ramírez, Balbino Fraga and Juan González - is Spain's second largest daily national newspaper (with a circulation of 350, 297 copies, according to *Wikipedia* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/El_Mundo_%28Spain%29, accessed July 1st, 2006), although in its online form, *El Mundo* is consistently the most read of the Spanish language newspapers (see http://www.infoamerica.org/ranking/ranking_nacionales.htm, accessed July 1st, 2006). Based on internet traffic measures, *El Mundo* has a reach of 2815 per million uses (figure based on three month average).

By contrast with the less than 20 years of publication of *El Mundo*, *La Prensa* has been publishing since 1869. (The paper includes a brief account of its history at http://www.laprensa.com.ar/institucional/historia.asp). Founded by José C. Paz, by 1936 it was, according to *Time* magazine, "the leading newspaper in South America…read throughout the continent" (Jul, 16th, 1936). The article continues:

> "Sternly independent, it truckles to no political party, even refuses to accept political advertising on the ground that if any politician is really as good as he claims, he is legitimate news and will be reported accordingly… Also *La Prensa* maintains free medical and surgical clinics for the poor, free legal service, and a

free three-year music school. Its building houses banquet rooms, lecture halls,

library, gymnasium. The Paz family likes to regard *La Prensa* as Argentina's

property, themselves as hired managers. " (ibid).

From 1951 to 1955, the newspaper was closed down by the Perón government

following criticism by the newspaper's editor, Alberto Gainza Paz, and the newspaper's

own history reports this as a '*golpe…casi fatal*' (near fatal blow). It goes on to say

"*sus lectores de siempre habían escogido otros medios y por la falsa acusación de*

elitista, La Prensa dejó de ser considerado el diario para todas las clases socials" [its

longtime readers had found other sources, and due to the false accusation of its being

elitist, *La Prensa* was no longer considered the newspaper of all social classes]. Its

digital reach is 9.35 per million users (based on a three month average) – so it has a

substantially smaller readership than *El Mundo*.

Thus, the individual journalist produces news within the context of his/her

organization, within the context of its business imperatives, with the size and 'type' of

audience in mind. At the same time, the role of journalist is imbued with certain social

and ethical expectations, with many countries having professional associations, which

have produced codes of ethical standards for the profession (see e.g.

http://www.alliance.org.au/hot/ethicscode.htm for the ethics code for Australian

journalists; http://www.caj.ca/principles/principles-statement-2002.htm for the

Canadian Association of Journalists Statement of Principles; . http://www.fopea.org/

for information on a draft blueprint for ethical guidelines for Argentinean journalists.

For an industry perspective, see the Statement of News Values and Principles by the

news agency The Associated Press,

http://www.ap.org/pages/about/whatsnew/wn_112905.html).

In such codes we find reference to 'truth', 'honesty', 'accuracy', 'impartiality', 'fairness' etc as principles underlying the role and responsibilities of journalists. As noted in the discussion of field, the emergence of a professional commitment to some notion of 'objectivity' has historical roots in the professionalization of journalism, as well as in certain technological developments, such as the invention of telegraph (Allen, 2004). In 1835, for instance, the _New York Herald_ was launched on a commitment "to record facts, on every public and proper subject, stripped of verbiage and coloring" (cited in Allen, 2004: 15, from Shi 1995: 95). Allen also suggests "the ascension of 'realism' in areas as diverse as science, architecture, literature and the fine arts, encourage journalists to strive even harder to present the information on their pages in the most literal way possible" (ibid).

In his history of the rise of the 'objective' style of newspaper reporting, Allen notes a further pressure – one perceived by editors and journalists to be coming from the growing readership of newspapers (ibid). The suggestion then is that what comes to be the style of 'hard news' reporting emerges under a number of pressures, but which include *both* the production and consumption side of the relationship. Allen's account would suggest that the style emerged in the context of conscious reflection by journalists, news organizations and readers about notions of 'objectivity' – or "facts…stripped of verbiage and colouring". Most likely such reflections would have been focused on the use of words and phrases amenable to conscious reflection, i.e.

the more overt choices which 'common sense' would dictate as carrying an obvious evaluation or personal judgement. This process may explain Martin and White's findings, from their corpus, of a probability approaching zero of the use of lexis which they code as 'judgement' in the appraisal networks.

The second of the dimensions of tenor to be discussed is that of SOCIAL RELATION. In the earlier discussion of mode I adopted Hasan's term 'virtual addressee' to describe the audience for news reporting. The news organization is of course intimately tied to the actual readers – the size of the audience is crucial to all media organizations, even publicly funded ones who do not rely on advertising. Consumers are in principle free to go to any source for their news. In terms of SOCIAL RELATION, this would suggest that the relationship of producer and consumer is hierarchic, with the customer having the power to give or withdraw his/her support. Yet this ignores a number of factors influencing how consumers access their news, such as the sources of news with which they have grown up, the power of advertising to attract consumers, and finally, the implications of media ownership for the range of alternative construals of media events. A study by a *Guardian* journalist found that the editorial position of all 175 newspapers owned by Rupert Murdoch supported the invasion of Iraq (cited in Manne, 2005: 222). Murdoch publicly supported the war, commenting to an ABC journalist at a shareholders' meeting that "With our newspapers we have indeed supported Bush's foreign policy. And we remain committed that way" (ibid).

In this light, it would seem problematic to attribute to readers the free will to choose how they access their news. Instead, news providers have the capacity to shape how

their readers/viewers/listeners perceive and evaluate a set of events – as do those involved in shaping the available interpretations of a set of events, i.e. media spokespeople for government and business. This claim also has implications for interpreting the contextual dimension of SOCIAL DISTANCE – the degree to which the interactants know each other, and through what kinds of social interactions. In relating to a 'virtual addressee', it would seem logical to analyse the social distance as 'near maximal'. But the news organization strives to 'know' their audience – not as individuals, but as a market, and therefore to understand some of the characteristics of their audience as a group. Decisions about how the news is presented – what stories selected, what knowledge can be assumed, what 'angle' to take on a story – are decisions made in the context of the process of developing a relationship with an audience.

The two instances of news reporting considered here exemplify some of these issues. The fact that they construct their reports differently confirms that the process of producing news involves selecting and shaping events, within typically invisible principles about 'news values' and 'relevance', including issues of what readers already know, and what they need to know. One crucial difference between the two stories being studied here is that the _El Mundo_ story offers an interpretation which gives greater validation to the 'handover' and to the new interim government than the _El Prensa_ story, in which the validity of the process is called into question. As noted earlier, the headline alone signals this difference – but there are persistent selections across the two texts which provide further evidence. _La Prensa_, for instance, refers to

the 'occupation', and tends to give agency to the US in the process: e.g. *Estados Unidos entregó con sordina y casi a escondidas el gobierno civil a los iraquíes* [the United States, surreptitiously and almost in secret handed over civil government to Iraqis]; *el administrador civil norteamericano Paul Bremer entregó al presidente de la Corte Suprema iraquí, Medhat Al Mahmoud, una carpeta con la declaración de traspaso de la soberanía al gobierno transitorio* [the US civil administrator, Paul Bremer handed over to the Iraqi Chief Justice, Midhat Al-Mahmodi, the official declaration of the transfer of sovereignty to the interim government]. *El Mundo*, by contrast, refers to 'the war', and gives agency to Iraq and the new government e.g. *Irak ha recuperado su soberanía un año y tres meses después del comienzo de la Guerra* [Iraq has regained its sovereignty one year and three months after the start of the war.]; *Un intercambio de documentos entre el administrador estadounidense, Paul Bremer, y el primer ministro iraquí, Iyad Alaui, ha completado el traspaso de poder* [An exchange of documents between the US administrator, Paul Bremer, and the Iraqi Prime Minister, Iyad Alawi has completed the transfer of power]. While these are experiential differences, they clearly suggest the two stories construct the events in distinct ways – and thus have different 'virtual addressees' in their sights. This is also evidence of the variation in 'texture' which different instances of the same register will instantiate.

Interestingly, in each of the three dimensions of tenor considered here – AGENT ROLE, SOCIAL RELATION and SOCIAL DISTANCE – the interactant relation in the producing and consuming of news seems less than straightforward. In terms of AGENT ROLE, the

relationship is one which involves more than the reader and the journalist – since the journalist produces stories within the framework of a complex production process where issues of media ownership and business imperatives come into play. While consumers are in principle free to choose where they get their news – and audiences certainly do move around – news producers and media owners have considerable power in the selection and shaping of what constitutes 'news. In terms of the SOCIAL RELATION, there is no simple answer to the question of where power lies. Even in this era of unprecedented media concentration – with the rise of News Ltd – there is simultaneously a proliferation of alternative news sources available on the internet. And in the question of SOCIAL DISTANCE, while typically the individuals involved are not personally known to each other, readers come to 'know' journalists or news presenters, as professionals or personalities, if they regularly source their news from a particular news organization, at the same time that news organizations seek to develop an 'outline' or 'stereotype' of their audience.

(A) Summary of contextual analysis

I hope this discussion so far is evidence for the earlier claims that the registral consistency, and well as the variation between these two texts, is best explained on the basis of the consideration of the three contextual parameters – and their interaction. In addition, there seems to be a good case for Hasan's claim that variation within a register is seen in the texture, and that this variation is explained by more delicate options within the descriptions of the contextual parameters. There is finally the matter of the structure of news reports. Hasan claims "it is the specific features of a

[contextual configuration] – the values of the variables – that permit statements about the text's structure" (Hasan, in Halliday and Hasan 1985/98: 56), and that it is the features at the less delicate end of the network that will explain text structure.

This does not mean that each instance of a register displays the same structure: rather, each instance of a registral variety instantiates the 'generic structure potential' for that register (1994: 143, see also Hasan, 1978, 1979, Halliday and Hasan 1985/89). Stating the GSP for a register involves determining what elements must occur, what elements are optional, what elements may occur more than once, and the ordering of elements, whether fixed or variable (Hasan, in Halliday and Hasan 1985/89). Making a case for the GSP of the 'hard news story' involves analysis beyond the scope of this paper, and would require a basis in considerably more data than is being presented here. But I would suggest that the description above of the contextual variables for hard news reporting allow some tentative comments on the relationship of the contextual configuration to text structure.

Existing descriptions of the structure of news stories include the 'inverted pyramid' model, which describes a structure in which there is an initial element known as the 'lead', followed by a sequence of 'lead developments'. The lead is said to carry a distillation of what are considered the most significant aspects of the story, and is the 'dramatic focus of the event' (Iedema, et al., section 3.3). In the 'lead development', the information presented in the lead element is elaborated (ibid). Iedema et al. develop this model and suggest the terms 'nucleus' (which includes the headline for

print stories, plus the lead element), and then 'satellites' for each of the succeeding

elements considered to be 'expanding' the information in the Nucleus (ibid: 104).

The imperative to attract and keep audiences provides a rationale for proposing the

'lead' element, the function of which is to "provid[e] a summary or abstract of the

account's essential 'peg' or 'hook' which projects, in turn, 'the story' in a particular

direction or angle" (Allen, 2004: 83). The *La Prensa* text includes a summary, which

begins before the headline, and extends past the headline, with the 'text proper'

beginning with the dateline 'Baghdad'. The *El Mundo* text also includes a brief

summary, just prior to the headline.

This lead element is followed by an account of a selection of the events making up the

'macro-event' of Iraq regaining (partial) sovereignty. As suggested in the field

analysis, the activity involves the [narrating] of a selection of events, although not in

chronological order – and the selection, ordering and 'angle' on events is a function of

tenor, i.e. a function of the theory of the kind of 'virtual addressee' the news

organization attracts. These events are elaborated with more detailed information, or

validated by reference to evidence or supporting commentary from sources considered

significant enough to feature in these accounts. The function of validating claims

about the events is a function of field, in particular, that the activity is given as

[specialised]. This does not mean each and every claim is supported, sourced or

validated in every news article. News organizations will vary along this dimension,

depending on the perception of 'relevance' of the story, and thus the kind of resources

committed to covering it. Edward Said, writing of the hostage crisis in Teheran in

1979, noted that, among the 300 international reporters in the city during the first days of the crisis, not one spoke Persian and thus "it was no wonder that all the media reports coming out of Iran repeated essentially the same threadbare accounts of what was taking place" (1981: xii).

(A) Concluding remarks

It seems curious in my view that in the proposal of journalistic voices, the question of the kinds of social context enacted through media discourse is not considered relevant, except to the degree that assumptions about the context may be made on the basis of appraisal selections. Analysis of journalistic voice does not explore the social contexts of media discourse, but is instead interested in some kind of 'supra-contextual' phenomenon, which either cannot or needs no grounding in accounts of registral variation. The proposal is not completely blind to the other contextual variables: by focusing on 'broadsheet' press, mode is constant. The significance of field is gestured at by the comment that reporter voice "operates more frequently in certain journalistic domains than in others – for example it typically operates in police-rounds and court reporting but significantly less frequently in the context of political coverage" 2004: 119), although this is hardly a serious account of field. I would also claim the significance for tenor of the voice differentiation is surprisingly under-specified, given the interpersonal orientation of the model. While my own investigation is hampered by a lack of work on the mapping of field tenor and mode in systemic terms, I believe the analysis provides evidence for Hasan's claim that a register is constant with respect to structure, and variable with respect to texture. The

extension of paradigmatic descriptions of the contextual variables, along the lines

proposed in Hasan 1999 for field, will enable us to describe the features from which

the constancy and the variation of the registers of news and current affairs derive.

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Endnotes

1 At the time of writing (mid2007), Iraq remained an occupied country, and issues of

'sovereignty' continued to be much contested [see for instance "Majority of

lawmakers now reject occupation", published at the online site alternet:

http://www.alternet.org/waroniraq/51624/].

2 Single square brackets are the conventional notation to refer to features of system

networks.

3 In Australia, two major news organizations, Fairfax and News Ltd, have their own

industry based training programmes. Fairfax training editor Kate Bice noted that

between 1997 and 2003 only about 50% of those accepted into the training programme

had either undergraduate or postgraduate qualifications in journalisms – others had

university training in other areas, or work experience in other fields. (see

http://www.abc.net.au/rn/talks/8.30/mediarpt/stories/s991627.htm)

4 Note Hasan's network only allows for an 'either/or' option in relation to a single

context of situation. I am suggesting news stories are often both, and the network would

need reworking to reflect this option.

Chapter 8

Reporting bloodshed in Thai newspapers: a comparative case study of English and Thai

John S. Knox

Department of Linguistics

Macquarie University

Pattama Patpong

Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development

Mahidol University

Introduction [LEVEL A HEADING - JK]

On October 25, 2004, a group of people gathered in Tak Bai in Southern Thailand to protest the arrest of six men. A conflict ensued between Thai protesters on one side, and Thai armed forces (comprising members of the police, the army, and the marines) on the other. Six protesters were shot dead by the armed forces. Approximately 50 people were injured, a number of these (including 2 members of the armed forces) wounded by gun fire. Approximately 1,300 protesters were arrested and transported to an army camp. During the journey, 78 of these protesters died of suffocation.

     This article examines two newspaper reports of the protest and the deaths of the first six protesters. These reports were published on October 26, 2004, and

retrieved from the archives of 2 online Thai daily newspapers: the Thairath (Thai language) and The Nation (English-language)[12]. The reports are compared in terms of the way they construe the 'same' event in different languages, and from different ideological positions.

Specifically, this article compares the stories from two analytical perspectives. The first is the rhetorical structure of the two stories, drawing on genre theory as developed in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (see Chapter 1, this volume). Each news story is organised differently. The second is the evaluation of events and actors in the stories, drawing on appraisal theory as developed in SFL. Each story reflects a different 'taken-for-granted' reading position, and demonstrates systematic selection of a sub-set of the total range of evaluative meanings available to the authors. In particular, the sub-systems of **engagement** (as realised through **projection**) and **judgement** are examined in this article.

By investigating the ways in which the 'same' events are construed differently, the ideological position of each institutional author, and the ways in which they are realised in different languages (Thai and English) can be unpacked. In taking this approach, we intend to raise questions about the analysis of media discourse across languages and of the Thai media in particular, and also about the application of Systemic Functional Linguistics to the analysis of Thai more broadly.

Researching the Thai media [LEVEL A HEADING - JK]

There is a well-established body of literature which uses the tools of Systemic Functional Linguistics to critically analyse English-language media texts (e.g. Butt <u>et al.</u>, 2004; Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1991; Iedema <u>et al.</u>, 1994; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1998; Macken-Horarik, 2003; Moore, 2006; van Leeuwen, 1987; White 1997, 2003). However, there have been only a few studies of the Thai media from a Systemic-Functional perspective (Knox, 2007; Patpong, 2005, 2006a), and these have not investigated the rhetorical structure of news stories, nor the use of evaluative language and appraisal.

Moving beyond studies informed by Systemic Functional Linguistics, research involving the Thai media has been undertaken from a range of perspectives. A number of studies examine the representation of different social groups in the Thai media, according to gender (Mukda-anan <u>et al.</u>, 2006; Sinnott, 2000), social class (Chalermsripinyorat, 2004; Ockey, 2001), and Thai national identity (Hamilton, 2002; Lewis, 2002; Reynolds, 2002), and the representation of the European Union has also been studied (Chaban <u>et al.</u>, 2004; Chaban and Holland, 2005). However, none of these studies are based on a thorough linguistic analysis of media texts. Other social and historical studies of Thailand refer to the media's role in politics and vice versa (e.g. Bhumiprabha <u>et al.</u>, 2005; McCargo and Pathmanand, 2005; Phongpaichit and Baker, 1996, 2002, 2004), but do not look in any detail at the practices of news gathering and reporting.

There are also studies which focus more closely on the institution of the media itself. Ekachai (2000) and Mongkonsiri (2003) profile the mass media in Thailand, providing useful discussion and data on the media industry (including newspapers) and on the use of the internet as a news medium (including online newspapers) respectively.

Other work has taken a more overtly social, cultural, and political perspective on the fourth estate in Thailand. McCargo (2002) looks at a number of important media stories in Thailand in the 1990s. His focus is on the relationship between local and foreign media in Thailand. Importantly for this chapter, he argues convincingly that the Thai press is 'an extremely partisan political actor, pursuing agendas of its own based largely on personal ties and connections' (pp. 32-3). Lewis (2006) examines the Thai media in comparison with those of Malaysia and Singapore, focussing on the media's role in cultural politics. He cites the events of Tak Bai on October 25, 2004 as an example of the Thai media's 'paradoxical ability instantly to communicate events and its inability to adequately explain them' (ibid., p. 175), and demonstrates how public sentiment was unlikely to be supportive of the protesters at Tak Bai, partly because of the historical division between Thailand's south and the centre; partly because of the Thai government's reaction to the events of September 11, 2001 in the U.S.A.; and partly because of the impact of the Tak Bai events on everyday life in the South and on the economically vital tourism industry there (see

pp. 136-145). 'Despite the widespread anxieties expressed about the south by some Thais and the king and the queen, most supported Thaksin's tough stand [on Tak Bai]' (p. 175).

In his book-length examination of institutional news practices in Thai newspapers, McCargo (2000) looks in detail at the practices of gathering and reporting political news. Based in part on an in-depth study of the <u>Thairath</u>, he argues that a number of dichotomies exist in the institutions of Thai-language newspapers. One is a divide between opinionated political 'commentary' and quotation-based news reports such as the one analysed here. There is also a divide between senior, powerful commentators who work physically inside the news institution and who are 'insiders' to the Thai political system on one hand, and junior, relatively powerless reporters who work physically outside the building gathering news and are 'out of the loop' and 'outsiders' to the political system on the other. The institutional structure that this division of labour represents and its relation to text structure is discussed at length in subsequent sections of this chapter. Finally, McCargo indicates a Bangkok-centric emphasis in political news supported by a concentration of resources, versus a poor coverage of politics outside the 'centre' which is provided by marginalised and vunerable stringers, except in exceptional stories (see also Chalermsripinyorat, 2004). The story analysed in this paper is one such exceptional story.

Such oppositions are not atypical in media institutions around the world, but their particular manifestation in Thailand leads to a situation where political news consists of:

> literal descriptions of actual events, plus the statements of people involved. The majority of the text in political news stories comprises direct or indirect quotations. ... Most political reporters are not employed to gather information so much as to collect quotations. (McCargo, 2000, p. 33)

This description suggests an overall lack of structure in Thai newspaper stories. The analysis we present in later sections of this chapter, however, suggests that Thai political news stories do have an identifiable structure which reflects the institutional structures and reporting practices McCargo describes.

In concluding this section, it is important to note also that the first SFL descriptions of Thai have only recently emerged (Patpong, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2006b, 2006c; see also Terayu et al., 2006; Vail, forthcoming). One of the aims of this chapter, then, is to bring the strands of research discussed in this section (critical media studies drawing on SFL; studies of Thai media and newspapers in particular; and SFL descriptions of Thai) together, and indicate directions for further studies into the Thai media from a Systemic-Functional perspective.

The context [LEVEL A HEADING - JK]

The South of Thailand is in many ways distinct from the rest of the nation. Geographically, Southern Thailand runs down the narrow Isthmus of Kra which connects the Malay Peninsular to mainland Asia. It shares borders with Burma and Malaysia, and is dominated by coastline, mountains, and islands. Industries include fishing, rubber, tapioca, and more recently tourism (and the land speculation and 'development' which accompany it - see Ekachai, 1990; Ing K, 1991; Sittirak, 1996).

Ethnically, a large portion of Southern Thais are Malay, and the southern dialect, or <u>pasaa paktai</u> is distinct from (though related to) the standard dialect, or central Thai. Other languages (including Yawee - known as Pattani Malay - and different dialects of Chinese) are spoken in different areas of the southern provinces of Yala, Pattani, Narathiwat, and Satun. Thailand is a predominately Buddhist country, and most of the kingdom's Muslims (approximately 4-8% of the total population) live in the South (Lewis, 2006, p. 139).

There is a dedicated separatist movement in Southern Thailand, the roots of which can be traced back to disputes over territory between Siam and Malay sultanates in the late eighteenth century. Since the 1950s, this separatist movement has waxed, waned, and suffered differently under different governments.

In January and April 2004, there were co-ordinated attacks by separatists on schools, police outposts, a police station and a military armoury. Guns were stolen, and soldiers and Buddhist monks were killed. In the April attack, 107 separatist 'militants' were also killed, 30 in an historic mosque which was laid siege by Thai armed forces. The government of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra subsequently set up, and armed village defence volunteer units, and in October 2004, six guns from one of these units ended up in the hands of separatists. Six volunteers were arrested in relation to this. According to their initial statements the guns were stolen, but under interrogation their statements were changed, and the guns were said to have been handed over to separatists.

It was the arrest of these six volunteers that led to the protest at Tak Bai on October 25, 2004, in and after which 84 people lost their lives. These events came to be known as the Tak Bai massacre.

The <u>Thairath</u> [LEVEL A HEADING - JK]

The <u>Thairath</u> has a daily circulation of 1,000,000 copies (the largest in Thailand), and a claimed daily readership of 25,000,000. It can be found all day every day in street-side restaurants and food stalls all over Thailand as 'shared property', and plays a fundamental role in private and public discourse and daily interaction at all levels of Thai society (see McCargo, 2000, p. 2; National Centre for Research on Europe, 2005). At face value, the <u>Thairath</u> is tabloid in style, but it also includes informed and

sophisticated commentary on political and social issues from a range of perspectives, contributing to its broad appeal across social classes.

The newspaper was founded in 1962 (Ekachai, 2000, p. 441), while the online version of the newspaper <http://www.thairath.co.th> began in 1991 (Mongkonsiri, 2003). In terms of readership, the online version of the Thairath has nothing even approaching that of the hardcopy version of the paper, with Mongkonsiri (2003) reporting a figure of 5-6,000,000 internet users in Thailand in total.

Before turning to an analysis of the news story, it is informative to give some background to the process of its production. At the Thairath, up to twelve political reporters might be sending in dispatches, with a political rewriter compiling and integrating them (sometimes with other material) into a story. The front page editor supervises the work of the political rewriters, and the editor-in-chief in turn supervises the decisions of the front-page editor, ensuring that the wishes of the newspaper's owners are put into practice (McCargo, 2000, pp. 38-42). Thus, each story is an artefact of a long process of news production which incorporates shared authorship and editorial supervision, the location of wide-ranging source material, and synthesizing and writing the material from a large number of sources and reporters into a coherent text, all compounded by the urgency of the deadlines under which newspaper authors operate (cf. Bell, 1991, pp. 38ff.).

Thairath: Rhetorical structure [LEVEL B HEADING - JK]

The Thairath's report of the Tak Bai events consists of 23 paragraphs, [2]and includes four images (each with a caption) spread evenly throughout the text. It is headed by a headline in red font, followed by an introductory passage partly in bold type. There is no byline, and though journalists are explicitly attributed in the text of the story, there is no identification of them as individuals (i.e. they are identified as 'reporters' or 'journalists' - see following sections for further discussion).

On the basis of our analysis of this text, and our reading and less-detailed analyses of other news stories in the Thairath and other Thai-language dailies, we propose a rhetorical structure of the Thairath's Tak Bai story consisting of four separate stages: Highlight, Antecedent, Report, and Reaction. The linguistic features of these stages are described below, and the overall structure of the Thairath text is depicted visually in Figure 1. Extracts from our translation of the text are shown in Figure 2.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Figure 1: Rhetorical structure of the Thairath story

[INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE]

Figure 2: Translated extracts from the Thairath story illustrating the rhetorical structure

[NOTE: IF POSSIBLE, FIGURES 1 & 2 SHOULD EACH BE FULL-PAGE AND

PLACED ON FACING PAGES]

We analyse the headline and four images as functioning together as the

Highlight of the story, which in this case is the outbreak of violence and the

suppression of protesters by the armed forces. The Highlight, which gives the focal

point of the story and indicates its social significance, can be identified verbally by

the use of headline language, including such lexicogrammatical features as the use of

incomplete clauses, omission of Subject, omission of Predicator, omission of

classifier noun particles, omission of prepositions, use of abbreviations, and the use of

informal language and slang (see Table 1). Visually, the headline is in bold red font

and in a larger font size than the remainder of the story, and appears above and

slightly apart from the remainder of the story.

Feature	Example	Would otherwise read ... (changes underlined in Thai text)
omission of Subject	สยบม็อบ [squash 'mob']	ทหารและตำรวจสยบม็อบ [soldiers and police squash 'mob']
omission of nominal classifier particle	ตาย 6 [die 6] เจ็บครึ่งร้อย [hurt half-hundred]	ตาย 6 คน [die 6 CLASSIFIER] เจ็บครึ่งร้อยคน [hurt half-hundred CLASSIFIER]
partial omission of Predicator	เจ็บครึ่งร้อย [hurt half-hundred]	บาดเจ็บครึ่งร้อย [hurt half-hundred]

total omission of Predicator	'เคอร์ฟิว' 8อภ.ใต้ ['curfew' 8 amphur South]	<u>ประกาศ</u>'เคอร์ฟิว' 8อภ.ใต้ [<u>announce</u> 'curfew' 8 amphur South]
omission of preposition	'เคอร์ฟิว' 8อภ.ใต้ ['curfew' 8 amphur South]	'เคอร์ฟิว' <u>ใน</u> 8อภ.ใต้ ['curfew' <u>in</u> 8 amphur South]
omission of Head in nominal group	'เคอร์ฟิว' 8อภ.ใต้ ['curfew' 8 amphur South]	'เคอร์ฟิว' <u>พื้นที่</u> 8อภ.ใต้ ['curfew' <u>area of</u> 8 amphur South]
abbreviations	อภ. [<u>amphur</u>]	<u>อำเภอ</u> [<u>amphur</u>]
use of slang	<u>สยบม็อบ</u> [<u>squash</u> 'mob']	<u>สลายกลุ่มผู้ชุมนุม</u> [<u>disperse protest</u>]
use of informal language	<u>ตาย</u> [<u>die</u> - informal]	<u>เสียชีวิต</u> [<u>lose life</u> - formal]

Table 1: Some lexicogrammatical features of Thai headlines

In this story, each of the four images depicts the events referred to in the headline[3], and they are spaced so that as one disappears from the scrolling computer screen, another appears. This prosodic repetition serves to reiterate the Highlight, and maintain a sense of the importance of the event regardless of the verbiage at any given point (the third and fourth images are not directly related to the text in the paragraph with which they appear). We interpret this as a means by which the newspaper can exploit the online medium and the visual modality to maintain the interpersonal impact of the Highlight throughout the long text, even though the reader has scrolled beyond the headline.

The first paragraph gives background information to the event, and functions as an Antecedent. The Antecedent functions to give information about events or

circumstances which precede the events reported in the main report, thus giving some

background to the story, and appears to be a common stage in Thai-language news

stories. Linguistically, the Antecedent has no attribution. It is presented as factual,

contains general background information, and in this case serves also to contextualise

the focus of the story. The events of the Antecedent are explicitly located in the past

(คืนวันที่ 12 ต.ค.ที่ผ่านมา [on the night of 12th October past]), differentiating this

stage of the text from others temporally. Additionally, the Antecedent is ended by the

demonstrative pronoun 'นั้น' [that or those], functioning as homophoric reference to

shared knowledge among the writers and readers of the newspaper - i.e. 'those

holding cells we all know about'. The Antecedent is most likely written by a rewriter,

or in very important stories by an editor. The significance of the 'factual' status of the

Antecedent in positioning the reader is discussed in the Appraisal analysis below.

The remainder of the story is composed of stages we have identified as

Reports and Reactions. Reports give an account (and may include explanations) of

events based on the observations and investigations of journalists 'in the field'. In

transitivity terms, Reports commonly feature verbal-process clauses where the Sayers

are journalists, as in the following examples.

- Report: verbal processes

    o Report 1: ผู้สื่อข่าวรายงาน [reporter report]

    o Report 2: ผู้สื่อข่าวรายงานเพิ่มเติม [journalist report extra more]

- o Report 4: ผู้สื่อข่าว จ.ปัตตานี รายงาน [journalist Province Pattani

  report]

Such verbal process clauses are often the first clause of the Report stage. In addition,

Reports can also feature existential processes, where the reporters are not identified as

in the following examples.

- Report: existential processes

  - o Report 1: ขณะเดียวกันมีรายงาน [In the meantime, there was a report]

  - o Report 5: ล่าสุดมีรายงาน [finally, there was a report]

In some cases, Reports are not attributed at all.

- Report: no attribution

  - o Report 3 (paragraph 18)

This use of projection in Reports means that the voice of the reporters and that of the

institution of the newspaper is often blurred. Paragraph II, for example, begins with

the projection 'ผู้สื่อข่าวรายงาน' [reporter report]. Paragraph III continues this

passage of text, yet begins with 'ต่อมาเวลา 10.00 น.' [later time 10.00am], so the

voice of the journalist and that of the newspaper becomes difficult to distinguish. The

evaluative significance of this is discussed in the appraisal analysis below.

Reports may or may not be followed by one or more Reactions. Reactions are, essentially, what persons have to say about the events in Reports. Reactions generally consist of long direct or indirect quotes. The persons quoted in Reactions in this story are all phuu yai (important social actors who have a relatively high level of power in a given social situation) who are authorised to act on the incident, rather than bystanders or witnesses: this is a common feature of Thai political news stories (see McCargo, 2000). The function of Reactions is to give voice to particular social actors - typically phuu yai - and to identify their position on matters, so these important social actors are explictly attributed in Reactions.

Attribution in Reactions is generally done in a very straightforward manner with a reporting verb with a single authorised Sayer, as the following examples indicate:

- Reaction 1.1 (paragraphs 9-11): **โดยแม่ทัพภาคที่ 4 ระบุ** [by Commander Division number 4 state]

- Reaction 1.4 (paragraph 15): **พล.ต.ท.วงกตกล่าว** [Pol Lt Gen Wonggot say]

- Reaction 1.5 (paragraphs 16-17): **โดยพ.ต.ท.ทักษิณเปิดเผย** [by Pol Lt Col Thaksin reveal]

- Reaction 3.1 (paragraph 19): **พล.ท.พิศาลกล่าวถึงการประชุม** [Lt Gen Pisarn say about meeting].

Additionally, the Sayer may be a group of prominent persons as in the following example:

- Reaction 1.1 (paragraphs 9-11): พล.ท.พิศาล พร้อม ด้วย นายวิชม ทองสงค์ ผวจ.นราธิวาส พล.ต.ท.มาโนช ไกรวงศ์ ผบช.ภ.9 น.อ.ไตรขวัญ ไกรฤกษ์ผบ.ฉก.นย. นราธิวาสร่วมกัน แถลงข่าวชี้แจง ถึงการใช้กำลังเข้าสลายการชุมนุมประท้วงในครั้งนี้ [Lieutenant General Pisarn together with Mr Wichom Thongsong, Governor of Narathiwat, Police Lieutenant General Manote Graiwong, 9th police region commander, and Group Captain Traiswan Kraitrok, Narathiwat marine corps special unit commander called a news conference to explain the use of force in the protest]

In the story analysed here, Report 1 (being an exceptional event of very high national importance) has five Reactions: two from the military commander in charge of the suppression, two from high-ranking police officers (the Deputy Chief of Police in Bangkok, and the Assistant Chief of Police on the scene), and one from the Prime Minister. As Figure 1 (above) indicates, Reports 2, 3, and 5 each have one Reaction (from the military commander, the head of the military, and a police officer respectively). Report 4 has no Reaction, suggesting that Reports may be an obligatory element in Thai-language newspaper stories, and Reactions may be optional.

In terms of the ordering of elements of the text, Report 2 and its Reaction (both in the same paragraph) come after Reaction 1.2, but before Reactions 1.3, 1.4, and 1.5. This disjunction reflects the long, complex, and pressured process of sourcing, compiling and constructing the text as described in the previous section. In an ideal world, Reactions would always immediately follow the Reports with which they are associated, but newspaper reporting is far from an ideal world.

In summary, the Thairath story analysed here has a rhetorical structure beginning with a Highlight, followed by an Antecedent, and then followed by a series of Reports, some of which have Reactions attached to them. This structure is consistent with the description of Thai-language political news reports given by McCargo (2000), and is also consistent with a number of other news stories we have examined in less detail in the course of this research.[4] Even so, this description applies only to a single text, and we have not yet examined a large enough corpus of texts in sufficient detail to enable us to make broader claims. We have yet to determine whether, for example, this story is typical of other political stories based on more verbal events (e.g. political debates, proposed policy, social disagreements between politicians), nor how much it does or does not have in common with reports of other violent events (such as car accidents and violent crimes) which happen outside the sphere of politics.

We present the organisational pattern we have identified here, and represented in a more generic format in Figure 3, as a tentative model for describing at least one genre of Thai-language news stories. This model represents a hypothesis to be confirmed, modified, or rejected on the basis of further research.

[INSERT FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE]

Figure 3: Hypothesized model of one Thai-language 'hard-news' genre

<u>Thairath: Appraisal</u> [LEVEL B HEADING - JK]

We focus on two areas of appraisal in analysing the two texts: **engagement** and **judgement** (see Chapter 1 for a more detailed discussion than can be provided here).

The system of **engagement** is concerned with the use of linguistic resources to 'position the speaker/writer with respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to potential responses to that value position' (Martin and White, 2005, p. 36). Here, we focus in particular on engagement as realised through the grammatical system of **projection** in Thai, which involves the grammar of reported speech and thought (see Martin and Rose, 2003).[5] So when, for example, the <u>Thairath</u> tells us that the six village defence volunteers '**อ้าง**' [<u>alleged</u>] that their guns were stolen (clause 8), but that an investigation 'พบ' [<u>found</u>] that the weapons were handed over (clause 10), it introduces two voices (that of the village defence volunteers in the first instance, and of the investigation in the second) in addition to the authorial voice. Not

only this, but it evaluates each, so that the Thairath aligns itself with the investigation, and disassociates itself from the six arrested.

Simultaneously, the system of **judgement** is concerned with the expression of 'attitudes to people and how they behave' (Martin & White, 2005, p. 52). So when 'ringleaders' are cited as saying 'คนร้ายเข้ามาปล้นปืนไป' [evil people stole the guns] (paragraph 15), there is an explicit negative evaluation of the people who stole the guns (i.e. the lexical item 'ร้าย' - evil). This kind of explicit evaluation is **inscribed Judgement**.

Judgements of behaviour can also be made implicitly, and these are positive or negative based on the value system set up within a text, and on the reading position taken by the reader. So when the Thairath describes the six accused villagers as 'ถูก ตำรวจ เค้นสอบอย่างหนัก' [undergoing intensive police interrogation] (paragraph 4) for example, there is no overt lexical indication of how this police behaviour should be evaluated: some readers may see it as negative (as intimidation or violence forcing a 'false confession', for example), and some as positive (as the use of legitimate force to bring criminals to justice). Such **invoked Judgement** needs to be analysed in relation to the patterns of evaluation across a text which together 'establish the tone or mood of a passage of discourse, as choices resonate with one another from one moment to another as text unfolds' (Martin and Rose, 2003, p. 54; see Martin and White, 2005, p. 62).

In the Thairath account of the Tak Bai massacre, the resources of engagement and judgement contribute to naturalising a reading position[6] where the protest is seen as illegitimate, illegal, and violent, and the authorities as acting properly and lawfully, and being forced into action. Because of the Highlight^Antecedent^Report^Reaction rhetorical organisation, the use of engagement is crucial: one of the key linguistic devices used to manage information in the text is the use of different voices (e.g. the voice of the Thairath, the voices of journalists projected in Reports, the voices of phuu yai - important social actors - projected in Reactions). Also due to this rhetorical structure, the use of judgement (particularly in the Highlight, the Antecedent and the first Report) is crucial in this text in establishing the 'stance' or 'voice' of the newspaper towards the Tak Bai events (see Martin and Rose, 2003, p. 54ff.).

The use of 'อ้าง' [alleged] and 'พบ' [found] (paragraph 1) as discussed above occurs in the Antecedent, which is one of the few parts of the text where the voice is unequivocally that of the Thairath. The Antecedent is presented as 'factual' background to the story against which the events (and reactions to them) are set. There are three instances of projection in the Antecedent stage of the text, the two already mentioned and another of the voice of the six accused villagers. There are a further two instances in the story where the voice of the six accused is projected (both in the first Report). A summary of the analysis of the projection of the voice of the six accused and the police investigation is presented in Table 2 below.

Speaker	Engagement	Appraiser	Text	Translation	Stage of Text	Clause
6 accused	disassociation	<u>Thairath</u>	อ้าง	allege	Antecedent	8
investigation	alignment	<u>Thairath</u>	พบ	find	Antecedent	10
6 accused	disassociation	<u>Thairath</u>	อ้าง	allege	Antecedent	13
6 accused	disassociation	reporter / <u>Thairath</u>	อ้าง	allege	Report 1	43
6 accused	alignment	reporter / <u>Thairath</u>	ยอมรับ สารภาพ	confess	Report 1	46

Table 2: Projection and engagement in the <u>Thairath</u>: The accused and the

investigation

In these early stages of the story, the <u>Thairath</u> positions the protest as

illegitimate, and one of the ways it does so is by contrasting the 'findings' of the

investigation with the 'allegations' of the six arrested, thus aligning the authorial

voice with the voice of the investigation, and overtly disassociating the authorial

voice from the voice of the six accused village defence volunteers. Table 2 shows that

of the four appearances in the text of the voice of the six accused village defence

volunteers, the <u>Thairath</u> disassociates itself from their voice three times. The one time

their voice is aligned with the authorial voice is their confession, where the reporting

verb signifies an admission of guilt on the part of the accused:

จนยอมรับ สารภาพ ว่า ได้มอบ อาวุธปืน ให้ กับกลุ่มโจร ไป

[they confessed that they had provided the bandit group with the guns]

(Thairath, paragraph 1).

Clearly, the Thairath aligns itself with one of the two versions of events presented: namely, that the suspects handed the guns to the bandits and therefore broke the law and were justifiably arrested.

The projection of the protesters' voices in the first Report shows a more subtle pattern. The authorial voice is disassociated from the voice of the protesters in only one of the six instances where their voices appear, as indicated in Table 3. What is interesting in this stage of the text is the use of the appraisal system of **graduation** to 'scale up' the intensity of the protesters' voices (see Martin and White, 2005, pp. 135-6). This interacts with the use of invoked judgement in this stage of the text, whereby the protesters are presented as unreasonable in contrast with the authorities. This is discussed below.

Speaker	Engagement	Graduation	Appraiser	Text	Translation	Stage of text	Clause
protesters	neutral	intensified	reporter	เรียกร้อง	demand	Report 1	21
protesters	neutral	intensified	reporter / Thairath	ส่งเสียงตะโกน ด่าทอ	shout abuse	Report 1	33
protesters	neutral	intensified	reporter / Thairath	ยืนกราน	insist	Report 1	39
protesters	disassociation	-	reporter / Thairath	อ้าง	allege	Report 1	42

| protesters | neutral | - | reporter / Thairath | เริ่มปฏิเสธ | reject | Report 1 | 70 |
| ringleaders | neutral | intensified | reporter / Thairath | เริ่มปลุกระดม | incite | Report 1 | 74 |

Table 3: Projection, engagement and graduation in the Thairath: The protesters

Where the voices of journalists are projected within the news story (i.e. in Reports), the reporting verbs chosen are consistently neutral in their attribution.. In Martin and White's (2005) terms, the authorial voice positions the writer (i.e. the Thairath) as 'having nothing invested in the position being advanced in the reported material' (p. 115). Thus, Reports are presented as faithful and factual accounts of events, relaying the observations of journalists on the scene. The projection of journalists' voices in the text is summarised in Table 4.

Speaker	Engagement	Appraiser	Text	Translation	Stage of Text	Clause
reporters	neutral	Thairath	รายงาน	report	Report 1	16
journalists	neutral	Thairath	รายงาน	report	Report 2	199
[journalist implied]	neutral	Thairath	ถาม	ask	Reaction 1.5	266
[journalist implied]	neutral	Thairath	ถาม	ask	Reaction 1.5	286
journalists in Pattani	neutral	Thairath	รายงาน	report	Report 4	315
journalists	alignment	journalists	พบ	find	Report 4	320

Table 4: Projection and engagement in the <u>Thairath</u>: The journalists

The vast majority of instances where voices other than the author are introduced in the text can be divided into three groups. The first is the protesters and the six accused, whose voices are introduced 11 times, disassociated from the authorial voice in six of these 11 instances, and aligned with the authorial voice only in the case of the confession already discussed above. The second is journalists, whose voices are introduced in six instances, positioned as neutral in relation to the authorial voice (i.e. the <u>Thairath</u>) in five of these, and aligned in one. The third is the authorities, whose voices are introduced 31 times. There is no instance of these voices being disassociated from the authorial voice, but six instances of the authorial voice aligning with these voices. Table 5 summarises this information, and shows the tendency for the voices of protesters and the accused to be disassociated from the authorial voice, the voices of journalists to be positioned neutrally in relation to the authorial voice, and the voices of the authorities to be positioned neutrally, though with a higher likelihood of being aligned with the authorial voice that the other groups.

Voice / Engagement	accused & protesters		journalists		authorities	
	no.	% of this	no.	% of this	no.	% of this

		group		group		group
alignment	1*	9.1%	1	16.7%	6	19.4%
neutral	5	45.5%	5	83.3%	25	80.6%
disassociation	5	45.5%	0	0%	0	0%
TOTAL	11	100%	6	100%	31	100%

Table 5: Projection and engagement in the <u>Thairath</u> story[7]

*This instance is the confession of the accused, and so they are aligned only in

admitting their guilt.

The use of the linguistic resources of engagement is crucial in establishing a

pattern of negative evaluation of the protesters in the <u>Thairath</u> story, and must be

understood in relation to the use of judgement throughout the text.

The Antecedent in the <u>Thairath</u> text begins with three clauses which, together,

realise an instance of **invoked negative Judgement** of the protesters. The relevant

clauses are reproduced in Table 6.

สถานการณ์ความรุนแรงในพื้นที่ 3 จังหวัดภาคใต้ situation violence in area 3 provinces South ที่คุกรุ่นเหลือเพียง กลุ่ม ควันเบาบางจางๆ that boil remain only group smoke soft thin fading fading ได้ลุกโหมกระพือขึ้นมาอีกครั้ง ASP.: Pfv. rise coax [a fire] flutter ascend come another time	The violent situation in three simmering Southern provinces has been reignited
โดยกลุ่ม ชาวบ้าน หลายพันคน	by a group of many

by group villagers many-thousands CLASSIFIER บุกปิดล้อม invade close-surround สภ.อ.ตากใบ จ.นราธิวาส police station Amphor Tak Bai Province Narathiwat	thousands of villagers invading and surrounding Tak Bai Police Station in Narathiwat Province
เพื่อกดดันให้เจ้าหน้าที่ปล่อยตัว in order to pressure make officials release ชุดรักษาความปลอดภัยหมู่บ้าน ทั้ง 6 คน group maintain safety village all 6 CLASSIFIER	in order to pressure officials to release all 6 members of the local village security group.

Table 6: Invoked negative judgement of protesters in Antecedent: Thairath

The nominal group 'สถานการณ์ความรุนแรง' [violent situation] (clause 5) does not attribute agency, but the re-ignition of the violence is overtly attributed to the protesters with the use of the causative conjunction 'โดย' [by] (clause 6). Similarly, the protesters' motives are described as a wish to 'กดดัน … เจ้าหน้าที่' [pressure officials] to release the six accused villagers (clause 7). There is no overt evaluative lexis in this passage of text; the actions of the protesters are set against a social value system where inciting violence is not valued favourably, and where administrative and social protocols exist for dealings between villagers and officials, and legal protocols exist for the arrest and release of prisoners. The invoked negative judgement

in this passage works together with the use of engagement as described above (the factual voice used to give this information in the Antecedent, and the validation of the arrest of the six accused) to set the behaviour of the protesters in a negative frame from the outset.

As discussed earlier, the voice of the journalists and the <u>Thairath</u> in Reports are often blurred, so the objectivity afforded journalists by the pattern of engagement extends 'naturally' to the voice of the <u>Thairath</u> where they merge. In the first Report, the events of the protest are recounted initially by an 'objective' journalist voice (which later blends with the authorial voice as discussed in the previous section on Rhetorical structure), and a number of invoked negative judgements of the protesters' behaviour (based on the same value system already discussed) are made, including:

- กลุ่มผู้ชุมนุมเรียกร้องให้ ปล่อยตัว โดยไม่มีเงื่อนไข [<u>the demonstrators demanded the unconditional release of the 6 prisoners</u>] (clause 21)

- กลุ่มผู้ชุมนุมจากหาดเสด็จ และ ... บ้านท่าแพรก ...
  ได้ลุยผ่าด่านสกัดของเจ้าหน้าที่ เข้ามาสมทบ กับกลุ่มผู้ชุมนุม [<u>groups of demonstrators from Haad Sadej and ... Baan Tha Phraek numbering approximately 200 broke police lines to join forces with the original group</u>] (clause 30)

- กลุ่มผู้ชุมนุมยังคงยืนกรานให้ปล่อยตัวผู้ต้องหาทั้ง 6 คนทันที [<u>the demonstrators still insisted that the 6 prisoners be released immediately</u>] (clause 39).

At the same time, a number of invoked positive judgements of the actions of the authorities are made, including:

- พ.ต.อ.ไพบูลย์ จ้อยกุล รอง ผบก.ภ.จ.นราธิวาส พ.ต.อ.สมหมาย พุทธกูล ผกก.สภ.อ.ตากใบ และนายมนตรี พิทักษ์นรากุลปลัดจังหวัด ได้ร่วมกัน เจรจากับ กลุ่มผู้ชุมนุม [Police General Paibul Joygul, the deputy regional commissioner of Narathiwat, Police General Sommai Phutthagul, the superintendant of Tak Bai police station, and Mr Montree Phitaknaragul, deputy head of province negotiated with the protesters] (paragraph 2)

- นายวิชม ทองสงค์ ผวจ.นราธิวาส พล.ต.ท.มาโนช ไกรวงศ์ ผบช.ภ.9 และ พล.ท.พิศาล วัฒนวงษ์คีรี แม่ทัพภาคที่ 4 รีบเดินทางมาแก้ไขสถานการณ์ [Mr Wichom Thongsong, Governor of Narathiwat, Police Lieutenant General Manote Graiwong 9th police region chief, and Lieutenant General Pisarn Watanawongsiri, 4th army region commander rushed to the scene in order to resolve the situation] (paragraph 3)

- แม้ว่าทางเจ้าหน้าที่จะพยายามชี้แจง ว่าคดี อยู่ ในขั้นตอนการพิจารณาของศาลแล้ว ก็ตาม [despite the efforts of the officers to explain that the case was already under the consideration of the courts] (paragraph 3).

This pattern of invoked judgement means that by paragraph five of the text, the protesters' behaviour has been positioned as illegitimate, unreasonable, and provocative, and the actions of the authorities positioned as lawful, reasonable, and restrained. Thus, the actions of the military in blockading the township with 400 soldiers, V-150 armoured vehicles, Humvees with machine guns, and 10 grenade launchers as reported in paragraph five can be read as unremarkable, even responsible, while in comparison, the action of approximately ten of the protesters in paragraph six in wrapping white and black cloth around themselves can be read as an act of provocation against this considerable military force.

This positioning of the protesters continues in the first Reaction (paragraphs 9-11), where the interaction between judgement, engagement, and the textual resource of **conjunction** combine in a recursive discursive pattern which starts with an invoked positive judgement of the authorities' actions, followed by an invoked negative judgement of the protesters' behaviour. These positive-negative combinations are typically conjunctively linked by an adversative extending conjunction (e.g. 'แต่' [but] - see Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). This section of text is signified as the voice of the Army Commander, Pisarn. Table 7 (where the relevant conjunctions are in **bold** font) illustrates.

Paragraph	Sayer	Text	Type of Judgement
		โดยแม่ทัพภาคที่ 4 ระบุ the Commander of Army Division 4 stating	positive

9	Command er of Army Division 4	ว่าได้พยายามทุกวิถีทาง that authorities tried every means ที่จะให้เหตุการณ์จบลงอย่างสันติวิธี to end the incident peacefully	
		แต่กลุ่มผู้ชุมนุม but the demonstrators, ซึ่งเชื่อว่าถูกปลุกระดมมากลับ who he believes were incited to gather, ไม่สนใจรับฟังข้อเท็จจริง were not willing to listen to the facts.	negative
10	Lt Gen Pisarn	พล.ท.พิศาล กล่าว ต่อ Lieutenant General Pisarn continued ว่าทุกฝ่าย พยายามแก้ไข ปัญหา that all parties had tried to resolve the problem อย่างสงบ in a peaceful manner	positive
		แต่กลุ่มผู้ชุมนุม ไม่ฟัง but the demonstrators would not listen. พยายามบุกรุก สถานที่ราชการ They attempted to attack governmental institutions หลายครั้ง many times.	negative
11	Lt Gen Pisarn (through direct speech	ผมขอยืนยันอีกครั้ง I would like to confirm again ว่าได้ดำเนินการตามขั้นตอน that procedures were followed โดยเอากำนันผู้ใหญ่บ้านมาประกันตัวผู้ต้องหา by bringing village leaders to guarantee the 6 prisoners. จากนั้นได้เอาโต๊ะครูโต๊ะอิหม่ามมาชี้แจงตามลำดับ After that, an Imam had come to explain the situation	positive
		ซึ่งผู้ชุมนุมไม่รับฟัง but the protesters would not listen.	negative
		ผมบอกว่าขอเวลาถึง5โมงเย็น I spoke and requested that they give us until 5pm,	positive
		(ผู้ชุมนุม)ก็ไม่ยอมก็โห่ but they rejected the request, clamoured, ขว้างปาทำร้ายจนท. attacked officers by throwing objects, และบุกเข้ามา and invaded the gaol ทำให้มี ตำรวจ และทหารถูกยิง 2 นาย leading to two police and soldiers being shot บาดเจ็บอีก 12 นาย and another 12 injured. ลักษณะนี้ คือ การกบฏต่อแผ่นดิน This had the hallmarks of a revolt against the	negative

		Kingdom คงจะปล่อยให้มีอำนาจเหนือกฎหมายต่อไปอีกไม่ไ ด and we could not continue to allow these people to act above the law.	

Table 7: Interaction between appraisal and conjunction in Reaction 1.1: <u>Thairath</u>

In summary, invoked judgement is used throughout the text in a way which consistently evaluates the protesters and their actions negatively, and the authorities and their actions positively. Within the Antecedent and the first Report, a large number of implicit evaluations are presented, and each of these can - in isolation - be claimed as objective and factual presentation of actions and events. But when the <u>patterns</u> of engagement and invoked judgement are examined, any claim to objectivity quickly becomes spurious at best, and it becomes apparent that the voices of the authorities in the <u>Thairath</u> story (quoted at length in Reactions and critical of the protest and the protesters) are validated.

The Nation [LEVEL A HEADING - JK]

<u>The Nation</u> has a daily circulation of 50,000 (National Centre for Research on Europe, 2005). Its audience is primarily English-speaking Thais and expatriates. English functions as a gatekeeper in Thailand (Knox, 1997), so the Thai audience of the English-language press is by default educated, which means (typically but not exclusively) middle-class urban professionals and business people, and other socially

powerful groups in Thailand such as bureaucrats, politicians, and foreign diplomats. The newspaper fits the typical Western description of a broadsheet, and is primarily political in orientation.

The Nation has been published online <http://www.nationmultimedia.com> since the 1990s, and given its audience, its online readership is likely to be much higher proportionate to its hardcopy version than is the case for the Thairath. It has gained a reputation for independence, forthright criticism of government and corruption, and support for human rights and democracy (National Centre for Research on Europe, 2005).

The Nation: Rhetorical structure [LEVEL B HEADING - JK]

In contrast to the Thairath story, the story of the Tak Bai events in The Nation employs the Nucleus-Satellite structure typical of Western broadsheet English-language hard news, where each of the Satellites of a story expands on the Nucleus (the headline and lead) in some way (see Chapter 1). Figure 4 shows the Nucleus and three of the nine Satellites of The Nation's Tak Bai story, and illustrates how the Nucleus-Satellite structure makes it possible to read - and more importantly to write - the text with the Satellites in any order without affecting the coherence of the text[8] (see Chapter 1 for further explanation).

[INSERT FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE]

Figure 4: Nucleus and (left-right) Satellites V, II, and III: Extracts from The Nation's

Tak Bai story

White (1997) identifies four primary ways in which Satellites expand on the

Nucleus of English-language hard-news stories. These are outlined in Table 8. Seven

of the nine Satellites in The Nation's Tak Bai story are unproblematically described

by this categorisation. The remaining two fit less neatly, and our argument here is that

they need to be analysed in light of Thai news practices as described in the analysis of

the Thairath story above.

Relationship	Description
Elaboration	'one sentence or a group of sentences provides more detailed description or exemplification of information presented in the Headline/lead, or acts to restate it or describe the material in the Headline/lead in different terms.'
Cause & Effect	'one or more sentences describe the causes, the reasons for, the consequences or the purpose of the 'crisis point' presented in the Headline/lead.'
Contextualisation	'one or more sentences place the events or statements of the Headline/lead in a temporal, spatial or social context. The geographical setting will be described in some detail or the 'crisis point' will be located in the context of preceding, simultaneous or subsequent events. Prior events of a similar nature may be described for the purpose of comparison.'
Appraisal	'elements of the headline/lead nucleus are appraised, typically by some expert external source, in terms of their significance, their emotional impact, or by reference to some system of value judgement.'

Table 8: Modes of specification of Satellites (source: White, 1997, p. 115)

Figure 5 represents the structure of The Nation story on Tak Bai visually, with

the relationship between each Satellite and the Nucleus indicated (cf. Table 8).[9] It

shows that two Satellites have been analysed as **Reactions**, agnate to Reactions in the

Thairath text.

[INSERT FIGURE 5 ABOUT HERE]

Figure 5: Nucleus-Satellite structure of The Nation story

Each of the two Reactions in The Nation text perform a number of the

functions described by White in Table 8 above. Satellite VI (Thaksin's reaction to the

events in the Nucleus) can be seen as a **Contextualisation** of the Nucleus (i.e. Tak

Bai is placed in the context of relevant preceding events), and as **Cause and Effect**

(i.e. describing the consequences of Tak Bai). Satellite VII (Pisarn's reaction to the

events in the Nucleus) can be seen as an **Appraisal** of the Nucleus (i.e. the

significance of the events is appraised and valued by the army commander), as an

Elaboration of the Nucleus (i.e. more details are given about the protest and

suppression), and as a **Contextualisation** of the Nucleus (i.e. Tak Bai is placed in the

context of relevant preceding events). A more useful description of the specification

function of these Satellites appears to be that, in this cultural context, they are

Reactions to the Nucleus (i.e. phuu yai - important social actors - are given voice to

respond to the events in the Nucleus and to identify their position).

Like Reactions in the <u>Thairath</u> story, the two Satellites in question in <u>The</u>

<u>Nation</u> report <u>phuu yai</u> to the exclusion of any other information, and both use overt

projection to introduce their voices:

- Satellite VI

    o <u>Thaksin claimed</u>

    o <u>said Thaksin</u>

- Satellite VII

    o <u>said Pisarn</u>

    o <u>Pisarn said</u>

    o <u>he [Pisarn] added</u>

    o <u>Pisarn said</u>.

In contrast, other reported comments in <u>The Nation</u>'s story (e.g. by witnesses, the

Public Health Chief, the army) appear in Satellites where other attributed and/or non-

attributed material is given, and which can be identified unproblematically as

Satellites performing one of the Satellite functions outlined in Table 8. [10]

It seems then, that Reactions as found in the <u>Thairath</u> story may be a feature of

certain kinds of Thai newspaper stories regardless of the language of publication.

However, more research into a large corpus of text is obviously required, and the

extent to which Reports are a feature of English-language Thai news articles, and the

degree to which they can be considered distinct from the Satellite types in English-

language news reports from other cultures (as in Table 8) are questions for further investigation.

Regardless, it is clear that English-language and Thai-language newspapers in Thailand share some news-gathering practices. It is obvious from reading the stories on Tak Bai from the Thairath and The Nation that journalists from both newspapers have attended at least some of the same news conferences (e.g. those given by Pisarn and Thaksin). Quotes from these news conferences (including extensive quoting of Pisarn), and an extended recount of the events of October 25 are features common to both texts. Given this consistency in the social practices of news gathering, some overlap in the practices of news reporting across languages can be expected.

The Nation: Appraisal [LEVEL B HEADING - JK]

The Thairath headline reports that six people died. The Nation headline reports that six people were killed. While the Agent (the killer) is not directly specified in The Nation's headline (nor in the lead), the choice of an agentive verb invokes a negative judgement against the killer, strengthened by the noun 'bloodshed' in the lead.

The first Satellite (paragraphs 2-5) indirectly but unmistakably identifies the troops as the killers. There is no use of overtly evaluative lexis, but the actions described are negative in a value system where violence, in particular the killing of

humans, is seen as ethically and morally wrong (in the technical terms of appraisal, an instance of judgement: social sanction: propriety: negative):

- Witnesses said they saw troops firing at protesters (paragraph 3)

- "I saw soldiers fire at protesters, others kicked and used their rifle butts to hit them," said one witness. (paragraph 5)

Authorities are also evaluated negatively in this Satellite by juxtaposing their version of events with a flatly contradictory 'statement of fact' (from the voice of The Nation) (judgement: social sanction: veracity: negative):

... officers in charge of dispersing the mob insisted that shots were fired into the air, but not at any human targets.

The bodies of all the men killed bore gunshot wounds. (paragraphs 3 and 4)

These examples also show an important feature of the use of engagement (by means of projection) in establishing a pattern of alignment between the authorial voice and certain other voices in the text. The witnesses are construed as 'saying' what they saw - in Martin and White's (2005) technical terms these are instances of

attribute: acknowledge, 'where there is no overt indication, at least via the choice of framer, as to where the authorial voice stands with respect to the proposition' (p. 112).

At the same time though, the officers are construed as 'insisting' that soldiers did not shoot at protesters, another instance of attribute: acknowledge on the part of the authorial voice, but indicating that the officers hold this position with a high degree of intensity, suggesting that it may be disputed.

This subtle distinction in engagement with different voices, combined with a bare assertion which supports one set (i.e. the witnesses') and contradicts another (i.e. the officers'), means that The Nation is able to maintain an objective and neutral journalistic voice while aligning itself and the reader with the version of events given by witnesses. By the end of the first Satellite then, a pattern of negative appraisal of the authorities (achieved in large part through the linguistic resources of judgement and engagement) is established.

The effect of this early negative appraisal is to cast a negative evaluative prosody over the actions of the authorities throughout the text. The details of the events reported in the recount (Satellite IV) in this story are essentially consistent with those in the first Report (also a recount) in the Thairath text. Similarly, the language is largely devoid of overt evaluative lexis, and invoked positive judgements of the

authorities (e.g. [authorities] tried in vain to negotiate a stand down - paragraph 12)

and invoked negative judgements of the protesters (e.g. the majority of fired-up young

Muslims refused to be calmed by the gesture - paragraph 13) can be found. However,

as with the Thairath text, The Nation uses the affordances of the text's rhetorical

organisation to reiterate aspects of the story which foreground a particular

interpersonal stance towards actors in the story. Satellite V (immediately following

the recount) reads:

> Narathiwat's public health chief, Dr Sirichai Phattharanuthaporn,
>
> confirmed at least six people were killed and more than 20 injured, one of
>
> whom was a police officer. The six all died of gunshot wounds, said the
>
> Ninth Police Region chief. (paragraph 17)

The repetition of the death toll is simultaneously a repetition of the invoked negative

judgement of the actions of authorities in killing protesters (social sanction: propriety:

negative), and comes immediately before the two Reactions (from Thaksin in Satellite

VI, and Pisarn in Satellite VII).

The resources of engagement are used here again, firstly to align the authorial

voice with the public health chief who 'confirms' the deaths and injuries (technically,

proclaim: endorse). Then, the Ninth Police Region chief is cited in an overtly neutral

manner (technically, attribute: acknowledge). His reported speech is completely

consistent with that of the public health chief in the preceding sentence, and the Subject of his verbiage - the six - takes the health chief's Subject - at least six people - as its referent, so the rhetorical effect is to also align the authorial voice with that of the police chief. Having aligned these three voices (the author, the health chief, and the police chief), the clause immediately following explicitly distances the authorial voice from the voice of Prime Minister Thaksin (technically, attribute: distance):

> Thaksin claimed that those involved in yesterday's stand-off were connected to the group who raided the army depot in Narathiwat's Joh I Rong district and stole more that 300 weapons on January 4. (paragraph 18)

The final Satellite invokes negative judgements of the authorities' role in the ongoing conflict in the South:

> More than 400 people have been killed since the weapons raid on January 4. ... more than 106 Muslim militants were killed after launching a pre-dawn attack on security officials ... . (paragraph 28)

It also includes inscribed (or explicit) negative judgement (technically, social sanction: propriety: negative) from both The Nation: the heavy-handed crackdown

(paragraph 29); and from other voices: <u>The April 28 incident triggered international condemnation</u> (paragraph 29).

This prosodic pattern of negative judgement of the authorities across the text means that a reading position is naturalized whereby the actions of the authorities and the armed forces are viewed as ethically and morally wrong, even though the actions of the protesters are not condoned. At the same time, the pattern of engagement aligns the authorial voice with other voices identifying the troops as the killers of the protesters, and against a number of those which would justify the actions of the troops.

Conclusion [LEVEL A HEADING - JK]

The linguistic tools we have used in this paper do not allow us to 'read off' the ideology of each newspaper (see Fairclough, 1995; Widdowson, 2000). What they do allow us to do is to systematically describe the means by which institutional authors can reconstrue events linguistically, and demonstrate how such a reconstrual is a subjective and social process, embodying the practices of news institutions and their values.

It is clear that the choice of language in news reporting involves more than simply a choice of 'code'. Thai and English provide different resources for making meaning, and newspapers make meanings which reflect their audience, political

alignment, institutional values, economic imperatives, institutional story-telling traditions, and news-gathering practices. These factors are inextricably bound with choice of language, in addition to language per se.

The two stories examined here instantiate different news practices. The Highlight^Antecedent^Report^Reaction rhetorical structure of the Thairath text provides a vehicle for telling stories which is different to the Nucleus-Satellite rhetorical structure in the story of The Nation. Each affords their author different means by which to evaluate the events according to the ideological position of the institution. Likewise, though each text uses the appraisal resources of judgement and engagement, each uses them in particular ways which are geared towards the rhetorical organisation of the text and the ideological position of the institution. In the case of the stories analysed here, the Thairath is in support of the actions of the authorities, whereas The Nation is critical.

Clearly, further research is required to identify generic patterns of rhetorical organisation in Thai newspaper stories: Thai- and English-language. Similarly, a detailed study of a larger corpus of Thai-language text is necessary in order to provide a more delicate account of appraisal resources in Thai, and the systemic oppositions which operate in evaluation in that language. Another area for further investigation is indicated by the similarities in these two stories which cross the languages in which

they are written - in particular in the patterns of appraisal indicative of what Martin and White (2005) call 'journalistic voices'.

Many people died in Tak Bai on October 25 and 26, 2004. The <u>Thairath</u> and <u>The Nation</u> reported the Tak Bai massacre in different languages, but what sets the reports apart much more is the different voice of each newspaper, and the differences in the selective mediation of other voices in their stories: some aligned, some maligned, some silenced. The tragic conflict in the South of Thailand has worsened; many more voices have been and will be unjustly silenced.

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Endnotes

1 The full text of the article on this story in the <u>Thairath</u> on this day was available online at the time of writing at:

http://www.pattanitoday.com/htm/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=268.

There were three articles devoted to this story in <u>The Nation</u> on this day. In this chapter we focus on one of these articles, which was available online at the time of writing at:

http://www.nationmultimedia.com/search/page.arcview.php?clid=2&id=108035&date=2004-10-26.

2 Our English-language translation of this text runs to 3,729 words, and is not included in this volume due to space constraints.

3 The curfew is not depicted in the images, but the remainder of the events in the headline are.

4 We have also examined a number of texts which are structured in very different ways.

5 See Martin and White (2005, pp. 133-135) for a discussion of the relationship between the lexicogrammatical system of **projection**, and the discourse-semantic appraisal system of **engagement**.

6 By 'naturalising' a reading position, a text aligns itself with a certain set of values. A reader who shares these values can read the text 'unproblematically' as logical or commonsensical; a reader who does not is likely to see the text as unfair or biased.

7 Percentages have been rounded.

8 Note that cohesive devices such as reference, ellipsis, substitution, and repetition vary according to the organisation of a text.

9 The full text of this story has not been included in this volume due to space

constraints.

10 The exception to this is the extended recount of the events of the protest (Satellite IV

- functioning to elaborate and contextualise the Nucleus), which is an unusual way of

reporting events in English-language broadsheet news (see Iedema, 1997) and agnate to

the first Report in the <u>Thairath</u> story.

Chapter Nine

Winning an 'information war': an Indonesian case study

Philip Kitley

University of Wollongong

(Level A Heading) Introduction

Kompas Cyber Media is the online presence of the leading Indonesian daily Kompas

and it was on the small screen that I first read about the kidnapping on 29 June 2003

of television journalist Ersa Siregar, camera operator Ferry Santoro, their driver

Rahmatsyah and two female passengers, sisters Safrida and Soraya. The online

version of this drawn out story of reporters hostage to the Free Aceh Movement

(Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, GAM) stripped down the news stories that appeared in the

broadsheet. I was struck by the more than usually limited information value of the

hostage headlines and stories from June through to December 29, 2003, when Ersa

Siregar was shot dead in a fire fight between GAM and Indonesian National Forces

(Tentara Nasional Indonesia TNI). It was as if the web presence of the newspaper

reduced both the size and the resonances of this tragic event, the most serious case of

violence against the press since the military imposed martial law in Aceh on 19 May

2003 (Presidential Decree 28/2003).

Ironically, it was the highly abstracted, reductionist quality of the news on the

guerrilla war that the web delivered in crowded and unsatisfying brevity that became

the reason for an extended, detailed examination of the death of Ersa. In Jakarta, 2006 I put together a comprehensive collection of full-text clippings from eight Jakarta dailies, assembled mediawatch data from the Institute for the Study of the Free Flow of Information (ISAI) and interviewed two Indonesian journalists who had been directly involved in attempts to free the hostages. This detailed examination of the hostage incident provided a deeper understanding of the media and the 'hearts and minds' dimension of the integrated military operation in Aceh in 2003. But most readers do not have these opportunities to subject reporting of such events to extended scrutiny of this kind.

In Phillip Knightley's history of reporting war, he makes the point frequently that often it is only after conflict has ceased that stark differences between what was reported to have happened, and what actually occurred becomes known (Knightley 2003: 485; 488; 495; 496; 497; 514; 521; 523; 545). But post hoc confirmation of the credibility of reporting on conflict is clearly unsatisfactory. If anything, it reinforces the suspicion that much of what we see or read in the mass media about military conflict is a highly managed version of events. What can everyday readers, many far away and reliant on stripped down web versions of news of distant conflicts do to probe the veracity and the framing of mass media reporting on conflict? In this discussion of one incident concerning media coverage of the martial law operations in Aceh, I show how a linguistic, grammatical approach to news about the hostages was highly productive in understanding the unfolding of the hostage situation and the

dynamics of an information war which was every bit as significant in the conduct of the military operations as the conventional armed skirmishes and contacts that convulsed Aceh in the last six months of 2003.

Close analysis of the linguistic voice of headlines about the kidnapping of a party of journalists revealed the commercial print media's tendency to avoid the attribution of responsibility for military outcomes by a deliberate use of middle voice or non agentive structures. We can understand the journalists' resort to this mode of expression as a reporting tactic that steps around deliberate confrontation with the military authorities who controlled journalists' movements and took the view that any 'negative' reporting was unpatriotic. In Part II, analysis of the generic structure of sixty one hard news reports from Aceh revealed similar tensions between complying with the martial law authority's injunctions and more objective reporting of specific incidents. The breakdown in structure in the Issues report on 9 July 2003 revealed the impossible position journalists faced. The headline reporting an expert observer's comment that a particular event showed a major shift in power relations between the military and the rebels fractured the ideological compact that martial law field commanders imposed. Examination of the lack of fit between the claim in the headline and the structure of the report shows how knowledge of generic structures can be forensically employed to identify critical tensions between journalists and the constraints of reporting war.

(Level A Heading) Journalists as Hostages

On the 29 June, 2003 Ersa Siregar, a 52 year old experienced journalist with the Jakarta based television station RCTI, Ferry Santoro, Rahmatsyah and Safrida and Soraya were stopped by five armed men while travelling home to Lhok Seumawe where they were based during their assignment in Aceh. With eyes bound they were taken to a GAM hideout and interrogated. Although Ferry and Ersa had no difficulty in convincing the GAM soldiers that they were bona fide journalists, the presence of Safrida and Soraya in the vehicle complicated matters once it was discovered that their husbands were TNI officers. Forced to move from hideout to hideout, GAM's interrogation of the two women was long and drawn out and unable to be concluded until the regional Commander, Ishak Daud had satisfied himself that the women were not spies.

GAM held the RCTI crew and two women hostage for almost a year although the group was broken up early in July, with Rahmatsyah and Safrida and Soraya sent off in different directions. Ersa Siregar was tragically shot dead at noon on 29 December 2003 after TNI troops surprised Ersa, Ferry, Ayah, a civilian under GAM's protection, and a single GAM guard. Ferry, Ayah and the guard escaped, to be recaptured by GAM a day or so later.

The circumstances of Ersa's death remain unclear, and there has been no official inquiry into his death. The TNI took the view that under conditions of martial law, accidents happen in combat, and that they were under no obligation to hold an inquiry into the death of a civilian caught up in a shoot out between GAM and TNI. Whether Ersa was shot at close range, close enough to be recognised and to be heard shouting out his name and his status, or whether he was caught by stray bullets fired from a distance under conditions of poor visibility as the TNI reported, has never been resolved. An autopsy showed that Ersa was struck by TNI bullets, but whether from close range or not is disputed.

Rahmatsyah was freed by the TNI on 17 December 2003. Safrida and Soraya were freed by TNI on 29 January 2004, and Ferry was released unharmed by GAM into the care of the International Red Cross on 16 May 2004, having been held as a hostage for 325 days.

(Level A Heading) Part I: Language as Tactics

In this account of the pressures of reporting war, I develop the analysis diachronically to explore the productivity of linguistic analysis in understanding a situation over time. Most linguistic analyses tend to develop their argument around synchronic data, relying on a limited sample of extracts in explication of the heuristic power of

grammatical analysis (White 2004; Lukin, Butt and Mattheissen 2004). Here the analysis tracks the Cyber Media headlines from July through into December, examining the tragic imbrication of the information and guerrilla wars.

The <u>Kompas Cyber Media</u> (KCM) headlines – understood here as the usually single lines of text in a larger point size summarising the articles - represent the Ersa kidnapping as a series of events during which the subject shifts continuously, foregrounding issues of representation and agency in reporting conflict that Lukin, Butt and Matthiessen have analysed so effectively. Drawing on that approach I show that the dramatic events of the kidnapping of professional, accredited journalists became wrapped into a battle for the hearts and minds of the public in an 'information war' which can be understood as a struggle by the TNI, the GAM and the media to frame the reality of the hostage situation in ways that best suited their own political and ideological interests. In examining the representation of causation, agency, impact and semiotic distance over the KCM headlines, the tactics of the information war were revealed as the initiative shifted between GAM and the TNI.

We can understand an information war as a competitive, symbiotic exchange between political antagonists and the news media (Wolfsfeld 1997). In 2003 the Indonesian government recognised that its objective to win the hearts and minds of the Acehenese depended to a large extent on the media providing favourable publicity and information about its aspirations for Aceh as an integral part of Indonesia and its

efforts to restore law and order and resolve grievances the Acehenese harboured

against the central government. To achieve these objectives, the government opened

up access for the Jakarta based print and electronic media to the conflict in Aceh,

providing the media with information opportunities which they could turn into 'news'.

But if, as we have noted, an information war is a <u>competitive</u> symbiotic exchange,

then the scope of the exchange needs to be carefully managed as media organisations

know that the key asset they trade – news - is a risky currency for a political authority

bent on 'winning'. News, as distinct from propaganda, depends on providing

audiences with an account that presents the views and aspirations of the full range of

the antagonists involved in an informed and fair manner. 'Covering both sides' was

the shorthand expression that the Indonesian military elite used in acknowledging the

media's terms of engagement in Aceh.

But even so, the terms of media trade were definitely in Jakarta's favour and

compromised the exchange between the media and political authorities. International

journalists' access was limited to coverage of regency capitals and cities and was to

be conducted together with TNI forces or the police (Proclamation, Regional Military

Command 5/2003). Aceh based media organisations were forbidden to publish or

broadcast news about the conflict beyond provincial boundaries and only Jakarta

based, 'national' media organisations were permitted to report on the separatist

conflict to Indonesian audiences. They were urged to keep the military authorities

informed on their movements at all times, and reporting that seemed to give favourable coverage of GAM was viewed with considerable suspicion. Shortly before being taken hostage by GAM, Ersa Siregar had apparently angered General Bambang Dharmono, Commander of Operations Command in a 'hot debate' about the separatist movement which might explain the General's lack of enthusiasm in rescuing Ersa and associates (Personal interview Nezar Patria 17 May 2006).

Lukin et al. (2004) argue that 'in the case of reporting war, … [grammatical] choices are deeply involved in managing public opinion, even in the reporting of what might seem to be simply "the facts"' (p. 61). These choices are critical in the representation of events such as the kidnapping of a television reporter and cameraman. The representation of causation – of how the kidnapping happened and who might be to blame, of the impact of such an event in the struggle over the hearts and minds of the Acehenese and the Indonesian public, and the representation of the kidnapping as something closely linked to operational choices or as something unfortunate that 'just happened', can all be linked to the tactical use of language and more specifically, grammar.

Lukin et al. (2004: 61) illustrate the critical effect of choosing a particular grammatical form or 'voice' to report an event. Consider these three (fictional) headlines:

<u>Coalition Forces Dropped Bombs on Baghdad</u> (Active voice; Coalition as agent)

<u>Bombs Were Dropped on Baghdad by Coalition Forces</u> (Passive voice; Coalition as agent)

<u>Bombs Were Dropped on Baghdad</u> (Passive voice; implied agent)

All three headlines acknowledge causation: the bombs did not fall by themselves, they were deliberately dropped by military forces. But in the headline <u>Bombs Fell on Baghdad</u> the idea of agent and causation disappears and the bombing appears to be what Halliday called a 'self-engendered process' (1994 sect. 5.8). This headline employs the 'middle voice' and is fundamentally different in grammatical form from the first three headlines. We have entered a different reality. It is a situated reality, but it is a place where things happen without being effected by anyone or anything.

In Aceh, the agent/s involved in armed conflict might be human ('our troops', 'GAM separatists') or technological as in news items of the kind which report that 'bullets killed a hostage'. In reporting armed conflict, grammatical choices that make technology ('bullets', 'a landmine', 'high altitude bombing') the cause of events 'soften the reality of violent conflict', inscribing a perception that human agents are hardly involved in modern warfare, only military technologies or machines (Knightley 2003: 495; Lukin et al. 2004: 64-5).

In the headlines in Table 1 the middle voice is used strategically to manage events that had unpredictable and dangerous ramifications in the information war. Over the six months of headlines the middle voice is used to report that the RCTI journalists are 'mysteriously missing' (Kompas 1/7), to report that the hostages are at GAM headquarters (Kompas 4/7) and finally to report that Ersa has died accidentally (Kompas 29/12). Two days later, we read that it was Army bullets that killed Ersa in a headline that re-frames the fatal accident, making military technology the agent responsible for Ersa's death. All the other headlines are in the active voice and the TNI is represented as making every effort to rescue the hostages. The active voice is deployed to represent the TNI as concerned, responsible and in charge of events. The middle voice is the 'bad news' voice, a linguistic device that attempts to absolve or at least distance the TNI from anything negative associated with the hostage situation.

Table I

<u>**Kompas Cyber Media**</u> **Headlines Concerning the RCTI Crew Kidnapping, July 2003**

Verbs are shown in bold, and the English translations at right preserve the abbreviated character of news headlines.

	Date	Headline	Translation	Grammatical Voice
1	01/07	Wartawan dan Kameramen (sic) RCTI **Hilang** di Aceh	RCTI Reporter and Cameraman Lost in Aceh	Implied copula with attributive, 'lost' designed to avoid agency
2	01/07	Sejumlah Penduduk **Melihat** Kendaraan Wartawan RCTI	A Number of Locals **Saw** the RCTI Reporter's Vehicle	Active
3	02/07	RCTI **Kerahkan** Seluruh Upaya Temukan Ersa dan Ferry	RCTI **Makes Every Effort** to Find Ersa and Ferry	Active
4	02/07	TNI **Keluarkan** Perintah Khusus Pencarian Wartawan RCTI	The Indonesian Armed Forces **Issue** Special Instructions for a Search for the RCTI Reporters	Active
5	03/07	TNI **Siapkan** Penjemputan Wartawan RCTI	The Indonesian Armed Forces **Organise** Someone to Pick up the RCTI Reporters	Active
6	04/07	Kru RCTI **Berada** di Markas GAM	RCTI Crew **at** [are located at] GAM Headquarters	Middle
7	05/07	Pangkoops **Ultimatum** Wartawan RCTI	Commander of the Operations Command **Gives an Ultimatum** to the RCTI Reporters	Active
8	19/12	TNI **Bebaskan** Sopir RCTI	The Indonesian Army **Frees** RCTI Driver	Active
9	29/12	Ersa Siregar **Tewas** Tertembak	Ersa Siregar **Dies** From Being Accidentally Shot	Middle
10	29/12	Jenazah Ersa Siregar Segera **Dievakuasi**	Ersa Siregar's Body **To Be Evacuated** Immediately	Short passive (no agent)
11	29/12	Pangkoops: Ersa **Tewas** Dalam Kontak Senjata	Commander of Military Operations: Ersa **Died** in a Fire Fight	Middle
12	30/12	Ersa Siregar **Tewas** Dalam Kontak Tembak	Ersa Siregar **Died** in an Exchange of Fire	Middle
13	31/12	KSAD: Peluru TNI yang **Tewaskan** Ersa Siregar	Chief of Army Staff: An Army Bullet **Killed** Ersa Siregar	Active (bullet as agent)

The six months between the kidnapping of the journalists and Ersa's death are bracketed by headlines in the non-Active voice. News that the nationally accredited RCTI journalists were missing was obviously worrying news for RCTI, the crew's families and the TNI, which represented itself as the protector of media representatives operating in Aceh under the Integrated Operation (Operasi Terpadu) which had winning hearts and minds as a major objective (Rizal Sukma 2004: 23). TNI Commander General Endriatono was explicit about the important role of the media in Aceh:

> … the media's role is very much needed to shape opinion that the
>
> military operations this time are different from previous operations.
>
> "However what we want is the safety of journalists and news that is
>
> not held back from the facts" he said (Suara Karya 25 July 2003).

The Kompas headline of 1 July 2003, two days after the crew had gone missing is understandably cautious. Just what had happened was not known, but equally, the disappearance of the journalists is represented in a way that denies the possibility that their disappearance was attributable to any human agency. That said, the TNI took the opportunity, as reported elsewhere in the article, to suggest without any evidence that the disappearance was 'mysterious', raising the spectre of a kidnapping by GAM. Mixed motives then, were inscribed in the 1 July headline, but it is important to note

that the choice of avoiding the attribution of agency is a choice, and that that choice

has tactical significance in an information war.

The middle voice is deployed to report Ersa's death, almost six months after the

journalists were first reported missing. <u>Ersa Siregar **Tewas** Tertembak</u> (Ersa Siregar

Dies From Being Accidentally Shot) (<u>Kompas</u> 29 December 2003). In this four word

headline there is a remarkable compression of meaning which depends on a

grammatical form which is not part of English grammar. Here there are two clauses:

in the first 'dies' is in the Middle voice. The second clause uses the effective voice in

the passive form, removing responsibility for Ersa's death and represents the shooting

as an accidental event.

In English 'shot' may be understood as a deliberate or accidental act, and we rely on

the context to make it clear what is meant. <u>The Australian's</u> headline 'Reporter Killed

in Skirmish' (31 Dec. 2003), for example, leaves it open as to whether Ersa was killed

accidentally or deliberately. In the body text of <u>The Australian</u> article, however, the

circumstances of Ersa's death are explicitly opened up for examination with the TNI

reporting that the shooting was accidental. But in Indonesian language the distinction

between the action as deliberate or accidental is made explicit through the affix <u>ter</u>-.

The '<u>ter</u>-' form of the transitive verb <u>tembak</u> (to shoot someone) is described as the

'accidental' form of the verb where the action can be understood as uncontrolled,

unintended or agentless, involuntary or sudden (Snedden 1996: 113). In the context of

the civil war in Aceh, this grammatical construction serves multiple purposes. It avoids blaming either GAM or the TNI for Ersa's death, and signifies through the ambiguity inherent in the 'ter-' form that the headline describes a state of affairs rather than an act which may be attributed to an agent – in this case one or other of the warring parties. Tertembak, then, is highly strategic, a verb form which in the conflicted and dangerous circumstances of reporting on Aceh, steps self consciously between blaming either side for what happened.

The carefully crafted flat affect of the tertembak construct was followed a few days later by headlines and comments which maintained the fiction that in war, things 'just happen'. The headline 'Ersa Siregar Tewas Dalam Kontak Tembak' (Ersa Siregar Died in a Firefight) (Kompas 30 Dec. 2003) describes a state of affairs and stops short of describing exactly how Ersa died and whether anyone was responsible. The next day, when it became known that Ersa had been killed by TNI bullets, the press relied again on a grammatical construct that erased any suggestion of human agency being involved and, quoting the military, attributed Ersa's death to technology in the headline 'KSAD: Peluru TNI yang Tewaskan Ersa Siregar' (Chief of Army Staff: An Army Bullet Killed Ersa Siregar) (Kompas 31 Dec. 2003). Chief of Staff Ryamizard Ryacudu reinforces this representation of events when in the body of the article he describes bullets as blind, a kind of impartial, capricious power, incapable of identifying or differentiating one man from another. The technology-as-agent construct would have us believe that bullets are independent of the weapons and the

fingers that pulled the triggers. 'Bullets cannot see who [is who]. Can't know whether this is Ersa or not can they? ('Peluru enggak bisa lihat siapa. Kan tidak tahu ini Ersa atau bukan') (ibid).

Between the non-agentive structures in the headlines announcing the kidnapping and later Ersa's death, there is only one other headline which relies on the middle voice. Kru RCTI **Berada** di Markas GAM (RCTI Crew [are located] at GAM Headquarters). Once again it is deployed to report on a development in the disappearance of the journalists that has strategic implications for all parties involved. For the sake of argument, let us rehearse the possibilities. If the journalists had been captured and held hostage by GAM, then that might be represented as a failure by the TNI to protect media representatives. On the other hand, if GAM had indeed taken the journalists hostage, then they were in breach of Geneva Protocol II which requires combatants to respect the independence of journalists (Suara Pembaruan 3 July 2003; Kompas 5, 11 July 2003; Bisnis Indonesia 9 July 2003). The RCTI crew might, however, have acted 'unilaterally' and ignored TNI media operational rules in an attempt to report the 'inside story' of GAM. Even more worrying was the possibility that the RCTI crew was not just intent on getting both sides of the story in line with professional practice, but was sympathetic to GAM's aspirations and might undermine the hearts and minds objectives of Operasi Terpadu.

Whatever the truth might be, 'unilateral' action was a threat to the TNI's management

of media operations and obviously required careful management. The middle voice

has an obvious appeal for both the press and the TNI under such circumstances as it

represents the missing journalists' location at GAM headquarters as simply a state of

affairs. It speaks over the whispered deferral of representing the journalists' situation

as either a breach of international convention, a failure by the TNI to protect the

journalists, a betrayal by the RCTI crew to uphold professional standards of balanced

reporting, or as a rejection of TNI rules of practice.

(Level A Heading) Operasi Terpadu, Hearts and Minds Objectives and the Media

The rules of engagement for the media in Aceh during Operasi Terpadu were well

known but highly inconsistent and, at the field level, often intimidatory (Personal

interviews with Nezar Patria and Imam Wahyudi, 17 and 18 May 2006). According to

Ersa's colleague and supervisor Imam Wahyudi, RCTI journalists assigned to Aceh

during the military emergency period were not embedded with TNI. They resisted

embedding but requested military authorities in Jakarta first, to provide training

designed to protect their personal security when assigned to Aceh and second, give

them some experience of what it might be like to operate under conditions of armed

contact. Imam pointed out that the journalists wanted to know what different classes

of weapons sounded like so they would be able to recognise what was going on in

contacts. It was after the training at Gunung Sanggabuana, West Java, that the rumour began to circulate that the RCTI journalists and other Jakarta based journalists were embedded with the TNI.

Rizal Sukma (2004) states categorically that 'for the first time the military … allowed its operation to be covered by the media through the same method – "embedded journalism" – employed by the United States in the war against Iraq in 2003' (p. 23). Atmadji Sumarkidjo, Deputy Chief Editor, RCTI, also states that after the training Jakarta based journalists were embedded with a number of TNI troops across Aceh (2003: 9). United States military authorities gave embedded journalists training prior to entering battlefields in Iraq, and provided them with uniforms, equipment, transportation and accommodation with the troops in the field (Tumber 2004: 196, 197; Knightley 2003: 531). It is easy to understand, then, why claims about journalists being embedded in Aceh got going, but Ferry Santoso's comment that the RCTI crew took 'tons of gear and supplies' on a commercial flight to Aceh and leased their own accommodation in Lhok Seumawe suggests that the RCTI team was more independent than journalists embedded with the United States military in Iraq (Jusuf Suroso & Jaumat Dulhajah 2006: 4). In a long article reflecting on 'journalists in the midst of danger' ('Wartawan di Tengah Kecemasan', Kompas 22 July 2003), the writers report that after Ersa and Ferry were taken hostage, journalists' routines changed and that while it was their sense of professionalism and responsibility that kept them working, they now preferred to meet up at a hotel before going into the

field, to cover stories in groups of at least three, and to keep each other informed throughout the day of their whereabouts. This suggests that journalists in Aceh had greater freedom of movement than their embedded colleagues in Iraq, and suggests that while military authorities preferred to have the media embedded, they were not able to achieve the level of control over the media that US authorities did in Iraq. TNI Chief, General Endriartono Sutarto urged journalists to 'stick to the TNI' when going into the field and added ominously that 'It will be difficult for us to protect journalists if they do not join the TNI embedded program (Jakarta Post 3 July).

GAM's attitudes to the new media arrangements were inconsistent and made journalists feel uncertain about what they could report without risk. After all, it was GAM that had taken Ersa and Ferry hostage. While Ishak Daud, Commander of GAM in the Peureulak region declared that it was GAM's view that journalists wherever they were from should be given freedom to cover events in Aceh (Kompas 2 July 2003), GAM was suspicious of press moving about Aceh as it had evidence that TNI intelligence had used vehicles with fake press and Red Cross markings to enter areas under GAM control and capture people (Kompas 4 July 2003). Nevertheless, given that martial law prohibited the provincial media from reporting nationally, GAM was aware of the value of 'perception management' (Webster 2003: 64) and was as determined as the TNI to use the national media to win support for its cause (Personal interview Nezar Patria April 2006). But press relations are hard to manage, and GAM had had the experience of being 'backed into a corner' at times by a few journalists

and reminded them to be conscientious in reporting both sides (Kompas 22 July

2003). Journalists found it difficult to meet the ideal of covering both sides in an

environment where communications with GAM personnel was limited and risky and

constrained by highly subjective martial law regulations which prohibited journalists

from publicising statements from GAM that were judged 'likely to disrupt military

operations' (Martial Law Authority Declaration 06, 2003; Kompas 22 July 2003).

The United States' embedding practices in Iraq in 2003 were an outcome of years of

experience and reflection on how the media might be best integrated into conflict

situations so as to advance military objectives (Knightley 2003: 531f). In Indonesia,

the principles behind embedding were new to military authorities, poorly publicised

and not appreciated by field level commanders. High ranking military officers such as

Endriartono Sutarto maintained that the TNI did not want to limit news of whatever

kind about the TNI (Media Indonesia 26 July 2003). Balanced and fair reporting in

line with journalists' professional code of practice was publicly supported. In the

field, however, attitudes were different and TNI field officers took the view that

journalists should not write sympathetically or approvingly of GAM, and that if they

did they would be understood to be GAM sympathizers. Journalists were required to

inform authorities of any change in address, were restricted in their movements and

forbidden to enter GAM-controlled or unstable areas. Under these circumstances, it is

not surprising that journalists rely on subtle use of language when reporting on highly

charged events. In the second part of this chapter I examine the pattern of reporting on

the Ersa case throughout July, focusing on shifts in the narrative impulse and structure of news items at different times during the month as the press, the TNI and GAM responded to developments in the hostage situation.

(Level A Heading) Part II: Hard News and the Struggle over a Preferred Social Order

Our focus here is on the way different parties attempt to privilege their values and ideology by representing incidents in hard news articles as a breach or disruption of the social order. Just what the 'social order' amounts to, however, and what counts as a critical challenge or disturbance of the social order is ideologically inflected and depends on the different histories, values and political objectives of the parties involved. White has argued that the generic structure of hard news reports functions to obscure the ideological construction of the preferred social order, representing and naturalising the desired social order as a value free and commonsensical reality (White 1997). Here I test the cross cultural applicability of this claim by examining the generic structure of 'hard news' reports in the Indonesian language press and argue that the analysis supports White's central claim. More than that, however, the analysis reveals the analytic utility of an investigation of generic structure. The analysis focuses on the narrative structure of three different reports of a critical incident in the hostage event. It reveals fractures in the hegemonic construct of the social order and shifts in power relations precipitated by the information war which

might have gone unnoticed without the perspective provided by analysis of the generic structure of hard news stories.

White categorises hard news stories which exemplify internationally idealised objectives of 'neutral, objective, accurate, correct and balanced reporting' (Sudirman Tebba 2005: 34; 36; 40; 50; Mancini 2000) into 'Event Stories' and 'Issue Reports' (White 1997). Event Stories typically report on '… what happened in the event of some misadventure, act of political violence, crime, economic set back and so on' (White 1997: 1). Issues Reports stand at a remove from the kind of events just described and are grounded in communicative events or discursive acts that comment on, describe, evaluate, warn or otherwise pronounce on events. The discourse is usually sourced from 'authorities' of different kinds and will typically include politicians, experts, officials and scientific researchers. Both Event Stories and Issues Reports are concerned with events which are understood as breaches of the social order involving disruption to the economic foundations of society, adversative power relations or normative conventions. 'In terms of informational content, … "hard news" reporting texts are directed towards the identification of potential or actual sources of social order disequilibrium' (White 1997: 5). White notes that there are reports which combine descriptive and evaluative or communicative passages in more or less equal measure, and suggests that these hybrid articles are typical in news reporting on political events. The Koran Tempo news report discussed below is a hybrid article. [1]

On Sunday 8 July 2003 GAM agreed that representatives from RCTI and other Jakarta media could meet meet with Ersa and colleagues at an undisclosed location. The meeting was organised secretly between GAM and RCTI, and involved high security transport of journalists to the rendezvous to avoid any possibility of armed contact between GAM and TNI. The meeting was video recorded and shown on national television and published in national dailies by the print media reporters who attended.

The secret press conference was highly confrontational and challenged the rules of engagement which the TNI had established for the press. The fall out from the event was quick and repressive. My reading of reporting on the hostage suggests that this was a pivotal event in the information war that shadowed the insurgency in Aceh in 2003. Discussion here is centred on three articles – one Event Story, one hybrid Event-Issues story, and one Issues Report. The three articles from three different sources all focus on the secret press conference, but each represents the perceived threat to the social order that the press conference represented in different ways. The difference is found in what White refers to as the 'textual nucleus' of the articles. Hard news reports are typically organised into two parts: a nucleus consisting of the headline plus the 'lead', the opening sentence or paragraph. The second part, the body of the hard news report, specifies the meanings introduced in the nucleus in various ways, but typically by elaborating and contextualising the lead statements, describing

cause and effect relations, justifying the claims presented and providing an appraisal or evaluative comment on the events reported.

It is the nucleus in hard news reports which signals the breach or threat to the social order.

> '… [M]ost tellingly, the opening "nucleus" goes directly to those aspects of the event or state-of-affairs which are assessed as constituting the peak or climax of social order disruption. That is, it singles out those aspects of the event … which pose the greatest threat to the material, power-relational or normative status-quo, extracting them from their original chronological order or logical context and thus compelling the reader to engage immediately with some crisis point of social order disequilibrium (White 1997: 9-10).

White's (1997) surveys of English language print media have shown that the generic organisation of lead-dominated hard news reports involves an 'orbital' or recursive structure in the body of the article, where the sub-components refer back to the nucleus by the various kinds of specifications described above. The recursive structure of the report keeps the meanings signified in the nucleus constantly before the reader. Clearly then, what is selected for attention in the lead represents the journalist author's and/or the editor's subjective judgement of the significance of what is reported for the maintenance of the status quo.

The reports analysed below each understand the press conference in different ways.

Media Indonesia's Event Story (08 July 2003) described the meeting between Ersa

and his RCTI colleagues at first hand, even describing the hostages' clothing and

physical condition. The Media Indonesia headline described the event as a reunion of

professional colleagues, and draws attention to the normative breach involved in

taking journalists hostage. Koran Tempo (08 July 2003) also chose to understand the

press conference as a normative breach, but emphasised that the meeting was not so

much a meeting as a display of the captured journalists, a practice explicitly outlawed

in the Geneva Protocol II, 1977. The normative breach represented by the

mistreatment of the hostages was intensified by the claim that the control over the

hostages that GAM displayed represented a shift in the adversative power relations

between GAM and TNI. The Issues Report headline published by Suara Karya 09

July, 2003 stated that the press conference challenged the authority of the regional

TNI. The lead chose not to intensify the meanings of the headline as expected, but

launched into a denunciation of the journalists who met with the hostages. Here the

focus shifted from the press conference to normative breaches committed by the

journalists who met with the hostages. In this eight paragraph Issues Report, four

paragraphs exhibit no relationship with either the headline or lead, and three

paragraphs exhibit no relationship with the headline, but do comment on the lead.

Paragraph 4, the source of the headline, is not related to the lead which follows the

headline. As is typical of Issues Reports, the paragraphs which constitute the report

draw on authorised sources in presenting commentary on what the hostage taking event 'meant'. Whether or not we could say that both sides views are adequately represented is a moot point. The lead and four other paragraphs quote from military authorities, three paragraphs cite a government representative. Paragraph 4 quotes a civilian expert in military strategy, and paragraph 5 quotes the Head of the Indonesian Red Cross. No GAM source is cited.

The comprehensive breakdown in generic structure in the nucleus and throughout the rest of the report reveals a struggle over the issue of whether the press conference indeed marked a shift in GAM-TNI power relations. The structure of this report, unlike the typical hard news report, can be understood not as an intensification of the claim made in the headline, but as an uneasy refutation of a shift in GAM-TNI power relations signalled in the headline, and a targeting of the hostages and the journalists – the professionals whose rights have been trampled on by the capture of their colleagues. The breakdown in generic structure mirrors the shift in power relations between GAM and the martial law authorities. The reiteration of GAM's offences by the military authorities may be read as a reassertion of the authority of the authorities, a signal that they are in control, no matter what the press conference seemed to signal. The journalistic author, struggling against the military's resentment that GAM might have achieved a propaganda victory, chose the strategist's claim that the press conference had damaged the prestige of the TNI as their headline, even though, given

the pressure to present 'balanced reports', it resulted in an article so generically

botched that it is hardly readable, and perhaps hardly credible.

My sources in exploring whether the generic organisation of Indonesian hard news

reports '… naturalise and … obscure the operation of underlying ideological positions

…' (White 1997:1) are sixty one articles from eight national dailies concerning the

hostage case published during July 2003. There is not scope here to examine the

textual structure of all of these articles, and analysis is limited to three of the four

reports[2] of the press meeting with the hostages which will serve to reveal the generic

organisation and rhetorical function of 'hard news' reports. The summary which

follows tracks the dynamics of the perceived threats to the social order represented by

GAM separatist activities during July 2003.

Throughout July, news reports of the Ersa case foreground a struggle over the social

order, understood not so much in a national sense but more narrowly in terms of

proper conduct of the military emergency established on 19 May 2003. The

disappearance of the RCTI crew and fears that they had been taken hostage is the

initiating breach exploited by TNI to represent GAM as offending against

international conventions covering the treatment of journalists and civilians in conflict

(BI 2/7; R 2/7; KT 3/7; SP 4/7; K 2/7)[3]. GAM responded by asserting that taking the

journalists and their civilian passengers hostage was understandable and justified in

the context of earlier breaches of the rules of engagement by the TNI, specifically the

TNI's practice of using press and Red Cross vehicles and intelligence agents disguised as civilians to infiltrate areas under GAM control (KT 4/7; JP 4/7; R 4/7; K 8/7).

Following RCTI's broadcast of the meeting with the hostages on national television, TNI shifted ground and charged that displaying hostages is not permitted under the Geneva protocols, that the hostages may not be genuine hostages given the apparent ease with which the meeting with the national press was arranged; that the reporters who had met GAM were guilty of breaking the martial law rules, that Ersa was uncooperative in not telling them where he was, and that he had been charged with kidnapping an Army officer's wife (MI 8/7; JP 9/7; R 9/7; K 10/7).

This furious and unfocused attack on GAM, the journalists and Ersa was informed by a deeper anxiety that the power to represent the status quo had shifted with the press conference and the favourable publicity that GAM managed through the media opportunity it had created. Here then the anxiety goes to not just what is the preferred reality, the preferred status quo, but who has the resources and power to represent the status quo. This was a reverse, a crucial shift in the war of 'projection' (Halliday 1994: 250-73) or the struggle for hegemonic ascendancy, and absolutely fundamental in that sense. It is a shift in who has the power to articulate the good, the desired social order (Couldry 2003).

After the reactive phase (8-10 July), there followed a clawback phase, a reassertion of the moral credentials of the TNI, managed by its invocation and alignment with morally unassailable organisations such as the International and Indonesian Red Cross, and a reassertion of the core values of the military as an active, can-do force that identified freeing the hostages as a key objective. The TNI is represented in these reports as an institution that embodies the values and integrity of the social order. It is a claim that the TNI has the power to heal the breaches that have occurred.

Late July when the initial skirmish over the hostages subsided, but violence against journalists continued across Aceh (<u>Aceh News Watch</u> 3-7, 2003), a series of articles appeared which were distinguished by their reflective character and generic characteristics. These were not news reports but opinion pieces concerned with reminding combatants of their obligations to respect international rules governing press activities in conflict zones. This was a reminder that both sides had committed a moral breach and disturbed the status quo. These articles do not depend on quoting other, authoritative sources – they are an assertion of values which define journalism in conflict.

Hard new reports which appear to be impartial, neutral or objective accounts of particular incidents erase, or at least limit the journalist author's inscription of their own values and perspective in a way that is conventionally understood as the journalist's way of letting readers 'make up their own minds' about the facts reported

(White 1997: 25). Put another way, hard new reports have a characteristic narrative structure and lexicogrammar which perform at least two important rhetorical functions. The suppression of the journalist authors' own values helps to create reports which seem to present an objective account of what happened. However, the generic organisation of headline-lead sentence, and the recursive or 'orbital' organisation of the body text of the report which repeats the original assertion of the social breach signalled in the headline-lead, impress on the reader a value laden representation of the event in a way that is not obvious (White 1997). Selected for close analysis below are three articles, each reporting on the press conference which commercial television station RCTI organised directly with GAM. These three articles, which present three different perceptions of the press conference as a breach or threat to the status quo, reveal the authors' subjective involvement in the meanings signified in the text.

Tables 2-4 summarise the content and structure of the three news reports selected for detailed analysis. The nucleus is located at the head of the Table, and the paragraphs, numbered as they originally appeared, are set out below. Following White, the structure of Event Stories in Indonesian newspapers does exhibit the generic orbital structure and the feature of 'radical editability' is also present (White 1997: 15). The paragraphs of the text can be re-ordered without doing violence to the functionality of the text and without creating a news item with different generic characteristics. Table 2 demonstrates the recursive or non-linear, sequential structure of Event Story #1 and demonstrates how the orbital structure of hard news items permits restructuring. In the

centre column in Tables 2, 3 and 4, the order of paragraphs has been simply reversed.

In the right hand column, the text has been turned more or less upside down. The last

pair of paragraphs has been placed after the nucleus, and for the remaining order

paragraphs, the order has been reversed. There is no grand plan in reordering the

paragraphs. The two different versions demonstrate that two quite different ways of

re-structuring the Event Stories fails to render them unintelligible, and fails to produce

another generic structure. The texts in the centre and right hand columns are still quite

obviously hard news items.

Table 2: Event Story: <u>Media Indonesia</u> 08 July 2003

Original Structure	First Re-order	More Radical Re-order
Nucleus **RCTI Crew Taken Hostage by GAM Reunited with Journalists** Lhokseumawe (Media [Indonesia]) The meeting between a number of journalists and the RCTI crew who up until now are still held hostage by GAM continued for about two hours in an emotionally charged atmosphere. A few journalists, especially those from RCTI, were seen to shed tears when they embraced on first meeting.	Nucleus Identical to nucleus in column 1	Nucleus Identical to nucleus in column 1
1 Ersa Siregar, Ferry Santoro, Rachman Syah (driver), and two female civilians were successful in meeting journalists on Sunday evening (6/7) at a secret location somewhere in Peureulak, East Aceh. They were in a healthy condition and claimed that they were being treated well by the GAM group led by Isak Daud.	**2**	**6**
2 Media [Indonesia] journalist Yuni Eko together with a number of other journalists were permitted to come in and meet the RCTI crew after her identity, car and everything she was carrying had been inspected. Following that, to reach the meeting place the eyes of all the journalists were blindfolded.	**1**	**7**
3 At the meeting Ersa Siregar was dressed in a blue long sleeved shirt and cream long trousers, while Ferry Santoro was dressed in a shirt and long black trousers. Safrida, Let Col Azhari's wife, was dressed in a black and white blouse and black head scarf. Her younger sister, Soraya, was dressed in a yellow blouse, a jacket, and a bright coloured, figured head scarf.	**4**	**5**
4 During the meeting Ersa had the chance to contact his family. "Look after your mother ok. Daddy is well and still in East Aceh," was Ersa's message to one of his children on a satellite phone owned by one of the journalists.	**3**	**4**
5 Ferry sent the same message to his family. Even Soraya was given the opportunity to contact her family. All the while Safrida could be seen wiping the corner of her eyes many times with the end of her head scarf.	**6**	**3**
6 Security for the meeting was very tight. About 50 GAM members were seen preceding [leading] the journalists to the meeting place. They carried a number of different kinds of weapons with long barrels as well as pistols. Their watchfulness was obvious from their movements.	**5**	**2**
7 Until now Isak Daud had not permitted Ersa and associates to leave the district for the reason that the interrogation of the two officer's wives was not finished.	**7**	**1**

Table 3: Hybrid Event Story: <u>Koran Tempo</u> 08 July 2003

Original Structure	First Re-order	More Radical Re-order
Nucleus **GAM Put RCTI Journalists on Show** Lhokseumawe – The Free Aceh Movement (GAM) put two RCTI journalists and two Air Force Officers' wives who they are holding on show for the press. According to the GAM Commander of the Peureulak region Ishak Daud, the meeting took place on the outskirts of a town in East Aceh.	**Nucleus** **Identical to nucleus in column 1**	**Nucleus** **Identical to nucleus in column 1**
1 The recording of yesterday's meeting was broadcast by RCTI on the afternoon and evening news. Apparently a few journalists, including RCTI Deputy Chief Editor Imam Wahyudi, were taken blindfolded to the meeting by GAM. Then all the journalists interviewed Isak Daud and the captives. Behind them, a number of armed men kept watch.	**2**	**10**
2 RCTI reporter Erza Siregar, cameraman Ferry Santoro, and their driver Rahmatsyah were reported missing while on a trip from Kuala Langsa, Kabupaten Aceh Timur to Lhokseumawe, North Aceh on 29 June. Later it was discovered that two Air Force Officer's wives Safrida and Soraya, had gone with them in the vehicle.	**1**	**11**
3 In the broadcast vision, Erza could be seen making a call with a satellite phone. Ferry Santoro and an Air Force officer's wife were also able to do the same. The Commander of the Peureulak region of GAM Ishak Daud said that the meeting had taken place on the edge of a village in the East Aceh region. "Still, it was close to a TNI post" he said. After the meeting, according to [Ishak], Erza and his associates would be returned to GAM headquarters.	**4**	**9**
4 RCTI Production Manager Deni Reksa said that the television crew and a number of other journalists had walked along the edge of the location where Erza's car had been found. Then they contacted Ishak Daud, and were guided by telephone to a particular place. Then they were met by Ishak's men and taken to a number of locations with their eyes blindfolded. "The process of meeting took 12 hours" said Deni, who then added that the crew was unable to locate the meeting place.	**3**	**8**
5 Ishak himself said that up until now Erza had not been investigated by "GAM military police". He said that his troops had to move around constantly to avoid operational [contacts]. The captives were sometimes transported by motor bike or car, but often they had to walk.	**6**	**7**
6 He said GAM had not decided when to release Erza and the other captives. Apart from them, in his opinion there were a number of [other] captives including the Camat Peuralak Timur Furqan who had been held since 1 July. "Today we have also captured ten village headmen", he said.	**5**	**6**
7 Ishak also asked the TNI not to threaten GAM to immediately release Erza and associates. In his view, GAM had all along shown that it was not frightened by the TNI's threats. He said that if the TNI made a threat that gave only until this evening to release the prisoners, the safety of	**8**	**5**

Erza could not be guaranteed.		
8 While this was happening, the GAM leadership in Sweden said that they had given instructions that GAM in Aceh should release the RCTI journalists immediately. "We have said over there (in Aceh), that after examination the press [reporters] should be freed immediately," said the GAM Minister for Foreign Affairs Zaini Abdullah who was contacted from Jakarta.	**7**	**4**
9 Zaini made it clear that the investigation carried out by GAM in the field on the journalists was not policy from Sweden. That step, in his view, was taken because his members saw the injustice towards the press in carrying out their duties. In this event, he hoped that the press would be able to work justly and impartially.	**10**	**3**
10 In Jakarta, Coordinating Minister for Police and Security Bambang Yodhoyono asked GAM to guarantee the safety of the RCTI journalists. "If they (GAM) are not cooperative, it is our duty to rescue them with force" he said.	**9**	**2**
11 Yudhoyono commented that he did not know the reason why the two journalists were in the middle of GAM. Nevertheless, it was his view that the important step was to rescue them. After that, only then would the investigation process begin.	**11**	**1**

Table 4: Issues Report: <u>Suara Karya</u> 09 July 2003

Original Structure	First Re-order	More Radical Re-order
Nucleus **Exposure of RCTI Crew A Blow to Aceh Regional Martial Law Authority** North Aceh Regional Police will investigate print and electronic media journalists who last Tuesday visited RCTI reporter Ersa Siregar and friends at East Aceh command GAM headquarters. "We are not arresting the journalists, we are just asking for clarification about how they were able to come and go so easily from GAM headquarters," said Chief of Police for Nanggoe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) Inspector General Bachrumsyah Kasman in Banda Aceh, Tuesday.	**Nucleus** **Identical to nucleus in column 1**	**Nucleus** **Identical to nucleus in column 1**
1 Bachrum said that law enforcement in Aceh was not only a matter of national law, but also included the legal provisions put into practice by the Aceh martial law authority. "The Martial Law Authority has issued proclamations, among them that all journalists who wish to cover a particular place must announce that and provide information to the local authorities. Therefore, the police are obliged to enforce the proclamations mentioned," he said.	**2**	**8**
2 The police, said Bachrum, have investigated the Deputy Chief Editor Imam Wahyudi. That investigation, he said, will be continued with a request for an explanation from the other journalists who visited Ersa and associates at GAM's hideout last week	**1**	**9**
3 In Jakarta, the Commander of the TNI General Endriartono Sutarto claimed he was confused about Ersa's status following the broadcast which revealed where he [Ersa] was last Monday. "Is it true that Ersa has been taken hostage? But how can the RCTI side suddenly enter there in safety without us knowing," he said.	**4**	**7**
4 Meanwhile military strategy expert Iswayudhi A Karim considered that the exposure of Ersa and associates by GAM amounted to a blow to the Aceh Martial Law Authority which claims to be in control of the whole Aceh region. "It turns out that GAM is still able to respond. In making this exposure [broadcast] in open country, not in the middle of the forest, it means that GAM is still capable of offering resistance" he said.	**3**	**6**
5 On the other hand, the Head of the Indonesian Red Cross (PMI) Mar'ie Muhammad, both from an organisational and a personal position, said that he was ready to collect Ersa and associates. "As for me personally, I am ready to bring them out and other civilians as well, with one proviso, that there are no conditions whatsoever about what has to be done," he said.	**6**	**5**
6 At the same time, Secretary to the Coordinating Minister for Police and Security, Sudi Silalahi said that in principle the TNI would do its best to assist the National Commission for Human Rights in making an investigation into victims of violence in Aceh. Taking into account a range of reactions from society that that there had been a clash between the TNI and the National Human Rights	**5**	**4**

Commission in performing its duties in Aceh, he emphasised that human rights must be respected by all. "If there is an offence against human rights, no matter what it may be, it must be followed up. The perpetrators must be prosecuted," he said.		
7 In Sudi Silalahi's opinion, the opening of the mass grave that's going on in Aceh .. was to rebut various accusations that .. victims by TNI and the Indonesian Police." Even so, the offences against human rights perpetrated by GAM in Aceh are extraordinary. With my own eyes, I saw in Tekengon, Central Aceh, and Mangamat that GAM committed offences to an extraordinary degree. These cases have not been touched by the National Human Rights Commission. Still living victims of GAM's ferocity, with their eyes plucked out, their feet swollen, their stomachs torn open, vanished from the National Human Rights Commission's surveys," he said.	**8**	**3**
8 This reality pushed the officers of TNI and the Indonesian Police to reveal the occurrence of offences againts human rights by GAM. "So the opening up of the mass grave by the TNI and the Police is not to get rid of evidence as people say," said Sudi.	**7**	**2**
9 Concerning the kidnapping of a number of journalists by the GAM group, Sudi urged press representatives to be aware that that they are serving in the midst of conflict.	**9**	**1**

The Issues Report of 9 July is another matter. As Table 4 shows, there is a breakdown in the expected link between headline and lead. Re-ordering the elements of the Suara Karya news item does affect the intelligibility of the item. In the centre and the right hand columns, the re-ordering of paragraphs makes the text almost unintelligible, precisely because there is no pattern of returning to the nucleus because of the breakdown between the headline and the lead. The failure to establish the nucleus renders it difficult for sub-components to create the kind of orbital relationships evident in the Event Stories from 8 July. Paragraphs 5 to 9 establish no relation with either the headline or lead in the 9 July item. Paragraphs 1 to 3 which manage to create a relationship with the lead are unable to establish any relation with the headline, the element of a news story which is typically understood as foregrounding

the informational content of the lead and establishing what is represented as the key factor in the breach of the social order. Remarkably, then, eight out of nine paragraphs have either no relations or disjunctive relations with the (putative) nucleus. If the Suara Karya Issues Report was ever intelligible, attempts to re-order the news item intensify the tension over a breakdown in political power relations. The item shows how intractable news texts can become if the national press is required to fit in with the written and (especially), the unwritten rules for 'balanced reporting' in Aceh during the martial law period.

The Suara Karya item reports on the same issue that Media Indonesia and Koran Tempo both covered the previous day. As we have seen, each paper tackled the event differently, with Koran Tempo expressing strong views about GAM's actions in convening the event and holding journalists hostage. An equally forceful anti-GAM stance put together in the Suara Karya news item cannot be sustained because the headline, which carries the most intense expression of the journalist/author's representation of the meaning of the event, is at odds with the meanings established in the sub components. The news item does not fail because it represents a particular political perspective on what happened – the other two news items each do that. The Issues Report fails because it cannot intensify and build on the headline, and that, we assume, is an outcome not of poor writing or editing, but of conflicted relations between the press and the military authorities. Martial law authorities obviously were not willing to engage with Iswayudhi Karim's claim that GAM had got the better of

them in this round of the information war. Refracted in the structure of the 9 July

news item is an unresolved political struggle between both the insurgents and martial

law authorities, and between martial law authorities and the press. Martial law

authorities and the political elite enjoined the press to report in an objective, balanced

manner, but found themselves in confusion over a comment that attempted a frank

appraisal of events seen from the perspective of the opposition forces.

The subversive power of this news item is revealed, however, not in textual elements

that could be challenged for failing to canvas the martial law authority's position. It is

evident only between the lines, in the fracture between the headline and the

introduction. It is evident, that is, only if readers are alive to the generic conventions

of news reporting, and take note when textual structure breaks down. As became

evident in the analysis of the role of the middle voice above, we become aware of

larger battles when we are alert to the subtle but influential effects of grammar and

structure, and reading between the lines becomes part of readers' everyday practice.

(Level A Heading) Language and Judgements

At the elite level, in 2003 both the TNI and GAM subscribed to the principle of

objective reporting and endorsed the practice of 'covering both sides'. I have shown,

however, that the two groups differed over what 'covering both sides' meant in

practice, and that opportunities for journalists to seek out the contacts and stories they wanted were heavily constrained by the dangers of conflict, the lack of access they had to the separatist movement, regulations which tended favour the military authorities, a 'rule of thumb' that required all reports to include reference or a quotation from military authorities, and intimidation by TNI personnel who took the view that any news that was favourable to GAM was a betrayal of Indonesian sovereignty.

The difficulties of negotiating these competing priorities take a toll on truth and on journalists' well being. The tactical use of language in these circumstances can be understood as a survival strategy, a way of carrying on under circumstances when the odds are stacked against professional practice. When journalists are exposed to the brutalising suspicion of military authorities in going about their work it has lasting depressing effects. Research under these circumstances also introduces difficult ethical concerns. Interviewing Imam Wahyudi for this discussion was disturbing because although Imam had agreed to discuss the Ersa case it was not long before the questions brought back painful memories of loss and feelings of personal failure to the extent that Imam broke down and was unable to speak for extended periods. What is the ethical responsibility of the researcher under such circumstances? When I found it difficult to continue with the interview and suggested to Imam that we finish, he insisted on continuing. In front of colleagues who had been with him in Aceh, who

now sat, silently witnessing his grief and sense of failure in being unable to rescue Ersa, he said 'I want to tell you ….'.

Reading between the lines has been accepted practice in Indonesia where indirection was the only safe way throughout the New Order period of communicating anything that was politically critical. In the post-Suharto period, grammatical and linguistic devices such as the middle voice, agentless structures and generic structures which, against the facts, foreground a particular ideological position provide a way of picking through the minefield of balanced reporting when journalists are required to bed down with one side. But the middle voice and a kind of tilting balance in favour of the military compromise what journalists believe should be headlined and what can be published. They step around more than the facts. They muffle the stress and fear that shadow journalists every day in Aceh, and satisfy no one – neither the audience of political players nor readers who look to the press to give them, as far as is possible, a reasonably accurate and fair account of the conduct of the insurgency. Balanced and fair reporting has fallen victim to the military interests who so stridently and hypocritically trumpet its importance.

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Endnotes

1 The terminology is counter intuitive. Event stories renamed as 'event reports' would

signify their more empirical, descriptive character, and 'Issues reports' re-named

'Issues stories' would draw attention to their discursive character. For the sake of

consistency and clarity, however, White's original terminology is employed here.

2 The news item not analysed here given space limitations was published by Kompas on

8 July 2003. Twenty paragraphs long, the item is a hybrid Event Story which quotes

Ishak Daud and Ersa Siregar extensively. The item also quotes Former Minister for

Defence and Security Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and notes comments from the well

known non-government human rights advocacy groups The Indonesian Organisation

for Legal Aid and the National Human Rights Commission. The item exhibits the orbital structure evident in the Media Indonesia and Koran Tempo items analysed here.

3 The abbreviations are: BI: Bisnis Indonesia, R: Republika, KT: Koran Tempo, SP: Suara Pembaruan, K: Kompas and the numbers refer to date of publication. Other papers cited in the chapter are JP: Jakarta Post, MI: Media Indonesia and SK: Suara Karya.

Chapter Ten

Using the words of others: 'Reporter voice' and the construal of objectivity in the reporting of political conflict in Finland.

Maj-Britt Höglund

University of Vaasa

(Level A Heading) The Professional Myth

The notion that news reporting is objective is part of the professional ideology upheld within journalism. Journalists will talk of the 'angle' of the story, or strive to find a 'new angle' to a news story. In the competitive media market journalists struggle to create a profile for themselves and to ensure that their reports earn the interest of the audience. They strive to present an account of events which distinguishes itself from others. The search for a news story with an angle raises the interesting question of the relationship between impartiality and objectivity in news reporting.

The objectivity of news reporting is in fact part of the professional mythology within journalism. Objective reporting is understood to be the reporting of existing facts, but also the impartial reporting of the standpoints of both or several sides in a conflict. However, the 'objective' reporting of facts or events may not necessarily be impartial in the sense that no standpoint is given precedence to another. In news reporting standpoints and evaluations from the interviewees are picked up and elaborated on. When interviewees give diverging information or present opposite points of view the reporter has to make a decision concerning the credibility of information received, and decide on how to balance this in text. These decisions are based on the editorial policy of the newspaper, and influenced by the professional and personal values of the reporter.

Media discourse is evaluative and based in ideology, as White (2006) states in the introduction to his *Evaluative Semantics and Ideological Positioning in Journalistic Discourse – A New Framework for Analysis*:

> […] contrary to any claims to 'objectivity' on the part of the media industry, news reporting is a mode of rhetoric in the broadest sense of the word – a value laden, ideologically determined discourse with a clear potential to influence the media audience's assumptions and beliefs about the way the world is and the way it ought to be (White 2006: 37).

The ideologically laden discourse of news reporting needs to be approached through critical discourse analysis. In this context 'critical' is used as the opposite of 'descriptive' discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995: 28), as the function of critical analysis is to unveil the underlying linguistic mechanisms which serve to create ideological stance. An ideological stance in media discourse is realized through the argumentation constructed by the producer of text. In theorizing the nature of discourses Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) argue that they 'not only provide versions of who does what, when and where, they add evaluations, interpretations and arguments to these versions' (p. 15). In investigating magazines Kress and van Leeuwen (ibid.) have shown that they 'project not only value systems and forms of aesthetics, but also […] forms of practice' (p.36). One form of practice is the semiotic action of editors who select, arrange and order discourses, and choose a mode of articulation, in order to construct an argument.

The practice of arranging the material of a news story constructs the reporter's argument and produces the 'angle' of the story. Consequently, the 'angle' of a news story is constituted by structural arrangements and strategic linguistic choices. The strategies result in a particular discourse style, which is known as 'reporter voice' – an evaluative stance ultimately based on a particular ideology. The reporter has power over the text (Fairclough 2001: 45) and can choose to arrange the utterances of his/her

sources with information received so as to construct an argument. The reporter also has the power to decide which sources are to be considered relevant and reliable, and thus to be included in the news story. The reporter can then decide in what way the sources are to be included in the text, either as identified voices in direct quotes, or as voices intravocalised into the narrative of the news story. The structure of the argument indicates the reporter's evaluation of the events reported, and the linguistic choices of the reporter position him/herself attitudinally.

(Level A Heading) The Political Struggle

On 18th September 2004 the Swedish language newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet* (published in Helsingfors, Finland) featured a front-page report about the events surrounding the appointment of a new CEO for YLE, the Finnish Broadcasting Company. This marked the beginning of a series of news reports and editorials in both national and regional newspapers in Finland during the last two weeks of September and the first week of October 2004. During this period, *Hufvudstadsbladet* published nine news reports and attached secondary stories (or side-bars) by the paper's own reporters, (18.9, 22.9, 27.9, 29.9, 30.9, 1.10), one main editorial (30.9), three secondary editorials (28.9, 1.10, 3.10) and one column (1.10).

<Insert jpg of the newspaper article 'C10Backman'>
Hufvudstadsbladet, the national daily Swedish language newspaper in Finland, featured the story of Jouni Backman on 27th September 2004.

Hufvudstadsbladet (hereafter HBL) is the largest of the 11 Swedish language newspapers catering for a population of 300,000 Swedish speakers in Finland. With a circulation of just over 50,000 copies[1] it is the only Swedish language newspaper which can claim that it reaches a Swedish speaking and a bilingual audience nationally. HBL is published daily and it has an editorial staff of some 100 people. It reports on national

and international issues as well as issues related to the Swedish speaking population and minority language questions. Politically it is affiliated to the Swedish People's Party (Svenska Folkpartiet) and thus liberal in a Scandinavian context.

In the autumn of 2004 both news media broadcasting and publishing in Finland reported on the contested appointment turned political conflict. Leaving the vast material of Finnish news reporting on the conflict aside, this study will instead focus on the reporting of the Swedish language newspapers in Finland, specifically that of HBL. Concerning the other Swedish language print media in Finland, the second largest daily newspaper *Vasabladet* published four news stories (29.9, 30.9, 1.10, 5.10) by its own reporters and three editorials (30.9, 1.10, 5.10). The smaller but highly prestigious regional newspaper *Åbo Underrättelser* published five editorials (16.9, 28.9, 30.9, 1.10,15.10) and its neighbour *Västra Nyland* (2.10) one editorial. Both reported the actual proceedings of the affair through news texts from the Swedish language branch of the Finnish News Agency (*Finska Notisbyrån*). The ongoing processes in the national broadcasting company were constructed as issues of public interest by the press.

(Level A Heading) Status of the Finnish Broadcasting Company

Public service broadcasting can be described as existing as a triangle formed by the public interest, political support and economic resources. With political decisions the public has the right to news and information through reporting which is independent of economic or ideological interest groups. Political decisions makers are the guardians of the public service broadcasting company. However, they are also in a position where they may be tempted to exploit the company for their political ends. In the case of YLE, its economy is based on licence fees collected from the viewers, and payments from commercial channels for broadcasting concessions. The company, although theoretically non-profit, is expected to balance its budget according to the rules of a market economy.

Deficits need to be covered by subsidies from public sources agreed on by parliamentary vote. Repeated deficits have generated debate about whether continued financing through licence fees is the best option for the future.

When the Finnish YLE was founded in 1929 it was modelled on the BBC as a public service broadcasting company. The company answers to Parliament, not to the Cabinet, and the 21 members of its Board of Trustees are elected by Parliament. The Board of Trustees in turn appoints a Board of Directors, consisting of the CEO and other directors of the company. This was the structure of the company at the time of the conflict of 2004.

Public service broadcasting in Finland was and is an area laden with ideological meaning against a background of media globalisation and rapid technical developments. When the news broke about the difficulties surrounding the appointment of a new CEO in September 2004 YLE in its capacity as a public service company became the object of intense media attention and speculation. The media, in reporting on the 'affair' positioned itself ethically on the moral high ground as the champions of free speech. The media hastened to defend the integrity of YLE as a media company, in the construed interest of the viewers/listeners, against the risk of YLE being, once more, turned into a battleground for the personal aspirations of politicians and parties and a pawn in a political chess game. The process of appointing the new CEO in the autumn of 2004 was enacted against a background of structural changes to come within YLE.

The need to restructure YLE ran parallel to the appointment process for a new CEO for YLE. By the autumn of 2004, the process had been going on for two years and a number of rather expensive consultants had been involved in the process. In spite of the involvement of professional consultants, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Markku Laukkanen, launched the proposal by suggesting Jouni Backman, top SDP[2] politician and himself a member of the Board of Trustees, for the job. The media reporting the conflict labelled this as a political 'deal' between the two major political parties in power

in the government. Members of Parliament reacted sharply and in the media, pointing out that members of the Cabinet appeared to be making decisions about a company which was the responsibility of Parliament. Simultaneously, Seppo Niemelä who had been appointed to develop the plan for the restructuring of YLE, submitted his report. In it he suggested, additional to raised licence fees, a model where the Board of Trustees would still be appointed by Parliament.

It would, however, in its turn appoint a Board of Directors consisting of external experts who would in turn, in the future, elect the CEO's of YLE. The model heralded the end of immediate political influence over the Board of Directors and the appointment of the CEO's of the Finnish Broadcasting Company.

Therefore, it can be argued that the political struggle surrounding the appointment of the CEO in the autumn of 2004 was a final attempt by professional politicians to exercise political influence over the process before procedures were changed. The attempt failed, and by the middle of November 2004, a new CEO for YLE was appointed in short order by the Board of Trustees. The new CEO Mikael Jungner, 39, was a businessman who had been headhunted from Microsoft. He was introduced as being non-political. But, incidentally, he had been special advisor to two SDP Cabinet ministers and the previous SDP Prime Minister Paavo Lipponen.

(Level A Heading) The News Reports

For the purpose of this study, I have chosen to focus on three news reports published in HBL, those of 27th September 2004, 29th September 2004 and 30th September 2004. These will hereafter be referred to as Text A, Text B and Text C and the sentence referred to in the news reports will be indicated by its number. The texts and translations are provided in the Appendix. Text A reports on the emergence of prominent SDP politician Jouni Backman as the principal candidate as new CEO, notwithstanding the fact that he was a member of the committee charged with the task of headhunting

candidates. At the time, Backman was also a member of YLE's Board of Trustees (förvaltningsrådet). Text B reports reactions and comments of members of the Board of Trustees after a board meeting held the previous evening. It also speculates on how the politicians involved will pursue the issue. Text C reports on the counter activities initiated by female members of the Centre Party who resisted the appointment of Backman. Their standpoint gained support from female MPs of other parties.

This study has its focus on the voices manifesting themselves in the narrative sequences and direct quotes, and on the way in which these voices interact to create a stance. The voices used to structure the news reports manifest themselves in monoglossic narrative sequences and heteroglossic extravocalised or intravocalised quotes. While monoglossic declarative statements may appear as uncontested and reporting 'facts', heteroglossic utterances recognize the existence of alternative utterances and the existence of several sources. The heteroglossic approach, besides allowing for voices to alternate, opens up space for attitudinal evaluation in the text. As White (2001: 19) has shown, a heteroglossic approach does not recognise utterances as interpersonally neutral or 'objective'. For my investigation, the subtypes of 'engagement' and 'attitude' as outlined within the Appraisal theory framework are central. The concept of engagement will be applied to investigate the dialogic nature of utterances, in order to identify the underlying sources of the voices built into the text. The attitudinal systems of 'appreciation' and 'judgement' will be applied in order to identify social and moral evaluation of events and actions, as well as human beings, expressed by reporter and interviewees.

It may be argued that news reporting in essence is heteroglossic in the respect that it is always based on outside sources, that is, original voices other than that of the reporter. The role of the reporter is to gather information and statements and arrange them into the format of a news story. The arrangement of the material constructs the argument of the 'reporter's voice'. I argue that 'reporter's voice' in the three news stories is construed by combining the narrative voice of the reporter reporting 'facts' with the inserted voices of the interviewees, and that the voices support each other in an

argumentation which evaluates events and actions. My hypothesis is that the reporter intravocalises articulations of facts, utterances or sentiments into the narrative sequences of the news story, thus compromising impartiality, if not necessarily objectivity. The voices of the interviewees expressing ideological and evaluative stances are extravocalised as direct quotes into the structure of the news story. The reporter's choice of the voices is made to support the evaluative argument of the news story. The evaluation is based on the morality of the time and ideological interests of the newspaper or media owner. Consequently it is to be understood as ideological.

In this study 'objectivity' is understood as a question of whose voices are heard in the news report, and how the reporter uses the options of emphasis to create an evaluative stance. I argue that although the reporting of the conflict may be formally impartial, the emphasis placed by the reporter on the statements of the interviewees, and the way their point of views is supported in the narrative sections of the news reports, produces news reports which align themselves with the critical stance of the interviewees. In what follows, this study will deal with how the voice of the reporter and the voices of the interviewees manifest themselves in the format of each news report, and how they intertwine in each of the reports to create critical stance.

(Level A Heading) Voices Taking Turns

In news reporting the reporter structures the text as a narrative through a series of monoglossic declarations of 'facts'. When statements and utterances of interviewees are inserted into the narrative as direct quotes they are distinguished typographically with hyphens or quotation marks. By explicitly attributing statements to the interviewees the reporter limits evaluative meanings in his/her own material. In news reporting in Finland all sides in a conflict are generally heard, or referred to, in order to avoid criticism for being partisan. This manner of reporting has traditionally been considered as 'objective' reporting. This is also the basic structure of the three HBL news reports of 27th

September 2004 (Text A), 29th September 2004 (Text B) and 30th September 2004 (Text C). In spite of this, they all three appear to question the attempt to appoint Backman as CEO of YLE.

The reporter has two immediate options for using the voices of interviewees in the structure of his/hers news story. One option is to build the voices into the structure of the narrative part of the story where they become part of the argumentation. In this case they may be explicitly indicated as outside sources which are identified or unidentified. They may also be built into the argumentation as 'facts' or general knowledge in which case they are not explicitly identified as a source. The other option is to arrange the voices of the interviewees as quotes which support the overall argument of the news story. When the options are used together, and the narrative and the voices of interviewees support each other, they construct a news story which conveys the evaluative stance of the interviewees as the stance of the news story. The interaction between the reporter's voice and the statements of the interviewees are discussed below.

First, I look at the way in which the voice of the reporter and the voices of the interviewees manifest themselves in each of three news reports. Secondly I look at how the voices interact to create a critical stance in the texts. Text A describes the appointment process as being badly handled and unethical. It takes the form of a narrative frame where the unfolding of events is reported mainly through the inserted statements from interviewees. Text B describes the procedure as undemocratic, the handling as incompetent, and the procedure as lengthy. It balances the narrative of the reporter's voice evenly with quotes from the interviewees. Text C describes how the opposition is mobilizing, thus validating the criticism of the appointment procedure, and it adds the gender angle. The news report in its first third takes the form of a running narrative illustrated with inserted statements from interviewees. The rest of the text has a question – answer format where the questions of the reporter and the answers of interviewees are typographically marked and clearly distinguishable from each other.

(Level B Heading) Text A: Unethical!

Text A from the 27th September 2004 describes the appointment process as badly handled and unethical. In the text the voice of the reporter Tommy Pohjola manifests itself by creating a frame of reported facts which allows the narrative to proceed through the statements of interviewees inserted into the structure. The reporter's voice manifests itself in the monoglossic declarations which construct the framework of Text A. The text consists of 8 monoglossic statements and 24 extravocalised utterances. The monoglossic declarations report facts, as for instance *Rundradion har dålig ekonomi*. (Text A: 6; YLE's finances are in a poor state.). This is presented as a fact which needs no further explanation, either because it is generally known, or because the reporter has had it confirmed beyond doubt. Besides reporting facts, the reporter also presents his conclusions or impressions to illustrate the stance of an interviewee. For instance *Irina Krohn, som för de grönas talan i förvaltningsrådet, är chockad, arg och besviken*. (Text A: 30; Irina Krohn, who speaks for the Green Party on the Board of Trustees, is shocked, angry and disappointed.). Thus the reporter's voice in the narrative frame prepares for the utterances of the interviewee.

The voices of the interviewees manifest themselves as extravocalised insertions or assimilations which are built into the structure of the news story. They appear as direct quotes or in connection with the traditional 's/he says'. The interviewees state their point of view, express sentiments or give information. For instance *Men jag kan inte förstå det här, säger hon*. (Text A: 41; - But I cannot understand this, she says.). The interviewee expresses her frustration at not believing the process, at the same time evaluating it negatively. Information is provided in for instance Backman's own statement *Mitt svar beror på resultatet av sonderingarna*. (Text A: 45; - My answer will depend on the outcome of the negotiations.). In this example Backman himself provides information about future turn of events. He also distances himself from the criticism by refusing to comment directly on it.

The extravocalised dialogic utterances of the interviewees may in themselves be proclamations, conjectures or even hearsay. The utterances in which the interviewee states his/her point of view or give information prevail. For instance the interviewee states her point of view in *Så här får det inte gå till, säger Irina Krohn (grön).* (Text A: 5; - This isn't how things are done, says Irina Krohn (Greens).). She expresses her standpoint in the form of a strongly negative evaluation of the procedure. A purely informative statement, on the other hand, is her utterance *Arbetsutskottet hade möte förra veckan*. (Text A: 35; - The committee had a meeting last week.) However, as she continues and in her next sentence a slight apprehension can be detected *Inte ett ord sades om det här då*. (Text A: 36; Not a word was said about this then.). 'Not a word was said' is a colloquial way of protesting, and, depending on the tone of voice, it may denote criticism. In this context it can be understood as astonishment that no information was given to her. There is, however, no mention of a possible object of criticism, appreciation or judgement.

While the appointment procedure is evaluated negatively, in Text A Backman himself is never the object of negative judgement. Whenever he is evaluated it is in the form of positive evaluation. For instance *Jouni Backman är en bra typ, ung och dynamisk och har arbetat för att få YLE:s ekonomi i skick. Jag har verkligen inget emot hans person, säger Marja Tiura*. (Text A: 23-24; - Jouni Backman is a good chap, young and dynamic, and has worked to get YLE's economy into balance. I really have nothing against his person, says Marja Tiura.). Her utterance continues, however, with an expression of negative appreciation of the process *Men inte ser det här bra ut*. (Text A: 25; - But this does not look good.). A few sentences further down Irina Krohn explicitly proclaims her negative evaluation of the proceedings, and identifies the issue as a moral one *Det här är oetiskt*. (Text A: 38; This is unethical.). The reporter's voice then prepares a frame for further criticism of the process by stating *Inte heller Irina Krohn kritiserar Backman som person*. (Text A: 39; Neither does Irina Krohn criticise Backman personally.). Subsequently the reporter inserts a direct critical statement from

Irina Krohn *Men jag kan inte förstå det här, säger hon*. (Text A: 41; - But I can't understand this.). The reporter leaves room for the interviewees to speak through their quoted statements, while in his narrative emphasizing that the criticism expressed by the interviewees is not personal animosity.

The reporter appears to accept the stance of the critical interviewees as being justified, and uses the reported reactions and the statements of Irina Krohn, Marja Tiura and others to set the critical tone of the news report. The reporter in the narrative section prepares for criticism by referring to the negative reactions and evaluations of interviewees. Subsequently he validates the negative evaluation of events by inserting the critical statements of interviewees as direct quotes. The negative evaluation of events expresses by the interviewees recurs in the headline, in the lead and in subheadings. For instance, the critical stance expressed by Irina Krohn in the text is quoted in the lead *- Så här får det inte gå till, sager Irina Krohn (grön).* (Text A: 5; - This isn't how things should be done, says Irina Krohn (Greens).), and she is given a separate subheading *Upprörd Krohn* (Text A: 29; Agitated Krohn). The critical tone is supported by Marja Tiura's statements, as previously mentioned *Men inte ser det här bra ut*. (Text A: 25; - But this does not look good.). A third interviewee sums up the criticism in his statement *Nej, inte blir det särskilt höga stilpoäng, säger Berth Sundström*. (Text A: 28; No this does not earn very high points for style, says Berth Sundström.). This utterance is assimilated into the headline as *Lanseringen av Backman får inga höga stilpoäng* (Text A: 2; The launching of Backman earns no high points for style).

Statements from interviewees expressing acceptance of the process are not given equal emphasis in headlines, in the lead or in subheadings. The stance of the interviewees is made explicit by their quoted utterances. The interviewees in favour of Backman restate the events, and comment on the situation without questioning the procedure. Those opposed to the appointment of Backman express their stance explicitly and – sometimes – vehemently. They question the process as such and express negative appreciation both on formal grounds and moral grounds. Incidentally, the two most critical voices were

those of female politicians, although none constructed the appointment as a gender issue.

Despite the reference to moral grounds the political affiliation of the interviewees is also an obvious dividing line. The coalition with SDP and the Centre Party as the main players is a tradition in Finland dating back to 1937, and it has also proved to be a powerful one. The representative of the Green Party was harshest in her criticism, and the representative of the Conservatives echoed her stance. The representative of the Swedish People's Party expressed guarded criticism, but also readiness to accept the appointment. The SDP and the Centre Party both had their representatives on the appointing committee guiding the decision. Jouni Backman himself was the SDP representative, while the Centre Party was represented by the chairman of YLE's Board of Trustees, Markku Laukkanen. By early autumn 2004 the committee had discarded the suggestions of external professional consultants. At this stage Markku Laukkanen proposed his colleague, Jouni Backman, to the committee as the future CEO. The reporter summarizes the ethical dilemma of the procedure in one negatively evaluative sentence *Nu är han själv [Backman] kandidat nummer 1, med hjälp av Laukkanen*. (Text A: 22; Now he himself is leading candidate, with the help of Laukkanen.). It has to be assumed that the solution had been cleared with their respective political parties which at the time held the majority in Cabinet. From the utterances of the interviewees in the three texts it is clear that other political parties with seats in Parliament had not been consulted, despite the fact that YLE answers to Parliament, not to the Cabinet. Negative appreciation of the process is expressed for instance in *Nu stannade man för en politisk lösning*. (Text A: 14; Now it was agreed on a political solution.) which suggests that there may have been other than political solutions. However, although a political solution is not necessarily the best option, as a solution it is an acceptable one, and one that politicians will be able to live with.

Solutions and appointments based on party politics are very much part of modern life in Finland. These are obviously issues which, when they attract the attention of the media,

lead to public discussion and criticism. Politicians are aware of the mechanism which can be seen for instance from this example; *Vi vet från förr hur sossarna och centern delat viktiga poster sinsemellan*. (Text A: 27; We know from experience how SDP and the Centre Party divide important tasks between them.). In this statement the tradition of dividing important positions between the two largest parties in power in Finland is the object of implicit negative evaluation. Although the interviewee, Berth Sundström from the Swedish People's Party, does not overtly criticise the process, he indirectly compares the proceedings to similar previous events. The Swedish People's Party is a small party whose seat in Cabinet depends on the good will of the larger parties, although its role is to create political consensus. It would be politically unwise for the representative of SFP to criticise them too harshly.

Text A breaks the news of the conflict, and it renders the story through a combination of facts and assimilated utterances which form the narrative structure of the story, allowing the interviewees and their utterances to construct the critical stance. The news report intravocalises the criticism of that first round of interviewees, simultaneously subscribing to the credibility of their criticism (Höglund 2005: 144). As the conflict proceeds, criticism will become more emotionally charged.

(Level B Heading) Text B: Shamefully Undemocratic!

Text B from the 29th September 2004 describes the procedure as undemocratic, the handling as incompetent, and the procedure as lengthy. The voice of the reporter Staffan Bruun manifests itself in the narrative frame of the text. The reporter's voice in monoglossic declarations reports facts, but also the conclusions or impressions of the reporter. In this text, the reporter suggests evaluation through use of attributes in the form of evaluative adjectives. In Text B, as well as in Text A, the voices of the interviewees manifest themselves as extravocalised insertions or assimilations which are

built into the structure of the news story. Text B consists of 18 monoglossic declarations and 17 extravocalised utterances.

In Text B the narrative of the reporter's voice is more evenly balanced with quotes from the interviewees. The reporter's voice may, for instance, state a fact like _Hennes förslag godkändes inte_. (Text B: 29; Her proposition was not accepted.), or report an impression like _Annika Lapintie (vf) var däremot mycket kritisk_ (Text B: 10; Annika Lapintie (Left Alliance) on the other hand was very critical.). This is followed by a direct quote where Annika Lapintie espresses her criticism as _Jag betraktar processen som skamligt odemokratisk_ (Text B: 11; - I regard the process as shamefully undemocratic.). Her evaluation of the process is thus explicitly negative, and 'shamefully' serves to trigger an attitudinal reaction. The reader is invited to share her stance on the procedures; 'undemocratic' is bad enough in a democratic society, 'shamefully undemocratic' is even worse.

In Text B the reporter, who in Finland is also a well-known writer of fictional thrillers, discreetly produces evaluation by inserting attributes in the form of evaluative adjectives into his narrative. For instance, the headline states _Rundradion tvingas vänta på ny chef_ (Text B: 2; YLE forced to wait for new boss.) where 'forced to' can be understood as negative evaluation; using force is generally not constructed as desirable in any circumstance in Western society. Another example is found in the first sentence of the lead _Utnämningen av högsta chef för Rundradion blev en seg affär i går då förvaltningsrådet sammanträdde_. (Text B: 3; The appointment of a new CEO for YLE turned into a lengthy affair at yesterday's meeting of the Board of Trustees.) where 'lengthy affair' suggests that there was a sharp divergence of opinion at the meeting. The lead further states _Efter sex timmars diskussion bordlades frågan_. (Text B: 4; After six hours of debate the question was shelved.). The implicitly negative evaluation is repeated further down in the text _Förvaltningsrådets möte blev en mycket utdragen affär._ (Text B: 22; The meeting of the Broad of Trustees turned into a lengthy affair.).

This repetition was preceded by a subheading *Långt möte* (Text B: 21; Lengthy meeting).

Consequently, Text B also follows the format of Text A where negative criticism is featured in headline, lead and subheading. Utterances supporting the appointment of Backman are not repeated or given emphasis in the same manner. Unlike in Text A, however, those supporting the appointment are also quoted at length, and it can be argued that Text B to that extent meets the requirements of impartial reporting. Text B also addresses the question of what may be expected to follow.

The utterances of interviewees in Text B do not only state a point of view, they also give information about what may ensue. For instance *Jag vidhåller mitt gamla krav att tjänsten som vd bör lediganslås och det kommer jag att föreslå på mötet*. (Text B: 27: - I stand by my previous demand that the post of CEO should be publicly advertised and this I will propose at the meeting.). Her standpoint is that the job should originally have been advertised, and that it should still be. Another example is in *Jag anser att Backman hade stora möjligheter att bli vald på fredag, sade Laukkanen*. (Text B: 16; - My opinion is that Backman has a good chance of being appointed on Friday, Laukkanen said.). Chairman Laukkanen, who nominated Backman for the job, still claims that his man will actually be elected at a meeting coming up later that week. He proffers this as a conclusion based on information from sources which he chooses not to mention, but which he implies he has access to. The claim of support for Backman is an assertion, not a speculation.

Interviewees may also choose to give their utterance in the form of speculation or conjecture, although this does not happen frequently. There are, however, a few instances when the interviewee chooses to analyse the situation by identifying alternatives. One such example is *Om Backman skulle ha ett brett understood hade han valts redan i dag*. (Text B: 18; If Backman had had widespread support he would already have been elected today.). This speculation by Annika Lapintie suggests that Backman's support is

not as firm as she and others opposing the appointment have been led to believe. She also implied that there will be alternative options, as long as Backman has not been appointed.

The opposition had managed to pitch their battlefield on high moral grounds, by reference to ethics and democracy, but the decision makers in place chose not to debate the issue in that terrain. They will not submit their decision to questioning, instead they held on to their proposition with determination. They gave their statements in a monoglossic, categorical form, clearly signalling their unwillingness to discuss the matter further. For instance *Ett företag av Rundradions storlek lediganslår inte posten som högsta chef, motiverade Laukkanen sitt beslut.* (Text B: 30; - A company the size of YLE does not advertise for its CEO, was Laukkanen's explanation for his refusal.). Laukkanen is claiming that it is a question of company prestige, and that those involved should be acquainted with prodedures in the top-level business world. However, frustration with the opposition is also vented for the first time. For instance *Annika Lapintie opponerade sig mot Laukkanens tolkning vilket fick honom att vred lämna presskonferensen*. (Text B: 39; Annika Lapintie questioned Laukkanen's interpretation which made him storm out of the press conference.). The reporter is quick to pick up on Laukkanen's emotional – and perhaps slightly piqued – reaction:

- *Så är det alltid.* (Text B: 40; That's the way it always is.) *Jag berättar vad som hänt på mötet och Annika Lapintie har förstått allting på motsatt sätt!* (Text B: 41; I restate what has been going on at the meeting and Annika Lapintie has chosen to understand everything the other way around!)

Thus the decision makers refuse to admit that they may have been at fault either ethically or in the formal handling of the issue. They also refuse to allow themselves to be enticed into exchanging arguments with the opposition. Metaphorically, they bury their heads in the sand and imagine that the conflict will disappear if they treat it as non-existent.

Incidentally, this is not an uncommon strategy with Finnish politicians who confuse being in power with being right.

Text B was found to balance the reporter's voice evenly with the voices of the interviewees, and it also quotes both sides of the conflict equally. Statements in the text criticizing the appointment and the procedures around it are, however, emphasized by repetition in headline, lead, or subheading. The voice of the reporter was found to insert evaluative attributes in his monoglossic reporting of 'facts'. The voices of the interviewees were found to take a stance, express sentiments and opinion, or give information. As a whole, Text B clarifies the positions taken in the conflict by the participants.

(Level B Heading) Text C: I Want Professional Competence!

Text C from the 30th September 2004 brings in two new perspectives on the conflict, the opposition within the Centre Party itself and the gender angle. In Text C the competence of Backman is openly questioned for the first time. It also describes how the opposition is mobilizing, a fact with can be interpreted as a validation of the criticism of the appointment procedure. The text is written by two female reporters in tandem, Lena Skogberg and Anne Suominen, and consists of 14 monoglossic declarations and 23 extravocalised utterances. The first third of the text has the form of a running narrative with inserted statements from interviewees, then the form changes to a question – answer format.

From the start Text C has its focus on the opposition within the Centre Party, and its reservations about the competence of Backman for the task of CEO. Headline and lead are based on the criticism of opposition within the Centre Party. The headline states *Kompetensen som YLE-direktör ifrågasätts* (Text C: 1; Competency of YLE's CEO questioned), and *Centerkvinnor tar strid mot Backman* (Text C: 2; Centre Party women

open fire on Backman). Both statements interpret and summarize the utterances of interviewees which follow in the lead and in the text itself. The first sentence of the lead features the Centre Party representative on the Board of Trustees who states *Jag vill se en kandidat med starkare professionell kompetens än Jouni Backman (sdp), säger medlemmen i Rundradions förvaltningsråd Maria-Kaisa Aula (c)*. (Text C: 3; I want to see a candidate with a stronger professional competence than Jouni Backman (sdp), says Maria-Kaisa Aula (c), member of the Board of Trustees of YLE.). Maria-Kaisa Aula is now a new member of the appointing committee which had been expanded from two members to six at the 'lengthy meeting' of Text B. Her C.V. is listed to validate her credibility; long term politician, with a background in media research, a member of the Board of Trustees since 1991 and previously one of the special assistants to the Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen. As the story unfolds it becomes clear that she has backing both within her own party and from the two politicians mentioned previously, Irina Krohn (Greens) from Texts A and B, and Annika Lapintie (Left Alliance) from Text B.

The opposition targets the competence of Backman, and not the appointment procedures, thus avoiding overt criticism of their own colleagues in the Centre Party. This is a change from the criticism expressed in Text A which questioned the procedure but not Backman. Text C after the first 14 sentences moves from the narrative with inserted quotes to a question – answer format. This change of format recreates the direct forum of radio and television reporting where reporter, interviewee and reader are immediate participants. Questions are put to two interviewees only, Maria-Kaisa Aula who in Text C in mentioned for the first time, and Berth Sundström from Text A. The questions are distinguished typographically in bold, and have the form of statements which the reporters seeks to verify. Within journalism these are known as 'leading questions' that is an interview technique which facilitates the interviewee to confirm rather than deny the statement. For instance *Det är alltså Backmans kompetens som är stötestenen, och inte urvalsprocessen som sådan?* (Text C: 15; The problem, then, is Backman's competence and not the selection process as such?). Maria-Kaisa Aula has already stated that she wants somebody with professional experience of the media. She avoids direct criticism

of the appointment process, and thus indirect criticism of her own party, by her reply to this question *- Det är klart att allt inte är som det ska om de två personer som leder urvalsprocessen stannar för den ena i gruppen*. (Text C: 16; It is obvious that things are not all right if the two persons in charge of the selection process choose themselves.). Furthermore, she defends the process by saying that an application process in such a case cannot be totally transparent, as the company must be able to conduct probings without publicity.

The politicians involved are conscious of the demands of professional politics, and their statements show their acceptance of political manoeuvring, within certain limits. Their stance on the issue is made clear through their answers to the direct questions of the reporters. Their answers have the form of typographically distinguishable direct quotes. For instance *Det kommer alltid att finnas politik med i bilden då viktiga poster ska tillsätts inom Rundradion.* (Text C: 21; - There will always be politics involved when important posts within YLE need to be filled.). Another example is *Jag utesluter inte att den person som blir vald har kopplingar till politiken, men politiska meriter får inte vara det viktigaste kriteriet*. (Text C: 12; - I am not ruling out [the option] that the person appointed has political connections, but political merits alone must not be the most important criteria.).

The question – answer format creates a dialogue which allows the reporters to pinpoint certain issues, and the interviewees can choose to comment on it or suggest another more relevant. The reporters can intravocalise facts into their questions, or even refer to hearsay. For instance when the reporters seek confirmation of a rumour in a question which is in fact a statement, *Det sägs att ordförande Markku Laukkanens position vacklar*. (Text C: 24; It is said that chairman Markku Laukkanen's position is untenable.). Maria-Kaisa Aula chooses to reject the opportunity to speculate and gives an answer *Centerns interna byktvätt sköter vi själva, inte i offentligheten.* (Text C: 26; - We will deal with Centre Party dirty washing internally, not in public.). By avoiding

both the question and speculation she also draws the line as to how far she is prepared to go in criticism of her own party.

While headline and lead summarized the criticism directed at the process, the only subheading of the text focuses on the predicament of the Swedish Party representative, Berth Sundström. The subheading states *Sfp ligger lågt* (Text C: 27; Sfp keeps low profile) and it summarizes the utterance of Berth Sundström confirming that the Swedish People's Party is positioning itself cautiously. He declares himself prepared to support the appointment of Backman *För mig är det en balansgång*. (Text C: 30; - To me it's a balancing act.). He offers the reasons for his stance *Jag måste tänka på att jag ska försvara de svenska resurserna i Rundradion också inför den nya direktören*. (Text C: 31; I have to remember that I have to defend Swedish lanuage resources within YLE with regard to the new CEO as well.). The reporter, however, intravocalises the sentiments of his interviewee in this way *Men också Sundström tycker illa om processen.* (Text C: 32; But also Sundström dislikes the process.), indicating that he is not happy with the situation. He agrees in hindsight that the appointment could have been prepared in a more consistent manner *Med facit på hand kunde vi alla ha tagit tag i frågan tidigare*. (Text C: 35; - In hindsight we could all have addressed the issue earlier.).

The headline summarizing the criticism also explicitly identifies the opposition as 'Centre Party women', thus drawing attention to the gender angle. In Text C the main interviewee is Maria-Kaisa Aula who is constructed as having a platform of knowledge and political experience from where to launch her criticism. She enters the conflict at a point when transparency had been added to the process by the election of four new members to the appointment committee originally consisting of two men from the inner corridors of power. Two of the new members are women. The two politicians most critical of the procedures mentioned in Texts A and B are also women. Their outspoken criticism may, in contrast to male politicians or a minority representative like Berth

Sundström, stem from the fact that they have nothing to lose by voicing their stance on ethics and democracy.

The topic for this section has been the way in which the voice of the reporter and the voices of the interviewees manifest themselves in each of the three texts. The proportion of extravocalised insertions compared to monoglossic statements is much larger in Text A and slightly less in Text C, while the proportions are almost equal in Text B. The narrative sequences in Texts A and C are distinctly shorter than in Text B, leaving more space for the voices of the interviewees. The voice of the reporter was found to structure the text as a narrative through a series of monoglossic declarations reporting 'facts'. The voices of the interviewees were found to take a stance, express sentiments and opinion, or give information. They manifested themselves in quoted utterances which were clearly distinguishable from the narrative sections of the text. Text A which was the first news report about the conflict left more room for the utterances of the interviewees. Text B on the other hand, balances the reporter's voice evenly with the voices of the interviewees. Text C follows the same narrative format in it first third, then moves into question – answer format for the remainder of the news report.

On the whole, it can be argued that the conflict itself is reported on with formal impartiality in the sense that both those in favour of the appointment and those against were heard. The stance of those criticizing the process is, however, repeated in headlines, leads and subheadings. The facts, impressions and conclusions reported in the narrative of the news story interact with the voices of the interviewees in the form of direct quotes. The voice of the reporter and the voices of interviewees support each other to create the critical stance of the three news stories. The reporter's voice in his/her choice of emphasis is found to subscribe to the credibility of the criticism expressed by the interviewees opposing the appointment of Backman. Although the unfolding of events is reported in an impartial manner, the emphasis of each of the three news stories is on the voices of criticism.

(Level A Heading) Conclusion

This study set out to investigate how 'objectivity' is construed in three *Hufvudstadsbladet* news stories reporting on political conflict on 27th September 2004, 29th September 2004 and 30th September 2004. 'Objectivity' was understood as a question of whose voices are heard in the news reports, and 'impartiality' was understood as the basis of objectivity. The concepts of monoglossia and heteroglossia were used to identify the extravocalised or intravocalised voices. The way is which the voices of reporter and interviewees manifest themselves in each of the three texts was investigated, as well as the manner in which the voices interact to create an evaluative stance.

The voice of the reporter was found to manifest itself in monoglossic declarations in the narrative sequences of the text. In these declarations the reporter was found to intravocalise expressions of sentiment, facts or conjecture from the interviewees, or from other sources not identified. As was to be expected, the explicit manifestation of the voices of the interviewees took the form of extravocalised utterances which appeared as explicit quotes.

The reporter had the option of using the voices of interviewees in two ways when constructing reporter's voice. One option was to build the statements of voices into the structure of the narrative part of the story where they became part of the argumentation as 'facts' or general knowledge. The other option was to arrange the voices of the interviewees into direct quotes in order to support the overall argument of his/her news story. Voices built into the narrative part of the news story prepared for the direct quoted statements, and the voices in the narrative and the voices of the interviewees quoted supported the argument of the reporter's voice.

The argument in each of the news stories was constructed by means of voices in the narrative section and the statements of the interviewees taking turns. Alignment with the critical stance of the interviewees was achieved by placing emphasis on the criticism with the help of headlines, leads and subheadings. Together these mechanisms construct 'reporter's voice' in a Swedish language news story which conveys the evaluative stance of the interviewees as the stance of the news story. The reporter's voice aligns the reporter with the moral evaluation of the interviewees in their criticism of the appointment process. The result is a news story in which the reporter, although formally impartial in his treatment of the parties of the conflict, subjectively subscribes to the credibility of the criticism.

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2 Swedish language names of the political parties mentioned in the news reports, the

abbreviations and translations:

Centerpartiet (c), Centre Party

Gröna förbundet (grön), Green Party

Samlingspartiet (saml), Conservatives

Socialdemokratiska partiet (sdp), Social Democrat Party

Svenska folkpartiet (sfp), Swedish People's Party

Vänsterförbundet (vf), Left Alliance

Level A heading Appendix – Swedish news stories.

<u>HUFVUDSTADSBLADET</u> *(Swedish language daily in Finland),*
27ᵗʰ September 2004

Clause #	Swedish	
1	***YLECHEFEN***	
	Sdp-politikern väljer sig själv till vd-kandidat	Proc
2	***Lanseringen av Backman får inga höga stilpoäng***	**EV/ ASS**
¶1		
3	*Jouni Backman (sdp) ser ut att bli ny vd för Rundradion.*	app
4.	*Beskedet överraskar en del medlemmar i Yles förvaltningsråd.*	hear
5.	*- Så här får det inte gå till, säger Irina Krohn (grön).*	I/proc
¶1		
6.	*Rundradion har dålig ekonomi.*	MG
7.	*Enligt medlemmar i förvaltningsrådet som Hbl har talat med är bolaget i behov av kraftig sanering.*	Ev/ass
¶1		
8.	*Ordföranden för förvaltningsrådet, **Markku Laukkanen** (c) uppgav i går att Jouni Backman, 45, bekräftat att han ställer upp som kandidat till posten som vd för Yle.*	Ev/ass + Hear
¶1		
9.	**- Mot den ekonomiska bakgrunden är Backman ett bra val.**	***I/proc***
10.	*Vi vet alla vad som händer med de svenska resurserna i ett sådant läge.*	I/proc
11.	*Men inget är fastspikat.*	I/proc
12.	*Förvaltningsrådet samlas på tisdag, säger **Berth Sundström**, sfp:s representant i Yles förvaltningsråd.*	I/proc
¶1		
13.	*- Förhandlingarna är tydligen slut.*	I/prob
14.	*Nu stannade man för en politisk lösning.*	I/proc
15.	*Personligen önskar jag att man valt en hård sanerare, säger **Marja Tiura**, en av samlingspartiets representanter i rådet.*	I/proc
¶1		
16.	*Rundradions nuvarande chef **Arne Wessberg** går i pension vid årsskiftet.*	MG
17.	*Ex-minister och riksdagsledamot Jouni Backman har starka band till public service-rundradioverksamhet och breda samhälleliga kontakter.*	
18.	*Backman är vice ordförande i Yles förvaltningsråd,*	
¶1		
19.	***Ser dåligt ut***	App
¶1		

20.	*Det har tagit lång tid att vaska fram en vd för Yle och namnen som nämnts under de 18 månader som gått har varit många.*	MG
21.	*Jouni Backman var tillsammans med Markku Laukkanen med i den grupp som hade i uppgift att leta fram lämpliga vd-kandidater.*	
22.	*Nu är han själv kandidat nummer 1, med hjälp av Laukkanen.*	
¶1		
23.	*- Jouni Backman är en bra typ, ung och dynamisk och har arbetat för att få Yles ekonomi i balans.*	I/proc
24.	*Jag har verkligen inget emot hans person, säger Marja Tiura.*	I/proc
¶1		
25	*- Men inte ser det här bra ut.*	I/proc
26.	*Å andra sidan är det ett mönster.*	I/prob
27.	*Vi vet från förut hur sossarna och centern delat viktiga poster sinsemellan.*	I/hear
¶1		
28.	*- Nej, inte blir det särskilt höga stilpoäng, säger Berth Sundström.*	I/proc
¶1		
29.	***Upprörd Krohn***	App
¶1		
30.	***Irina Krohn**, som för de grönas talan i förvaltningsrådet, är chockad, arg och besviken.*	MG
31.	*Hon lovar att morgondagens omröstning inte blir enhällig.*	Ev/ass
¶1		
32.	*- Rundradion är inte bara ett bolag bland andra utan Finland största kulturinstitution.*	I/proc
33.	*När Yle väljer vd får det bara inte se ut som det nu gör.*	I/proc
¶1		
34.	*Jouni Backmans kandidatur kommer som en fullständig överraskning för Irina Krohn.*	MG
¶1		
35.	*- Arbetsutskottet hade ett möte förra veckan.*	I/proc.
36.	*Inte ett ord sades om det här då.*	I/proc
37.	*Jag hade gärna sett att Backman jävat sig själv från utredningsgruppen.*	I/proc
38.	*Det här är oetiskt.*	I/proc
¶1		
39.	*Inte heller Irina Krohn kritiserar Backman som person.*	MG
40.	*"Han är en bra typ och en bra administratör".*	I/proc
¶1		
41.	*- Men jag kan inte förstå det här, säger hon.*	I/proc
¶1		
42.	*Markku Laukkanen kommer nu att kontakta de politiska partier som har representanter i förvaltningsrådet.*	MG
43.	*Tanken är att få grönt ljus för Jouni Backman.*	MG
44.	*Själv säger Backman att hans kandidatur beror på Laukkanens sonderingar.*	Ev/ass
¶1		
45.	*- Mitt svar beror på resultatet av sonderingarna.*	I/prob
46.	*Om det blir grönt ljus är jag intresserad, säger Backman till Yles tv-nyheter.* *Tommy Pohjola* *09-1253 341, tommy.pohjola@hbl.fi*	I/proc

<u>HUFVUDSTADSBLADET</u> (Swedish language daily in Finland),

29th September 2004

Clause #	Swedish	
1	*VD-POST*	MG
2	***Rundradion tvingas vänta på ny chef***	App
3	**Utnämningen av ny högsta chef för Rundradion blev en seg affär i går då förvaltningsrådet sammanträdde.**	MG
4.	**Efter sex timmars diskussion bordlades frågan.**	MG
5.	**Förvaltningsrådet sammanträder på nytt på fredag.**	MG
¶1		
6.	*- Då hoppas vi vara redo för utnämning, sade förvaltningsrådets ordförande **Markku Laukkanen** (C) i går.*	I/prob
7.	*Han ville inte vidkännas kritiken mot processen.*	Ev/ass
8.	*- **Jouni Backman** (sdp) gav först på söndagskvällen tillstånd för mig att sondera hans möjligheter att bli vald.*	I/proc
9.	**På grund av tidsbrist hann jag inte bereda ärendet grundligare, sade Laukkanen.**	***I/proc***
10.	***Annika Lapintie** (vf) var däremot mycket kritisk.*	MG
11.	*-Jag betraktar processen som skamligt odemokratisk.*	I/proc
12.	*Besvikelsen på mötet var stor med Markku Laukkanens sätt att bereda ärendet.*	I/app
13.	*Och ingenting tycks bli bättre till fredag.*	I/app
14.	*Avsikten är att utesluta de små grupperna från beslutsprocessen, sade Lapintie.*	I/prob
15.	*Markku Laukkanen vidhåller att Jouni Backman fortfarande är hans kandidat.*	MG
16.	*-Jag anser att Backman har stora möjligheter att bli vald på fredag, sade Laukkanen.*	I/proc
17.	*Annika Lapintie höll inte med.*	MG
18.	*- Om Backman skulle ha ett brett understöd hade han valts redan i dag.*	I/prob
19.	*Motståndet mot honom var stort, vittnade Lapintie.*	I/proc
20.	***Irina Krohn** (grön) sade efter mötet att hennes kandidat är förlagsdirektören **Harri Saukkomaa**.*	EV/ass
21.	***Långt möte***	App

22.	*Förvaltningsrådets möte blev en mycket utdragen affär.*	MG
23.	*Då det hade pågått i fyra timmar, klockan 21, tog man paus och de socialdemokratiska och centerpartistiska grupperna höll interna möten.*	MG
24.	*Meningen var att hela förvaltningsrådet skulle samlas igen en halvtimme senare, men socialdemokraternas möte drog ut på tiden i över två timmar.*	Prob
25.	*Vad som behandlades på mötet var oklart.*	MG
26.	*Inför mötet krävde många av förvaltningsrådets 17 medlemmar att utnämningen skulle uppskjutas och avgöras först senare.*	EV/ass
27.	*- Jag vidhåller mitt gamla krav att tjänsten som vd bör lediganslås och det kommer jag att föreslå på mötet.*	I/proc
28.	*Det är ytterst märkligt att de som har fått i uppgift att hitta en ny chef upptäcker att de själva är mest kompetenta, sade Annika Lapintie inför mötet.*	I/proc
29.	*Hennes förslag godkändes inte.*	MG
30.	*- Ett företag av Rundradions storlek lediganslår inte posten som högsta chef, motiverade Laukkanen sitt motstånd.*	I/proc
31.	*Nu har beredningsgruppen utökats från två personer till sex.*	MG
32.	*De tre stora partierna har två medlemmar var, de små inga representanter.*	MG
33.	*Markku Laukkanen fortsätter att leda gruppen medan Jouni Backman lämnar den.*	MG
34.	*Nya medlemmar är **Maria-Kausa Aula**, **Kimmo Sasi**, **Liisa Jaakonsaari**, **Jyri Häkämies** och **Kalevi Olin.***	MG
35.	*På presskonferensen efter mötet fick Markku Laukkanen frågan om inte hela utnämningen blivit en fars.*	MG
36.	*han själv såg inget ovanligt i processen.*	MG
37.	*- Detta var första gången förvaltningsrådet kunde diskutera ett konkret förslag.*	I/proc
38.	*Att mötet drog ut på tiden var därför naturligt.*	I/proc
39.	*Annika Lapintie opponerade sig mot Laukkanens tolkning vilket fick honom att vred lämna presskonferensen.*	MG
40.	*- Så är det alltid.*	I/proc
41.	*Jag berättar vad som hänt på mötet och Annika Lapintie har förstått allting på motsatt sätt!*	I/proc
42.	**STAFFAN BRUUN**	

HUFVUDSTADSBLADET (Swedish language daily in Finland),

30th September 2004

Clause #	Swedish	
1	*Kompetensen som YLE-direktör ifrågasätts*	Hear
2	## *Centerkvinnorna tar strid mot Backman*	MG
3	***Jag vill se en kandidat med starkare professionell kompetens än Jouni Backman (sdp), säger medlemmen i Rundradions förvaltningsråd Maria-Kaisa Aula (c).***	I/proc
4.	*Hon backas upp av kollegan Mirja Ryynänen.*	MG
¶1		
5.	*Om de sonderingar som pågår för att ta fram Rundradions nya vd inte landar i en kompromiss senast i morgon är Aula beredd att driva fram en omröstning.*	MG
6.	*Hon är tidigare riksdagsledamot för centern och medlem i Rundradions förvaltningsråd sedan 1991.*	MG
7.	*Hon har också en bakgrund som massmedieforskare och är just nu mammaledig från sitt jobb som statsminister **Matti Vanhanens** specialmedarbetare.*	MG
8.	**Under förvaltningsrådets maratonmöte på tisdagskvällen valdes Aula in i den utvidgade beredningsgrupp som nu tar tag i direktörsvalet.**	*MG*
9.	*Hon har en egen kandidat för posten och det är inte **Jouni Backman**.*	MG
10.	*Vem det är säger hon inte men ett starkt namn vid mötet i förrgår var TV2:s programdirektör **Päivi Kärkkäinen**.*	MG
11.	*De grönas **Irina Krohn** förde också fram innehållsdirektören **Harri Saukkomaa** från Yhtyneet Kuvalehdet.*	MG
12.	*- Jag utesluter inte att den person som blir vald har kopplingar till politiken, men politiska meriter får inte vara det viktigaste kriteriet.*	I/prob
13.	*Avgörande borde i stället vara personens professionella anknytning till medievärlden.*	I/proc
14.	*Personen bör också ha dokumenterad ledarerfarenhet, säger Aula.*	I/proc
15.	***Det är alltså Backmans kompetens som är stötestenen, och inte urvalsprocessen som sådan?***	Q/app
16.	*- Det är klart att allt inte är som det ska om de två personer som leder urvalsprocessen stannar för den ena i gruppen.*	I/prob
17.	*Men det är inte huvudsaken.*	I/proc
18.	*Jag tror nämligen inte på en helt öppen ansökningsprocess till ett bolag som Rundradion.*	I/proc
19.	*Det behövs sonderingar och de måste kunna genomföras utan publicitet.*	I/proc
20.	***Hur ser du på kritiken som går ut på att centern och sdp idkar den gamla beprövade politiken "lite åt dig, lite åt mig"?***	Q/prob
21.	*- Det kommer alltid att finnas politik med i bilden då viktiga poster ska tillsättas inom Rundradion.*	I/proc

22.	*Det handlar ju trots allt om riksdagens eget bolag.*	I/proc
23.	*Men under hela min tid i förvaltningsrådet har jag företrätt synen att vi behöver mer professionalitet och mindre politik i Yle-ledningen.*	I/proc
24.	**Det sägs att ordförande Markku Laukkanens position vacklar.**	Q/hear
25.	**Hur ser du på hans agerande?**	
26.	*- Centerns interna byktvätt sköter vi själva, inte i offentligheten.*	I/proc
27.	**Sfp ligger lågt**	App
28.	*I offentligheten har också de grönas **Irina Krohn** och vänsterförbundets **Annika Lapintie** varit väldigt kritiska till processen medan svenska folkpartiets medlem i förvaltningsrådet, partisekreteraren **Berth Sundström** legat lågt.*	MG
29.	*Han meddelade redan tidigare i veckan att han är redo att stödja Backman.*	Ass
30.	*- För mig är det en balansgång.*	I/proc
31.	*Jag måste tänka på att jag ska försvara de svenska resurserna i Rundradion också inför den nya direktören.*	I/proc
32.	*Men också Sundström tycker illa om processen.*	MG
33.	*- Den har pågått i ett par år nu utan att man har diskuterat urvalskriterierna.*	I/proc
34.	*De borde ha diskuterats allra först.*	I/proc
35.	**Men varför har ni inte gjort det, du sitter ju själv i förvaltningsrådet?**	Q/prob
36.	*- Med facit på hand kunde vi alla ha tagit tag i frågan tidigare.*	I/prob
37.	*Men jag personligen hade förtroende för att Laukkanen och Backman skulle kunna ta fram en bra modell.*	I/proc
38.	*Sundström är fortfarande redo att svälja Backman även om han också kan tänka sig ett internt rundradionamn.*	MG
39.	*Vem det är vill han inte säga, men det enda beaktansvärda namnet i debatten utöver Päivi Kärkkäinen har varit radiochefen **Seppo Härkönen**.*	MG
40.	*Allt tyder ändå på att förvaltningsrådets majoritet prioriterar politiska meriter.*	App
41.	*- De stora har gjort valet att den politiska förläningen fortsätter, säger Sundström.*	I/ass
42.	*För en liten grupp är det ingen idé att bråka då de stora spelar.*	I/proc
43.	*Min uppgift är i den situationen att bidra till att man väljer en person som står bakom Rundradions public service-uppdrag.*	I/proc
44.	*Ett alternativ som lyftes fram i förvaltningsrådet i förrgår var att sittande vd:n **Arne Wessberg** får förlängt mandat än en gång.*	MG
45.	*- Jo, säger Sundström, men vad är det för idé om man ändå har stannat för att prioritera de politiska meriterna hos den nya vd:n.*	I/prob

46.	*Då kan väl valet ske med en gång.*	I/proc
47.	**LENA SKOGBERG** 09-1253 304, lena.skogberg@hbl.fi	
48.	**ANNE SUOMINEN** 09-1253 337, anne.suominen@hbl.fi	

Note: **boldened** text indicates headlines. Font size indicates headline and subheadlines etc. *Italics* for source language, regular font for English. Body text in Times 12pt. ¶ with grey shading (10%) indicates paragraph break. Table lines are invisible.

Chapter 11

Pulling readers in : news photos in Greek and Australian broadsheets

Dorothy Economou

University of Sydney

Introduction A

The focus of this study is naturalistic photos introducing the long, front-page feature story of a weekend news review section of a Greek and an Australian broadsheet – a news genre often referred to as serious 'investigative' journalism (Keeble 2006) and accorded high epistemic status in each country. In both newspapers, news photos used in the news review context seem at first to be like photos accompanying daily hard news stories, but this paper will argue that they are being used to greater evaluative effect. Both news contexts, daily news and weekly news review, use 'factual photos', meaning naturalistic photographs accompanied by written captions confirming their contents as real people, places and/or events. However, while photos accompanying daily news stories have a predominantly ideational aim - showing what happened or who said something, those introducing weekly news review feature stories clearly have a more evaluative aim. They are selected and presented to more strongly attitudinally position readers in two ways. They are used to pull readers into the ensuing long written feature story, and also, together with headlines, to position them on the issue explored in the following written story.

Evaluative meanings in photos of asylum seekers B

This chapter identifies evaluative meanings in news photos introducing three Greek and three Australian news review feature stories on the issue of asylum seekers as faced by each country in the same one year period. The stories are from the weekly news review section of two similarly 'middlebrow' high circulation broadsheets, the Australian Sydney Morning Herald (hereafter SMH) and the Greek Athens based *Eleftherotypia* (herefter E). The only similarities found in all six stories were in those visual choices made to emotionally engage readers in order to entice or pull them into the page and story. On the other hand, a consistent difference in visual choices between the Greek and Australian newspaper was found in the way they evaluatively position readers on the issue of asylum seekers and towards asylum seekers themselves. This is revealed both in terms of specific attitude values expressed visually, and also in the way these interact with verbal (written) headlines. This difference between the two sets of verbal-visual feature story introductions is particularly interesting in view of the very similar evaluative stance constructed by all six Greek and Australian written stories. All stories are similarly sympathetic towards the plight of asylum seekers in their country, and also similarly critical of government policy regarding asylum seekers.

Socio-semiotic theoretical framework of Appraisal B

The analysis of photos and photo-headline units in this chapter principally uses the theoretical resources of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), as well as insights from a long tradition of critical discourse analysis of the news media (Trew 1979;

Hodge and Kress 1979/93; Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995, 2003; van Dijk 1991,1998; Iedema *et al*. 1994; Wodak 1989, 2001; van Leeweun 1996; Chouliaraki & Fairclough1999; Macken-Horarick 2003a, 2003b; Martin 2002a, 2002b, 2004a, Martin &White 2005). The SFL theoretical framework (Halliday 1978, 1986, 1999; Martin 1992; Halliday and Mathiesson 2004/94) is used not only because it has proved very fruitful in many of the aforementioned critical analyses but also because its comprehensive semantic descriptions of language as a multi-stratal socio-semiotic can be applied to both the visual and verbal semiotic. In the data to be discussed here, the visual semiotic is photographic images and layout design, and the verbal or linguistic semiotic is written printed language. The three types of meanings or 'metafunctions' identified in SFL, applied here to two semiotic systems, are the ideational (representing), interpersonal (interacting) and textual (enabling) metafunctions. This study also employs the SFL discourse semantic description of evaluative meanings (one kind of interpersonal meaning) as mapped by the Appraisal System (Martin 1992, 2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2004a, 2004b; White 1998; Martin &White 2005). Appraisal is adapted and applied here to visual, verbal and bi-modal (verbal-visual) meanings.

The Appraisal System, presented and discussed more fully in Chapter 1 of this book, identifies three sub-systems of evaluative meaning. First, Attitude values, either positive or negative, of three types : Affect - embodied human feelings such as love, fear or anger; Judgement - moral or ethical assessments of human behaviour such as

corrupt or innocent, strong or weak; and Appreciation - assessment of 'things' in terms of aesthetic or social worth such as a beautiful or misshapen object, a successful or dangerous plan. Importantly, an initial entry option for Attitude is the choice between 'inscribed' or 'evoked', the latter being different ways of implying or invoking an attitude value. As mapped by Appraisal and displayed in Figure 1 below these include 'provoking' attitude by lexical metaphor or imagery or by images. Evoked options also include meanings typically referred to in critical discourse analysis as 'ideological', that is, non-attitudinal items which imply attitude values to readers who share a social context, referred to as ideational tokens of attitude here. Second, Graduation values are those that raise or lower the force of attitudinal meanings, or non-attitudinal meanings in order to evoke attitude. This is achieved either in discrete items such as underlined intensifiers in 'very strong' or 'extremely tall', or infused intensification such as in the word 'smash' compared to the more neutral 'hit'. Third, Engagement values are those that dialogically position utterances as acknowledging other voices/positions or not, respectively mapped as heteroglossic (many-voiced) and monoglossic (single-voiced) choices.

Figure 1 : Strategies for inscribing and evoking attitude (Martin &White, 2005)

This paper also adapts for news photos, the SFL notion of evaluative 'key' (Iedema et al 1994; Martin & White 2005), which identifies three journalistic voices in news writing according to the syndrome of appraisal choices associated with each (See

Figure 2). Corresponding keys or 'voices' are identified here in news photos and

similarly identified by how constrained or not they are in terms of evaluative options

available to them. Finally, the SFL notion of 'instantiation' (Martin 2006) is applied

to news photos in this chapter in order to explicate how the evaluative potential of

factual news photos is expanded when they are relocated from daily news to a news

review feature story introduction. Any text is viewed by SFL both as a realisation of a

social context, and also as an instance of a semiotic system. This means that where a

text includes intertextual references, it can instantiate more than one context. It is also

shown here that where the one visual text is re-instantiated into another context, its

evaluative key can change. The photos examined here all have their evaluative

meanings enhanced when they are re-instantiated from the daily news to the weekly

news review context.

Figure 2 Journalistic voices – Evaluative keys

News Contexts - from daily news to weekly news review B

The photos analysed here, all originally taken of real people, places and events as

daily news photos, have all been re-contextualised and re-instantiated as weekly news

review photos. The photos are selected, edited and presented as an integral component

of a prominent photo-headline unit introducing the top feature story of the week. This

re-instantiation process is shown here to involve, in each case, a shift in the evaluative

key of the original factual news photo to take up a wider range of visual appraisal

options. The analysis shows how these re-instantiated factual photos attitudinally

position readers more strongly towards their content and to the issue explored in the

long story than do daily news photos. Thus, just as the written news feature story can

be distinguished from the more 'objective' hard news story by a different syndrome

and wider range of evaluative meanings associated with it, so too can the photos

associated with each kind of story. In a news feature classified as investigative

journalism, the writer's role is typically seen as analyst and interpreter rather than as

reporter of the news (Keeble 2006). A similar interpreter role is identified here for the

team of editors and/or designers who produce the photo-headline introduction of a

news review feature story. This editorial team construct the authorial 'visual voice'

here by interpreting the visual 'facts' available to them in news photos by selecting

and then 'adjusting' and presenting them in particular ways in their new context.

Part 1 Visual Voices : Evaluative Key in news photos B

In the first section of this chapter, I will present the analytical framework to be applied to

photos in the comparative study in the second section. I use examples to illustrate two

visual evaluative keys identified in factual news photos, and the visual appraisal options

identified as critical in distinguishing the two keys. These options include firstly, visual

graduation values that raise or lower the intensity of visual 'factual' news meanings to

evoke attitude values, and secondly, the instantiation of some non-news visual context in

the same photo, also to invoke attitude values. Photographic images displayed in

Figures 3, 4 and 5 from the Sydney Morning Herald are used to present an argument for distinguishing two 'visual voices' or visual keys in factual news photos. Visual Record Key is identified in photos with a strong ideational profile on daily news pages, and Visual Interpretation Key in photos with a higher evaluative profile on the cover page of weekly news reviews. The two visual keys are found to correspond respectively, to Reporter and Correspondent Keys already identified in written news texts.

Part 2 Visual Key and Stance in Greek and Australian photos B

In the second section of the chapter, visual appraisal meanings and visual key descriptions established in the first section are applied to photos that introduce six news review feature stories on the asylum seeker issue from a Greek and Australian broadsheet newspaper. Although all the introductory photos are found to be similarly in Visual Interpretation Key, those introducing the three Australian stories are shown to construct a very different evaluative stance on asylum seekers from those introducing the three Greek stories. By identifying the specific values of the further evaluative options each photo takes up, this analysis reveals a consistent difference in stance constructed by Greek and Australian photos in respect to asylum seekers.

PART 1 Visual Voices - Evaluative Key in news photos A

Visual Record Key B

The distinguishing features of a photo in Visual Record Key correspond to a certain extent to those in Reporter Key in journalistic writing and are similarly identified as highly constrained 'evaluative' options that contribute to creating the rhetorical effect of 'factuality' and 'objectivity' and thus, the backgrounding of authorial subjectivity. Photos 1 and 2 in Figures 3 and 4 below from SMH news pages are identified here as factual news photos in Visual Record Key. They are captioned, naturalistic, visual depictions of some material reality. More so than stories in verbal Reporter Key, photos in Visual Record key are predominantly composed of congruently expressed ideational meanings – typically material participants, processes and circumstances. Unlike written news stories, which are often predominantly comprised of attributed reported speech, the range and extent of externally sourced attitude values that can be expressed in a news photo is far more limited, though not impossible.

Figure 3: Visual Record Key Photo 1   Figure 4: Visual Record Key Photo 2

Some explicit attitude values can be depicted and clearly sourced to represented persons in Visual Record Key photos without affecting the factual status of the photo. Where photos depict people, a certain range of feelings can be visually inscribed on people's faces. Other kinds of attitude, including judgement, can also be strongly provoked, if not inscribed visually, by their body stance or gestures. However, only a few values can be unambiguously inscribed and provoked visually and for the most

part these are of a fairly general nature. In Photo 1, taken at the time of the tsunami disaster in Asia, a strong negative affect value of unhappiness or grief is clearly inscribed on the face, and also suggested by the stance of the young woman on the right. Positive judgement values targeting the woman on the left as caring, are also visually provoked by her stance as she bends towards, and has her arm around the grieving woman. Though emotions visually inscribed are clearly negative affect, they could be grief, unhappiness and/or shock and similarly, the positive judgement clearly provoked could be associated with care, support and/or comfort.

Some ideational meanings may function in Visual Record photos, as in Reporter Key stories, as universally understood tokens of attitude without affecting their interpretation as 'objective'. Photo 2, taken after a fatal local car accident, depicts a damaged car but no human participant whose face or stance could be used to inscribe or provoke attitude values. However, the wrecked car acts here as a strong ideational token of attitude values which are almost as unambiguous as those inscribed or provoked in Photo 1. But these too are also generalised and could include all or some of the following affect and judgement values - shock, sorrow, pity, anger and condemnation. Most readers will be positioned by this photo to share some of the negative affect values provoked by the wreckage in respect to people who were in the car, and perhaps, also negative judgement in respect to causes or the perpetrator of the accident.

A key criterion for such images being read as 'factual' is that they conform to certain image composition and layout conventions associated with the particular context of the broadsheet news page. Importantly, the range of visual choices accepted by newspaper readers as non-attitudinal and thus identifying the photo as Visual Record Key may include many which, in other contexts, could be described as unconventional and so reflecting an authorial viewpoint. Any unusual choices by cameraman, photo-editor or page designer affecting photo content, composition and presentation are typically interpreted in the daily news context as the result of the material constraints of eyewitness photography and page layout, not as expressing a subjective 'authorial' viewpoint. In addition, further supporting a factual reading, and backgrounding authorial subjectivity, is the reduced salience of photos positioned on a news page with other photos and stories, and a factual headline nearby. Here Photo 1 is even less salient than Photo 2 as it is smaller, lower on the page and does not interact with any nearby headline.

Despite these grounds for classifying a news photo as 'objective' and likely to be read as factual, such Visual Record photos, nevertheless, do often have a clear potential to do attitudinal work, as has been shown for the objective factual hard news story (White, 96). As is shown in the analysis of Photos 1 and 2, they have the potential to position the viewer to take a positive or negative view of depicted, or even implied participants, whether or not the photo's selection and presentation is consciously motivated by this potential. In this, Visual Record photos can operate attitudinally

while still presenting an appearance of 'factuality'. Thus, camera angle and distance

may contribute to attitudinally positioning viewers positively towards the participants

in Photo 1, empathising with the girl on the right and approving of the girl on the left.

However, in the daily news context, these choices are likely to be interpreted as due to

limited availability of vantage points for the cameraman. Similarly, the type and

number of visual items presented within the frame, often achieved by cropping and/or

enlarging, may also work attitudinally, as does the single item in Photo 2. However,

on the news page, this choice may be seen just as representing material reality in a

way that is dictated by newsworthiness and space constraints in page layout design.

Many of the visual choices which intensify or evoke attitude values without affecting

the objective status of the Visual Record photo are identified here as visual graduation

values. A range of visual graduation choices made not only by the cameraman but

also by photo editor and page designer function attitudinally just as do verbal

graduation choices in Reporter Key stories. For example, intensifying quantifiers like

'huge crowds' are routinely used in factual news reports instead of exact numbers,

and words with infused intensity like 'plummet' instead of the neutral 'hit'. Similarly,

in Visual Record photos like those in Figures 3 and 4, visual choices of camera angle

and position can intensify some visual ideational and interpersonal choices by

infusing them with high force graduation values. These can give viewers greater

contact with, and also make larger, either faces and bodies provoking attitude, or

some ideational token of attitude. Other kinds of visual intensification is created by

sharper camera focus on some visual items, and higher levels of contrast, light, colour saturation and differentiation, as opposed to blurred, shaded, less colour saturated and differentiated items. Significantly, even though attitude values evoked by graduation in the Visual Record photo may express an authorial/editorial viewpoint, they are not 'marked' in this context, and so, authorial subjectivity is not fore-grounded.

Visual Interpretation Key B

Where a daily news factual photo is re-instantiated as Visual Interpretation Key, it can be distinguished from the Visual Record Key photo by the wider range of appraisal choices it takes up. As many of the inscribed and specific appraisal values mapped by the present Appraisal system are not available at all in the visual semiotic, visual evaluative meanings are shown to be expanded here, in two ways, both through evoking rather than inscribing attitude values. One way is by further intensifying or 'marking', often in simultaneous and multiple ways, those meanings in the factual photo with a potential to evoke or provoke specific attitude values. Thus, in re-instantiation, graduation values are added or intensified further by enlargement, increased focus, more colour saturation/differentiation and light variation or contrast on certain visual meanings. In addition, these intensified visual meanings are often also made even more salient and obvious to the reader by changed textual composition and layout choices like cropping and framing. A further way evaluative meanings are enhanced in factual photos is by the selection of photos that display

potential to instantiate a non-news context that the target readership is likely to associate with certain attitude values, such as a well-known art or film genre. Again, the rich resource of visual graduation, and also visual composition/layout choices are used to further intensify this non-news genre, ensuring it is recognised and its evaluative potential exploited.

Figure 5: Visual Interpretation Key Photo 3

The photo in Figure 5 is identified as Visual Interpretation Key and is a naturalistic photographic depiction of real people in a real place, confirmed by a nearby caption. The man and woman are survivors of the London train bombing in July, 2005. The photo positions readers more strongly than it would if in Visual Record Key, to empathise with, like the look of, and admire the man and woman walking towards camera here. This photo may have been selected because, like Photo 1, attitude values are inscribed and embodied by the depicted human participants. These include negative affect of unhappiness and suffering on their faces, and positive judgement of protectiveness and caring by their bodily stance and gestures, positive judgement as survivors of some physical trauma, and finally, positive appreciation provoked by their appearance. They look young, strong and attractive and in some social contexts would be thought of as a well-matched couple. However, there are two significant differences from Photo 1. One is the further application of multiple and different visual graduation

values in its re-instantiation, which all intensify values already created by the content, camera angle and position. Another difference from Photo 1 is that this photo seems to have been selected because, besides clearly instantiating the factual news context, it potentially instantiates at the same time, a non-news context familiar to the newspaper's mass audience.

In order to enhance Photo 3's attitudinal meanings, the popular cinema genre of adventure-romance is clearly instantiated here by editing and layout work that textually adjusts the news photo. A combination of visual features in the photo instantiates a typical, even iconic scene in a romantic drama adventure movie, yet at the same time, does not affect the photo's status as an instance of news. This study suggests that the two simultaneous instantiations in the one photo here may be understood as a visual contextual metaphor. Like lexical metaphor, visual contextual metaphor can introduce attitude values into a photo without requiring the author, in this case editor and designer, to take explicit responsibility for them, unlike the obvious manipulation of a photo by an artist in 'photo-illustrations'. Where attitude values are introduced by the addition or distortion of visual meanings that cancel out the photo's factual status, the artist's subjectivity is also fore-grounded. These more subjective photo-illustrations are found on opinion pages and can be identified as a third evaluative key in photos, Visual Comment Key, corresponding to Commentator Key in written news commentary (Economou in preparation).

However, though still factual, this Visual Interpretation photo is also a 'marked' representation that does not conform to the conventions by which the daily news photograph is typically presented. One way in which it is 'marked' is by more and higher force graduation choices than in a Visual Record photo. These add to or further intensify attitudinal meanings described above in the original photo, created by frontal, horizontal angle and the composition of three-quarter body shot. Editorial cropping and enlargement choices also make the man and woman the only visual items in the image. Further visual intensification is created by layout and design, as unlike most Visual Record photos, this photo accompanies the only news text on the page, has a central position and takes up most of the page. Thus, the multiple attitude values already visually inscribed and provoked in the original photo are made so salient and highly intensified, that readers may be alerted to the photo's evaluative meanings in a way they are not in most Visual Record photos.

Another way in which this Visual Interpretation photo is 'marked' as news is by its instantiation of the popular cinema genre of 'disaster' movie. As a single image on the larger broadsheet page, its size and position not only intensifies ideational and interpersonal meanings making them 'marked', but also instantiates cinematography more easily. Though the original content and initial graduation choices give it this potential, a further range of visual graduation and composition/layout choices make this an instantiation of a typical frame in this cinema genre. This further intensifies the complex of attitude values already identified and may trigger even stronger

involvement and empathy with the couple as 'romantic heroes'. By infusing high force graduation though colour, light and focus choices and bold framing, the instantiation of the cinema context can also provoke other attitude values like positive appreciation values in respect to the image as an arresting and attractive film shot, triggering pleasure or enjoyment in readers. The instantiation of such a cinematic genre in news media texts has been referred to as a 'cinematising' intertextuality or interdiscursivity in some critical discourse analysis of media texts (Fairclough 1995).

Thus in Photo 3, the man and woman, like a hero and heroine of a film emerge from a disaster in each other arms - hurt, exhausted but alive and together. All visual graduation values here intensify the every detail of the couple, while the background is blurred. Both in their permanent attributes like age and colouring, and their current physical and emotional condition, this representation of a man and woman walking towards camera like this, tell a kind of story and tell it in a way that is familiar to movie goers. Besides the cinematising of the visual content as an instantiation of a critical moment in an adventure movie, the cinematising is also realised verbally by the bold headline above the photo. 'The terror beneath' with its inscribed high force negative affect value in the word 'terror' is typical of film titles in this genre, and its position and size typical of film posters. The young, attractive, black man and white woman are thus presented not only as two people who survived the London underground bombing, but like fictional heroes of an adventure drama, the romantic couple who heroically survive a disaster in each others' arms.

In this photo, the instantiation of a popular fictional film genre, recognisable and familiar to the majority of readers by cinema attendance or home viewing seems designed to pull the widest cross section of a mass audience into the page and then into the story. Besides intensifying visual meanings that provoke affect and judgement values associated with the people represented, this photo also intensifies meanings that provoke strong appreciation values. These are not only those associated with the couple as well-matched, attractive or interesting and so, suitable Hollywood heroes, but also with the image itself as an attractive aesthetic artefact and so, like a significant frame in the movie, suitable for a poster. Positive appreciation values associated with both the subjects and the whole text, together contribute to the instantiation of the movie poster context with its associated popular entertainment values.

One question raised in this study is the potential for the instantiation of two different contexts in one factual photo to provoke contradictory attitude values. In Photo 3, the set of values provoked by the non-news context could be seen as affecting and perhaps undermining those provoked by the news context. From the editor's point of view, the photo's new instantiation here of a poster for a blockbuster fictional disaster movie has raised its evaluative impact in terms of attracting and engaging more readers to the serious issue of the story. However, as the photo-headline unit still aims to instantiate factual news in this news context, the attitude values invoked by a

popular fictional entertainment may at the same time undermine those provoked by the representation here of the real life event. If readers are positioned towards the subjects of the image in a typical Hollywood movie-viewer role, their response to the image as fictional entertainment may allow them to more easily detach or distance themselves from the represented people as real victims of a real bombing. As Chouliariki's insightful critical discourse analysis of TV news has shown (2005), this kind of detachment, which she questions in terms of media ethics, can coexist with high levels of emotional empathy provoked for the subjects in the image, as is the case here.

Part 2 Visual Key and Stance in Greek and Australian photos A

All Greek and Australian broadsheet photos examined here introduce written feature stories on the asylum seeker issue which all appeared between 2001and 2002. In both countries, the issue of increasing numbers of displaced people seeking asylum and residence has ignited local tensions and political debate, featured prominently in election campaigns and led to new legislation. In both countries, it has for over a decade been a regular topic of daily news stories, opinion pieces and, less regularly, long in-depth news features like those examined here. The six stories here appear in a similar context in both papers – as top story of the lift-out News Review section of the Saturday SMH, and as top and only story in the *Ios* (Virus) news review section in the E's *Kiriakatiki* (Sunday paper). Both news review sections have a reputation for well-researched analyses of serious political and social issues. Their top story is the longest in the paper,

the only news text on the section front page and continues on later pages. The Greek

broadsheet is in a smaller tabloid format, but the story is the only text on _Ios_ page, with

no index and advertisements like the SMH page. All photos introducing all top stories

are integrated into a very large image-headline unit, the most prominent part of a verbal-

visual text I have referred to in earlier work (Economou, in preparation) as a 'Standout'

text (Endnote 1) Whether read as introduction to the feature story, or as a text on its own

by those readers who do not go to read the following story, the evaluative stance of the

Standout is a powerful and significant orientation to the issue explored in the story.

Greek and Australian features stories: similar evaluative stance B

The authorial evaluative stance regarding government policy on illegal immigration is

similar in all six of the feature stories examined here. All stories from each paper are

similarly related to one issue as it unfolds in each country over that year, even though

the specific issue explored and the political context in each country is different. The

policies of the then Greek socialist government, criticised as discriminatory in these

stories, are those offering permanent residency to certain illegal immigrant groups.

The policies of the conservative Australian government criticised in these stories are

those that have made Australia's border protection and detention system the toughest

in the world.

Greek and Australian photos: same evaluative key B

All Greek and Australian naturalistic news photos are Visual Interpretation Key with the evaluative meaning potential of the original photo expanded and enhanced in the their re-instantiation into a weekly news review context. In all cases, the evaluative expansion does not reduce the 'factual' status of photos as depictions of some real, newsworthy event, person and/or place.

Greek and Australian feature story Standouts: different evaluative stance B

There are significant differences between the Greek and Australian Standouts in the evaluative stance constructed towards the asylum seeker issue by their photo-headline units. This is despite the fact that all introduce feature stories that take a similar stance to the issue, as well as the fact that all photos are in the same evaluative key and use similar evaluative strategies. It is argued here that all the Greek Standouts, particularly through their photos, position the reader more positively and directly towards asylum seekers than the Australian Standouts.

Australian texts B

The three Australian texts each introducing a Sydney Morning Herald Saturday News review story are displayed visually below and analysed in detail. These are identified as Australian Text 1, story entitled 'Between heaven and hell' in Figure 6, Text 2, 'They shall not land' in Figure 7, and Text 3, 'Wait in fright' in Figure 8. The last

story is also discussed in Economou, 2006. Publication, dates, story and photo credits are displayed beside each reproduced page.

Figure 6 : Australian Text 1

A single photo here introduces a feature story entitled 'Between heaven and hell' which is critical of the Australian government's extreme stand on keeping boat people out. One of the many factual photos that had appeared in news stories about the Tampa affair in previous weeks (some analysed in Macken-Horarick 2003a, 2003b) is cinematised here. The superimposition of a big bold headline 'Between heaven and hell' on the photo makes this a closely integrated verbal-visual unit. However, analysing the photo as purely visual text, it is argued here that it displays visual cinematising on its own, even without the headline. The photo's large size and position on the page contribute to the high force and focus graduation values infused in ideational and textual choices which intensify meanings in a way that cinematises the shot. The framing, cropping, high angle and great camera distance make this a visually dramatic composition - a very small boat right in the middle of an empty and seemingly endless blue sea.

The positioning of words both above and below the boat act as a visual reinforcement of the centralised focus given in this composition on the boat at sea. Focusing viewers on the boat reveals tiny human figures just visible on it, which adds to the cinematising by suggesting a human drama. The content of the words in the headline also suggests a dramatic cinematic narrative. Each of the words 'heaven' and 'hell'

are used in adventure film titles as common metaphors for real life extremes of pleasure and pain. This headline is, in fact, the actual title of a 1950s American film, a war drama also set at sea in the South Pacific. Also, for readers familiar with recent events, 'heaven' here is a likely metaphor for entry to Australia, and 'hell' for staying on the boat on the high seas, or being kept out of Australia. A less common use of this phrase however, is one closer to the literal meaning, which has a religious provenance and so may suggest a morality tale. For those who know the events, and are critical of the government, it may suggest the government's ethical dilemma over boat people. For those who go to read the story, a detailed description given there of a religious belief held in Indonesia elaborates on this latter moral reference. It suggest that just as lost souls in purgatory are believed to haunt the living until given a place to rest, so may the boat people kept out of Australia haunt the Australian government.

Figure 7: Australian Text 2

Two news photos in Text 2 are used to introduce another story entitled 'They shall not land' also critical of the Australian government's extreme stance on boat people. Together the photos suggest a cinematic genre, either war documentary or fictionalised war drama based on real events. The top photo is of a crowd of men, possibly refugees or prisoners from their clothing and features, walking towards camera, and the other photo is of two ships at sea. Again a bold, black, headline

overlaid onto the larger photo at the top makes it difficult to discuss it solely as visual text. The headline, 'They shall not land' is a direct verbal reference to war and invasion and is also a possible war movie title. However, the two images alone create cinematising values through marked textual meanings and high force graduation values, and content specifically associated with war drama. These meanings are made both by the photos' visual features and their layout as interacting images. Like most news review cover images, these two colour photos dominate the page by their size and position.

The cinematising here specifically suggests a war movie based on historical facts both by the content and features of each photo and by the contrast and interaction between the two. The combination of colour, focus framing and layout choices suggests both a movie shot sequence and the typical documentary use of still photo-documents. The first suggests an establishing opening shot of an ongoing situation fading out behind the title, and the superimposed highlighted shot following it suggests a critical event related to this situation. Each photo's content and framing also suggest relationships between them. The less focused top shot may be either the 'imagined' or 'soon to be past' situation, and the closer, strongly-framed shot the 'reality' or 'present'. The narrative suggested is that a stream (of foreigners) coming towards us (or wishing to do so), have been stopped at sea.

Though the photo of faces in a crowd is larger, in top position and has human subjects, it is not only written over by the headlines, but seems to fade as the superimposed, sharper and brighter shot of two boats seems to be projected forward. This almost kinetic, fading out effect is created by a steady diminishing from the front to the back, of colour differentiation and saturation, of focus on, as well as size of the subjects. Despite the clearer focus on people in the foreground, the whole of the top shot is less colour differentiated, saturated and focused than the sea and foregrounded ship in the smaller photo. In this way, the large photo is backgrounded in respect to the smaller, as well as being partially covered by it. The smaller brighter photo is made even more salient by being framed in black and positioned where readers end up when the headline is read.

The headline is very close to the famous words of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill during the Second World War, referring to the threatened invasion of England by Germany. Even for those who do not recognise the provenance of the words, the use of 'shall' suggests an earlier time in British history, the negative declarative the words of someone in power, and the verb, 'land' suggests invasion and war. The short, accessible but dramatic and allusive sentence also works well as a war movie title. In this way, for all readers, the headline reinforces the war drama cinematising of the photo. As the words are also a close paraphrase of the Australian minister's recent stand against boat people, the historical tone may add authority and status to it. However, for those who know the actual historical reference, it specifies a

speech that significantly marked the history of the western world and is particularly associated with British nationalism. For these readers and those following the Tampa affair, this echoes the Australian Prime Minister's similar declaration comparing asylum seekers to invaders and may thus provoke negative judgement of him for misjudging and overreacting to the Tampa incident.

Figure 8 : Australian Text 3

Three linked photos introduce this story entitled 'Wait in fright', which is also highly critical of the Australian government in regard to both border protection policy and the detention system. The content, visual features, layout and interaction between the three photos together display cinematising as do Texts 1 and 2. They do so particularly by recreating a common film shot sequence which suggests dramatic narrative, first through setting and mood in the top image, then character and dialogue in the other two. The most prominent and dramatic photo is a cropped shot of people with backs to camera behind cross wire. This is, like the top crowd shot in Text 2, an unconventional news photo, where the human subjects are not just faded and backgrounded, but abstracted and reduced by cropping their heads. This top shot leads in the lower right corner to a small overlapping close up portrait of a serious young girl speaking 'to camera' and then, to the final, overlapping close up of a legible letter with childlike handwriting.

The headline, 'Wait in fright' is a similarly cinematising phrase as the other two texts, a typical horror movie title with inscribed negative affect in 'fright', which reinforces the visual cinematising and shifts it from a prison drama to horror. The distancing of readers from the asylum seekers here by the popular fictional cinema context is also combined here with the abstraction and reduction of people in the photos. Though strong empathy may be evoked it is not by involvement with the people but with the crossed hands behind the crosswire. Importantly, however, there is also a verbal intertextual reference in the headline, less accessible but reflecting the critical evaluative stance of the story more closely. This is a reference to a 1970s Australian arthouse film 'Wa*ke* in fright'. This brings the film's harsh critique of violence and intolerance in mainstream white Australia to bear here on the treatment of asylum seekers in Australia.

Australian photos : luring and positioning readers B

All Australian texts use photos that instantiate a popular commercial and fictional film genre, something also achieved bi-modally by the photos' interaction with the headline. The popular cinematising is used as the most immediately engaging 'lure' for a wide readership, but creates an alignment that may distance readers from reflecting on the local reality represented, and may also undermine the stance of the ensuing feature story. In all three stories, for example, writers argue that the Australian government responses to asylum seekers are illegal, immoral or inhumane and all make the case that responses are determined more by election strategy than by

a real search for solutions to immigration concerns. Another distancing effect in the three Australian texts is created by the selection and intensification of visual ideational meanings, which involve readers less with asylum seekers and more with their circumstances - boats on the open sea in Texts 1 and 2 and detention wire in Text 3. Whereas the ensuing stories analyse and make a case against government decisions about, and treatment of asylum seekers, referring to them as 'barbaric' in one case, the photo-headline units here do not. The popular fictional entertainment context distances readers from the text as a local reality, and the ideational focus of the factual news context distances readers from asylum seekers. However, in each case, for those readers who recognise it, a less popular intertextual reference in each headline allows a different interpretation of the photos that may override the initial cinematising stance and is consistent with the story's critical reflective stance.

These three texts are thus, evaluatively complex and at first reading, successfully address and engage two very different target reader groups without alienating any reader, whatever their already held position on the issue. However, for a large group of readers, the three texts do not reflect and may even contradict the position on the issue carefully developed and supported in the long written story. Thus, for 'peripheral' viewers who do not get the less accessible, lexical intertextual reference of each headline, nor read the whole story, nor even the whole Standout text, the only orientation to the issue they get from the photo-headline unit is one that does not reflect the stance in the story. If editors and news designers are committed to

providing readers with a summary of significant aspects of the following story in introductory headlines and images, then all evaluative meanings created by re-instantiating the factual photo and by creating a cinematising 'lure' need to be considered.

Greek texts B

The three Greek texts each introducing a Sunday *Kiriakatiki, Ios* news review story are displayed visually below and analysed in detail. These are identified as Greek Text 1, story entitled (translations in italics*) Immigrants 'slightly legal'* in Figure 9 (also discussed in more detail in Economou, 2006) ; Text 2, *Refugees? What refugees; in* Figure 10 and Text 3, *After the law, what then?* in Figure 11. The translated section title and names of all Ios team (credited as a group for each story) are displayed above the first text. The translated headline, dates and photo credits for each story are displayed beside each reproduced page.

Figure 9: Greek Text 1

The news photo suggesting a fine art genre introduces a *Ios* story entitled *Immigrants "slightly legal"* which critiques the Greek government's new legislation on illegal immigrants as discriminatory. Though the photo is clearly captioned as factual, it has many 'aesthetising' features, including textual choices, which clearly present the

photo on the page as an aesthetic artefact. For readers familiar with fine art genres, the aestheticising presentation may also alert them to read other visual features as suggesting the specific art genre of colonial paintings of indigenous people as exotic 'other'. The instantiation of this fine art genre here expands the evaluative potential of the photo by introducing a potent compression of complex ideological and evaluative meanings associated with exploitation of indigenous peoples by the west through the ages. This seems to be the reference desired by the author as confirmed by the sub-headline, referred to as a 'stand first' (Keeble 2006) and 'write off' (SMH journalists, 2006 personal communication) Here, the new immigration law being critiqued in the story, is referred to as a law 'drafted from the perspective of slave owners' (translation).

The instantiation of this visual art genre and its content in a news context brings into this photo the tension between more and less benevolent imperialist stances to indigenous people. A view of such people as exotic and beautiful 'other' led to their images being used to decorate homes. This more benevolent view was a re-appraisal of earlier views of the same group as savage creatures to be hunted down or exploited. The latter appraisal is suggested by the 'factual' meanings here of children with sad faces behind bars in the photo, and the former is suggested by the aestheticising of the photo. Though many readers may easily empathise with the factual content, they may be made uncomfortable by the aesthetic response the photo triggers if they are critical of objectifying indigenous people. This would be the case if they hold a postcolonial

stance on indigenous peoples - strong condemnation of any colonial relationship

benevolent or not. This is, in fact, the most likely stance for many regular _Ios_ readers.

The headline, unlike the three Australian texts, but like all three Greek texts, anchors

this photo to a current local reality by clearly identifying the visually represented

people as an actual social group in Greece. It does so here by acting as an identifying

caption to the photo and referring to the current legal status of immigrants in Greece.

The word 'slightly' is used here to modify a classifying lexical item, 'legal' and thus

invalidates it as a classifier. Both the grammatical contradiction and scare quotes used

here 'ventriloquise' (Endnote 3) and mocks the Greek government's position on

immigrants.

Figure 10: Greek Text 2

The large _Ios_ photo of a man and boy using a blanket to keep warm as snow falls

introduces a story entitled _Refugees? What refugees?,_ which is also critical of

government immigration policy. This photo displays many cinematising features, here

specifically referring to 'world' movies. This genre of modern art-house films, though

often about indigenous peoples of the world like a national geographic documentary,

also has the dramatic narrative and high production values of a commercial fictional

movie. The photo here introduces a feature story specifically critiquing the Greek

government's re-categorisation of 'refugees' as 'illegal immigrants' in new legislation. In the photo, the weather, the people's facial features and some of the traditional clothing (unlike any worn in Greece today) together suggest people entering Greece over the mountains in the north. A number of features create the cinematising : firstly, size, as it is even larger than most *Ios* Standout photos; secondly, composition, as it is cropped to present in close-up a full size frontal 'character' shot of a man and boy within a 'crowd scene'.

Viewers are put in most direct and close contact with the central man and boy who are the only ones looking intently at camera. The multiple attitude values inscribed and provoked by their faces and bodies are intensified by repetition, by the visual echoing by a mother clutching a baby as the only other clearly distinguishable figures in the photo. High force infused graduation makes every detail of the protagonists' bodies and faces clear, inscribing their close relationship as well as their discomfort and negative emotions, which suggest worry, suffering and perhaps fear. The content and composition of the shot also provides cinematic visual drama by clear focal characterisation and some geographical, climatic and social setting. These all suggest a possible narrative, as well as highlighting human relationships and emotions. The textual features suggestive of cinematography include high levels of light and focus, high colour differentiation and saturation on the people, a range of hues in their clothing and skin set against the mostly white background.

The headline, *Refugees? What refugees?*, like all *Ios* texts verbally specifies the people in the photo as a social group in the country and does not display the same kind of visual cinematising as the photo. However, as an identifying caption it uses the visual cinematising to present an intensified visual representation of 'refugees' in order to make a political point. This is a cinematising news photo very like the example given for Visual Interpretation Key in Figure 5, earlier in the chapter introducing 'The terror beneath' feature story. Where such character shots of unknown individuals, which also tell a story exist, they are likely to be chosen for their high level of pulling power. They are easily able to position readers, both to empathise with the people and to appreciate the text as aesthetically pleasing cinematic drama. The *Ios* photo, however, does not suggest a blockbuster fictional disaster movie as do the three Australian texts, nor does the headline contribute to instantiating the cinema context.

The headline question is a kind of verbal intertextual reference as it ventriloquises the government stance on asylum seekers - their refusal to acknowledge them as refugees. In a spoken conversational style, the immediately engaging headline exploits the likely, and similarly engaging visual alignment of readers with the romanticised, quintessential cinematographic representation of refugees crossing mountain terrain in the snow. The two linked elliptical questions, *Refugees? What refugees?* are, in both Greek and English, a common colloquial way of refusing to acknowledge the existence of some reality confronting the speaker. This verbal refusal is juxtaposed to

the heightened reality and undeniable refugee status of the visually represented

people. In this way, this mimics and mocks the current government's rejection of the

refugee status of people coming into Greece from the north.

Figure 11: Greek Text 3

This story critiquing government policy on illegal immigrants and entitled *After the*

law, what then? also uses a cinematised photo, again a central close-up character shot.

This time it is a full figure shot of a young pretty black girl, smiling and walking

towards the camera. The anonymous girl caught in a happy moment, and clearly lit at

night time as well as framed aesthetically in terms of a visual composition suggest a

family video rather than a commercial film. Besides the sharper focus on a colourful

central character like Text 2, there is also more background setting recognisable both

geographically and socially to most readers of *Ios*. This looks like a public, open

pedestrian space being used for a free exhibition found in all Greek cities and towns

and particularly popular with families on hot summer nights. Both the content and the

cinematising of the photo creates immediate involvement, empathy and engagement

with the happy, young black girl walking towards camera in a Greek outdoor

recreation place at night.

The elliptical question in the headline further specifies the contents as real, and also less like a fictional 'character' shot which tells a story, than a family video recording of a real black immigrant child in Greece. Again, the headline does not reinforce any fictional cinematising the photo may have, but confirms its instantiation of a non-fictional and non-commercial film genre. Both the verbal content of the question, directly referring to 'the law', and the style of an elliptical colloquial question anchors the photo to the local reality. At the same time, the spoken 'conversationalising' (Fairclough 1995) of the headline is as immediately engaging and accessible to readers as the visual cinematising. The question can be expanded to 'What is the new immigration legislation going to mean for this happy little girl who looks so at home in Greek society? As in all the Greek texts, the question demands critical reflection on the image as a local reality, links it explicitly to the issue analysed in the following story, and reflects the story's evaluative stance.

Greek photos : luring and positioning readers B

Like the Australian standouts, all three Greek texts use photos that instantiate a visual entertainment (art or film) context to lure readers. They are all also similarly single, dramatic 'character' shots, which tell a story and provoke the readers' direct emotional involvement and empathy with persons visually represented. In this, they are all very like the example of a Visual Interpretation Photo 3 in Figure 5 of victims of the London bombing, suggesting a similar stance towards represented people as

brave victims. However, no Greek headline contributes to the instantiation of a verbal-visual entertainment context. Each headline deploys casual spoken discourse, which, in each case, anchors the photo to real life and the current local political issue discussed in the story. This conversationalising of the headlines also offers immediate, easy access to an authorial stance in each that echoes that developed in the written story. Thus, unlike the headline with Photo 3, each Greek headline recasts the initial visual entertainment-oriented alignment created by a photo, into one of critical reflection on a political reality.

The photo-headline unit in each case provokes a negative judgement and implies the government as its target. In this, it seems closer to news commentary than news analysis and also seems aimed at a narrower reader group, not the mass target readership of the paper. This is confirmed by the editorial structure of _Ios,_ whose team of writers holds strong positions on a range of political issues, well known to regular serious broadsheet readers. The writers edit and design their own stories independently from their paper's senior editor, under an original contract agreement with the proprietor (Footnote 2). The name _Ios_, meaning Virus, still correctly reflects the radical socialist line and rhetorical aims of the original _Ios_ political journal, founded by this same team of writers in the 1970s. Their well-known, long term campaign supporting various minorities in Greece continues in their new home in 'Sunday's Virus' news review section even though the now high-circulation _Eleftherotypia_ holds a more politically centrist overall editorial position, quite like

that of the SMH. This editorial situation may explain why the evaluative stance of the story is echoed exactly in the verbal-visual introduction, why certain assumptions are made about their readers' tastes and opinions, and why the authorial critical stance is made clear in the headline.

Conclusion A

Just as verbal evaluative keys have been distinguished in news writing (Martin & White 2005), this chapter has demonstrated that keys can be distinguished in news photos according to the range of visual appraisal choices available to each. The visual keys identified here are Visual Record and Visual Interpretation Key. Also, the chapter shows two kinds of evoked Appraisal options distinguish between the two visual keys in factual news photos. One is visual graduation and the other is referred to here as visual 'contextual metaphor'. Graduation values available in the visual semiotic of photographic images are shown here to be a richer and more powerful resource than in the verbal language, with multiple values able to be simultaneously infused into different kinds of visual meaning. Visual contextual metaphor, an option not mapped by the present Appraisal system but available in the visual, provides a powerful means in naturalistic photos of provoking complex and specific attitudinal meanings, while at the same time intertextually positioning the image, as well as more strongly aligning readers with it.

The two visual key descriptions based on the presence of these evoked visual appraisal options were applied to three Greek and three Australian verbal-visual texts taken from the same news context over the same one-year period – the front page of a weekend news review section in a high circulation broadsheet. All re-instantiate factual news photos from their original daily news context to the weekly news review context. All are integrated into prominent image-headline units introducing feature stories about asylum seekers. In the re-instantiation process, all photos are shown to also have shifted from Visual Record Key to Visual Interpretation Key by the addition or enhancement of their attitudinal meanings. They all do so by greatly intensifying some visual ideational and textual meanings but not others, and at the same time, by instantiating a non-news context, either art or cinema.

The visual contextual metaphor of an art or cinema genre, selected for instantiation in all Greek and Australian photos in this study, seems to be similarly aimed at pulling more readers in by creating some evaluative impact. However, in each set of texts, the selection and intensification of different dimensions of ideational meaning in the news photos provoke consistently different attitude values in respect to asylum seekers. The Greek photos create closer involvement, empathy, positive appreciation and judgement of the asylum seekers centrally depicted in all photos. The non-popular, non-fictional art or film context in each photo further reinforces readers' involvement with asylum seekers depicted as real people, as does the conversationalised headline. On the other hand, though the Australian photos create some empathy with depicted

asylum seekers and some related judgement values, they do so in a more detached way. It is the circumstances of asylum seekers not the asylum seekers themselves that are intensified and made salient in all photos. The same popular cinema context instantiated bimodally in all photo-headline units also seems to further reinforce this distancing of readers from the real events, by strongly aligning readers to the texts as consumers of fictional entertainment.

The differences between the Greek and Australian texts have been explained in this chapter firstly, in terms of the more unified and narrower readership of the Greek texts, as opposed to the broader, more varied readership of the Australian texts. The Greek texts, unlike the Australian, address a more defined social group, one that also exists in Australia and is targeted by the less accessible, more critical intertextual reference made in each Australian headline. In this respect, the difference in the way the two sets of texts position readers on asylum seekers is less a matter of cultural difference, than it is differences regarding the social groups targeted. The differences between the two sets of texts have also been attributed in this chapter to the circumstances of their production. The Greek feature stories and their verbal-visual introductions have the same author/s, as the story writers also edit and design the Standout. It is unclear in the Australian context if the editorial-design team that independently produces the Standout consider all the evaluative consequences of raising its entertainment value in different ways. This chapter suggests that where the

evaluative key of factual photos is shifted to pull or lure more readers into the text, the

effects of this on positioning readers towards its factual content need to be recognised.

Endnote 1 : Name suggested by Helen Caple, 2005, personal communication

Endnote 2: *Ios* editorial team, 2004, personal communication

Endnote 3 : Term used by Peter White, 2005, personal communication

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