ESTUDOS EM COMUNICAÇÃO
COMMUNICATION STUDIES
ESTUDIOS EN COMUNICACIÓN
ÉTUDES EN COMMUNICATION

REVISTA . REVIEW . REVISTA . MAGAZINE

Nº 3 . ABR'2008

AGRADECIMENTOS
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LabCom – Laboratório de Comunicação e Conteúdos On-Line – www.labcom.ubi.pt
UBI – Universidade da Beira Interior http://www.ubi.pt – www.ubi.pt
Abr. 2008 ISSN: 1646-4974
Periodicidade semestral | Semestral periodicity
Contacto dos Editores: joaocarloscorreia@ubi.pt, agradim@ubi.pt

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Civic Mapping as a Public Journalism Tool

Tanni Haas
Brooklyn College – The City University of New York
E-mail: THaas@brooklyn.cuny.edu

THE international journalistic reform movement known as "public" (or "civic") journalism emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s in response to two perceived gaps of critical proportions: between news organisations and their audiences and between citizens and politics. In the United States, and increasingly elsewhere, scholars and journalists alike became alarmed by the low level of audience interest in journalistically-mediated political information, as evidenced by declining newspaper readership, as well as by the low level of citizen involvement in democratic processes, as evidenced by declining participation in political elections and, more generally, in the public affairs of the localities in which they reside (see Haas, 2007a for a comprehensive discussion).

While much has been done in the name of public journalism to reduce these two gaps over the past decade and a half, little attention has been paid to which tools news organisations could use to best address them. Indeed, aside from a single effort to classify the various tools applied by news organisations committed to public journalism (see Willey, 1998), no attempt has been made to specify whether there are particular tools news organisations could use to address both gaps simultaneously.

This article introduces a research and reporting tool known as "civic mapping" whereby news organisations committed to public journalism might be able to both enhance audience interest in journalistically-mediated political information *and* citizen involvement in democratic processes, and in ways that overcome the weaknesses of some of the other, more commonly applied public journalism tools. Specifically, it elucidates the underlying principles and practical manifestations of two complementary approaches to civic mapping, which Campbell (2002, 2004) refers to as the "cognitive" and "structural" approaches, respectively. The article concludes with a brief summary of the challenges that civic mapping poses to journalistic practice.

Cognitive Civic Mapping

The cognitive approach to civic mapping dates back to 1996 when the Pew Center for Civic Journalism, public journalism's principal institutional supporter in the United States, commissioned the Harwood Institute for Public Innovation, a public policy consultancy led by Richard Harwood, to develop a method whereby news organisations would be better able to tap into and report on the concerns of their local constituencies. The Harwood Institute subsequently devised a manual in which the principles of civic mapping were laid out (see Harwood, 1996; revised in 2000), produced four practical training videos, and organised numerous seminars for interested news organisations. Since 1999, when the first civic mapping seminar was held, more than three dozen news organisations in the United States (see Campbell, 2004), as well as a couple in South Africa (see Davidson, 2004), have engaged in civic mapping projects. Moreover, civic mapping has been used as an educational tool in various journalism programs across the United States, both in the form of joint projects between given news organisations and journalism programs (see Spurlock, 2001) and as self-contained in-class projects (see Hetrick, 2001).

According to Harwood (2000), journalists' failure to capture the breadth and depth of concerns of their local constituencies can be attributed to the fact that they spend most of their time and energy on two particular "layers" of local civic life. These include the "official" layer of local governmental institutions, such as when journalists report on the deliberations and actions of City Council, and the "private" layer of local residents, such as when journalists report on the reactions of ordinary citizens to given news stories or otherwise produce human-interest stories on individual triumphs and tragedies. As Harwood (2000, p. 14) puts it, "When journalists venture into [local] civic life, often they gravitate to the official and private layers. Then when they want more sources, they expand the number of people within those layers".

Yet, Harwood (2000) discovered, every locality contains five distinct "civic layers", each offering fundamentally different insights about that locality. These include the "official" layer of local governmental institutions; the "quasi-official" layer of local municipal leagues, civic organisations, and advocacy groups; "third places" like community socials, places of worship, and diners; "incidental" encounters on sidewalks, at food markets, and in backyards; and the "private" spaces of people's homes. Cognitive civic map-

ping, then, should be understood as an effort to "identify those other [civic] layers and the people and news in them" (Harwood, 2000, p. 4). The goal, as Harwood (2000, pp. 5-6) puts it, should be "to move beyond the usual suspects into a deeper and broader understanding" of given localities.

Following Harwood's (2000) call to move beyond the "usual suspects", many prominent news organisations in the United States, including the *Denver* (Colorado) *Post*, the *Detroit* (Michigan) *Free Press*, the *San Diego* (California) *Union-Tribune*, the *Tampa* (Florida) *Tribune*, and the *Wichita* (Kansas) *Eagle*, have broadened their range of news sources by attending community socials, paying attention to the conversations taking place in various public spaces, and seeking out citizens in the privacy of their homes. The results of these investigations, in turn, have been made available to the entire newsroom in the form of written lists of news sources, electronic databases, and, as Harwood (2000) intended, actual geographic maps (see Clark, 2001; Farwell, 2001; Miller, 2001).

More broadly, Harwood's (2000) five-part typology of civic layers (and news sources) represents an analytical advance over both mainstream, journalistic understandings of local civic life and prevailing public journalism thinking. Instead of presuming, as most mainstream journalists appear to do, that the deliberations taking place within local governmental institutions offer a representative picture of the concerns of citizens of given localities more generally, Harwood's (2000) typology presumes that different, if not conflicting, concerns are held by people within various civic layers. And in contrast to prevailing public journalism thinking, which asserts that journalists should simply turn entrenched information-gathering procedures upside down by focusing attention on the concerns of "ordinary citizens" rather than "elite actors" (see, for example, Charity, 1995; Merritt, 1998; Rosen, 1999), Harwood's (2000) typology offers a more nuanced understanding of where and how journalists can tap into those citizen concerns by distinguishing between "third places", "incidental" encounters, and "private" spaces.

Indeed, Harwood (2000) argues that, in these latter three layers of local civic life, journalists are likely to encounter conversations that seldom take place in the more organised spheres represented by the "official" and "quasi-official" layers. The problem with the official and quasi-official layers, Harwood (2000) emphasises, is that they tend to be frequented primarily by "professional citizens" (p. 28), and that their formal and informal rules of par-

ticipation tend to restrict the range of participants, topics of discussion, and modes of deliberation. As Harwood (2000, p. 4) puts it, "A concern that bubbles up from [below] will sound quite different from one that is discussed at a [formal] public meeting". For example, during a civic mapping project on redevelopment of a neighborhood in Tampa Heights, Florida, journalists from the *Tampa Tribune* discovered that, once they went beyond the official and quasi-official layers of that neighborhood, local residents had very different concerns; differences that separated rather than united what the journalists had previously assumed to be a united neighborhood (see Campbell, 2002, 2004).

Harwood's (2000) argument that journalists should go beyond the organised spheres of local civic life, with its formal meetings and attendant rules of participation, is indeed important. While no empirical research has looked at the various types of deliberative fora that news organisations committed to public journalism commonly sponsor (see Friedland & Nichols, 2002), the more general scholarly literature shows that such fora offer a very limited understanding of citizens' concerns. Indeed, the literature shows not only that a small, select strata of citizens tend to participate in such fora, but also that their formal and informal rules of participation tend to exclude the vast majority of citizens and their concerns. While most citizens, contrary to popular belief, do engage in extensive conversations about political issues in the private sphere of their homes, at work, and in various informal settings, they do not attend more formal fora and, when they do, either tend to stay silent or, as Eliasoph (1998, p. 16; see also Kim, Wyatt, & Katz, 1999; Mutz & Mondak, 2006) found, speak in "hushed tones".

To capture the nature of these latter, more informal conversations, Harwood (2000) argues, it is essential that journalists alter the ways in which they traditionally have interacted with citizens. Specifically, Harwood (2000, p. 4) emphasizes, instead of engaging citizens in "formal interviews" by "knocking on a family's front door to ask a few questions", journalists ought to engage citizens in "civic conversations" by sitting down "in their living rooms to understand their lives". That is, "The goal should not be to find the quote [but rather] to discover patterns in what people are saying, to probe to uncover meaning and figure out how people's thinking unfolds as they talk" (p. 23).

Like his five-part typology of civic layers more generally, Harwood's (2000) notion of "civic conversations" represents an advance of other, more

commonly applied public journalism tools, notably public opinion polls and focus group discussions. In contrast to public opinion polls, which require citizens to respond to concerns already defined by journalists rather than to independently (and publicly) define those concerns themselves, civic conversations would allow citizens to elaborate on their concerns at length, in their own words, and through interaction with others. And in contrast to focus group discussions, which take place among groups of strangers who are unlikely to meet again after the encounter, civic conversations would take place between citizens who are already familiar with one another and within the actual contexts of their everyday lives (see Glasser & Craft, 1998; Heikkila & Kunelius, 1996; Iggers, 1998). Simply put, civic conversations are much more likely than public opinion polls and focus group discussions to offer journalists a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of what is on citizens' minds.

Taken together, by broadening their understanding of local civic life to encompass various civic layers, seeking out conversations taking place outside the organised (official and quasi-official) layers, and doing so by engaging citizens in genuinely civic conversations, journalists might be able to reduce the gap between news organisations and their audiences. To the extent that citizens see the breadth and depth of their concerns represented in news reporting, and in ways that accurately reflect the nature of those concerns, citizens might be more likely to find news reporting relevant and meaningful to their lives.

Structural Civic Mapping

While the cognitive approach to civic mapping could help strengthen citizens' interest in journalistically-mediated political information, there is little reason to believe that this approach would also inspire citizens to participate more actively in democratic processes. To further that second goal, it would be necessary to supplement the cognitive approach with what Campbell (2002, 2004) calls a "structural" approach to civic mapping.

The problem with the cognitive approach to civic mapping, Campbell (2004, p. 252) notes, is that "it concentrates on the horisontal expansion of [news] sources and does not sufficiently theorize the vertical connections

among the source layers it identifies". More pointedly, I would argue, the problem with this approach is that it conceives of citizens exclusively as news sources on given issues and does not also conceive of citizens as active participants who are willing and capable of addressing those issues. Instead of aiming to involve citizens in efforts to solve issues of particular concern to them, it merely aims to enhance journalists' understanding of those concerns. Second, and relatedly, the cognitive approach too readily dismisses the importance of the official and quasi-official (or organised) layers of local civic life in favor of the more unorganized layers of third places, incidental encounters, and private spaces. While it is certainly important, as previously discussed, for journalists to broaden their range of news sources beyond official and quasi-official institutions, actual efforts to solve given issues are rarely carried out by individual citizens but rather by organised (quasi-official) citizen groups, either on their own or in collaboration with (official) governmental institutions.

Campbell (2002) reaches much the same conclusion, arguing that the cognitive approach to civic mapping ought to be complemented by a structural approach, which would be aimed at enabling "citizens to participate more fully and effectively in civic life and the public decisions that effect them" (p. 228) or, more precisely, at enhancing citizens' "problem-solving capacity" (p. 11). This could be accomplished in practice, Campbell (2002) notes, by mapping the various problem solving-oriented "social networks" (p. 147) within given localities. An important component of such a structural approach to civic mapping, Campbell (2002, p. 232) emphasizes, following Burt (1992), would be to identify the "structural holes" in given social networks; that is, the "places where [social] ties are weak or non-existent". Ideally, Campbell (2004, p. 155) notes, journalists ought to solicit citizens' help in constructing such structural maps which, in turn, should "be made available to [citizens] as a resource to further encourage and inform" their problem-solving efforts.

A structural approach to civic mapping, then, would require journalists, in collaboration with citizens, to map the various problem solving-oriented social networks within given localities and to evaluate whether and how those social networks could be strengthened, so as to enhance their problem-solving capacity. The goal of such a structural approach would be to assess whether existing efforts to address given issues are adequate and, if that is not the case,

to determine how those efforts could be enhanced through new, reconfigured social networks.

One of few examples of a structural approach to civic mapping is that of the *Spokesman-Review* in Spokane, Washington. As part of its "Key Moments" public journalism initiative, journalists from the *Spokesman-Review* examined why some teenagers end up leading successful lives while others end up in prison by mapping the distribution of social networks (and their support services) across the city and comparing that map to maps of particular neighborhoods where teenagers were more or less likely to lead successful lives. Indeed, the journalists involved with this initiative tried to locate the structural holes in existing social networks so as to be able to specify how support services in neighborhoods with the highest percentage of troubled teenagers could be improved (see Campbell, 2002, 2004).

Like the cognitive approach to civic mapping, such a structural approach poses certain challenges to the practice of public journalism. First, if journalists are to construct maps of existing social networks and, more importantly, assess whether and how those social networks could be strengthened (e.g., by identifying "structural holes" in the form of "weak" or "non-existing" social ties), they would need to abandon their stance of political neutrality in favour of political advocacy - or what Rosen (1999, p. 76) refers to as the distinction between "doing journalism" and "doing politics". Indeed, without explicitly stated evaluative standards, journalists would be unable to articulate (and justify) why certain configurations of social networks are more appropriate than other possible ones.

Second, and equally important, journalists would need to broaden their understanding of what constitutes appropriate problem-solving by considering other forms of intervention than local, citizen-based problem-solving. Instead of presuming a priori, as most public journalists appear to do, that all issues can and should be addressed by local citizen groups (see Glasser, 1999; Parisi, 1997; Schudson, 1999), journalists ought to consider whether given issues could be adequately addressed by citizen groups themselves, or whether those issues require more deep-seated, political intervention by governmental institutions. Moreover, journalists ought to consider whether given issues could be adequately addressed through local intervention, whether by citizen groups or governmental institutions, or whether those issues require intervention of a broader, non-local scope. While it is certainly imaginable that many issues

could be adequately addressed by given (local or non-local) citizen groups themselves, many other issues would require intervention by (local or non-local) governmental institutions to be adequately addressed (see Haas, 2007b for a more in-depth discussion of public journalism-inspired problem-solving options).

Regardless of which problem-solving options journalists try to further in given contexts, such a structural approach to civic mapping is likely to inspire citizens to participate more actively in democratic processes. By involving citizens in efforts to evaluate given problem solving-oriented social networks, and including them in discussions of how those social networks could be strengthened, journalists would be likely to inspire citizens to become more politically involved themselves. Indeed, by encouraging citizens to participate more actively in problem-solving efforts, either through involvement in organised citizen groups or in collaboration with governmental institutions, journalists are not only likely to inspire more citizen participation in the public affairs of the localities in which they reside, but may also prompt citizens to participate more actively in political elections. Importantly, such a structural approach to civic mapping is also likely to enhance audience interest in journalistically-mediated political information. The vast scholarly literature on "community integration" shows that the more communicatively-integrated given localities are, the higher the interest in local news coverage (see, for example, Emig, 1995; McLeod, Scheufele, & Moy, 1999; Park, Yoon, & Shah, 2005).

The Challenges of Civic Mapping

The prior discussion shows that the research and reporting tool known as civic mapping can fruitfully be used to address the two gaps that inspired the emergence of the public journalism movement in the first place: between news organisations and their audiences and between citizens and politics. Specifically, while the cognitive approach to civic mapping can be used by journalists to broaden their range of news sources, and thereby to produce news coverage that is more relevant and meaningful to people as audiences, the structural approach can be used by journalists to strengthen existing problem

solving-oriented social networks, and thereby to inspire people as citizens to participate more actively in democratic processes.

While these two approaches to civic mapping, if used together, could help journalists further public journalism's goals, their actual implementation poses certain challenges to the practice of journalism. Briefly put, the cognitive approach requires journalists to broaden their understanding of local civic life to encompass various civic layers, make efforts to seek out news sources that are not part of organised civic life in given localities, and engage those news sources in naturally-occurring interactions, in the form of civic conversations, rather than formal interviews. Moreover, the structural approach requires journalists to rethink their role in and responsibility for civic life by abandoning their stance of political neutrality in favour of political advocacy as well as conceive of problem-solving in broader terms than local, citizen-based intervention.

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News commercialization, ethics and objectivity in journalism practice in Nigeria: strange bedfellows?

Kate Azuka Omenugha; Majority Oji
Kate Azuka Omenugha – NMamdi Azikiwe University; Majority Oji – Delta State University, Nigeria
E-mail: komenugha@gmail.com

JOURNALISM practice wields such enormous powers and calls for the highest standards of ethics and commitment to truth. Ethics and truth in journalism have assumed global concern as scholars recognize that their basic constituents of objectivity, accuracy, fairness and balance have merely assumed mythical qualities as journalists battle to assign credibility to their news stories. Tuchman (1978: 2) describes objectivity as 'facticity' (a mechanism which allows the journalists to hide even from themselves the 'constructed' and 'partial' nature of their stories). This view seems to have garnered force as increasingly scholars suggest that news even when professionally 'selected' is guided more by organizational needs than by professionalism. The journalist thus becomes 'a walking paradox' (Nordenstreng 1995) as one cannot fail to see that journalism is so full of contradictions that "we have to question even the most fundamental dogma of the profession – truth seeking – because the way it has been conceived and practiced in journalism serves as a deceptive filtering device preventing as much as helping the truth being discovered" (Nordenstreng 1995:117). News commercialization practice in Nigeria media industries adds to this contradiction and deception, creating a continuous dilemma for ethics and objectivity in journalism practice in Nigeria.

What is news commercialization?

UNESCO (1980:152) alluded to the commercialization of news when it wrote:

> The news has become commercial product... important developments in the countryside are pushed aside by unimportant, even trivial news items, concerning urban events and the activities of personalities.

Though nearly three decades old, UNESCO's assertion certainly has currency in Nigerian media scene as news items have to be paid for by those who want to be heard. News is no longer about reporting timely occurrences or events, it is now about packaged broadcast or reports sponsored or paid for by interested parties. By this practice individuals, communities, private and public organizations, local governments, state governments and ministries, gain access to the mass media during news time for a prescribed fee. The message they wish to put across is then couched in the formal features of news and passed on to the unsuspecting public as such. Willie Nnorom (1994 cited in Ekwo 1996:63) defined news commercialization as "a phenomenon whereby the electronic media report as news or news analysis a commercial message by an unidentified or unidentifiable sponsor, giving the audience the impression that news is fair, objective and socially responsible". We must say that though this definition seems not to include the newspaper industries, news commercialization do occur there too as scholars have noted (see Oso: 2000).

News commercialization operates at two levels in Nigeria:

- At the institutional level, where charges are 'officially' placed for sponsored news programmes. For example, the Delta Broadcasting Service, Warri charges N20, 000 [80 pounds] for religious programme, N36, 000 [144 pounds] for corporate coverage and N25, 000 [100 pounds] for social events. Ogbuoshi (2005) gave the commercial rates of Radio Nigeria Enugu as follows: Commercial news (N47, 000 [188 pounds]), news commentary/political news (N52, 000 [208 pounds]), special news commentary/political (N60, 000 [240 pounds]). This commercialization at the institutional level is thriving because editors, publishers and owners of the broadcast stations/ print media see the organizations, or their investment, as a profit making venture that should yield the required financial return. Increasingly, commercial-oriented news stories are taking the place of hard news reports. Hanson (2005: 140) is right when he notes that: "reporters and editors are supposed to be concerned not with profits but rather with reporting the news as best they can. But that barrier is coming down, and editors are increasingly looking at their newspaper as a product that should appeal to advertisers as well as readers." Writing on the semantics of commercialization of news by

broadcast stations in Nigeria, Tom Adaba, a one time Director General of the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), one of the regulatory bodies in Nigeria, makes a distinction between the "legitimate sales of airtime for paid messages adjacent to or within breaks in the news" and "charging news sources for the privilege of covering and relaying their pre-paid views or messages as news". According to him, in the first case, what the sponsors are buying is "the credibility of the newscast and newscasters to confer status by association on their company's logo, message or product" while in the latter:

What the broadcast station is doing is selling cheaply the integrity of its newscast and newscasters by attesting to the "truth" of the claims of the so-called "sponsor".... By also charging and receiving fees by whatever name called, to cover 'news' of company annual conference meeting, weddings, funeral, chieftaincy installation, town festivals, workshops and seminars, even events organized by charity organizations, stations are not only prostituting the integrity of news, they are insulting their audience and breaching the National Broadcasting Code (Adaba 2001:110).

The NBC code makes explicit that: "commercial in news and public affairs programme shall be clearly identified and presented in a manner that shall make them clearly distinguishable from content". (NBC code) It is this passing off of commercial content as news within the Nigerian news media, the assigning of news quality to the commercial that raises ethical questions and challenges the notion of objectivity in Nigerian news reports.

- At the individual journalist level: News commercialization also operates at the level of individual journalists. This occurs when a journalist or group of journalists makes monetary demands to cover an event or report the event. Idowu (1996:198) citing Bamigbetan (1991) recounts a story that buttresses this:

The Rt Rev, Abidun Adetiloye, Anglican Archbishop of Nigeria, was sighted at Murtala Mohammed Airport, Lagos. Journalists crowded him, asking for interview on issues of national importance. The man of God spoke at length .... His views were newsworthy. But the journalists felt they needed something more to write the news. They asked for "transport money". The religious man declined. Resulting in a mutual blackout.

This tendency of Nigerian journalists, known as the 'brown envelope' syndrome, has been widely condemned in Nigeria as a very unethical practice, yet Ekwo (1996: 65) makes it clear that, " the payment for news stories is approximate to official brown envelope or bribe offered to the media house itself as against the one offered to the individual reporter"

News commercialization – current status in Nigeria

A recent interview the authors conducted with the News Editor of Enugu State Broadcasting Service (EBS) Enugu, East of Nigeria, shows the increasing rate at which news is being commercialized. He provided data on the commercial stories against the total number of news items in the three months (October – December 2007) news bulletin. Below are the details:

Tabela 1: Commercial news stories in EBS, Enugu Anambra State Nigeria (2007)

Month	No of news stories	No of commercial stories	Percentage of commercial stories
October	155	62	40%
November	186	89	47.8%
December	199	101	50.6%

The above typifies the trend in the broadcast stations and shows the alarming amount of stories which are in the news for their commercial value. In the newspapers, the so called specialized pages of the property, IT and computer businesses and finance pages are prime examples of commercialized spaces. The point is that no attempt is made to let the audience or readers know that these spaces are paid for and they end up holding them as sacred as they would news. Bako (2000) claims are very instructive here:

> The average Nigeria regards whatever emanates from the press as the 'gospel' truth, which he swallows line, hook and sinker. For any reader, it would

> be difficult to convince him not to believe what he read in the papers. Not even when an Apology is made for an incorrect publication could such a reader be convinced. To him, in such a situation, the journalist or the medium may have been bought over or pressurized either by an individual or the government to 'kill' the story. (p. 54)

Understandably therefore, it is worrisome that commercial interests seem to have infiltrated in the reports of 'news', compromising both ethics and objectivity.

Why does news commercialization thrive in Nigeria?

Commercialization of news began in Nigerian media houses as the result of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) introduced in 1986 and the eventual withdrawal of subsidies from government owned media houses (see Ekwo 1996, Ogbuoshi 2005). With the increasing rise in production cost and dwindling circulation, the media houses resort to all kinds of tricks including commercialization of the news to make money (Oso, 2000). The situation has led to a lot of compromise, with sensationalisation of news stories and half-truths reaching alarming stage. Citing an instance with the *Daily Times*, a one time leading newspaper in Nigeria, Idowu (2001:15) noted the situation became so bad that:

> The workers threatened not to board the company's staff buses unless the company's name was wiped off from the buses. Even the company's cars were no longer branded. It was meant to be a precautionary measure to save the staff and the company's vehicles from being attacked by an irate public which could not reconcile itself to the half truths being published in the Times. The company heeded the worker's call.

Just as the organisation is subjected to economic pressure and tries all means not to sink, so too are individual journalists. The greatest problem besetting Nigerian journalists is that of poverty which scholars agree need to be addressed if the ethical professional standards are to be maintained Rather than do so, however, the current practices in most media organisations in Nigeria seem to be encouraging unethical practices. Publishers in Nigeria, rather than pay attractive wages to the journalists, refer to their identity cards as a

meal ticket. In other words, the journalists are encouraged to make money on their own in whatever manner they deem fit, thus encouraging the popular brown envelope syndrome within journalism parlance in Nigeria.

In some media organisations reporters are officially made to function as marketing officers in addition to main reportorial duties. "For instance, those in charge of specialised pages or columns are made to source for adverts or supplements to support 'their' pages or the pages are dropped and probably with the reporter. In broadcasting, producers are asked to scout for sponsors for 'their' programmes with a promise of commission" (Oso 2000: 30)

Another factor that allows news commercialization to thrive in Nigeria is the pattern of news reports and the means of newsgathering. A quick survey carried out by the researchers in a school of journalism in Nigeria to find out the major means of news gathering by Nigerian journalists saw slated, or 'diary', events topping the list (60%) followed by interview (32%). Investigative newsgathering recorded 6% while news breaks, or exclusives, were as low as 2%. This means that most times journalists are often invited by the high and mighty in the society to 'their' (slated) events. In many cases the journalists are so well-taken care of and they go home with 'news' often written by the people who invited them. It is not surprising that that Akinfeleye (2007) actually classified journalism practice in Nigeria as 'cocktail journalism', 'journalism of next-of-kin' and 'journalism of the general order'. Writing on the tendency for Nigerian journalists to rely on interviews, Galadima and Enighe (2001) have described the Nigerian newspapers as "viewspapers". By this they meant that there are more interviews than digging out of facts, and news sources may concede to favouring the journalists for their views to see the light of the day.

An irresponsible press?

The social responsibility theory of the press details the key journalistic standards that the press should seek to maintain. As summed up in McQuail (2000:150), among others, the media have an obligation to the wider society and media ownership is a public trust; news media should be truthful, accurate, fair, objective and relevant, and the media should follow agreed codes of ethics and professional conduct. By this treatise, media ownership is a form of

stewardship rather then unlimited private franchise. In other words, the media are established to serve the intent of the public rather than personal interests. Yet the quest for personal engrandisement seems to have infiltrated the practice of journalism in Nigeria and beyond. Uche (1989:147) recalled the public accusation of Nigerian journalists as "politically and financially corrupt as one can find individual Nigerian newsmen who will take money or gifts for doing special favours..." Such acts of irresponsibility are not limited to Nigeria only. The media mogul Rupert Murdoch is often accused of running a media empire where journalism of convenience is the order of the day. Sparks (1999) makes it clear that

> Newspapers in Britain are first and foremost businesses. They do not exist to report the news, to act as watchdogs for the public, to check on the doings of the government, to defend the ordinary citizens against abuses of power, to unearth scandals or do any of other fine and noble things that are sometimes claimed of the press. They exist to make money just as any other business does (p. 50).[1]

Driven by such commercial interests, journalists throw ethics to the winds in the bid to achieve fame and success. As Hanson (2005:140) recounts:

> The Washington Post credibility suffered a major blow when the paper discovered in 1981 that a Pulitzer prize – winning story by reporter Janet Cooke was fabricated. And in the spring of 2003, the young New York Times reporter Jayson Blair created shock waves throughout the news business when it was revealed that he had fabricated or plagiarized at least 36 stories for the nation's most prestigious newspaper.

Notable too was the case of Patricia Smith, Award winner who had to resign from the *Boston Globe*. Hanson (2005:418) told how she apologized to her readers in her farewell column:

[1] The Patten case recounted in Chambers (2000) is a good example of the dynamics involved in production of media content. Chambers recounts how Rupert Murdock exercised control over his publishing company over the publication of the book written by Chris Patten which criticised the totalitarian regime of Republic of China. It is believed that Murdoch felt the book posed a threat to his commercial interest in China and therefore stopped its publication. This typifies not only how ownership could control media content, but also shows the economic gain that drives much of the media industries (see Chambers 2000, p. 96).

> From time to time in my metro column, to create the desired impact or slam home a salient point, I attributed quotes to people who didn't exist. I could give them names, even occupations, but I couldn't give them what they needed most, a heartbeat. As anyone who has ever touched a newspaper knows, that is one of the cardinal sins of journalism. Thou shall not fabricate. No exception, no excuse.

News commercialization could possibly make journalists commit the cardinal sin of journalism – fabrication – through inaccurate, unfair and biased news reports – a contradiction to what news *ought* to be.

Nigerian news scene – has ethics gone with the wind?

One of the objectives of this study is to determine the degree of stoicism towards news commercialization in the Nigerian news scene. To do this, the researchers examined the news content of some national newspapers in Nigeria (January – March 2006 and October – December 2007, totalling six months) and looked out for stories indicative of other interests than pure news value. The news stories were judged based on Jamieson and Campbell (2001) parameters for analyzing news items in print and broadcast media. These include:

- The newsworthiness of the of the news
- The sort of claims made in the story
- Framing – the nature of the headlines, the values the headlines support
- Inclusion/exclusion of important or trivial issues and why
- The timing of the reports. Were they to favour a named source? Did other media report the story?

What follows is a discussion of some sample news stories.

Sample one: The Zenith Bank Story

Zenith Bank Nigeria Plc operates in a competitive market. If we recall, bank consolidation in Nigeria put many banks out of business while leading to the merger of several banks to meet the recapitalization deposit required by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN). Zenith Bank was one of the survivors and understandably may need aggressive marketing strategies to remain afloat. On December 6 2007, a survey of four Nigerian newspapers – *Vanguard*, *Daily Independen*t, *The Punch* and the *Nigerian Tribune* – revealed that the Zenith Bank made the front pages of all four newspapers. *The Punch* devoted the whole of its front page to the bank with a screaming headline: **"Zenith floats Bumper Hybrid Offer"**. It carried no other story on the front page. *Daily Independent* ran a front page story with the headline **"Zenith Bank's N130 billion offer opens today",** And the same headlines also appeared in the front pages of both the *Vanguard* and the *Nigerian Tribune*. The similarity of these headlines is suspect. These newspapers are all national in circulation and therefore it is highly unusual that at their various editorial board meetings they all chose the same story – a promotional stunt of a bank – as their front page news. It heightens the possibility that the space has been paid for and the unsuspecting public is made to give it the high priority accorded to front page stories.

Sample two: The Denmark Cartoon crisis

Early in 2006, a full-ledged crisis erupted in Maiduguri, North of Nigeria over a cartoon in a Danish newspaper that allegedly discredited the Prophet Mohammed. The crisis spread to other parts of the country, notably Onitsha in the Eastern part of Nigeria. It is pertinent to mention here that Nigeria is polarised along northern and southern axis, with many crises in the country following the pattern. Scholars are concerned that during such crises in Nigeria, the press present one-sided views probably as a result of the ethnic proclivity or having received some form of gratification from one side. As Ekwo (1996) writing on the ethical implication of news commercialization notes: "in communal conflicts, only the faction that is able to pay to be mentioned in the news is heard while the other side is kept in the dark, even when

they have a more genuine course" (p.66). The researchers examined the *Daily Champion* newspaper reports of the Denmark cartoon crisis. *Daily Champion*, owned by Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu may be considered a paper dedicated to the cause of the Easterners if we go by the words of Prof Iyara Esu, the former Vice Chancellor of University of Calabar. He described the *Daily Champion* as "the major newspaper we have east of the Niger, a paper that is indigenous to our people, that is the voice of the people, this part of the country" (cited in Omenugha 2004: 67). This assertion seems to have gathered a truism from the news reports available to the researchers. The *Daily Champion* reports was biased in favour of the Easterners [Igbos], whose interests it obviously set to protect. We may need to consider some excerpts of the crisis as reported by the newspaper:

- When Daily Champion went round town, it was discovered that shops belonging to Igbos and Christians were the worst hit as the fire was still raging in some stores located on Ahmadu Bello Way where tyres, batteries and household products were sold (Daily Champion February 20 2006, p. 5)

- Chief Peter C Okpara described the attack as the worst ever on Igbo and Christian investments in Bornos in 30 years he has resided there. He said the attack was selective and targeted against Christians and Igbos (p. 5)

Such positions are consistent in the newspapers. As truthful as this may seem, the inherent problem is the sectional interests inherent in these 'truths'. Issues that should be looked as a national problem become reduced to ethnic or religious problems. It is worthy to note that there were reprisal killings of the northerners in Onitsha, East of Nigeria, but the *Daily Champion* reports the killings as the Igbo's response to the killing of their 'kinsmen' in the North. The observation of the researchers is in accord with previous research carried out on similar issues. Omenugha (2004:74) after analysing the press reports of the Hausa/Yoruba ethnic clash of 2002 sums up:

It is clear that Nigerian press reports operate within certain ideological frameworks. It is these frameworks which are explored, relived, made explicit for the readers in repeated mulling of tales. The newspapers are interested not

in reporting the truth as it is, the events as they occurred, but to reconstruct and reaffirm their ethnic and cultural positions and identities.

The scenario seems not to have changed. Ethics seems to have gone with the wind.

News commercialization: Any gains?

At a recent workshop organised for working journalists in Anambra State of Nigeria by the State Ministry of information, one of the authors was privileged to participate as a resource person. As is usual with such workshops, the question of ethical conduct of journalists came up. The journalists made no pretence about their receiving forms of payment for themselves or for their media houses to publish stories. According to them, how could they do otherwise when:

- They receive poor and irregular salaries
- Some media houses do not have salary system at all. Therefore a journalist's chances of survival depend on how much s/he gets from news sources.
- The harsh economic situation has a telling effect on their job.
- The Nigerian society is corrupt, increasing their difficulty in being ethical in an 'unethical world' such as Nigeria.
- Publishers complain of high cost of production and as such use such excuses to deny them their due wages.

To the supporters of news commercialisation, totally condemning the trend is tantamount to throwing the baby out with the bath water. News commercialisation, they argue:

- Helps to generate income for the media houses, helping them to function smoothly;
- Helps also to generate income for the individual journalists who otherwise might slump under the weight of the harsh economic realities;

- Has a psychological benefit for these journalists. They develop a sense of importance as they feel the job is being appreciated by those in authority, who are even ready to offer payments;
- Helps to impose a form of forced taxation on the rich, as those who often pay for the 'services' are the well-to-do in the society;
- Acts as a form of informal redistribution of income from the rich to the poor. Since media personnel tend to earn less than most of the rich who patronize them, accepting 'brown envelopes' from these publicity seekers makes it possible for money to circulate more in the society;
- Helps to create cordial working relationships between the media and the media users, especially the political class. (Onyisi 1996: 86ff)

These assertions mostly centre on financial gains and poverty, and so "until the problem of poverty is seriously addresses with concrete solutions, no constitution or code of ethics or any other body or association for that matter can adequately discipline or regulate the conduct of journalists in Nigeria" (Adelusi 2000:43). There is no doubt that both the media industries and the journalists are facing hard times. But should their desire to survive make them employ deceit? Do the ends justify the means? Ethics is personally determined and as such these questions are to be answered on individual note.

The issue is that the dysfunctions brought by news commercialization may far out weigh the merits claimed by their proponents.

Ethical Implications of news commercialization

With the growing concern for news commercialisation, which many believe negates all fundamental principle of fairness, equity and balance required in journalism practice, many scholars have explored its ethical implications. These are outlined here.

- Commercialization of news violates the ethics and code of conduct of journalists, which states: it is the duty of the journalist to refuse any reward for publishing or suppressing news or comment.

- News commercialization has affected information flow tremendously. As the majority of news is paid for, therefore, the news that sees the light of the day has to be induced by somebody or an organization, while those news that are genuine and authoritative are dropped because there is no inducement where such news emanates from. The greatest flaw in the practice of news commercialization as Ekwo (1996) surmises is that "news is narrowly defined against the weight of the news source's purse" (p. 69).
- News commercialization makes the news susceptible to abuse by interest groups who can pay their way into the media to project an idea they want people to accept whether it is positive or not.
- News commercialization can lead to news distortion. The person who pays the piper often dictates the tune. Since the media would not like to lose a major customer, they will do all within their reach to satisfy such client that pays them enough money to have to his/her view projected. In return, the client may dictate how and what he or she wants out of the news packaging of the media house. This can extend to dictating to the media what makes news, thereby emasculating opposing views. This is often flagrantly displayed during election times as contestants often buy over one media house or the other, which at every news hour seize the opportunity to praise the 'client' and crush his/her opponents.
- With the zeal to acquire more and more money through commercialization of news, many news organizations have lost their focus on investigative journalism. This has led to loss of variety in the news, monotony, etc. Many have lost their mission turning to praise singing and propaganda, which has dire consequences for the Nigerian society (see Ekwo 1996, Lai 2000, Ogbuoshi 2005).

Conclusion

The issue of news commercialization cannot be discussed without recourse to the views currently gathering momentum that news be seen as a construction. This is because as argued:

> There seem to be no such person as the 'individual' communicator. She or he has to cooperate with colleagues, has to take the specific needs, routines and traditions of the organisations into account, and is limited by the social, economic and legal embedding of the media institution (van Zoonen 1994: 49).

But would these considerations be at the expense of ethics, in other words, "the shared normative values which any society holds dear, and are used to judge the behaviour or performance of any member of that society?" (Omole: 2000). How Nigerian media institutions and journalists are to be judged depends upon how much they are seen as credible before the eyes of the public. As a British journalist once said, "credibility in the minds of the audience is the sine qua non of news" (Smith, quoted in Glasgow Media Group 1976:7). News commercialization leads to loss of credibility. Today many enlightened Nigerians drift away from the local television news stations as they seek other credible sources for news.

No matter the constraints within which the journalism profession is practised, societies should have the right to reserve spaces free of commercialization, where citizens can congregate or exchange ideas on equal footing, and where those with money do not necessarily speak with the loudest voice. The news space could be just that, but that cannot be without an allegiance to ethics of journalism profession. Ethics cannot continue to be "an unwanted child of business".

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It's all a question of form: Exploring how professional ideas and practices shape the language and visuals of the children's news programme.

Julian Matthews
Bath Spa University
E-mail: j.matthews@bathspa.ac.uk

THIS paper reports on a production based study into one of the longest running children's news programmes – BBC1's *Newsround* (UK). It deliberately focuses on the programme's construction of children's news stories as a way of both exploring and explaining how the 'professional visualisation' (Cottle 1993) of this children's news form shapes the nature of its output. These insights are important not only because they address the under-researched form of children's news but also because they provide a deeper understanding of how differentiated news forms condition and constrain the language of television news in different ways – a finding that has theoretical relevance for our understanding of how news production shapes and conditions democratic representation and processes of citizenship. A central concern here is the professionals' understanding of the news form.

News as "form"

Although a prominent concern within this paper, the differentiated nature of news programmes has been generally overlooked within news production scholarship. For instance, the emerging theoretical focus within the substantive production studies and later within political economic studies of news has discussed the general influences that shape the news programme as a homogeneous form. These describe how the production routines (Tuchman 1978; Fishman 1980; Schlesinger 1978) and the economic dynamics of production (Golding and Murdock 1991; McManus 1994) of high profile news organisations condition their relatively standardised outputs. The theoretical focus of this work offers then no explanation for the vast array of different news forms in the larger ecology of news. Recognising this absence within journa-

lism scholarship and the general importance of the news form, Cottle argues simply that:

> The internally differentiated nature of news journalism(s) across the field of news demands to be taken seriously and explored empirically in different production domains, and with respect to differing journalist practices. How differentiated news forms are professionally reproduced and inscribed into the selections and inflections of news are important matters; they have not only had a bearing on the ecology of news but also on representations [...] (Cottle 2000: 33).

Above, it is reasoned that academic discussions of news production should now consider the importance of the differentiated nature of news programmes. As the comments explain, this approach recognises the diverse news ecology as well as brings into view the culturally differentiated production process where considerations of form are used to shape the production of news representations. In a similar way, it also casts light on the variety of news representations produced and how these offer different dialogic possibilities. As Cottle (2000: 30) suggests, the study of news forms shows how news programmes do more than transmit information or ideology by offering a range of dialogic possibilities including the potential to 'affirm certain values and endorse shared aspirations and ways of life'. The textual variations common to 'popular' journalism, for example, have already been discussed in this way. Studies of the historical press (Conboy 2002), the contemporary popular press (Dahlgren and Sparks 1992), and popular news programmes (Bird 1990, Langer 1998) have highlighted the implications of the important features of these forms. However, notwithstanding the insights developed from discussions of news content, we know less about the professional motivations that manufacture these characteristics and appeals in the first place. At present, the available scholarship captures only some of the features of the culturally differentiated production process including the featured conflicts over the 'informing' and 'entertaining' aspects of news output (Bantz 1985) as well as the importance of particular production cultures (Harrison 2000) and professionally imagined audiences (Cottle 1993). What is lacking, then, within the literature is a clear sense of the role that professionals' views of the news form play within this process. This paper seeks to address this absence by reporting on a study that applies the idea of form to the production of the children's news programme

Within this article I use the term genre - a French word meaning type or kind –as a starting point to understand the 'repertoire of elements' (Lacey 2000) that group news texts together. News, then, can be seen as a communicative repertoire of 'narrative, visualisation and talk' (Corner 1995), and it is these elements in combination that help us to understand the various types or sub-genres of news on offer (Harrison 2000). The problem with approaching news entirely as genre, however, is that it tends to conceal the forces that go into shaping news behind the scenes, and it also provides little by way of explaining how the different forms of news are produced and change through time. It is important, therefore, to operationalise a term that recognises the elements of the news genre but which can also be applied to the production environment. This paper prefers the term 'news form' to that of 'genre', and through the account of the production of children's news that follows it will demonstrate how a 'professional visualisation' of form decisively shapes the production of news language and visuals particular to the programme. Further, this will build on the recent insights offered by studies of the production of the children's programme, which we can discuss now.

Recent academic discussions of the children's news programme have introduced new insights into how professionals' views shape news content. Studies of European, US and Israeli children's news programmes have observed how, when compared to adult news programmes, children's news programmes offer a greater explanation and contextualization of issues, different stances and linguistic addresses and news agendas (Bourne, 1985; Buckingham, 1999; Davies, 2007). Further, studies attribute the observed differences within the programme to the professionals' prominent views of the programme form and its young news audience. Such views are also introduced as informing professionals' use of consolidation strategies to deal with troubling subjects (Walha Van der Molen and De Vries, 2003) as well as their efforts made to mediate representations of conflict (Strohmaier 2007) and the features of online space (Carter & Allan, 2005). In the same way, these feature as important within insider accounts and their discussions of the decisions that professionals face when producing memorable news events (Home, 1993) and the justifications for these (Price, 2001; Prince, 2004). However, what such studies do not do adequately is discuss the formation of such professionals' views or describe the process where these shape the production of the news story. Thus, this paper based on a case study of the production of the BBC programme *News-*

round will explore the production process where news practices informed by such knowledge shape and condition the programme's news language and visuals. This includes insights taken from an observational study of the BBC children's news programme that will be introduced next.

Methodology and case study:

The production study that informs this discussion, included observations of news practice, interviews with past and present members of the news team, analysis of news documentation and quantitative and qualitative analysis of news output (1997-2001). In addition to observations, the project used data from 34 in-depth interviews to explore how professionals' view of the children's news programme informs their news practices. This was collected and analysed in a meticulous way. For example, the author personally transcribed the interviews and then sub divided the written data into common descriptions of the production process. Following their preparation, the insights were then cross-referenced for validity with observations of news practices and also with the recorded morning meeting discussions to produce an accurate account of professionals' understanding of the news making process. This is reproduced in the discussion that follows. But before we discuss how professionals view their programme it is important to introduce the case study.

BBC Newsround

As a successful children's news programme, BBC *Newsround* has been broadcast on the BBC for over 35 years. It was launched first on a six week trial in 1972 as *John Craven's Newsround*. After shortening its name to *Newsround*, subsequent to a successful run to 1989, the programme has become a mainstay within the BBC children's programme schedules. Throughout this time, its eight and a half minute news bulletin has broadcast an agenda of international, national and child-centred news events for its young audience. Although stories within this resemble traditional story formats and are voiced by adult news presenters (like adult programmes), these are inscribed with a news stance and style that is unique to the children's news form. Further, these unique characteristics are produced in accordance with professionals' preferred view of the children's news form as we shall see next.

A professionals' view of BBC *Newsround*

My research has uncovered how professionals view their news programme. For example, in interview, children's news producers maintain that to work on *Newsround*, the journalist must fully understand both the rules of news in general as well as the particular requirements of their distinctive form of children's news. This underscores the claim that journalists invariably work to a developed sense of the particular news form that they are producing. In the context of the research literature, this finding qualifies two contradictory claims made in earlier studies of news production: the view that journalists are either relatively autonomous and battle against organisational imperatives and editorial impositions, or that they are relatively passive and unconsciously conform to bureaucratic structures and routines. My study, as documented elsewhere (Matthews, 2003, 2005, 2007), suggests that news workers are in fact knowledgeable about, and actively reproduce, a professional visualisation of their particular form (Cottle 1993). In the case of children's news production a shared 'programme visualisation' was reinforced by processes of multi-skilling in which boundaries between roles of researcher, journalist and producer became blurred and required each member of the team to fully understand the nature and core elements of the children's news programme. Observations of news practice also revealed how their 'programme visualisation' was reinforced through such 'production rituals' as morning meetings, newsgathering discussions and other daily practices of making news reaffirming the norms and values of this particular news form. In such ways, then, the professional visualisation of children's news informs the shaping of news representations.

In examining the professional visualisation more closely we find that journalists appropriate the elements of the general adult 'news genre' to produce their distinctive form of TV children's news and are aware of a need for pragmatism in so doing. A BBC Newsround journalist describes:

> There wasn't a great debate about whether Newsround should primarily try and be funky and excite and be like every other children's programme, or whether it should be grown up and serious like any other (adult) news programme. We knew we were somewhere between the two and if we tried to be too serious and too newsy, we would lose our audience. But if we tried to be entertaining and too children's (department) oriented we would

> lose our credibility. So we knew we had to strike a balance.
> BBC *Newsround* Journalist 6

The professional visualisation of the children's news form is thus informed by the tension between the perceived credibility of the adult news programme and the entertainment value of the children's programme. This blend is considered as the essential difference between children's news with its aim to produce a highly entertaining and visual news programme in contrast to the standard BBC public service news provision. Also incorporated into this mix are the professional views of the news audience. Observing this we find that the professional understanding of the 'imagined' news audience is based on an amalgam of two competing views: the 'ideal' and 'real' audience. Practically these serve as useful reference points in the production, selection and inflection of programme content. The professional conception of the 'ideal' child audience is described below:

> I kind of think of having a kind of funky twelve year old who is not too funky but has aspirations to be funky. They are quite interested in the news agenda, quite good at school, you know all those sort of things; someone that comes from quite a stable background, whose family probably read newspapers and has general newsy things around in the house. They've got a little bit of willingness, and appreciate an explanation.
> BBC *Newsround* Journalist 3

The journalist's construction of the 'ideal' child news audience as mature, academically able and middle class practically serves, therefore, to define the 'ideal' programme content and style of presentation. However, in practice this view of the audience competes with a further professional view of the 'real' audience. This will be elaborated further below, but essentially we can say that this professional view imagines the 'real' audience to have limited intellectual capabilities as well as attention span and that these inform the audience's preference for entertainment rather than information-based programmes. The imagined 'real' audience therefore shapes the production of the news programme in ways designed to attract and maintain a child audience. In practice, this process sugars the pill of information-led news with the production values of the entertainment programme; while the producers' wilful imagination of the more appreciative 'ideal' audience serves to bolster the

journalist's professional esteem as a serious news provider. With these general observations on children's news production in place we can now examine in more detail how the production of a characteristic news form impacts on the construction and representation of news.

Producing the *Newsround* news style

News professionals' have a detailed understanding of their news form including the conventionalised features of its news language and visuals. A view of the needs, understandings and sensibilities of their audience has been important in shaping these features of the news programme. This has underscored the personalised, simplified and popularised news coverage that is offered by BBC *Newsround*. Its presence within the production process will be introduced next within a discussion of the shaping of *Newsround* news language and visuals.

News Language

The norms and standards that are maintained within the production process ensure that news professionals produce stories that replicate the features of the news form. Within this process, sections of adult news copy become identified as appropriate to then transform into an overview of the news event. The *Newsround* version of the story is also written to include a news angle that is considered in terms of meaning and understanding acceptable for a young audience. This process contrasts starkly with that of adult news production that is commonly experienced by professionals who have worked on such programmes before arriving at *Newsround*. The following comment illustrates these differences. Here, a news professional reflects on experiences of working on BBC *News 24* when describing the news practices adopted by BBC *Newsround*:

> Here you find the story, you work on it completely how you want to, and explore the angles that you think need to be explored. You get the pictures that you think you need to be filmed. It's solely yours; you are not restricted in anyway, whereas certainly at *News 24*, you were completely restricted because we had no resources. So you just turned other peoples' material

> around to try and fit what you were doing. So it is about starting from scratch with a Newsround story
> Newsround Journalist 8.

Above we learn of the differences that exist between news practices used to produce the programmes. However, the comment made about the autonomy of the *Newsround* news professional should not be taken at face value. Although my observations concur with the view that news professionals make selections over material that are perhaps unavailable to them when working on News 24, these reveal also how professionals are required to follow preferred guidelines when preparing the *Newsround* news story. As a matter of fact, writing stories for the BBC children's news programme involves a strict adherence on their part to particularised writing and production strategies which reproduce the BBC *Newsround* news style. These ensure that consistency is maintained in the production of a personalised, simplified and popularised news output, as will be explained in more detail in the following discussion of the personalising of news.

Personalising news language:

Again, observations of programme production offer rich insights into the professional writing process and in this case uncover the way that 'relevant' news accounts are produced for the *Newsround* audience. The comments below, for example, reveal much about the production of BBC children news, including the common practice used to personalise the general presentation of the 'relevant' news event:

> You have to consider what is relevant about this story for children, and how to get that across. It is all too easy to forget the basic thing that is going to be of interest to children. So you have to hold on to what is interesting about the story and what has to be explained and how it be presented
> Newsround Journalist 4

This introduces the principles that inform the professional transformation of the children's news story. A glance into the newsroom here reveals how it is these principles that guide the essential news writing practice to produce 'interesting' news events which have within them strong connections forged with

the lives and experiences of the audience. This also shows how their influence on the production of the children's story is considerable as is demonstrated in the following example of a children's account of the UK government's campaign to pledge money to improve road safety.

My research into the production of *Newsround* brings into focus how professionals construct personalised versions of news copy in a routine way. On one occasion, for example, I observed how a journalist worked busily to transform the news copy of a story about road safety into a personalised account for a young audience. This endeavour produced a new version which emphasised the 'campaign' for children's road safety, having developed an opening line that was changed from '*a new million pound campaign to make our roads safer'* within the original news copy to appear in the children's story as' *more than six thousand cyclists were killed or seriously injured last year - two thousand of them were children...*' As a representative example of the production of the children's news story, this introduces the considerable effort made to refocus news copy into an acceptable form within the news writing process.

Further to this, the strategy to personalise news requires a produced story to include written parallels between events and the lived experience of children, as the series producer outlines below:

> You know, the adult news story may not explain what children need to know and there may be more interesting other factors that you might pull into it. A good *Newsround* journalist would go beyond the news copy and will think what is really interesting about this story. Are there any other stories I can bring in? Any other parallels that I can draw in to give a proper background?
> Newsround Series Producer 1

Thus, we begin to realise how relevant themes are introduced and developed within the news writing process to purposefully redirect the original focus of the adult news copy. The example that follows illustrates how professionals mediate the news focus of news copy and shows further the outcome of such a practice. On this occasion, a discussion of the government's announcement to lower pollution within adult news is taken and personalised within a new account for the young audience. The newly produced *Newsround* story introduces a new news focus that discusses the link between pollution levels and the possible effects on children's health who suffer from chronic asthma . The finished version opens with the following:

> An ordinary day in London, as usual it's raining and there's loads of traffic. Most of us never think about the air that we're breathing in areas like this. But for people with asthma it's a different story. They say that air pollution is one of the things that makes their asthma much, much worse
> BBC Newsround, 8 June 1999

As the story continues the link between the quality of the air and asthma sufferers is made explicit:

> Asthma is causing breathing problems for more and more young people. A shocking one in four children suffers from asthma - a figure which has almost doubled since 1990. No-one knows why - but we do know pollution makes symptoms worse
> BBC Newsround, 8 June 1999

The rest of the story (below) outlines how a new emphasis placed on asthma suffers and pollution further redirects the original news focus and news line. In this way the government announcement about the reduction of pollution and environmental groups' reactions appear as almost an afterthought at the end of the account.

> The Government's announcement today that they want to cut down on dangerous chemical from car exhausts ... but though that news has been welcomed by environmental groups, they say the real answer is to reduce the number of cars on our roads
> BBC Newsround, 8 June 1999

In this process the details of the pollution issue is significantly shaped within a new news focus that places the government and environmental groups' comments behind the discussion of children, asthma and the rise of pollution. In effect, this particular arrangement renders the news topic apolitical by redirecting the discussion of government plans to the end of the item and offering an edited version that dislocates the pollution issue from any informing social context and political processes.

In sum, this section has outlined a professional strategy that is used to shape the children's news story. What follows next establishes another prominent professional strategy used by news workers within the production of *Newsround*. This will be introduced as 'simplification' - a process in which

professionals shape news copy into the simplified ideas and narratives for the young audience which, it is assumed, allows this inexperienced audience to consume news with ease.

Simplifying news language

For *Newsround*, the simplification of news is considered essential to its more general goal of producing news that is 'intelligible to children' (BBC 2000). However, the programme's view of the process conceals the considerable effect that this news practice has on the overall shape of the news story. Informed by professionals' views of children's inability to understand news, these news making practices condition the selection and presentation of news material. Take, for example, the professional view outlined below of children's understanding of the causes of environment problems and the suggested way to present such a story that is reached on this basis:

> The fact is, how do they [children] understand that we as nations have caused the infrastructure to be fucked anyway? ... So we have to do it in a way that is palatable
> Newsround Journalist 4

News professionals describe the difficulties faced when making issues 'intelligible' to children. As is revealed within the above comments, they see the consistent reproduction of 'palatable' versions of news issues for children, which replace the context to issues with simple reporting of the event, as their agreed solution to this problem. Although the *Newsround* website is configured to offer valuable supporting explanations of key news issues, the programme, operating within strict tight time constraints, generally does not. Coincidently, it is the presence of information about issues on the *Newsround* website that gives news workers the opportunity to avoid addressing issues that require detailed explanations within the programme. Also this choice allows them to maintain an upbeat and fast moving style of news that has become viewed as an essential part of presenting news issues to children. Furthermore, the practice of simplifying news involves more than news selection and can be viewed as present within the various stages of news story production.

Observing the production of BBC *Newsround* reveals how news accounts became simplified within an extended editing process. Within this process, first, sections of the news copy are highlighted that can be used within the new *Newsround* version. This is followed shortly after by practices to select inappropriate news language within the news copy and then to explain or substitute troublesome terms or phrases as is outlined below:

> Working on the programme you actually get away from all the news jargon that bands about. Phrases like 'arms to South Africa' that is used all the time in main news and means nothing. People that work in news use these phrases to get around things. On *Newsround* you cannot use 'Arms to Africa' or a phrase like that. Here you must think about the story and how it can be told without using jargon and phrases that are meaningless
> BBC *Newsround* Journalist 7

Further, the process of simplification involves another stage after the rewriting of selected words or phrases. This secondary procedure mediates the language used in the original copy into the *Newsround* news style, and is demonstrated in the following example of the production of a story about the failure of students to reach government standards in school maths.

This particular example follows the professionals' mediation of news copy over the news day and enters the production process shortly after a story has been selected for the bulletin. The story in question is about pass rates in school maths tests and is introduced by a producer in charge of the morning meeting with the following remark about the newsworthiness of the test results:

> I don't think it's showing what they can do but rather showing them how they are performing. I suppose it does raise the question: is this going to widen? And is it going to be depressing to show children that they are failing?
> Newsround Producer 2

Later with the concerns about children's reaction to the potential issue forgotten, the story is placed within the provisional news bulletin. Soon after this, the news producer offers advice on how the story should be produced to a journalist who is allocated the role of writing the story. Part of the informal

conservation with the journalist involves discussing a page of news copy entitled' primary school maths results worse'[1] as suitable to be transformed into the new *Newsround* version. In particular the following section is earmarked as particularly pertinent to the task:

> Mr Blunkett put the decline in maths results down to a tough mental arithmetic test made compulsory this year for the first time for 11 and 14-year-olds - and acknowledged that these tests would make the numeracy target harder to meet
>
> 'This has made it harder to achieve the target we set, but we make no apology for this. This change is long overdue. Mental arithmetic skills are essential part of numeracy' he said.
>
> Next September, a similar back-to -basics numeracy strategy emphasising mental arithmetic and whole-class teaching is to be introduced. Over the coming year, the government is to invest 60 million in preparing for the numeracy strategy, employing 300 numeracy advisers to work in schools and setting up 3000 numeracy summer schools
> PA News 9 October 1998

After reading the news copy, the journalist begins rewriting this section and producing a new *Newsround* version. Helping this effort is an internalised view of *Newsround's* news style which allows the professional to make quick decisions over which ideas and information should be used and which not in producing a story appropriate for a young news audience. Observing the process we see how the news copy used to develop the *Newsround* version is shaped to read in the new account as follows:

> The result in maths may be slightly worse, but the government says THAT'S to be expected ... For the first time this year children were tested for mental arithmetic - the government says that's made things harder - and to make things worse new lessons designed to help still haven't been introduced in many schools
> BBC Newsround 9 October 1998

This example reveals much about the simplification process in particular how the *Newsround news* version shapes the audiences' understanding of the

[1] Authored by Tim Miles Education Correspondent , PA News

issue. For instance, a prominent change made to the description of the test results in the *Newsround* story, was the paraphrasing of the Minster for Education's speech into the words 'government reaction' and the omission from the story of the criticism of the government's handling of education which appeared later within the news copy. Additionally, the phrase 'failing to meet political targets' is shaped to read as 'slightly worse' and this accompanies other changes. In sum, this brief analysis shows how the professionals' efforts to simplify news themes and language noticeably delimit the audience's understanding of the educational issue.

In the same way, professionals also seek to simplify the presentation of information and facts for the *Newsround* story. They view this practice as essential and in accordance with the principles of the *Newsround* news style rather than controversial in any way, as is discussed below:

> You need to boil the story down to what you are going say and tell it in way that is truthful but gets the interesting things across. Obviously, as you do not have half an hour to tell the story, you have to really get back to first principles in order to explain it
> Newsround Journalist 5.

Here we are introduced to the news practices that produce the simplified *Newsround* story, how these work to locate the principal elements of an adult news story and then to use these elements to build a simplified account for children. A case study example of the professional production of the maths test story demonstrates this process in action. These observations of the process began when the news professional examined the following news copy (outlined below) for figures to use within a new news account:

> The government's targets specify that 80% of 11 year-olds should hit the expected level of achievement in English by the year 2002, and 75% in Maths.
>
> In this year's test, sat in May, only 65% of 11-year-olds achieved the expected level in English up to 63% last year. But the rate of increase has slowed significantly. In 1996, 58% of 11-year-olds hit the expected level, up to 48% the year before.
>
> Achievement in science test for 11-year-olds remained static at 69%. In maths, only 59% of 11-year-olds achieved the expected level this year,

> down from 62% last year, and again bucking a trend of continuous improvement
> PA News 9 October 1998

Next, the news professional scans the copy for important facts and after simplifying these, uses the new simplified figures to produce a visual graphic of "Maths Target ... 3/4 by 2002". This is later accompanied by a voiceover that explains how:

> Three quarters of all children are supposed to reach standards set by the government for maths by the year 2002
> BBC Newsround 9 October 1998

Seeing the process in action we can now appreciate how the changes are made. It is clear, in this case, how the news professional works to simplify the representation of the students' achievement which as a result appears then as "3/4" within the story rather than the 75% that is outlined in the news copy. Further, talking to news professionals we realise that these changes are considered to be necessary and important to produce news that reflects the properties of the *Newsround* news style. The news professional involved in the production of this story explained how the changes made here would simply help those watching to better understand the 'significance' of the numbers. The commonsense appeal of this view, however, simply masks the impact of such a practice. For instance, my research shows that these practices routinely exclude rather than 'make simple' important information. The editing of the statistic that 59% of 11-year-olds that did not meet the government expected levels for maths is an excellent example in this case. Furthermore, this research shows that these routine omissions are made consciously. The simplification of news is a part of professionals' effort to satisfy the accepted norms of the programme's news presentation. The consequences of this restrict the information that is given to the audience over examination achievements and government policy in this example. Similar views and practices also shape the production of the news visuals that appear within the children's news programme.

Popularising presentation – the news visual

Within the newsroom, professionals spend time carefully shaping news visuals for the programme. They consider the use of news visuals to be appropriate, as they believe that the visual aspects of the news story can help to maintain the attention of the news audience during the programme. The following editor's description of the production of an imaginary earthquake story by *Newsround* reflects this thinking:

> Take the Chinese earthquake as an example. Being aware that 5 million people are dead you must think how shall I cover this story? [...] You will have to dig up pictures from the library such as an earthquake that previously happened in that area, for example, to visually illustrate it. That is how you will spend your time at *Newsround*, whereas [adult] news would be happy to go with a story with very little in the way of coverage.
> Ex Newsround Editor 1

The ex-editor, comparing the decisions traditionally taken over the selection of news visuals in adult and children's news programmes, describes how the presentation of low-grade news visuals, such as those used within adult news, would be considered as unacceptable for the children's news programme. Like the ex-editor, news professionals presently working on the programme understand the professional requirement to include news pictures that will elucidate the news event as well as attract the attention of the news audience.

Censoring visuals

Additionally, news professionals consider the audience to be sensitive to viewing some news pictures and use this knowledge to select images that will accompany the voice over within a news story. These internalised guidelines help news professionals to make appropriate decisions over the suitability of scenes including those of human grief, death and the mistreatment of animals. An example of the mediation of a video news release (VNR) detailing the ill-treatment of caged bears in Japanese zoos, which was forwarded to the programme by the animal welfare group Wspa,[2] helps to illustrate this important process. When the VNR was considered for broadcast, I observed how

[2] World Society for the Protection of Animals.

the news professional used an internalised view of acceptable pictures to make quick judgements over which images could be used in the programme. The following thoughts on the process to select and prepare the news pictures for the story were collected from the news professional after the news story was completed:

> They [Wspa] had taken some secret filming of zoos in and around Tokyo and found some horrific stuff. The information was already there really. It was just a case of filtering out stuff that wouldn't be suitable viewing for children, because some of the stuff was very horrific. It was just literally a case of censoring it if you like. There were really bad pictures that I would have never of used.
> Newsround Journalist 10

Above the news professional describes how s/he sought to discard news pictures that were 'too horrific' for a young news audience within the VNR and work generally to achieve a sanitised visual account of the issue. As an illustration of everyday news practice, the example shows how visuals are self censored for matters of taste. Accompanying these decisions on news pictures are others that reflect the concern over their potential influence as well as the interest these would generate among the audience in the news story.

Recognising the power of pictures?

News professionals believe that news pictures that contain a powerfully inscribed view of a news issue will undoubtedly have an impact on the audience's understanding of the news issue. This is illustrated aptly in the following comments about animal stories:

> It doesn't matter how much you explain the other side of some stories such as that animals may be pests, you have always to bear in mind that one image of a caught fox running across a field is the equivalent of a thousand words for the other side of the argument. You have to be incredibly careful.
> Newsround Series Producer 1

This account suggests that the audience's misunderstanding of issues is informed by an inability to distinguish between the view expressed by news visuals and that explained in the verbal soundtrack. It follows then, according

to the series producer, that BBC *Newsround* should always attempt to present the 'real' side of problems within the voice over, described in the example of fox hunting, as purposefully representing the fox as 'pest' rather than a hunted animal. However, this practice is easier said than done when producing news for children. The persuasive demands of the presentational style of the children's news programme, for instance, ensures that the pictures produced stray purposefully away from objective and impartial visual accounts of news issues. Again using the example of the production of animal stories, it becomes clear how the *Newsround* news style informs the production of particular news pictures that shapes audience's perceptions, as is explained:

> I have a big problem with the way that emotive pictures of animals can warp the argument. Often on those occasions, it does not matter what you put in your script, you know that environmental agencies are sat there signing up hundreds of new members because you put that on the tele at five o'clock
> Newsround Journalist 8

The comments describe a necessity to produce standard news visuals that are congruent with the *Newsround* news style. I have also observed how news professionals when working to meet these requirements construct sequences of visuals that focus on the environmental character within the personalised news story. Often these visuals are produced purposefully to depict the threat to animals and thus appear to be communicating a separate view from that of the verbal sound track. A typical example would be a story that includes a sequence of pictures that introduce an animal as unaffected within their natural habitat and then starkly illustrate the threat that it faces with emotional overtones. In short, the practice of producing pictures to reflect the news style appears here to provoke the audience to think about issues (in this case animal issues) in particularised ways.

Conclusion

This paper, based on a case study of the production of the BBC children's news programme *Newsround*, has traced the characteristics of the news form within the production process. This has recognised how professionals' view of their audience as a mass of consumers uninterested in news has informed their

production of a simplified, personalised and popularised news programme. Further, by examining programme production it has been observed how this preferred content is produced through the application of particular news making practices.

For example, this has introduced how news representations become personalised for a young audience within the BBC children news programme. The application of the practice of personalisation ensures that the stories that can echo connections with the lives of the audience become selected and that these become transformed to further emphasise these characteristics later within the production process. Produced then to attract audiences' attention, these stories overlook the politics and general context that surrounds news events as well as restrict the scope of the news bulletin and the audience's access to discussions of adult news issues. A practice of simplification has also been discussed as operating within the newsroom. As has been outlined, this has been developed on the basis of professionals' views of children's limited cognitive abilities and is used to shape news that includes the basic details of the news event, simplified language and explanation as well as operates to limit the news voices that will appear. In a similar way, the discussion has outlined how professionals' concerns about the audience have also informed their selection and shaping of news visuals.

In addition to discussing the conditioning of news language, this discussion has revealed the importance of professional ideas in the shaping of news visuals. It has been recognised that although professionals' assumptions about children's sensibilities self censor the production of visuals, it is their concern with reproducing news that can attract and maintain an audiences' attention that chiefly informs their use of news pictures. This view shapes their selection and organisation of news pictures within the programme and on occasion seems to overwhelm their good sense to produce balanced and impartial accounts of (animal) stories. Thus, in sum, this discussion of BBC *Newsround* has revealed how this particular form shaped in accordance with a particularised view of children, informs the production of news language and visuals that appear to restrict children's access to a wider understanding of important news topics. This has also offered a complex and culturally differentiated understanding of news production that presents potential insights that can be taken forward and applied to the study of the production of other news forms and the professional mediation of news stories.

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The impact of cultural dimensions on language use in quality newspapers

Folker Hanusch
School of Communication, University of the Sunshine Coast
E-mail: fhanusch@usc.edu.au

> LANGUAGE is the key to the heart of a culture. So related are language and culture that language holds the power to maintain national or cultural identity. Language is important in ethnic and nationalist sentiment because of its powerful and visible symbolism; it becomes a core symbol or rallying point. (Samovar and Porter, 2001: 139)

Language is a very important consideration to take into account when examining the messages we receive from the news media, and how we might decode them. Put simply, language is "a set of symbols shared by a community to communicate meaning and experience" (Jandt, 2004: 147). It cannot be separated from culture and it is through language that we construct and deconstruct our culture, learning who 'we' are and who 'they' are (Lull, 2000: 139). While it is one thing to learn another language, it is something different altogether to be able to apply that language within its cultural surrounding. As Stevenson (1994: 59-60) has pointed out, dictionaries can tell us the literal translations of words, but they cannot tell us what those words mean within their cultural surroundings. For all words have at least two meanings, their denotative meaning, which is the word itself, as well as their connotative meaning, or cultural meaning (Hall, 1997).

Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1983) argued that language operated through signs, which consisted of a signifier (the physical form) and a signified (the concept evoked by the signifier). Thus, the word "ox" is a sign composed of the signifier (its appearance, ie. the physical letters) and the mental concept (oxness) which one has of the type of animal. The mental concept depends on one's cultural surroundings. An Indian farmer, for example, would likely have a very different mental concept of an ox than an English person would (Fiske, 1990).

Thus cultural meaning cannot be simply translated, as its meaning is specific to the culture it operates within (Stevenson, 1994: 60). It could be ar-

gued that, for an outsider, it is impossible to understand a culture without first knowing the language, but the appropriate use of the language will also depend on the level of cultural knowledge. Haarmann (1999: 64) has noted that language is "a major marker for many local groups around the world, and there have been historical periods when language was assigned an ideological role as the marker par excellence of ethnic identity". As an example, Haarmann cites the 18th and 19th Century idea of a national language being the bond which unites individuals.

If language is a marker of culture, it should be possible for us to trace certain uses of language back to cultural conditions. In this sense, this article will examine how newspapers employ language in their reporting, with special attention given to how this language use might be traced back to cultural dimensions. In order to provide a comparative dimension across cultures, the article explores two quality newspapers each from Australia and Germany. Specifically, I will examine the coverage of death in the selected newspapers. The visual representation of death in the news media has already received some attention from scholars (see, for example, Taylor, 1998; Sontag, 2003; Campbell, 2004), but very little analysis has been undertaken as to how newspapers actually "talk" about the dead, that is, the specific words that are being used to describe fatal events.

Cultural dimensions in international news

Past studies on international news reporting have used a variety of approaches to examine how other countries are represented and what the underlying reasons for these representations might be. Straubhaar (2003) has argued that, to truly understand the process of global interaction through the media, research needs to move beyond the traditional dependence and inter-dependence relations or narrow definitions such as core, semi-peripheral and peripheral countries. He argued there were several levels of interaction between the cultures of the world: political-economic, technological, cultural production, content and content flows and the reception of culture. Straubhaar conceded that most critical and cultural studies' writers deemed political-economic analysis necessary, and while the political and economic factors should be used as a foundation for analysis, they did not necessarily determine other factors. Thussu

(2000: 72) also identified a trend away from the structural analyses of international communication's role in political and economic power relationships towards the cultural dimensions of communication and media.

Similarly, Lie (2003: 72-3) argued that the cultural state of the world was intrinsically linked to the flow of information and knowledge, which in itself was a cultural flow. While it is important to recognise the predominant economic, political and power analyses of the cultural flow in past studies, Lie argued there was also a need for a cultural analysis of this flow.

Christensen (2002: 27) provides an insight into the interplay of factors that influence international news coverage when he argued that

> the proposed tendency towards coverage of culturally "proximate" regions (a result of geo-cultural pressures) is related to organisation and political economic factors: stories on proximate regions are more likely to be within the professional and cultural "universe" of the journalists and/or editor (organisational pressures), and are also likely to be cheaper to cover and more attractive to domestic audiences (political economic pressures) (Christensen, 2002: 27).

In an analysis of death in international news coverage, I adopted a holistic model that accounted for the various factors that impinge on news flow (Hanusch, 2006). Based on Servaes (1999, 2002), I used a framework of four dimensions: world view, value systems, systems of social organisation and systems of symbolic representation. These could account for a combination of factors such as political, economic, cultural, social, historical and linguistic, therefore providing a more inclusive approach to the study of international news flows. Particularly relevant to this study of language use is the value systems dimension, and specifically Hofstede's (1980, 1997, 2001; Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005) work on international differences in work-related values.

In a number of studies that surveyed thousands of employees of multinational corporations across more than 50 countries, Hofstede found five independent dimensions along which dominant value systems could be ordered. These value dimensions include: power distance; individualism; masculinity; uncertainty avoidance; and long-term orientation.

Power distance, according to Hofstede, is the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organisations, such as the family, accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. Hofstede's second value dimension, individualism, refers to the importance of the individual in a

society. There are individualist societies in which there are only loose ties between individuals, and collectivist societies where individuals are part of very strong and cohesive groups. Masculinity, according to Hofstede, refers to the degree to which masculine or feminine traits are dominant in a society. Uncertainty avoidance is concerned with the degree to which a society can deal with uncertainty, ie. whether a member of a culture is comfortable or uncomfortable in a new and unknown situation. Uncertainty avoiding cultures live by strict laws, rules, security and safety measures and rituals to minimise the possibility of unstructured situations. Long-term orientation is a dimension that cross-cultural psychologist Michael Bond, together with a group of Chinese scholars, added to Hofstede's list of originally only four dimensions (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987; Hofstede and Bond, 1988). The Chinese Culture Connection had been concerned that Hofstede's four dimensions had been constructed and analysed only by Western scholars. Bond and his Chinese colleagues used their own questionnaires developed by Chinese scholars. Their survey confirmed three of Hofstede's four dimensions, with the exception being uncertainty avoidance, a value they argued was not relevant to Eastern cultures. Instead of the search for "truth", Eastern cultures were more concerned with "virtues". As I will argue in this paper, value systems help determine journalistic routines and can therefore account for differences in approaches to news reporting.

Germany and Australia, the two countries under examination in this paper, are somewhat similar on some dimensions, but quite different on others. According to Hofstede's data, Australia proves to be a more individualist country than Germany, while Germans score more highly on uncertainty avoidance, suggesting Germans are less comfortable with uncertain situations than are Australians. Australia is, according to Hofstede, a slightly less masculine society, although the differences do not appear to be great. Both countries score similarly on power distance and long-term orientation. One would expect that these differences in values may have an effect on journalistic practices in these two countries. For example, considering that Germany has higher uncertainty avoidance, one would expect stricter rules for journalists, for example in terms of ethical guidelines. In fact, the German ethics code (Pressekodex) is much more detailed than Australian ethical codes such as the journalist union's code of ethics or the Australian Press Council's Statement of Principles. As I will show, these impact on journalistic language use.

Hofstede's work has not been without criticism, with much of it directed at the methodology he employed. McSweeney (2002) argued that Hofstede had generalised about national cultures on the basis of a few questionnaires from IBM subsidiaries in some countries. McSweeney further argued that IBM employees in one country could hardly be representative of a whole culture, in addition to the fact that in some countries less than 100 questionnaires were completed. Another point of criticism was that the initial surveys did not include Arab countries and only one African country, South Africa, which, at the time of Apartheid, would unlikely have included much of the values of the country's black population (Samovar and Porter, 2001). However, Hofstede's work has also been replicated in a number of studies, giving it added credibility. For example, Hofstede and Hofstede (2005: 26) cite six major replications of Hofstede's original research. As regards journalism studies, studies of culture such as Hofstede's work have also been acknowledged as being potentially useful when examining journalistic practice (Hanitzsch, 2006).

Death in public discourse

Before embarking on the analysis, it is necessary to briefly review some issues concerning the representation of death in the news media. The presence or absence of death in public discourse has become quite popular in recent years as a topic of academic debate, with a large increase in research particularly in the area of sociology (Howarth, 2007). Until recently, the prevailing view had been that death had, in contrast to traditional societies, been removed from the public to the private realm and become something unmentionable (Aries, 1973; Giddens, 1991; Mellor and Shilling, 1993). The view was that advances in science had made death something that was avoidable and could be prevented (Simpson, 1972). However, more recently, sociologists such as Tony Walter (1991) have come to refute this claim of the public absence of death, noting that death was in fact omnipresent in today's media. While he did concede that it was unusual deaths and death of high-profile people only that were commonplace in the media, Walter nevertheless argued that death was much more present than previously thought.

At first glance, today's news media is certainly full of accounts of wars, disasters and the like. Death is a highly negative event, and negativity is a very

strong news factor. But despite the argument that death is highly present in public discourse, there is debate as to how present it really is. While deaths may be reported frequently in the news media, it is much less clear to what extent and in what detail these deaths are reported. For example, Taylor (1998) argues that the news media are in fact short-changing their audience in terms of the visual representation of death by consciously self-censoring the display of graphic imagery. Taylor (1998: 11) believes that "the absence of horror in the representation of real events indicates not propriety so much as a potentially dangerous poverty of knowledge among news readers". Campbell (2004) argues in much the same vein, disputing the assertion made by, amongst others, Sontag (2003), that graphic imagery will quickly lead to compassion fatigue.

But while graphic imagery has attracted a good deal of attention, language use by newspapers has received hardly any interest in research. Yet, arguably, how the news media describe the dead would to some extent influence how audience members might think about them. While there exists a reasonably large body of research into news media accounts of death, particularly in foreign news reporting, most of it has focused on statistical issues, such as how many deaths have to occur in a certain place for the event to become news (Adams, 1986; Burdach, 1988; Moeller, 1999). These studies have indeed found that deaths in politically, economically and culturally distant countries are less likely to be covered than deaths which occur in a more proximate place, much in line with the predominant theories of news factors (Galtung and Ruge, 1970; Harcup and O'Neill, 2001). There is an old saying among US journalists, for example: "one dead fireman in Brooklyn is worth five English bobbies, who are worth 50 Arabs, who are worth 500 Africans" (in Moeller, 1999: 22).

As to the language that is used, it is also generally accepted that accounts of deaths from distant places contain much less detailed accounts, little personalisation and "emotional invigilation", as argued by Walter, Littlewood and Pickering (1995). In general terms, Walter (2006) argues that the media now play an important role in keeping the social fabric together, much to the extent that religion had done in traditional societies. "Like churches that preach hellfire and damnation, the media first scare us to death and then offer salvation and comfort. This formula has traditionally been the terrain of religion, and just as its use can reinforce the power of religion so it is effective in selling newspapers" (Walter, 2006: 277). Other studies have also noted the impor-

tance of news media accounts of death in reaffirming national myths (Watson, 1997; Pearse, 2006). Yet these studies have often examined only the meta-level of more general discourses, without examining individual accounts on a more micro-analytical level. Further, research has tended to focus on the media product, neglecting to examine media producers' attitudes to and experiences of reporting on death. Therefore, this article examines more closely some of the headlines used in Australian and German newspapers'reporting of death, and combines it with interviews conducted with journalists at these newspapers.

Method

This study examined journalists' use of language when reporting death and was conducted as part of a wider study of newspaper coverage of death (see Hanusch, 2007; 2008). Firstly, the coverage of death in the foreign news sections of four newspapers was analysed during the months of September and October 2004. Two quality newspapers each from Germany and Australia were chosen: From Germany, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, and from Australia, *The Australian* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*. All four newspapers are regarded as being among the top quality newspapers in their respective countries. In addition, extensive interviews with eight journalists from each newspaper were conducted in December 2004 and April 2005. All journalists interviewed were involved in the production of foreign news. Interviews included general questions as to the language they employed when reporting on death, as well as a number of sample headlines in order to provide a cross-cultural analysis dimension as to what kind of language is acceptable in each country. I am fluent in both German and English and possess professional qualifications as a translator in these languages. I was therefore able to conduct interviews in the journalists' native languages, which was important in the context of the study. Messages could therefore be decoded within their culture-specific contexts.

Results

In order to establish a more general framework of how journalists report death, interviewees were asked whether they had any policies regarding the language used when reporting about death. All journalists said there were no written guidelines, or at least they were not aware of any. The main observation here, however, was that German journalists were quite particular about the use of certain language, while Australian journalists did not appear too concerned with the finer linguistic details. Journalists at the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* displayed particularly strong restraint when it came to how stories about death were written, but all journalists said they tried to keep stories about death as dry and as distanced as possible, to accord decency to the victims. Thus, people were generally "killed" and not "torn to pieces". Descriptions such as "children's legs were lying on the windowsills" were avoided. *"Of course it looks like that after an explosion, but you shouldn't have to read that in the newspaper,"* an *FAZ* journalist said. Wire copy was constantly adjusted to suit the newspaper's style, another journalist from the same newspaper pointed out, particularly when wire stories were direct translations from the English original. *"So in English it might have been "he exploded himself", which in German becomes* "er sprengte sich in die Luft". *And we would not express it like that."* Another *FAZ* journalist said he was extremely particular about linguistic details, deleting words such as corpses (*Leiche*) and instead referring to them as bodies (*Leichname*), or simply the dead (*Tote*). Rather than "people" (*Menschen*), the journalist preferred using the more distanced "persons" (*Personen*). However, such fine distinctions were not made necessarily by every journalist and it appears that individual journalists have a certain amount of personal influence in this regard, which demonstrates the high autonomy found in German journalists' role descriptions and the associated openness to individual bias as compared to the Anglo-Saxon system (Esser, 1998).

Journalists at the Süddeutsche were not quite as detailed about the use of language, but also acknowledged that wire copy was rewritten frequently to suit the house-style of neutral formulations. The fact that German journalists considered linguistic details supports Köcher's (1986) argument that German journalists saw themselves as intellectuals. And seeing that four of the journalists interviewed at the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* held a PhD, one would expect

that journalists there generally might think of themselves as intellectuals even more so than their counterparts at the *Süddeutsche*. Journalists at the Australian newspapers, on the other hand, were not so concerned about the use of language. Many journalists at these papers could not provide much of an answer, saying there were no real policies or conventions governing the use of language apart from the basic stylistic expressions of newspaper language, such as using "died" or "were killed" instead of "passed away", which was reserved for people who died after a long illness.

One explanation for this rather general difference in language use may be found in Hofstede's work on value dimensions. Hofstede and Hofstede (2005: 175) note that strong uncertainty avoiding countries have tighter rules regarding language in order to deal with a number of different and unexpected situations. Hence, German journalists may be more selective in their language use when reporting death.

Language in headlines

In order to provide more insight into the analysis, it was decided to present journalists with five headlines, which were chosen from all headlines published in the four newspapers during the content analysis period. Journalists were asked what they thought of each headline and whether they would publish it. They were also requested to comment in terms of taste, ethics or appropriateness of the headline. Headlines that were published in German newspapers were translated into English for Australian journalists, while those published in Australia were translated into German for journalists at the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* and *Süddeutsche*.

It should be noted that translations posed a slight problem, in that the literal translations did not always suit the other language's newspaper style. It was already pointed out that literal translations do not necessarily convey the same cultural connotations in the other language. For example, the word *slaughter* in English, translated literally as *schlachten* in German, can have different connotations in each language. In essence, the word slaughter works as a metaphor here. Fiske (1990) noted that metaphors explained the unfamiliar in terms of the familiar and the purpose of the word's use in the case of a headline such as "20 people slaughtered in attack" is of course to raise an image

of defenceless people being killed in a gruesome, cold-blooded way. Yet metaphors, as language, are culturally determined, and in German the word is much harsher, reflecting *only* a butcher's activity, while the use is more relaxed in English, with the word taking on different meanings. For example, it is quite common to talk about "getting slaughtered" in sporting terms, such as "our team got slaughtered at the weekend". This becomes a metaphor for being comprehensively beaten. It implies the team had no chance against the other. Thus, the word, used in the context of someone being killed, is still quite a strong statement, but less so than in German due to its other connotations.

Literal translations were used for the headlines, but, as this exercise was about which kinds of words were permissible, journalists were asked whether other words would be appropriate if they disapproved of a certain word.

Example a)

> *Araber trampeln sich bei IKEA-Eröffnung zu Tode (Ara- bs trample each other to death in IKEA-opening)* published in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, September 2, 2004, Page 10

This headline refers to a story about the opening of an IKEA furniture store in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. The company had promised special offers to the first 250 customers, leading many people to camp out in front of the store the night before. Three people were killed in a mass stampede, with 17 more injured. The advantage this headline has for this comparison is that IKEA operates both in Germany and in Australia, thus people in both cultures are familiar with the concept of an IKEA store.

A large majority of the German journalists interviewed for this study disapproved of this headline, with eight *Frankfurter Allgemeine* journalists saying they would not publish it, while five *Süddeutsche* journalists were against and three said they did not see anything wrong with it. The most frequent reason for rejecting this headline was that journalists thought it was disrespectful of the people who died. Particularly the phrase "trampling each other" and the word "Arabs" caused concern. *"This is a discriminating headline, which causes the impression that these people are fools,"* said a *Süddeutsche* journalist. Similarly, another journalist from the same newspaper said it sounded like *"those stupid Arabs are waiting to finally get an IKEA*

store and they're so interested that they run over each other". Further, the term "Arabs" was too much of a generalisation for most German journalists, who believed it did not tell the reader where the event happened, as "Arabs" could suggest a number of countries or areas. One *Süddeutsche* journalist thought the term also evoked a connotation with fanatical Muslims. However, three journalists at the *Süddeutsche* did not see much that was wrong with the term, if it accurately described who was killed. As the headline was published in the *Süddeutsche*, it becomes apparent that decisions on headlines can be quite arbitrary and it again shows that the *redakteur* who is writing them has considerable power in decision-making. This supports Esser's (1999) research about the individual's influence on the production process in German newspapers.

In line with German journalists, a majority of Australian journalists rejected the headline, with three journalists at *The Australian* and six at the *Herald* rejecting it, for similar reasons. Again, the terms "trample each other" and "Arabs" were cause for not publishing the headline. Said one journalist at *The Australian*: *"Trample each other to death' is a bit like "those silly Arabs are too dopey to avoid killing each other"*." The term "Arabs" was also criticised as inadequate, with most journalists preferring to state the actual nationality of the dead. Further, as another Australian journalist pointed out, *"who knows if they were all Arabs, maybe some of them were Persians. This headline is a cultural generalisation that we would try to avoid"*. So it appears that, contrary to the previous findings about policies on language, Australian journalists also consider in some detail the language they use in headlines.

Example b)

> *Town's farewell to slaughtered innocents (Ort verabschiedet sich von den geschlachteten Unschuldigen)* publish-ed in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 7, 2004, Page 11

This headline refers to a story about the aftermath of the Beslan school siege, in which around 350 people died. Armed men had taken over the school on September 1, 2004, the first day of school in the southern Russian province of North Ossetia. Many children and women were held hostage for some days. The hostage situation ended with a large number of the hostages being killed.

The story behind this headline was about the grieving and burial processes in Beslan.

One obvious problem with this headline is the translation of the term "slaughtered", as discussed previously. Thus, quite expectedly, all German journalists rejected this headline, mainly on the grounds of the harshness of the word "*geschlachtet*" and the use of the term "innocents". *"Really only a butcher slaughters, so I would make it "the killed children",*" an *FAZ* journalist said. In fact, the more neutral term "killed" (*getötet*) was accepted by all journalists. Another issue in this headline was the use of the term "innocents", which represents children and women killed, who were, as was noted by Moeller (1999), the ideal victims. Journalists considered such language as too much of a value judgment, which needed to be avoided in news stories. *"This "innocents" – who is innocent? Let God decide that,"* one German journalist said. However, two *Süddeutsche* journalists did not consider the term a problem. One thought "innocents" was acceptable in so far as the victims had been innocently dragged in to the hostage situation. The other said "innocents" was okay to use when referring to children. Another problem with the headline was more of a technical nature, in that journalists said it did not tell them where the event happened. Thus, the generic term 'town' would have to become the explicit "Beslan".

Australian journalists did not have much of a problem with the use of this headline. Only two journalists, one each from *The Australian* and the *Herald*, rejected the headline on the basis that it was too strong a judgment to use "slaughtered innocents" when referring to those who died in Beslan. A small number of the journalists noted that the use of terms such as "slaughtered" and "innocents" could be problematic, but in this case they believed their use was adequate. A journalist from *The Australian*, for example, said: *"Obviously the circumstances were that there were very clearly bad guys and innocent victims. So you would do that* (use that phrase)." Most journalists reacted in a similar manner, with most considering the use of the phrase as adequate. *"I think with Beslan it's spot on,"* a journalist at the *Herald* said. *"Innocents – they are school kids – that's spot on. And there was a slaughter; there is no doubt about that.*"

Example c)

> *Guard reveals bloody carnage at the gates of hell (Wächter berichtet von blutigem Massaker an den Toren der Hölle)* published in *The Australian*, September 14, Page 9

This headline refers to a story about the aftermath of the bomb explosion in front of the Australian embassy in Jakarta, in which 11 Indonesians died. In this regard, the use of the term "gates of hell" appears to refer metaphorically to the gates of the embassy. Beneath the headline was a feature-type story about a security guard who stood at the embassy's gates when the bomb exploded. In the story he recounted his experience. Some journalists asked whether "gates of hell" was a quote from the security guard. This was not the case.

The use of strong terms such as "bloody carnage" or apparent value judgments like 'gates of hell' again did not sit well with German journalists. Almost all journalists were opposed to the headline, saying carnage (translated as *Massaker*) was always bloody. There appears to be an issue in terms of the translation however, as the word carnage in English does not always refer to bloody events, but also destruction generally. Yet even the term bloody (*blutig*) was not acceptable to a number of journalists, who believed the term was well-worn and somewhat "tabloidy". Said an *FAZ* journalist: *"The term "bloody" should never be used in a headline, because it is sensationalising and generally overused"*. Once again, the term *bloody* in English can have different connotations, such as its use in swearing ("bloody hell"), rendering the term perhaps not as stark as it is in German. But the statement by the journalist is also noteworthy, when considered against the background of the differences between German and Australian (also English) newspapers, as discerned by Esser (1999). As Australian newspapers contain more tabloid elements, the use of more sensationalist language is not surprising. After all, the headline is considered a major selling point (Bonney and Wilson, 1983), and the use of emotive terms of metaphors can be seen in this context. In German papers, headlines for news stories seem to be more concerned with neutral language and basic facts. Thus, the use of the phrase "gates of hell" was also rejected by all German journalists, although it would have been acceptable to most had it been a quote. In the eyes of German journalists it was too much of a value

judgment to make, even for a feature story, which has slightly more freedom in its use of language, as will be shown shortly.

Australian journalists appeared to be more relaxed about the use of this headline than their German counterparts, although there were differences. Four journalists each from the *Herald* and *The Australian* said they would use the headline, while two journalists at *The Australian* and three at the *Herald* said they would not. Reasons for not using the headline were similar to the ones German journalists gave; those who rejected the headline said it was too sensationalist. The phrase "bloody carnage" did not seem to be a major issue, with almost all journalists saying it was fine to use. It appeared only one journalist considered it in more detail, saying that carnage was unlikely to be clean. "Gates of hell" posed more of a problem, with a number of journalists believing it was too much of a cliché to use.

Similarly, the same journalists regarded the use of "evil" as problematic. This question was raised as the *Herald* used the phrase "Evil at our gate" in its page straps throughout the coverage of the Jakarta embassy bombings. Some *Herald* journalists were uncomfortable with the use of "evil" in headlines. Whether these terms are used consciously to express religious connotations does not seem to be quite clear, with journalists divided on the issue. A *Herald* journalist noted he did not know whether there was any recognition of the subtleties and complexities in defining what evil represented, but suggested that the reasons these words were used might often be much more simple.

> *"Those strap headlines are some of the hardest things to come up with because they have to be words that are encompassing a whole range of stories within. It has to be something that is hopefully going to be fresh and not stereotyped in news many times. I don't particularly like "Evil at our gate" but I probably wouldn't have argued this as I would have struggled to come up with something snappier and better."*

Of course the use of "our" also warrants brief consideration, as *The Australian* used "Terror at our door" as the page strap for its Jakarta embassy bombing coverage. The purpose of using "our" is obviously to give it an Australian relevance. *"That is deliberate, because it's the way the media localise a story that didn't happen in Australia. So you say it happened at our doorstep, our gate,"* a journalist at *The Australian* said. So again we can see the interplay of the economic dimension with others, in that if events can be

'localised' for a culture, ie. related to a culture's interests, the more the people that may be interested in a story and possibly buy the newspaper.

Comparatively, the German newspapers did not use such personal pronouns in their coverage, and it again demonstrates the stronger presence of tabloid elements in the Australian quality newspapers. Using "our" or "we" involves the audience much more than the neutral term "Australia". The use of "we" is considered tabloid in the German context, which was well documented in national tabloid *BILD's* headline when German Cardinal Ratzinger was elected pope in April 2005. The paper's headline read: "Wir sind Papst" (We are pope), in an obvious attempt to create a feeling of community. In another headline strap at the top of the page, *BILD* wrote: "Unser Joseph Ratzinger ist Benedikt XVI." (Our Joseph Ratzinger is Benedict XVI.) (*BILD*, 2005).

Example d)

> *Hundreds of rotting bodies in Haiti city (Hunderte von verfaulenden Körpern in haitianischer Stadt)* published in *The Australian* on September 24, Page 12

This headline refers to a story about the aftermath of tropical storm Jeanne hitting Haiti in late September 2004. At the time the story was published, more than 1070 people had died. The story was about the fact that numerous bodies had not been taken away for burial by the authorities.

This headline was not acceptable to the majority of journalists at the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*; however, half of *Süddeutsche* journalists accepted it while the other half rejected it. Those journalists who accepted the headline did not see anything wrong with it if that was what happened, ie. if there were dead people literally lying in the streets. In general, all journalists were not too opposed to the headline, most only being concerned about the use of the word "rotting" (*verfaulenden*). If this term were deleted, or possibly substituted with "decomposing" (*verwesenden*), some journalists would accept this headline. But generally, journalists thought it was a sensationalist headline. Whether this headline would make it into the paper also depended on whether it accompanied a feature or a news story. Again, it became evident that there was more freedom in German newspapers in the choice of words when writing headlines for feature stories, or *Reportagen*, as many journalists said they thought the headline was acceptable if it ran with a feature piece. For a news

story, however, journalists generally rejected it due to the use of the term "rotting", which in their view was disrespectful.

Feature stories, of course, differ from hard news stories in that they allow for a more colourful description of events and for a more individual style of the reporter (Reumann, 2003). Keeble (1994: 244) has defined features as containing more "comment, analysis, colour, background and a greater diversity of sources than news stories" which also "explore a larger number of issues at greater depth". Thus, there is more freedom here for linguistic expression, and the strict limits placed on hard news do not apply as much. A small difference between *Reportage* and feature should be pointed out here. Reumann (2003) has noted that *Reportage* and feature were very closely related and that some used them interchangeably. Sometimes, however, the feature was also described as the *Reportage's* more "colourful brother", which allowed for more subjectivity (Reumann, 2003: 141). Haller (1997, cited in Reumann, 2003: 141) further argued that the feature concentrated even more so than the *Reportage* on translating abstract situations into concrete everyday events.

Australian journalists generally accepted the headline even for a hard news story, with nine saying they would use it, while five said they would not. The most common reason for approving this headline was that, similar to the German experience, if the headline reflected accurately what happened, it was fine to use it. *"If we are breaking the news that the first people to get in after the hurricane have discovered death and disaster on this scale, I think that's fair enough,"* a *Herald* journalist said. However, some journalists expressed displeasure with the word "rotting", which they thought could be expressed in more sanitised form. For example, another *Herald* Journalist thought 'rotting' was a very harsh word, which didn't conjure up a very pleasant image. Yet one journalist, for example, saw the value in using such dramatic headlines: *"The intention is obviously to shock people, and the problem is often, with places like Haiti, that so many people have compassion fatigue and the only way to interest them is by using this*." So it appears that using drastic language can be seen as a tool to overcome news fatigue in that it might attract attention for its outrageous nature. Yet again we can see this difference between the acceptability of sensationalist language in Australian newspapers compared to German newspapers, which can be traced back to the differing economic realities, which in turn can be viewed against the background of the cultural framework, as discussed earlier. Ethical considerations also come into play,

and these are discussed in more detail soon, including how they need to be seen in the context of the cultural framework.

Example e)

> *Derrida is deconstructed at 74 (Derrida mit 74 Jahren de-konstruiert)* published in *The Australian* on October 11, 2004

This headline refers to a story about the death of French philosopher Jacques Derrida, who died at the age of 74. "Deconstructed" is obviously a play on words, as Derrida had developed the theory of deconstructivism.

Plays on words or puns in relation to the death of a person are clearly not acceptable in the *Süddeutsche* or *Frankfurter Allgemeine*. All German journalists rejected the headline on the basis that one did not joke about the dead. While a small number of journalists thought the pun was quite funny, they also said it could never be published in their newspaper. Just as many journalists did not think it was a great pun to begin with, however. *"I find it really annoying when supposedly intelligent journalists make these puns. Even the* Feuilleton *(arts section), which enjoys much more freedom here and is not bound by news language, would probably not use a pun in the case of a death,"* an *FAZ* journalist said. The problem with publishing such a headline was also attributed to the readers' reaction. *"If something like that slips out just once, we would immediately get hundreds of letters from outraged people,"* said another.

In contrast to German journalists, Australian journalists found the use of puns in headlines completely acceptable, as long as the person who died did so peacefully, and not as a result of violence. All journalists interviewed at *The Australian* and the *Herald* regarded this headline as adequate, some seeing it even as a tribute to Derrida. There are obvious differences in the acceptability of humour in headlines about death as perceived by journalists in the two countries. These can be traced back to the respective cultures, as German and Australian (as an extension of English) cultures have different conceptions of humour.

Humour is a cultural phenomenon "whose interpretation requires the reference to a common frame where speaker and hearer share a history and a way to interpret experience" (Rojo Lopez, 2002: 34). German linguist Hans-Dieter Gelfert (1998) examined and compared English and German humour

and argued that the two had actually been quite similar until the 18th century. After that time, however, German social values placed strong emphasis on social stability and national security. As a result, humour became either moralising (ridiculing the disturber of the social order) or *gemütlich* (creating a tension-free zone). This was still expressed today in German political cabaret and Saturday night family TV shows, Gelfert argued.

In contrast, the English values of individual freedom meant its humour poked fun at everyone and disrespected any form of authority. Again we can see the interplay of the four dimensions of the cultural framework, in that in this case the nations' values impacted on the development of humour, an aspect of language. Gelfert listed four typical forms of English humour: eccentricity (against the authority of social conventions); wordplay (against the authority of serious discourse); nonsense (against the authority of sense); and black humour (against the authority of morals). Looking at the headline about Jacques Derrida's death then, we can identify the expression of wordplay, to act against the normally so serious nature of a newspaper as well as black humour. By writing a funny headline, the writer presumably aimed to lighten the mood. This play on words is not as permissible for German journalists ("you don't joke about death" – this statement indicates it is still a kind of taboo subject) and secondly the tighter restrictions on serious newspaper journalism don't allow journalists at the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*or *Süddeutsche* to take the liberties that Australian journalists have. Again this circumstance needs to be seen in the context of Australian newspapers displaying more tabloid characteristics than the German newspapers. The headline in Australian newspapers is extremely important – it serves as a marketing tool, as a funny headline could attract readers.

The issue of humour can also here be linked to Hofstede's value dimensions, specifically the individualism dimension. Australia is considered by Hofstede to be a very individualist country, which, as Gelfert's (1998) research indicates, has led to a different type of humour. Germans score less highly on individualism which can be seen in the fact that German humour takes account of societal implications.

Ethical considerations

A common theme that runs through all of the above discussion on how death is portrayed in terms of language used is the consideration of what German journalists called *Menschenwürde* (human dignity), but which can also be grouped within the larger context of taste and privacy. This issue needs to be investigated in more depth and a comparison of the differing ethical considerations in the two countries is necessary.

Comparing the journalistic codes of conduct in Germany and Australia, it becomes apparent that the Australian journalist union's code of ethics is much less detailed, consisting of only 12 clauses. In regard to privacy, the code states: "Respect private grief and personal privacy. Journalists have the right to resist compulsion to intrude" (Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance, 2005). There are no further explanatory sub-clauses. The Australian Press Council, the self-regulatory body of the print media, addresses the issue in two clauses of its Statement of Principles. Clause 3 states that

> readers of publications are entitled to have news and comment presented to them honestly and fairly, and with respect for the privacy and sensibilities of individuals. However, the right to privacy should not prevent publication of matters of public record or obvious significant public interest (Australian Press Council, 2003).

Clause 6 states that

> publications have a wide discretion in publishing material, but they should have regard for the sensibilities of their readers, particularly when the material, such as photographs, could reasonably be expected to cause offence. Public interest should be the criterion and, on occasion, explained editorially (Australian Press Council, 2003).

The clauses are relatively broad to allow for individual circumstances, but past adjudications by the Press Council give some insights into how they are applied. The Council's executive director Jack R. Herman (2002) reported how the Council had argued that the publication of scenes from overseas events, which identified individuals, was more acceptable:

> The Council has adopted a general approach that there is a difference between photographs of the unidentified victims of foreign carnage and a front-page

> picture of a body in a local community where the victim is well known. (...) It is a matter of balancing the use that can be made of a picture that might be considered offensive against the public interest in having the matter brought to attention (Australian Press Council, cited in Herman, 2002).

Hurst and White (1994: 117) noted Channel Seven's (Melbourne) policy in this regard. The TV station's policy was to not show bodies except when it served the purpose of illustrating the horror of an overseas disaster or war. Hurst and White also noted that pictures of human agony boosted newspaper sales, thus identifying a possible profit motive behind such decisions to publish graphic photos. One could argue that the same would apply also to the use of sensationalist language. If we again relate this to the fact that Australian newspapers are sold at newsagencies, decisions that will add this drama to news coverage can be seen in light of the need to sell papers. German quality newspapers, as they are mainly subscription-based, are not confronted with this problem as strongly as in Australian newspapers.

In Germany, the ethics code (*Pressekodex*) includes a larger number of clauses and is far more prescriptive with many sub-clauses. Of the 16 clauses, four can be applied to the issue of the coverage of death. Firstly, Clause 1 states that the highest precept of the press is the respect for truth, respect for human dignity and truthful reporting (Deutscher Presserat, 2005: 3). Additionally, Clause 8 states that the press needs to respect people's privacy. If private conduct affects wider public interests, however, this could be considered on a case-by-case basis. In sub-clause 8.1 the code states that the naming and visual illustration of victims and culprits were generally not justified in the reporting of accidents, crimes, investigations and court cases. Further, as sub-clause 8.2 states, victims of accidents or crimes have a right to special protection of their identities. Some exceptions could be made for public persons or in special circumstances. This protection of names means that in German newspapers, victims of accidents or crimes are almost always referred to by their first name and the first letter of their surname. In Australia, victims are generally identified by their full name, unless legal restrictions prevent this.

Two further clauses of the *Pressekodex* apply to covering death. Clause 10 states that written or visual publications which could offend moral or religious sensibilities are not allowed. Clause 11 deals with the sensational depiction of violence and brutality. Thus, according to sub-clause 11.1, a depiction is

inappropriately sensational when the person is disparaged down to an object, a bare instrument. Further, sub-clause 11.3 states that the reporting on accidents and disasters is to be restricted by the respect for the suffering of victims and the feelings of relatives. Those affected by the event should as a rule not become victims a second time through the nature of the reporting.

As can be seen from the descriptive nature of these clauses, German journalists have a more explicit rule system to work with. According to Hofstede (2001), Germany is a strong uncertainty avoiding country, while Australia is considered as weak uncertainty avoiding. Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) have noted that uncertainty avoiding cultures favour precise laws over more general laws. This would also apply more generally to language and its complexity in rules. Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) found that most English-speaking countries had weak uncertainty avoidance, while German-speaking countries were medium-high uncertainty avoiding and romance language-speaking countries were generally high uncertainty avoiding. They pointed out that, in high uncertainty avoiding countries, language tends to be governed by more complex rules, explaining in part why German journalists were more concerned about linguistic details.

Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) have argued that what is ethical depends on a culture's value position. It is clear that Australia and Germany both adhere to Judeo-Christian principles, and in fact overall the codes of conduct do not differ all that much in their basic ideas. But there appear to be small differences in their details. Yet another theme that ran through a number of interviews with German journalists was the consideration of self in such decisions, well expressed by Journalist SZD: *"Would you want to be shown like that in the newspaper? I think it's disfiguring. And that's about respect for the dead, and it doesn't matter where he is from or whether he is culprit or victim."* These sentiments are important, as they were not as clearly displayed by Australian journalists. Cultural differences in this thinking might well be accountable for these sentiments, in that Australia ranks higher on Hofstede's individualism scale.

Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) have argued that individualist countries value individual interests over collective interests. While both countries are considered individualist compared to 72 other countries and regions, Australia ranks second only to the US on this scale, scoring 91, while Germany scored 67 and was ranked 18th. Thus, comparatively, Germans could be expected to

value the benefit to the collective society somewhat more so than Australians. Therefore, German journalists may take into consideration the privacy of the dead from other countries as much as they would for their own compatriots, a sentiment that was expressed in the interviews.

Conclusion

This study has examined in detail how cultural factors impact the language of news when reporting on death. In this context, the work by anthropologist Geert Hofstede (2001) was found to be extremely useful in accounting for differences in journalistic practice in Germany and Australia when it came to the reporting of death. Cultural value dimensions such as individual/collectivism and uncertainty avoidance were particularly useful in helping us account for reasons as to why German journalists from the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* were more concerned with specific language use when reporting death, had different attitudes to humour and operated within a more prescriptive ethical framework. On the other hand, Australian journalists from *The Australian* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* displayed comparatively less concern with certain types of words and found the use of humour when reporting death quite acceptable within certain circumstances. In terms of ethics, these journalists also had a slightly less restrictive framework to deal with, allowing for a wider range of options.

The analysis has shown how anthropological models such as Hofstede's can help in providing a more holistic level of analysis to journalistic practice. It had been noted by Lie (2003) that information flow analyses required an analysis of cultural aspects, on top of economic, political and power analyses. However, studies examining this cultural aspect have been few and far between, which is why this particular study relating to language use can be useful in providing a starting point. It should be noted that the analysis was of an experimental nature and examined a limited sample. Future studies should further investigate how Hofstede's work can be applied to comparing journalistic practice. This study was limited in the sense that it only examined quality newspapers. This study hypothesised that the underlying cultural backgrounds would still apply in the case of tabloids, and while the tabloids would likely be on the more extreme side of using sensational language, there

would still be differences along national lines. Future studies would need to investigate this link to determine how much an influence cultural backgrounds are in this context.

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The National Press and the University of Mississippi: Forty Years After Desegregation

Melanie L. Stone
Georgia Southern University
E-mail: mstone@georgiasouthern.edu

Desegregation

On October 1, 2002, the University of Mississippi launched a year-long celebration titled "Open Doors" commemorating 40 years of desegregation. Three major national newspapers in the United States – *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *USA Today* – published articles on the event. *The New York Times'* 1,575-word article appeared on page one of section A. *The Washington Post* published a 6,275-word feature story that appeared on page one of the style section, and *USA Today* published the shortest story, 463 words, that was featured in the Life section on page two. The three national news networks, *ABC, CBS*, and *NBC* also covered the event. Colleges and universities throughout the United States hold celebrations for a variety of events that do not receive this kind of coverage. So what made this event so spectacular to be worthy of receiving national media coverage?

William Doyle, author of *An American Insurrection: The Battle of Oxford, Mississippi, 1962*, penned an article for *The New York Times* posted on September 28, 2002. The article stated:

> On Tuesday, Oct. 1, Oxford, Miss, will be coming to terms with one of the major events of its past. Forty years ago on that day, in the early morning, a force of nearly 30,000 American combat troops raced toward Oxford in a colossal armada of helicopters, transport planes, Jeeps and Army trucks. Their mission was to save Oxford, the University of Mississippi and a small force of federal marshals from being destroyed by over 2,000 white civilians who were rioting after James Meredith, a black Air Force veteran, arrived to integrate the school (Doyle, 2002, p. 1).

Over forty years ago, the University of Mississippi was in a heated battle involving not only the university, but also former Governor of Mississippi,

Ross Barnett, former United States Attorney, Robert Kennedy, and former United States President, John Kennedy. An NBC report described the scene as "a shameful and bloody night that left a deep scar on the town and the school" (Teague, 2002, p.1).

This article is a case study which analyzes the national media coverage of the University of Mississippi from 10 months prior to the Open Doors celebration to 14 months after the celebration. In it, I examine the salient features of the articles that were published in *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, and *The Washington Post* during 2002 and 2003 concerning the University of Mississippi. All news reports published by these news producers referring to the University of Mississippi during these two years were included in the sample.

Reporting Education

Over the past 79 years, education has gained slow but increasing attention in news coverage. In his dissertation concerning image changing in higher education, Hassan (1989) wrote, "Brown University Vice President for University Relations Robert A. Riechley notes that the media plays an important role in distinguishing among various institutions" (p. 3).

Time magazine began covering issues regarding education in 1923. Within 15 years, *Newsweek* and *The New York Times* followed suit. In 1947, educational journalists organized the Education Writers Association (Gerbner, 1967; Henderson, 1993). Gerbner stated that there was an increase in media coverage of education after Russia launched Sputnik in 1957. The Associated Press hired a full-time education writer in January 1958 thereby giving education a presence in one of the wire services.

Research regarding early coverage of education found that although some newspapers did assign reporters to cover educational issues, there was little success in publishing material that dealt with the more serious issues the educational community was facing (Henderson, 1993). Hynds (1989) criticized newspapers for being "inconsistent and inadequate" (p. 692). In 1983, the results of a study conducted by the National Commission on Excellence in Education were released in a report titled *A Nation at Risk.* The report was highly critical of primary, secondary, and higher public education in the United States. Henderson generalized that overall, due to the lack of educational

coverage in the news media, the majority of adults were taken by surprise when *A Nation At Risk* was released. Hynds stated that *A Nation at Risk* had an enormous impact on the coverage of education. "The reform movement that has made education a major national issue in the 1980s may also be responsible in part for the improved coverage of education and the improved status of the education beat" (Hynds, p. 780).

Henderson (1993) argued that, in this case, the media was a powerful influence in shaping public opinion. In turn, public opinion helped influence policy makers and legislators regarding grants and other sources of funding for education (Landrum, Turrisi, & Harless, 1998). In 1963, the President of the University of New Mexico, Tom Popejoy, told a group of state university presidents, "I doubt if many of you have realized that the image of your university has for the most part been formed by the news media in your community and in your state on the basis of controversies, contests, contentions, and conflicts ..." (as cited in Gerbner, 1967, p. 212).

Hilton (1996) claimed that the media is a powerful source in communicating ideas about institutions of higher education that impacts feelings and how people act towards specific colleges or universities. One of the more widely researched theories regarding audience, effects, and news coverage is Agenda-Setting Theory. In a classic study concerning voters in Chapel Hill, North Carolina during the 1968 presidential campaign, McCombs and Shaw (1972) quoted Cohen as stating "the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" (p. 177). This landmark study found that the media had an impact "on voters' judgment of what they consider the major issues of the campaign" (p. 180). In addition, regardless of the ideal of objectivity as a goal, reporters did have a point of view. The reporter or the editor decided which topics were reported and what content was included in the report.

Fico and Freedman (2001) stated, "Agenda-Setting research has established that news media attention to issues subsequently influences the public's assessment of the importance of those issues" (p. 437). Most of the research conducted on Agenda-Setting Theory involved political coverage as opposed to educational coverage. Regarding higher education, Hilton (1996) claimed that "agenda setting theory would suggest that what kinds of higher education issues that people discuss, think about and worry about are powerfully shaped by what the news media choose to publicize" (p. 3).

Kim, Scheufele, and Shanahan (2002) compared agenda setting with attribute agenda setting. Whereas agenda setting reinforces the importance of issues in the public mind, attribute agenda setting consists of repeating specific attributes, and thus, the specific attributes become prominent in the public mind.

Agenda Setting Theory and Attribute Agenda Setting Theory are important in regards to the type of coverage received by colleges and universities. Some institutions may receive more coverage than others and some institutions may only receive coverage on a single topic such as sports. Clendinen (as cited in Hassan, 1989) wrote in *The New York Times*, "what football is to Alabama, or academic success is to Harvard, curriculum is to Brown" (p. 84). Public perception of an institution of higher education is greatly influenced by the topics the news media chooses to present.

Journalists are charged with gathering information and composing that information in a way that represents truth. While editors have the control of which stories get published, editors and reporters share the responsibility of the words and phrases that are chosen to depict the actual event. The word and phrase choices that editors and journalists make impact how the reader interprets or visualizes a story. Gunter stated,

> News is a representation in the sense of construction; it is not a value free reflection of 'fruits' ... each particular form of linguistic expression in a text – wording, syntactic option, etc. – has its reason. There are always different ways of saying the same thing, and they are not random, accidental alternatives (Gunter, 2000, p. 88).

Background

The desegregation of the University of Mississippi, an event that occurred 40 years prior to the time frame of this study captured the attention of the national press. In 1961, an African American student named James Meredith began seeking admission to the then, all white, University of Mississippi. After being denied admission to the university twice, Meredith filed a complaint with the courts stating that he was being denied admission due to his race. The case was finally decided on September 10, 1962, when the Supreme Court of the United States found in favour of the plaintiff and ordered the university to ad-

mit James Meredith. Former Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett ignored the court order and blocked Meredith from enrolling. In a personal telephone call to Barnett, President Kennedy ordered Barnett to allow Meredith to register and attend classes at the university. On September 30, 1962, U.S. Marshals escorted Meredith to the university, where he could enroll for classes the following morning. Riots ensued and Attorney General Robert Kennedy ordered approximately 30,000 National Guard to the Oxford community to protect the university as well as the town. Two men were killed, well over 100 injured and many arrested.

> French news reporter Paul Guihard [was] shot between the shoulder blades by an unknown assassin, and Ray Gunter, a maintenance man felled by a stray bullet. Among those injured were 166 marshals and 40 soldiers; 200 individuals ... had been arrested (Cohodas, 1997, p. 86).

James Meredith enrolled at the university on October 1, 1962, flanked by U.S. Marshals and his struggle to attain admission to the university reached the national media. Forty years later, the story still captured the attention of the media.

Findings

The newspapers in this study published 179 articles that mentioned or featured the University of Mississippi during the two-year period. *The Washington Post* published the most articles that included reference or featured the University of Mississippi with a total of 79 articles. *The New York Times* published 59 articles, while *USA Today* published 41 articles.

The national press referred to the University of Mississippi through eight themes: 1) Students, 2) Faculty/Staff/Administration, 3) Events, 4) Funding, 5) Tuition, 6) Collection/Exhibitions, 7) Policies/Law, and 8) Symbols (Stone, 2005). Eighty-six percent of the newspaper articles that made reference to the University of Mississippi were limited to the themes of Students, Faculty/Staff/Administration and Events. The public relations practitioners at the University of Mississippi identified "Southern culture" items as being the hook to attract national media. In keeping with Tuchman's (1978) analysis, the stories the national media published that featured the University of Mississippi were often entertaining and tended to be driven by events more than

by issues. Above all, the national press directly assigned one attribute to the University of Mississippi. Out of 179 articles or transcripts, 79 of the articles (43%) that featured the University of Mississippi, directly tied the university to racial issues including the violence that occurred in 1962 when James Meredith enrolled in classes. An additional eight percent, or 17 articles, indirectly tied the university to racial issues or the events of October 1, 1962. It is these articles that I examine for the remainder of this article. There were no articles or transcripts in the categories of Gifts/Fundings, Collections/Exhibitions, or Tuition that tied the University of Mississippi to race, and hence these themes play no part in the analysis below. Three articles in the category of Policy/Law, (total of five articles), were concerned with affirmative action. One of the articles labeled the university as being "historically white" (Nation in brief, 2003, p. 9).

Symbols

The Washington Post published three articles that mentioned the University of Mississippi through the theme of symbols. Two of the articles were concerned with university mascots. The University of Mississippi is one of 12 universities that are in the Southeastern Conference (SEC). Traditions and symbols, including tailgating, mascots, songs, and chants are a part of the culture of the university. However, some of these symbols are problematic to the national media. For instance, although the university "disassociated itself from the Confederate flag in 1983" (Supreme Court declines to hear, 2001, p.7), small Confederate flags were carried by students and fans to athletic events until sticks-carrying-flags were banned in 1997. Similarly, the university band plays "*Dixie*" during the various ball games; a monument of a Confederate soldier remains on the university grounds; and the mascot for the university was an older southern gentleman, Colonel Reb, who resembled a plantation owner. In 2003, the university administration and athletic department campaigned against the school mascot, claiming that Colonel Reb was outdated. In a short feature article of *The Washington Post*, an unknown writer wrote on the most recent controversy involving Colonel Reb.

> A certain reverence for the past might seem like a given at the University of Mississippi. After all, the school is best known as Ole Miss. But every

> few years, it seems, something happens to distance the school from years gone by (Ole Miss considers a colonel's retirement, 2003, p. 2, 3, 4).

The article mentioned some of the changes that had taken place at the university over the years, and claimed that Athletic Director Pete Boone did not think Ole Miss should be "represented by a symbol from the 19th century" (Ole Miss considers a colonel's retirement, 2003, p. 8). University of Mississippi professor, Charles Ross was quoted as stating, "As an African American and as an African American historian I find those symbols are extremely problematic. To ask me to embrace those kinds of symbols is unacceptable" (Ole Miss considers a colonel's retirement, 2003 p. 10). Although Colonel Reb is no longer the official mascot, a new mascot has not been chosen.

Faculty and Students

The national media presented the University of Mississippi through the category of Faculty/Staff/Administration in 50 articles. Faculty represented the university as an expert source in forty-five articles and five articles featured faculty sources on some issue of race. However, the issue of race was a dominant theme through the category of students. Of the 73 stories, over 54% or 40 stories linked the university to racial issues. The sub-themes in which race was an issue include obituaries, book reviews, James Meredith, race relations in general, and politicians.

One of the obituaries was a feature on Albin Joseph Krebs. Krebs was a journalist and wrote "obituaries of prominent artists, performers and politicians" (Martin, 2002, p. 1) for *The New York Times*.

> Albin Krebs, graduated from the University of Mississippi, where he was the editor of the student newspaper, *The Mississippian*. After Mr. Krebs wrote editorials in 1952 advocating that black students be admitted to Ole Miss, a cross was burned outside his window. Later he reported for *Newsweek* on the 1962 admission of James Meredith, the university's first black student (Martin, 2002, p. 4).

Two book reviews featured non-fiction books, each included racial problems that occurred during earlier years at the university. Former student Handy Campbell was featured in a *Washington Post* review of the book entitled *Confederacy of Silence*. The author of this book, Richard Rubin, was a

journalist who covered Greenwood, Mississippi, high school sports in the late 1980s. During his tenure, a black high school student named Handy Campbell led the Greenwood team to a state championship. Campbell received a scholarship to play football at the University of Mississippi, but ended up dropping out due to an injured shoulder. Campbell was later charged with murder. Rubin's interest in Campbell drove Rubin to investigate what happened to such a promising athlete.

> [Rubin] suspected, though he could not prove, that Ole Miss had signed Campbell to a football "scholarship" merely to keep him from playing for its rivals and had never intended to start a black quarterback (It would have been a first.) (Yoder, 2002, p. 4).

The second book review was an autobiography written by Ralph Eubanks. In the book, Eubanks described his experience of growing up in Mississippi. The author of the review stated:

> Were Eubanks inclined toward bitterness, he'd have plenty of excuses – his parents' listing by the Sovereignty Commission, the violent confrontations over civil rights that took place throughout the South during his boyhood, the slights and discrimination he suffered at Mount Olive School and then at the University of Mississippi – but he declines bitterness at every turn (Yardley, 2003, p. 6).

The New York Times also published two articles that dealt with students at the University of Mississippi and race relations. One article discussed the efforts of historically Black Alcorn State University to recruit white students from overseas. In an interview with a former white Russian student who played tennis for and graduated from Alcorn State, the student claimed that while racism was not evident at Alcorn State, the University of Mississippi painted a different picture. (Halbfinger, 2003, p. 23). A second article in *The New York Times* dealt with the issue of interracial dating. The author had visited the University of Mississippi and described what he observed: "Whites and Blacks can be found strolling together as couples even at the University of Mississippi, once the symbol of racial confrontation" (Kristof, 2002, p. 1, 2). The author continued the article quoting University of Mississippi student C.J. Rhodes,

> "I will say that they are always given a second glance," acknowledges C. J. Rhodes, a black student at Ole Miss. He adds that there are still misgivings about interracial dating, particularly among black women and a formidable number of "white Southerners who view this race-mixing as abnormal, frozen by fear to see Sara Beth bring home a brotha " (Kristof, 2002, p. 3).

In an article on an affirmative action issue in New York City, *The New York Times* referred to James Meredith and the integration of the University of Mississippi.

> Go back to 1966, the air charged with racial discord and protest. James Meredith, who caused riots when he enrolled as the first black student at the University of Mississippi is shot by a sniper during a civil rights march (Archibold, 2002, p. 6).

In 2002, President George W. Bush nominated Mississippi Judge Charles W. Pickering to the federal appeals court. According to the newspapers, while Pickering was a student at the university law school in 1959, he wrote a paper that pointed out the discrepancies in Mississippi's anti-miscegenation law - the law that prohibited marriages between black and whites. In the paper, Pickering showed how the law was unsound and would not stand up in a court trial. The publication of his paper resulted in changing the law in Mississippi. *USA Today* quoted a source who claimed that Pickering currently served on the "board of directors of the University of Mississippi's Institute for Racial Reconciliation" (Biskupic, 2002, p. 20). Despite the 43 years that had passed, the newspapers deemed the nomination controversial due to Pickering's past views on race.

Two months following the inauguration of the Open Doors Celebration, Strom Thurmond celebrated his 100th birthday which Senate Majority Leader, and former University of Mississippi student, Trent Lott attended. As a tribute to Thurmond, Lott said the following: "I want to say this about my state. When Strom Thurmond ran for president, we voted for him. We're proud of it. And if the rest of the country had followed our lead, we wouldn't have had all these problems over all these years." Following Lott's comment, the newspapers published 26 articles that referenced his student days at the university. The press dredged up events which occurred shortly after the riots in 1962 that had never been reported. As president of Sigma Nu fraternity,

Lott helped to keep his fraternity brothers away from the violence. As a member of the inter-fraternity council, Lott worked to keep his fraternity, on a national level, all white. *The New York Times* published an editorial entitled "Dunces of Confederacy," in which the author stated that Lott was a "coddler of racists" (Dowd, 2002, p. 6).

USA Today founder, Al Neuharth, wrote an editorial on the impact of the Trent Lott-Strom Thurmond debacle:

> The winner of what has become the Trent Lott lottery may not be known until Senate Republicans meet behind closed doors on January 6, but these, regretfully, already are the losers: 1. University of Mississippi, Ole Miss. Lott's alma mater ... by and large, the public and public officials have accepted or embraced racial integration as the right way of life. That's certainly true at Ole Miss, where white supremacy reigned during Lott's student days. Now under the steady and resolute leadership of university Chancellor Robert C. Khayat, that campus has become a stellar example of integrated civility and respect. Twice in recent years an African-American has been elected student body president. The integrated faculty includes a black vice chancellor and head basketball coach. It is unfortunate and unfair that the Lott legacy is recasting the shadow of desegregation on places where the sun actually shines (Neuharth, 2002, p. 1, 2, 7, 8).

A University of Mississippi public relations practitioner responded,

> I think that the Trent Lott thing probably wrecked half of what we had accomplished with the good PR on the Open Doors. And Open Doors was huge. But that business with Trent Lott probably hurt us, probably cut us in half. It may have been worse than that. You'd like to think it wasn't that bad, but it was pretty bad. It was as bad as it could get (Personal communication, December 2004).

Events

Of the 38 articles that mentioned the university through the category of events, 31 of the articles, or just over 81%, mentioned the integration of the University of Mississippi. Eleven of these 31 articles were obituaries published in *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*. The integration of the university was frequently related to the positive contributions made by certain prominent individuals. Journalist Ed Turner was remembered for receiving "accolades

for his coverage of the violent integration of the University of Mississippi ... The War at Oxford" (Bernstein, 2002, p. 17). *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times* and *USA Today* published a variety of articles which referred to the integration of the University of Mississippi in various contexts. In a feature on the life of Ramsey Clark, a *Washington Post* story stated, "Impressed with Clark's guts, his bosses dispatched him to the scenes of the great civil rights battles of the era – Ole Miss, Birmingham, Selma" (Carlson, 2002, p. 20). All three papers published reviews of *Sons of Mississippi*, a book concerned with the events that surrounded a photograph that was taken just prior to the integration of the University of Mississippi.

So tied is the issue of racial problems to the University that the topic comes up in most unexpected places. *The New York Times* mentioned the integration of the University of Mississippi in an article concerned with desegregation in the North.

> Americans who have memories of the white riots following public school integration in Little Rock and at the University of Mississippi commonly believe that opposition to desegregation was centered in the South. The most stubborn resistance was in the North, where recalcitrant districts sometimes even declined to furnish statistics that would allow the government to make judgments about racial policies (Staples, 2002, p. 5).

In the middle of a 1,429-word article on the Southern Foodways Alliance Annual Conference, which featured variations on barbeque and was held at the University, the author wrote:

> Oxford still stands mostly for racial strife. There are still a few reminders of those dark days, including the Mississippi state flag, prominently displayed at the symposium, which incorporated part of the Confederate flag. But Robert C. Khayat, the university's chancellor since 1995 has worked hard to promote racial harmony, and Mr. Meredith returned to Oxford for an anniversary commemoration earlier this month, along with many of the federal marshals who protected him in 1962. An oral history project is under way, and a civil rights monument will be dedicated in April at a prominent site on campus. (Apple, 2002, p. 22, 23, 24).

All of the newspapers covered the Open Doors event that took place on October 1, 2002. *The Washington Post* published a 6,275-word feature story that appeared on page one of the style section of the paper.

> There is so much Mississippi in Mississippi. So much of yesterday that chases today ... For so many reasons, the place- its cities, country towns, its Delta, even its nighttime darkness – claims a huge swath of the American imagination. The blood here is no redder than anywhere else, but the stain seems deeper, has survived longer (Haygood, 2002, p. 1).

The article told the story of the integration of the University of Mississippi, as well as the celebration, from a variety of angles. The story began by describing occurrences of racist acts that had taken place in Mississippi prior to the integration of the university. The author gave a brief description of James Meredith 40 years later and then began telling the story of the night Meredith arrived on the campus. The author told about what occurred at the governor's mansion through the memories of Ouida Barnett Atkins, daughter of former governor Ross Barnett. The story continued with a description of what took place on campus. The author included interviews with the memories of soldiers sent to protect Meredith, the university, and the town of Oxford. The author continued by reinforcing the racial atrocities that took place in Mississippi after the integration of the university and identified the turning point in racial acceptance as the 1998 football game between Ole Miss and Vanderbilt when Chucky Mullins, a Black, defensive back, was seriously injured in the game. White and black fans donated $300,000 to Mullins for his recovery. Haygood noted that in 1999, students voted in favour of a black student body president.

Following all of the positive events, the author mentioned an incident that occurred the previous year at one of the fraternity houses.

> So all the wounds are healed. Except: last year some fraternity members of Alpha Tau Omega did a skit, one of its members in blackface being menaced by another frat member dressed as a police officer and holding a gun. "And boom! Soon as that happened," says Khayat, "Alpha Tau Omega was shut down." Of course the snake is dead. Has been dead a long time. But every horrific incident is like a drop of venom from the past. And venom is venom (Haygood, 2002, p. 97).

The author also credited the chancellor with his efforts to increase minority attendance at the university.

The main article published by *The New York Times* appeared on page one of section A. "University officials want America to appreciate that this is a

very different campus now" (Halbfinger, 2002, p. 3). The author pointed to Meredith's son who earned a doctorate in the spring, the number of Black students enrolled at the university, and the leadership positions that were held by Blacks at the university. The author quoted Chancellor Robert Khayat, claiming that Khayat believed that "Ole Miss, in effect, has earned emancipation from its historical burden. 'Forty years ago, the nation wanted us to treat everyone the same way. Now we just want to be treated the same way everyone else is treated"' (Halbfinger, 2002, p. 4). The author defined Khayat as having "struggled since 1995 to make the university more hospitable to minorities" (Halbfinger, 2002, p. 5).

The author then pointed out the symbols that were still apparent on the university campus such as the Rebel flag "on the handkerchief that a young man waves after the Rebels score a touchdown, on the cover of a cellphone clipped to a middle-aged alumnus' belt" (Halbfinger, 2002, p. 6). The author also referred to the playing of "*Dixie*" during football games. The article continued by describing the importance of the 1962 riot as part of the civil rights movement.

> Even as Ole Miss relives the 1962 riots, a debate is continuing – involving current students and teachers and people who were here then – about how much more the university must do to put its ghosts to rest (Halbfinger, 2002, p. 17).

In an interview with university historian, David Sansing, the author asked how long it might be before the university hired a black man or woman as chancellor. "David G. Sansing, the university's historian, quickly said, 'Oh, that'll never' before catching himself and reconsidering. State politics, he said, would make it very hard for the foreseeable future" (Halbfinger, 2002, p. 21). Charles Reagan Wilson, Director of the Center for the Study of Southern Culture, was asked the same question and responded by saying:

> More is expected of the university because of its history. But that can be an incentive to make the university a leader in race relations. That is the next stage: to take that special burden of the past and make it a responsibility, to be a place where race is discussed and initiatives are begun that can make a difference (Halbfinger, 2002, p. 22, 23).

Discussion and Conclusion

This article has examined news reports the tie the University of Mississippi to issues of race and racism – links that are the result of intentional choices made by the journalists and editors. McCombs defined a second level of agenda setting as "the transmission of attribute salience" (McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar, & Fey, 1999, p. 5). Whereas agenda setting research theorized that the press set the agenda for what people talked about rather than directly influenced their opinions or beliefs, concerning the second level of agenda setting, McCombs asked, "Could the consequences of this be that the media do tell us what to think" (McCombs, et. al., 1999, p. 5). It is evident that the national newspapers in this study ascribe issues of race to the University of Mississippi. However, there are several factors at work reinforcing that relationship.

Closely related to the agenda setting function of the press is agenda building. Gandy (1982) questioned the value of agenda setting and suggested that research was needed to pursue the role of the sources, or what Gandy labeled "information subsidies" (p. 8). "The notion of information subsidies is based on a recognition that the price of information may be reduced selectively by interested parties in order to increase the consumption of preferred information" (p. 30). Gandy was concerned with who gets to be the source and why. He suggested that entitlement to the press increased power and helped to shape values.

Gans (1979) identified the group of people that helped supply ideas for stories as "story suggesters" (p. 90). These individuals could be a part of the news organization or belonging to another organization. Public Relations practitioners are among this group of people. Gans stated, "The relationship between sources and journalists resembles a dance, for sources seek access to journalists, and journalists seek access to sources" (p. 116). However, Gans claimed that in order for a public relations practitioner to impart their ideas for a story, the practitioner must have access. Gans claimed that story suggesters outside of the organization who do not have power can gain access only if the event is unusual or extraordinary.

The "Open Doors" celebration was a staged public relations event. A public relations practitioner at the university described the event as "huge."

> The attention of the national press is vital to the university for lots of different reasons ... people draw their opinions from the national media. A good story in *The New York Time* is worth millions of dollars.

Forty years later, the story of desegregation remains "extraordinary" and the "dance" between the "story suggesters" and the media remains the same:

> There is a cache or aura, good or bad, about Mississippi that national publications will bite into a story a lot quicker than if it were coming out of Iowa. Race, culture, food, writing ... all the things that Ole Miss does well, and hasn't done so well. The national media just never get enough of those kinds of stories. People in the rest of the country and around the world are fascinated by the phenomenon of the south, the lost cause; all the things that emanate from the South. Selling the South is easy because it's a good story in so many different ways. It is mysterious. They love to hear how people down here talk, how they think. Yeah, it's mystery to them.

This research did not include viewing the news releases or press kits that were distributed for the "Open Doors" celebration however, it is very unlikely that the information contained reference to more current racial incidents or symbols of racism that still existed on the university campus. In selling stories that identify the university with the culture of the South, the university had no control over what was written, the angle of the story, nor did they have an impact or voice two months later when the Trent Lott debacle followed the celebration. And yet, the selling of Southern culture is what the practitioners at the university were promoting – repeatedly identifying the university with the same stereotypical values of the South - which includes racial strife. Journalism chair, Samir Husni, trademarked "Mr. Magazine," is internationally renowned for his work with the magazine industry. The national media began contacting Husni as a source for stories in 1986 after he published his first book, *Samir Husni's Guide to the New Magazine*. In an interview with Husni, he stated:

> One of the editors of a leading newsletter in our business told me at one stage, "Samir," and he's been reporting on my activities since 1986, and he said, "Samir, it's so amazing that now when the topic of Mississippi comes in any discussion in the media circles among us reporters, the first thing now we think about is magazines as opposed to racial relationships that we used to always recall and remember in Mississippi. I don't want to

> tell you that you single handedly changed the discussion, direction, but you did when it comes to Mississippi." (Personal communication, December 2004).

Husni was the most widely quoted faculty source from the university. The public relations department should take note, change the tune, and dance another dance.

A second factor that reinforces the relationship between the university and race is the news industry. Tuchman (1978) questioned whether news provided a window to view the world. She defined news organizations as "social institutions" (p. 5), which publish articles that do not mirror reality. Tuchman asserted that the focus of news gathering and reporting was "on events, not issues" (p. 34). Additionally, Tuchman claimed that editors tended to enjoy stories that depicted that plight and, in turn, protected the underdog. The chosen stories, selection of sources, and angle of the stories helped to reinforce societal values, identifying behaviours that were acceptable as well as those behaviours that were unacceptable or forbidden.

Gans (1979) defined two types of values that were not obvious, but nonetheless, underscored most news stories. Topical values were those that dealt with certain individuals or activities that are currently in the news. Enduring values

> are values which can be found in many different types of news stories over a long period of time; often, they affect what events become news ... Enduring values are not timeless, and they may change somewhat over the years; moreover, they also help to shape opinions ... (Gans, 1979, p. 40).

The story of desegregation is a good story. It contains all of the elements that are listed in beginning journalism texts defining a news story. There are heroes, villains, blood, gore, and - extremely unacceptable behaviours. The press had an opportunity to expound on the American virtues of equality. Additionally, the story has been repeatedly told in news reports as well as books. It is a part of American history to which at least two generations can relate. It is also a story into which journalists do not have to put much effort. The story exists. The remnants of the story, the way they have been told by journalists in this research, are relatively easy to flesh out. Pointing to artifacts, such as the civil war monument, are surface examples of existing racism. Halfinger

(2002) criticized the university for playing "*Dixie"* at ballgames. The first time I sat in the stands and heard the band begin to play "*Dixie*," the crowd rose as I remained seated and felt like crawling under my seat. However, the group of African Americans seated to my right, stood up and began to clap their hands and stomp their feet to the rhythm of the music. More difficult to probe are the underlying feelings and thoughts of all races that attend, teach, and administer at the university. Christie (2008) quotes author of "The Race Beat," Gene Roberts: "Such dogged, skeptical reporting, so common in the civil rights era, is what's missing from racial reportage today" (p. 5).

A third factor that strengthens the relationship between the university and race is simply the location of the university. The state of Mississippi is well known for racial strife. At least two movies, "Ghosts of Mississippi" and "Mississippi Burning," have justifiably taken the state to task for the crimes committed against African Americans and civil rights workers during the civil rights era. Interestingly, forty years after the crimes, African American actor, Morgan Freeman penned the introduction to a book titled, "Proud to Call Mississippi Home:"

> I wanted to leave Mississippi and never return ... Funny how things turn out ... Back in Mississippi, a person knew where he stood: racism was out in the open, an 'in-your-face' strain of segregation and denied civil rights. What I encountered upon leaving the state, however, was a more deceptive form ... In the North, I encountered racism that was insidious and painful. I wanted to think I was freer there, but I was not. (Herrington, Perkins, Kirkpatrick, Freeman, 2006, p. 13, 14).

The fourth factor is concerned with how the press covers race. Schudson (2003) claims that covering racial issues in this day and time is difficult. Prior to, and during the civil rights movement, racism was visible. Today, racism is not so easily defined or outwardly portrayed. Arlene Morgan, Director of the "Let's Do It Better! Workshop On Journalism, Race and Ethnicity," wrote, "Race remains our most enduring dilemma" (http://www.journalism.columbia.edu/cs/ContentServer/jrn/1165270107643/page/1165270107624/simplepage.htm). Shah and Nah (2004) conducted a study to determine how U.S. newspapers "constructed and conveyed the idea of racial oppression" (p. 259). The researchers searched U.S. newspapers that had been published over a 10-year period and found that the majority of articles focused on racial oppression in South

Africa. The articles that were concerned with racial oppression in the U.S. were primarily either based on past events or focused on symbols of racism.

In August 2006, three white students at a high school in Jena, Louisiana hung nooses from a tree in the front schoolyard after a group of black students went to sit under the shade of a tree that was traditionally seating for white students. While disciplined, the three students were not expelled and racial tensions began to mount. During the next two months, a white student beat up a black student at a party and another white student threatened at least two black students with a shotgun. On December 4, a fight broke out at the high school and one white male was beaten unconscious by black males. The white male was taken to the hospital, but released. Six black males were charged with attempted second-degree murder. Although the Associated Press covered the story and distributed the story throughout the state, regionally, and nationally, the national press did not pick up the story until May 2007. Roberts stated:

> Race is still an issue in society, but it's difficult for newspapers to get handles on it. These usually aren't the kinds of events that lead to sort of inverted-pyramid, hard news kinds of stories. They're more ooze and seep racial stories. And it requires a lot of time and attention to do them with the nuance they deserve. And a lot of papers, in an era of cutbacks and short staffs, are shortchanging the race story (as cited in Chrisie, 2008, p. 15).

Director of Diversity Programs at Poynter Institute, Keith Woods, heavily criticized the media for not stepping up and covering this story from the day the nooses were hung.

> There is a huge story here – of uneven justice, racial estrangement, unexamined suspicion and unabated bigotry. It is the story of our everyday lives. If it's complex, then it's inherently more interesting. If it's confusing, then the media should do what they're there to do: help us figure it out (Woods, 2007, p. 18).

As stated previously, the integration of the University of Mississippi is an easy story to tell. Retelling the story provides journalists the appearance of covering racism without having to look too deep or spend too many resources. In the 1960s and 1970s, reporters were assigned to a "Race Beat." Today, few

newspapers continue that line (Christie, 2008). The current coverage of racial relationships in the U.S. is relatively superficial or focused on immigration.

Journalists are in the business of gathering information. Their reports are intended to give an objective view of the world, a representation of truth. In this case study, the truths to be found are partial truths. They present a very specific portion of the picture. The university, however, presents a form of that same picture to the national press. In this case study, it is apparent that the national media continues to attribute issues of race and racism to the University of Mississippi – a truth of the past. From a Jeffersonian perspective, the press is responsible to be a watch-dog over the government. It is a good thing when the press can affect positive change. Since 1998, Columbia University has hosted "Let's Do It Better! Workshop On Journalism, Race and Ethnicity." Broadcast and print news organizations from throughout the U.S. submit their best work concerning race relations in the U.S. Keith Woods was asked to write a report on the quality and content of the entries.

> With the significant exception of the New York Times' summer 2000 series, "How Race is Lived in America," there was not enough imagination or depth brought to bear on the issue of race relations. Though the stories of racial profiling, school inequities and environmental racism got a lot of appropriate coverage, the daily realities that define race relations – brought to life in many of the Times' stories – got short shrift (Woods, 2001, p. 7).

The various issues of racial relations in the U.S. are compelling stories that must to be told with compassion and with depth. The stories need to be investigated and developed into meaningful articles that can serve as a basis for understanding and discussion. When racism exists, it should never be relegated to past events past or discussed in terms of symbols that the writer might not fully understand. The University of Mississippi is owning up to its past. The university is slowly divesting of the symbols that connect it with racism. Because of past sins and a history so mired in racism, the university has an obligation and responsibility to participate and lead discussions on racial reconciliation - discussions that have the potential of making an impact on how citizens in the U.S. talk about and understand race. Based on history, the national press would pay attention.

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Working with nationalism as ideology

João Carlos Correia
Universidade da Beira Interior
E-mail: jcorreia@ubi.pt

The context: nationalism and Salazar

THERE were two main factors that shaped Portugal between the process of European unification after the Second World War 1945 and the democratic revolution of 1974: the dictatorial nature of Salazar's regime and its strong reluctance to any kind of decolonization (Pinto and Teixeira, 2004). After the abolition of the monarchy and the Portuguese participation in First World War on the side of the Allies, the country experienced a period of cabinet instability and pro-authoritarian activity that aggravated the young republic's legitimacy crisis. A coup d'état in 1926 led to the establishment of a military dictatorship that was internally divided as a consequence of the conflicts that existed within the conservative bloc among supporters of the monarchy, partisans of a moderate right-wing republic, supporters of the Catholic Centre, and real fascists. Stability was restored within the dictatorship when Salazar, a young professor from the Democratic Christian Academic Centre, finally rose to Prime Minister in 1932, assuming the country's leadership (Oliveira Marques, 1986: 363-372).

While the New State ('Estado Novo') was inspired by European fascism, its political institutions, which were created in 1933, were primarily influenced by corporatist ideals that resulted in the institutionalization of a dictatorial regime supported by a single party (Oliveira Marques, 1986: 465-467). Facing a difficult financial situation, the new Prime Minister tried to solve it with tried and tested authoritarian policies: the dissolution of Parliament, parties' interdiction, introduction of 'strong Government', with severe restrictions on the freedom of the press, movement and assembly.

Following the Second World War, the Allies didn't extend to Portugal the same policy applied to its Spanish neighbour (Pinto, 2002). The country was still quite isolated at the international level, except for its presence at the North

Atlantic Treaty Organization (Pinto, 2002: 2, 7). Salazar's neutrality during the Second World War, and the rise of the Cold War, ensured the survival of his regime in the post-1945 international environment. Portugal joined the United Nations after an initial opposition (Pinto & Teixeira, 2004: 113).

The Salazar regime survived by cultivating an external image of benign authoritarianism that was an anti-communist bulwark of Western civilization, and by efficiently controlling internal opposition (Pinto and Teixeira, 2004: 113). Salazar saw the relationship between Europe and Africa as a complementary one, and viewed the connections between Europe and Africa as a harmony of economic, political and military plans.

The breakdown of the authoritarian nationalism

During the Salazar Regime, and especially during the colonial war, most Portuguese were educated to respect the values of Nation and Authority. The newspapers had to send their pages to Censorship Services before publication; radio broadcasts were only allowed if they spread the ideology of National Revolution; and Portuguese public TV, established during the dictatorship, was used by the State as a tool for the 'moral elevation' of the Portuguese people. Before the Democratic Revolution, most of the commemorations of the National Day of Portugal (which Salazar referred to as *Dia da Raça*, or Race Day) were filled with the awarding of medals to wounded warriors of the colonial war, broadcast live on TV. Isolated from Europe during the fascist regime, the Portuguese elites were educated to imagine Portugal as a multi-racial society, having Lisbon as a culturally and racially homogeneous capital.

The arrival of democracy was mostly provoked by the increasing opposition of the Army to the unfinished colonial war, fought since 1961. After the 1974 Revolution, Portugal opened negotiations almost instantaneously with national liberation movements from the colonies. In contrast to past configurations of the image of 'the Portuguese' (white, Latin, Catholic, believers in the Holy Virgin of Fátima, inhabitants of a old Empire with an important presence in Africa and in some parts of Asia), the decolonization process brought the arrival from more than 200,000 survivors of the subsequent civil wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. These survivors were frequently full of prejudice against democracy and nostalgic of the Portuguese colonial past. From the political centre of a transcontinental Colonial Empire, Portu-

gal became a small country integrated in a far larger economic and political block. The ideological use of the concept of Nation, to confer legitimacy to the Empire through the invocation of a historical mission, was challenged by democratic events and by an economic development that had as its model the bourgeois societies of Central Europe.

During the 1990s, the rekindling of nationalism in Portugal was helped when a relatively recent Democratic Party, the Democratic Renovation Party (PRD), lost parliamentary representation, beginning its decay, accumulation of debt and eventual collapse. With no connection to any traditional European political – ideological family, PRD can be viewed as an epiphenomenon, whose meteoric rise was achieved through accumulating protest votes against the austere policies of the leading political parties – the PS (socialist) and the PSD (social-democratic). Without classical ideological references, or strong sociological roots, the Party followed an unavoidable path to decline. Following this decline, elements from ancient National Action (extreme-right wing) paid the Party's debts and changed its name to the National Renovation Party. Right-wing extreme nationalism had arrived in Portugal again, and for the first time since 25th April, the date of the Democratic 'Carnation Revolution'. During some subsequent public events concerned with immigration, the National Renovation Party became an active political actor trying to take advantage of a certain hostile mood towards immigrants, particularly those coming from Africa and Brazil.

Theoretical approaches towards media

Ideological and political phenomena in contemporary democratic societies need to obtain recognition and some kind of visibility from media. Some interesting phenomena converging with punctual demonstration of xenophobic nationalism were not possible without media intervention. Having in mind this, we must understand some problems concerned with the so called effects theory, the name generally given to a considerable amount of research effort devoted to assessing the influence of the mass media on attitudes and opinions (Hartman and Husband, 1973: 271).

The first era of the effects theory was influenced by a view of people as atomised units of "mass society", whose stimulus-response psychology was

seen as responding in a straightforward way to the stimulus of message. That tradition was characterized by a search for direct and short-term effects and, from this perspective, the effects were first seen as very strong. Propaganda, according to this point of view, achieves its goals through a theoretical formulation that became known as 'the magic bullet' – that is to say, a bullet of high precision that never missed its target.

In a second stage of research, there emerged an approach generally conceived as a limited effects paradigm, which established a form of orthodoxy in place until the 1960s. According to this approach, the media are ordinarily viewed as a *necessary* but not a *sufficient* cause of audience effects, acting as part of a nexus of mediating factors and influences. The effects of media must take into account the original predispositions of audiences. Of the three types of effects identified – reinforcement, modification and conversion – the reinforcement of pre-existing attitudes was the most frequently observed effect. Finally, this kind of approach emphasised the effects of small groups and of opinion leaders (Klapper, 1960: 15-31). But still, these particular analyses of the media were concerned with short-term effects, relevant to some particular circumstances, such as electoral or advertising campaigns

Finally, the social influence of the mass media began to be analysed by more sophisticated approaches coming from varied paradigms: cultural studies, phenomenological approaches, sociology of culture and even from empirical sociology, alongside contribution from researchers within the traditional effects theory who were, by now, much more concerned with culturalist and cognitive dimensions. There are good reasons for this continued interest in research in the effects tradition. In first place, the nature of mass media the kind of ideologies that they generate, together with simple physical limitation of time and space and the need to attract readers and viewers, impose constraints both on what events make the news and on the kind of treatment they receive. Second, Western cultural heritage and tradition contain elements which act to classify other races and ethnic groups. The media operate within such cultures and so are obliged to use cultural symbols. The prevalence of images and stereotypes, derived from the colonial experience and at least implicitly derogatory to other ethnic groups and races, are visible in jokes, fears and small talk.

Finally, we have the news values: the criteria that define which events will be chosen to become news. One feature that makes events more newsworthy

is their ability to be interpreted within a familiar framework or in terms of existing images, stereotypes and expectations. Arguably, the key to a more accurate understanding of the role of the mass media is to accept the existence of a continuous interplay between events, cultural meanings and news frameworks.

This article will now be oriented to research hypotheses concerned with discourse and cognition, drawing on two main bodies of thought: first, theories of the social construction of reality, specifically oriented to the study of frames; and the critical analysis of discourse, a body of work that analyses the connections between racism and media – adopting, however, strong premises from the cognitive approach.

Socio-cognitive approach: typification and frame analysis

The distinctive feature of a socio-cognitive approach is the belief that our knowledge of reality is a mental construct, a product from everyday life intersubjective experience. Social dynamics are not perceived in themselves; they cannot be perceived without meaning attributed to them. Above all, Alfred Schutz has analysed social experience from a Husserlian point of view and draws a strong attempt to demonstrate that intentional (object-directed) consciousness is the basis of our experiences of the everyday Life-World. All the work of Schutz is explicitly directed towards clarifying the concept of subjective meaning – a task that, in Schutz's eyes, remained unfinished in Weber's work.

His approach is particularly central to very important traditions in Western thought – micro-sociology and frame analysis. Both are supported by the phenomenology of the social world of Alfred Schutz, the later developments from Berger and Luckmann and applied to the media by Tuchman, Gitlin, Cohen and others. Although these theories can be viewed critically given their absence of references to power and domination, they can be used to look closely to the everyday work of belief, attitudes and knowledge building.

This tradition maintains that in the everyday life-world there is a level of common sense thought, where people accept typifications as a resource, constructing socially shared objective meanings to avoid uncertainty (Correia: 2005: 38-39). People, in everyday life, suspend their doubts in order to turn their world into a safer one (Schutz, 1976). Such an attitude assu-

mes a reliable premise in the permanence of the structures of the world: one trusts that the world will remain as it has been known up until now. Thus, experience will continue to preserve its basic validity (Schutz and Luckmann, 1973:7). The familiarity with social reality implies an organized standard of routine (Schutz, 1976: 108) learned from the knowledge of "prescriptions" and typical behaviours (Schutz, 1975: 94-95).

'Common sense perceptions' are perceptions on the basis of types. These are constructed out of socially available stock of knowledge at hand and they are applied in the actual interpretative process of daily life on the basis of practical purposes of the social actor. As Tuchman, closely following the concepts of Schutz, correctly reminds us: "temporal planning characterizes social action as project. That is, social action is carried out in the future perfect tense. Action is cast into the future in order to accomplish acts that will happened, should everything go as anticipated" (Tuchman, 1978: 41).

From this perspective, the use of typifications appears as an *a priori* component of a social reality. The construction of typifications is a kind of crystallization of the experience that allows stability, preserving some characteristics and providing the basis for the solution of practical tasks presented to social agents. In face of each new situation, the actor will look for similar past events, and so s/he will act in a similar way as before, following the principle that things will remain identical. Whereas stereotypes have to be maintained by ignorance, typifications arise from familiarity and extensive knowledge of the typified actor or action.

The notion of typification has known an extensive development in ethnomethodological research, especially in what concerns the sociology of professional ideologies. In the domain of Journalism Theory, Gaye Tuchman shows how everyday news work can be seen as a question of "routinizing the unexpected." As part of the process of routinisation, journalists make use of different news categories and typifications in order to reduce the contingency of news work. "Newsworkers use typifications to transform the idiosyncratic occurrences of the everyday world into raw materials that can be subjected to routine processing and dissemination" (Tuchman, 1978: 50). In journalism, everyday practice develops a set of procedures to assure the coverage of a well–defined subject. This set of procedures implies the learning on accumulated experience, to allow for stability in what concerns the approach for similar events. The routines and typifications are established standards of

behaviour, procedures that, without great risk or complications, assure that journalists, under the pressure of time, can rapidly transform the event into a news story (Traquina, 1993:32 – 33).

Typifications are different from categories. While the later refers to the classification of objects according to one or more relevant characteristics ruled salient by classifiers in a process of formal analysis, typifications refer to the performance of practical tasks, being constituted and grounded in everyday activity (Tuchman, 1978: 50). As typifications are parts of the professional stock of knowledge, being a professional reporter capable of dealing with idiosyncratic occurrences means being able to use adequate typifications. The problem is that typifications are seductive; they are, in some way, artificial constructs, that may lead reporters to apply stereotypes, easy simplifications and incorrect labels.

Frames and typifications

The cognitive notion of frame appears, generally, as a set of presuppositions or evaluative criteria within which a person's perception of a particular subject seem to occur. The notion has been expounded by a great number of disciplines: from the psychology of perception and Gestalt theory, including the well–known experiments with figure-ground pictures, such as the example of the two faces and a vase; from linguistics, where the Sapir/Whorf hypothesis maintains that linguistic structures and the terminology available to us constitute frames of reference which direct our attention to certain aspects of the world whilst hiding others (Whorf[1], 1956); from social psychology, where stereotyping and prejudice have been regarded as cognitive processes in which all members of a given class of objects or people are treated as equivalent (Lippman, 2002: 28-29); from Communication Theory (Bateson, 2000; Goffman, 1986) and, also, from ethnomethodology's development of Schutzian "typifications".

To Bateson, the frame concept is rooted in the study of communicative interaction. Bateson introduced the notion of a frame as a meta-communicative device that gives to the receiver instructions or aids in its attempt to understand the messages included within the frame. He showed that interaction always in-

[1] http://www.doceo.co.uk/tools/frame.htm#WHORF

volves interpretative frameworks by which participants define how others' actions and words should be understood. Bateson presents frames with the help from analogies: the physical analogy from the picture frame, and the more abstract analogy of a mathematical set. Frames are simultaneously including and exclusive devices, because including certain messages and meaningful actions excludes others. So, the frame is a kind of message intended to order or to organize the perception of the viewer, saying: "Attend to what is within and do not attend to what is outside". Hence, frames imply an orientation to reality somewhat similar with the Gestalt psychology: we must to attend figure and ground, emphasising the perception of the first one, and positively inhibiting the second one (Bateson, 2000: 177-193; 184-188; 190-192).

Twenty years later, frame analysis was introduced to sociological research by Goffman to refer to mental constructions that allow its users to locate, perceive, identify and label a seemingly infinite numbers of concrete occurrences (Goffman, 1986: 21). According to Berger's Foreword "The Frame in frame analysis refers to this inevitable relational dimension of meaning. A frame, in this sense, is only a particular tangible metaphor for what other sociologists have tried to invoke by words like 'background', 'setting', 'context', or a phrase like 'in terms of'. These all attempt to convey that what goes on interaction is governed by usually unstated rules or principles more or less implicitly set by the character of some large, tough perhaps invisible, entity, (for example, the definitions of situation) within which the interaction occurs" (p.xiii).

This set of unstated rules or principles was, in Goffman's words, very similar to the sense used by Bateson (Goffman, 1986: 7). So, frames are, more or less, basic elements which govern social events and our subjective involvement in them (Goffman, 1986: 10). In Journalism Theory, frames have also made a strong appearance as cognitive elements structuring which parts of reality become noticed. Todd Gitlin is responsible for a widely quoted elaboration of the concept: "Frames are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters" (Gitlin, 1980: 6). While Frames, are principles of organization which govern social events and the subjective involvement of the social actor, the strip is "an arbitrary slice or cut from the stream of ongoing activity" (Goffmann, 1986, 10-11). Frames turn unrecognizable happenings into a discernible event. They allow us to see the figure against the ground. Typi-

fications are related to frames but in a more practical way, telling us how to act in front of a recognizable and already framed event. While frames help us to evaluate a situation, typifications are more connected with a stock of practical knowledge, very similar to receipts. Finally, all those concepts are commonly regarded as intersubjective constructs, built in everyday common life by common man, in order to rule its practical purposes within the world.

The limits of the microsociological approach are the absence of one methodological tool at the level of discourse and, sometimes, but not always, a kind of dismissal of problems concerned with power and domination. As Tuchman (1978: 195) put it, Goffman is not interested in the institutional mechanisms that are related with the organization of experience. However, I think that some of these problems can be faced by, at least, some suggestions coming from the critical analysis of discourse.

Critical Discourse Analysis

The so-called linguist turn has had a clear influence on many theories concerned with journalism and mediated communication. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a perspective that refuses neutrality from research and researcher, defining its goals in political, social and cultural terms, looking to language as social practice (Maria Emília Pedro, 1997: 15). So, CDA pays much attention to social phenomena such as social power and domination, discrimination, racism, xenophobia and so on. The authors engaged with this approach believe that phenomena such as representation of power and reproduction of domination can be understood through studying some characteristics of texts such as vocabulary and metaphors, micro-structures and schemata strategies, grammatical features, implications and presuppositions, politeness conventions, or style (Pedro, 1997: 34-35).

However, there is not a necessary rupture with a cognitive approach. The critical enterprise doesn't mean to embrace a determinist point of view where all psychological dimensions of social and discursive practices were ignored, to focus only on the discursive level, acting as a mirror of the systemic and institutional level. Teun van Dijk – the most remarkable representative author of this approach, which seems to sustain a more emphatic concern with cognitive dimensions of social practices – explicitly and significantly supports the purposes of Tuchman in very precise terms: "Her book, perhaps the most

interesting and innovating sociological study of news production, takes an ethnomethodological approach. (....) such routines are described as everyday accomplishments of reconstructing reality as news and, at the same time, as enactments of the institutional processes in which newsmaking takes place. News is not characterized as a picture of reality, which may be correct or biased, but as a frame through which the social world is routinely constructed" (van Dijk, 1988: 7).

To van Dijk, every discourse implies construction and interpretation – processes that don't occur in vacuum, with social dimensions of discourse interacting with cognitive dimensions (van Dijk, 2004: 14-16). This kind of cognitive critical approach proposes a new conceptualisation of ideology, a concept that it can be reconciled with the notion of the frame. Ideologies are social representations shared by members of a group, allowing group members to organize a multitude of social beliefs, for instance, what is good or bad, right or wrong, fair or unfair, and so on. They are presented almost as axioms of a formal system, consisting of the more general and abstract social beliefs that control or organize the more specific knowledge and opinions (attitudes) of a group (Idem, 2003: 49), and are assumed to be organized by mental and social group schema consisting of a number of fundamental categories that codify the ways that self and others are defined as members of the group (Idem, 2003: 151). This is particularly visible in racist ideologies and their strategies of inclusion and exclusion. Ideological opinions structure many of the aspects of discourse, such as topic selection, lexical choice, semantic moves as well as style and rhetoric. Ideologies first of all control the formation of the mental models of the events we talk about, that is, the semantics of text and talk. [2]

Van Dijk also built a model to the structural analysis of some dimensions of news discourse, defining as a major aim of CDA "to produce explicit and systematic descriptions of units of language use that we have called discourse" (van Dijk, 1988: 24). This model of description implies the use of some kind of macro-semantics, which deal with global meanings and allow us to describe the meanings of whole paragraphs, sections or chapters within discourse. Those macro-structures are characterized in terms of propositions,

[2]Of course ideologies are not idealistically defined only in cognitive terms but also in terms of social groups and institutions. (Cfr. Van Dijk, 2003: 18-27). "Thus, if ideologies are belief systems, we need to be a little more specific and say that they are social beliefs systems (Van Dijk, 2003: 29).

which van Dijk labels macro-propositions (1998: 32). The macro-structures consist of several macro-propositions, such as the topics or the summary of text; these topics relate each other in a hierarchal structure, defined by macro-rules. Macro-rules reduce information, deleting the details considered not relevant to the text, replacing a sequence of propositions for a more abstract generalization, or summary, of a sequence of propositions.

Here, van Dijk explicitly argues for a cognitive complement of the theory of macrostructures, which implies a clear reference to the analysis of frames (van Dijk, 1998: 34). In the building of discourse, there is a top down processing that must to be activated by frames that arise from the social knowledge of world. The cognitive element *frame* will be expressed not only in the topic but also in all the choices that are going to be made in order to express the axiomatic rules presented in the described event.

However, in the news there are some semantic features – that is, the headline and lead – that give us the kernel of the frame, because of their high level of generalization and abstraction. This does not mean that the frame is not present in less general paragraphs or propositions concerning with details and specifications. The cognitive dimension of discourse and the presence of the frame, in my point of view, will be expressed in the particular kind of coherence that is maintained between the most abstract and the most concrete level.

In conjunction with macro-semantics there are macro-syntactic structures that characterize the overall forms of discourse, structures that van Dijk labels schemata or superstructures (1988: 26). Many other types of texts also have a structure implying schematic strategies – that is, organizational patterns and conventional categories, such as the various forms of opening or closing a discourse, specific narrative conventions on. This overall syntax defines the possible forms in which topics or themes can be inserted and ordered in the actual text. In this particular case, news text has been object of attention by narratology in what concerns the search of archetypal narrative categories.

CDA also directs its attention to the microstructures of news discourse. Local semantics focuses on propositions, just as macro-semantics deals with macro-propositions. Here, the strategic demands of local coherence is such that the language user looks for the possible connections among facts denoted by propositions. Frequently, facts denoted in this way showed identical referents. Sequences of propositions constitute discourse if they satisfy a number

of coherence conditions such as conditional relations between the facts denoted by these sentences and functional relations (such as generalization, specification, contrast) among sentences or propositions (van Dijk, 2003: 206). So, the second sentence may be used as an explanation of the first sentence but it can also be a generalization, a specification correction, or a contrast or an alternative to the first sentence.

In what we call a functional coherence, a Proposition B has a specific function related to a previous proposition A. There is also the case of conditional coherence, which is not based on relations between propositions or sentences but on relations between the facts denoted by those propositions or sentences. At the level of local coherence we must have in mind the importance of presupposition and implicature. In formal terms, a presupposition, q, is presupposed by p if it will be implicit in p and not in – p. Any proposition accepted by the speaker but that is not explicitly declared is a presupposition (van Dijk, 1988: 64).

There are also stylistic and rhetorical strategies. Style has to do with establishing connections between discourse and the personal and social context of *parole* – that is, "it's the result of choices made by the speaker among optional variations in discourse forms that may be used to express more or less the same meaning" (van Dijk, 1998: 27). It's a major indication of the role performed by context, namely in specific social situations: a courtroom, a classroom, a parliamentary speech, the degree of familiarity with the listener, and so on. Style is always a marker of social properties of speakers of the socio-cultural situation of the speech event. In the case of news discourse, van Dijk correctly points out that news discourse is a public discourse type that presupposes a vast amount of generally shared knowledge, beliefs, norms and values. News is in some ways impersonal because it is not expressed by a single author but by an institution; style also accords with the topic (e.g. the coverage of a pop concert will not be as formal as the coverage of the signing of an international treaty) (van Dijk, 1988: 76).

Finally, news discourse uses rhetorical strategies to enhance the organization, the storage and the retrieval of textual information by the listener or reader (van Dijk, 1998: 28). Such rhetorical strategies can also enhance the appearance of truth and plausibility. News reports are written in a way that implies a subtle claim from the hidden speaker: "Believe me!" Hence rhetoric must enhance the factual nature of the discourse, with the direct description of

ongoing events, evidence of close eyewitness and other reliable sources, signs that indicate accuracy and exactness (such as number, names, places, hours, events) and direct quotes from sources, especially when opinions are involved. News rhetoric also needs to built a strong relational structure for facts, such as referring to previous events as conditions and causes and predicting next events as consequences; inserting facts in well-known situation models that make them relatively familiar; using well-known scripts, and concepts that belong to the script, and trying to organize facts in well-known specific structures.

Finally, news discourse must also provide information that has also attitudinal and emotional dimensions: showing facts that involve strong emotions and present direct quotes of different opinions coming from different ideological stances (van Dijk, 1998: 82-85).

The ideological role of the media: framing Carcavelos Beach

The contradictions and perplexities of a society, characterized by differentiated attitudes described in the sections above, came to light with an 'attack by a teen street gang' on Carcavelos Beach, allegedly perpetrated on the Portuguese National Day (10 June 2005). According to the media, this attack involved about 500 young Africans from the quarters (slums) surrounding Lisbon. An 'attack by teen street gang' is a possible translation for the word *arrastão*, the name publicly given to the phenomenon, based on similar events in Brazil.

In the afternoon of 10 June, Portuguese broadcasters opened their news programmes with reports that an organized robbery of great dimensions had taken place on Carcavelos Beach. According to RTP (Radio Televisão Portuguesa): "In the beginning of the afternoon, groups of 30 to 50 young African boys, simultaneously and in apparently organized actions, had assaulted and attacked the swimmers in different parts of the beach." For SIC (Channel 3), a cinematographic metaphor was the most adequate one: it was a "scene of a film"; for TVI (Channel 4), the language was picked up from tabloids, describing "one afternoon of terror and panic in Carcavelos".

TVI and SIC showed photos that allegedly show the violence of the attack and the *modus operandi* that started with two gunshots. According to RTP,

the photos showed an amount of people caught by surprise. For the newspaper PUBLICO (11 June 2005), "half a thousand youths, between 12 and 20 years, advanced for the beach and, until the police arrived, they stole what they wanted from swimmers who were enjoying the holiday there." For the *Diario de Notícias* (*DN*), "the beach of Carcavelos was invaded by a wave of thieves". According to *Correio da Manhã* (*CM*, 11 June 2005) "The terror started when about 500 youngsters and girls, organized in groups, started 'to sweep' the beach of Carcavelos, where there were thousands of people, stealing from and attacking however they wanted. For a moment, the events recalled the 'frequent attacks by teen street gangs' on Brazilian beaches."

On the days that followed, there was much speculation about a threat of attack by teen street gangs on beaches of the Algarve and about the capacity of the GNR (National Republican Guard) in annulling any new attempt. For example, *PÚBLICO* (12 June 2005) claimed "the fear of group assaults arrives at Quarteira". According to this periodical, "a group of fifty youths, after one rave in a disco-house of Vilamoura, invaded the beach, beginning panic between local swimmers and traders". The *DN* (12 June 2005) told the same story: "Everything happened for 11 hours, when about 50 youths, the majority youngsters, between 23 and 25 years – many of whom were resident in the Bairro of Cova da Moura – after spending the night in one rave party, close to Vilamoura, had provoked a disturbance on the beach in the Town of Loulé, Algarve."

The photos showed by RTP, TVI and SIC, and on the front pages of *CM*, *DN* and *Público*, didn't leave any doubts concerning the existence of an organized action. The media then started to listen to experts. Rui Pereira, Professor of Law, former director of Secret Information Service and expert in security matters, was quoted saying "we cannot have any complacency concerning this kind of incident". Moita Flores, criminologist, told the RTP that the phenomenon was "a meeting of gangs, similar to other well known occurrences on the Beaches of Rio de Janeiro." Barra da Costa, author of a book called *The Gang and The School*, informed the journalist Céu Neves from *DN* (11 June 2005) "We can talk about a typical anti-social reaction coming from juvenile delinquents".

On the days that followed, newspapers published all kinds of material on the subject: interviews with political leaders presenting projects to increase

the police presence (*PÚBLICO*, 12 June 2005; *DN*, 12 June 2005), and news about the damage provoked in the tourism (*CM*12 June 2005).

The media strategy

Several certainties were consolidated on the first day: there has been an *arrastão* that mobilized hundreds of young people; the event provoked terror; that the majority of youngsters were African; and the event was similar to several to those occurred in Rio de Janeiro. These three facts – the terror, the ethnic origin of the criminals and the similarity with events of Rio de Janeiro – become very well established in the first hours of the event. This means that we may identify a cognitive frame that was established to understand reality. As an anthropologist, Miguel Vale de Almeida, simply stated: "This was the *arrastão* that Portuguese were looking for." This frame contains several elements that drive the discursive macrostructures:

1. Hundreds of youngsters launch panic in Carcavelos Beach, near Lisbon.
2. They come from the slums of Lisbon, so are very likely to be black people.
3. They use the same *modus operandi* from black street kids from the *favelas* in Rio.

With these dimensions, the news could inscribe the events within a very well-known script.

The macrostructures of all the news discourse on *arrastão* were completely visible and emphasised these ideas. The semantic macro-rules that expressed the main topic of the coverage were very easy to understand when we look the extensive dossier of newspaper reporting from the day after the event. The most general proposition is provided by several headlines, for instance: "Terror on the Beach" (*CM*, 11 June 2005), and "Arrastão in Carcavelos Beach" (*DN*, 11 June 2007). Following this, the leads were completely assertive, closing down any chance of an alternative description: "When the first thirteen policeman arrive at the beach, they didn't want to believe their eyes" (*CM*, 11 June 2005). The description assumed (in direct speech from the speaker, as if he was the police officer arriving at the beach) that hundreds of thieves were

running from one side of the beach to the other. The police source said to *CM* that, while they were observing the situation, hundred of persons were running to the officers present on the beach, telling them that the thieves have stolen "mobiles, their power cables, everything" (*CM*, 11 June 2005). In the case of *DN*, "The panic appeared on Carcavelos Beach yesterday in the afternoon when four hundred individuals, in gangs, suddenly started to assault and attack the swimmers" (11 June 2005). The *DN* report included a photo depicting members of the police and several other people, some of them black and young, in such a way that it is difficult to see the kind of action performed by the civilians: are they running? Are they being pursued by the police? Are some of them participating in a collective assault or are the just taking their bags and chairs running from the confusion? The caption read: "Panic. The police estimated that there were more than five hundred participants in the assault, with ages between twelve and twenty. The officers have fired shots into the air to frighten the youngsters". In *DN* we find a text-box, containing the following headline: "The act has to have been prepared". In the text following this headline, there is the statement of an expert, a criminologist, who gave a general opinion about this kind of gang juvenile delinquency – that it involved hungry persons from the slums – whilst the first page used an inflammatory headline: "Brazilian arrastão arrives at Carcavelos"!

The leads in these articles were followed by very similar descriptions (written in the present tense, as if we were following live coverage) of policeman, armed with machine-guns, surrounding and watching hundreds of black youngsters, and detailing the development of the event (*CM*; *DN*). It was as if the established facts only existed to be commented upon; the youngsters, referred to as marginals, were from the problematic slums of Lisbon, especially from Chelas e Amadora, as the Mayor of Cascais, António Capucho, explained to the newspapers (*DN*, *CM* and *Público*). Another article on the cover of *CM* was given the headline: "Arrastão comes from Brazil". This kind of angle was only a pretext to reinsure the factuality of the descriptions, establishing a precedent that can be useful to provide more details about "this kind of crime".

Two days after the event, a new event, also located in the tourist zone of Algarve, was described as Arrastão, but in this case "The GNR (National Republican Guard) stopped a wave in Albufeira". In the same article (*CM*, 12 June 2005), there also appears the argument that this is organized crime:

Police have apparently identified "group leaderships". The selective quotation of only experts and politicians is used in these reports to present facts as they were already established. For instance, one quoted businessman believed that with the *arrastão*, his tourism business is ruined (*CM*, 12 June 2005).

At the micro-level, and specifically concerning local coherence, we can find in the coverage of this event some significant functional connections among sentences – especially with examples, specifications, generalizations, contrasts and so on. Quotation and the use of witnesses can be viewed as specifications of newspaper statements. They enhance, for example, sentences that make strong references to lack of safety and the absence of policies. After giving his statement – "They walk in groups and people were afraid" – one eyewitness is described as holding his bag in his hand, walking for his home. That description is used in the text as a demonstration of his fear, running from the event he describes (*CM*, 12 June 2005).

The uses of implicature and presupposition are omnipresent in almost all the texts: the references in both newspapers to the slums of Lisbon, the comparisons with Rio de Janeiro, and the ideas that the slums of Lisbon are both problematic and well known to the Police, implies a lot of presumed shared knowledge about the kind of crime and the profile of criminals. Without saying anything explicitly, the 'ethnic problem' is raised as the real issue.

In relation to style, there is an abundant use of direct reportage, as if the reporter wants to take the reader to the scene of the event. Local and human details powerfully strengthen this strategy. The style is always colourful, assertive, with intensified active verbs and substantives (the terror, as substantive identity). Concerning rhetoric, the texts are particularly rich, exemplifying the rhetoric of authenticity described by van Dijk: they make frequent and specific use of numbers (five hundred), ages (between twelve and twenty years) and the exact origins and neighbourhoods of the perpetrators. They provide the exact number of police officers that were on the beach when the events began (thirteen), the exact time that phone calls began to be made to the Police Station (3.00p.m.), and also the exact location of the bar that featured at the close of the event.

The amazing developments after this event astonished the country, with the full controversy relating to the 'attack by teen street gang' arising a little time after the events: On June 17th, the Metropolitan Commander of the Lisbon PSP gave additional clarifications: first, that "of a large group of 400 or

500 people, only 30 or 40 had practiced illicit activities"; second that "many youths that had appeared on television and in photographic images running in the beach of Carcavelos on that day, were not assailants, but just ordinary young people that ran away"; and third, that "the assaults were very small in number and not the product of elaborate organization." On 21 June 2005, the High Commissary for the Emigration and Ethnic Minorities lamented "the enormous negative impact of the journalistic errors committed in the covering of the events".

On June 30th, the Office of Emigration released a documentary entitled "Once Upon a Time ...an Arrastão" (Era uma vez um Arrastão), produced by Diana Adringa, an RTP journalist and former-chair of the Union of Journalists. The documentary included some interviews that translated significant doubts on the existence of the attack. Later, on July 7th, Diana Adringa interviewed the Metropolitan Commander of the Lisbon PSP, who revealed that "an Arrastão did not happen" More specifically, Oliveira Pereira said he "already knew this about one hour later. However, when I wanted to communicate this, to clarify the official notice, it was very difficult." On July 19th, the PSP finally formally denied the existence of any attack by teen street gangs on Carcavelos Beach, in a report presented to the Constitutional Commission of Civil Rights and Freedoms.

According with BBC (quoted by on-line journal *Portugal Diário*, 18 June 2005), after the Arrastão, nationalists made their greatest protest since the re-establishment of democracy in 1974. "More than five hundred persons demonstrated by the centre of Lisbon asking for the end of crimes and expulsion of illegal emigrants" The media accepted the presupposed existence of an *arrastão* that caused revolt among the population, and accepted the connection between immigration and crime. After this event, nationalists have given a large number of interviews to the national media, appearing on Television programmes and in newspapers. In March 2007, the President of the National Renovation Party was interviewed by *Diário de Notícias*, after the organisation of an outdoor event in the Marquês de Pombal Square that called for no more immigrants to Portugal. The leader emphasised the economic sacrifice made by nationalists in hosting this event: "It's the only one. The event in Marquês de Pombal Square has cost 1750 Euros, from start to end, and there is not enough money for more. It was paid for with donations from militants, because PNR it is not a rich party. We have chosen a central point of Lisbon,

with lots of visibility, because it's an issue that any other party in Portugal has the courage of pointing out. We are being invaded."

New angles to emigration

After the *arrastão*, several incidents, including the nationalist demonstrations, began to show a change of mood in Portuguese public opinion concerning the ways it related itself to "strangers" and "foreigners". This article has not offered a definitive analysis of these texts, and has worked instead in a more exemplified style in order to draw some general insights. We feel it is necessary to launch a programme of research with journalism studies, drawing on the contribution of Critical Discourse Analysis, Social Phenomenology, Social Psychology and Theory of Communication. As part of this research, we feel that some hypotheses must be tested and studied. Among them we emphasise the following:

a) The media are powerful ideological institutions that allow people to share social beliefs. In this narrow sense, they turn ideology into common sense to be shared by average people and vice-versa.

b) Ideologies are systems of beliefs about identity – that is to say they employ criteria of inclusion and exclusion in social groups. Racism and nationalism are strongly persuasive when they relate closely to everyday-life, exploiting the apparitions and anxieties of ordinary people. Hence, ideology must also be studied as a cognitive phenomenon.

c) Frames must also be studied as cognitive phenomena, rooted in everyday life through communicative interaction. Their study must be coupled with the study of ideology in order to study the up-down movement of cognitive processing of social data.

d) The articulation between these two levels of cognitive phenomena has political consequences concerning the relationships between the system and life-world.

e) In turn, this has methodological consequences, because it requires an integration of ethnographic methods and discourse analysis.

f) Finally, this methodological approach may open to us up to a way of making the bridge between cognitive processes and discourse at journalistic level.

The conclusions above, provide productive working arguments to examine in research projects on the Critical Study of Journalism, taking into account the need for further theoretical and methodological developments to the understand the new phenomena of online journalism.

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Hope and Despair: Representations of Europe and Africa in Finnish news coverage of "migration crisis"

Karina Horsti
University of Helsinki
E-mail: karina.horsti@helsinki.fi

Introduction:

African migrants and the issue of old and new identities

WHEN confronted with the images of black African men in boats, in silent groups, in police custody, drawn from the sea by men wearing respiratory masks and plastic gloves, I felt puzzled here in the North of Europe. It is all happening far away and still it is right here, it is part of my everyday news, part of my social and political reality. This paper is an attempt to make sense of the news coverage of immigration to Europe from Africa – social reality that has being constructed frequently during the past ten years in a number of mediatized crises at the Mediterranean.

The story of African migrants arriving in Europe through "the back door" as it is called in *Helsingin Sanomat (HS)* (23 June 2006) has been a recurrent news theme from the mid 1990s when Europe started to strengthen control at the Mediterranean. This paper analyzes news coverage in *Helsingin Sanomat*, the largest and only nationwide broadsheet in Finland, during March-July 2006 when African migrants arrived in a number of boats to the Canary Islands from Senegal and Mauritania[1]. Many of them died on the way. The first news items on the relocation of the migration route were published in March 2006 with the focus on numbers of arrivals and drowned ones. The news also referred to previous migration conflicts in Gibraltar in the early 2000s and in Melilla and Ceuta in 2005. The news report that migration "flows", "waves" and "streams" are re-directed to Western African locations since the border control, surveillance and patrol at the previous locations have been tightened by the EU and Spain.

[1] Approximately 30 000 African migrants arrived at Canary Islands without permits in 2006. An estimated 6 000 died during the same year in this pursuit. Reuters 12 April 2007.

The ideologies of the past centuries, nationalism and racism, are still strong in the European imagination, therefore we still need to struggle with them in various forms. To emphasize the importance of this setting I quote Stuart Hall (1993):

> *Since cultural diversity is, increasingly, the fate of the modern world, and ethnic absolutism a regressive feature of late-modernity, the greatest danger now arises from forms of national and cultural identity – new and old – which attempt to secure their identity by adopting closed versions of culture or community and by refusal to engage –with the difficult problems that arise from trying to live with difference.*

The headlines of the *Helsingin Sanomat* on the Canary Islands case stress that the "illegals" are aiming for "Europe", which is therefore presented as one mental/imagined, geographic, social, economical and political space. This setting makes Stuart Hall's quotation current: What are the old and new ethnic and cultural identities and versions of community that are being constructed in the coverage of African "illegal migration" to Europe? What types of positions are offered for various social agents? How are Europe, Spain, Morocco, Finland and African migrants/ sending and transit areas identified and represented?

The destination of the Africans' journey is defined in news journalism as "Europe", although some of the few direct interviews of the newcomers reveal that their journey is not as random and misplaced as the headlines suggest. Most of the Africans who take the sea journey to Spain have relatives or acquaintances already living in France, Spain, Italy and beyond. The networks are transnational, remittances to African countries from Europe are significant. Therefore, the issue that is at stake here is not only about "strangers intruding Europe" as the media coverage and political atmosphere in Europe seems to frame these issues, but also about "the difficult problems that arise from trying to live with difference". Europe is part of this mobility in many ways: colonialism, diasporic communities, global economy, need of labour, temptation to cheap low skilled labour and demand for prostitution.

This paper will analyse the representations and identities constructed in the news of African migration to Europe by operationalising critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003). These issues are scrutinized through the coverage of *Helsingin Sanomat* of "migration crisis" at the Canary Islands in summer

2006. The coverage of a Northernmost European newspaper of a southernmost event offers an opportunity to analyze discourses of Europeanization and identity constructions of Europe and Africa.

Narratives are crucial in the construction of identities. According to Stuart Hall (1999: 11-13) specifically transitions and pressures in the crossings of cultural narratives bring the need for identity negotiations. Making reference to nationalistic and colonialist narratives he points out that instead of asking "who we are" we are asking "who we can be, how we are presented, and how we present ourselves" (Hall, 1999: 250).

There is a line of journalism research that analyzes news as narratives. Although single news items are not necessarily structured as stories (Pietilä, 1995) a conjuncture of news stories of an event can produce a narrative. Furthermore, news is an important part of constructing an issue culture (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989) for instance of immigration. The more general macro level issue culture is the sort of common sense to which all viewpoints need to react. The frame of "illegal" migrants as intruders, which I will discuss further in this paper, is one example of such strong characteristic of the issue culture on migration. From the narrative viewpoint there are actors or agents doing something in the news stories. Some actors are included, some excluded, some act more saliently than others. The methodology of this analysis focuses on the representations and the positions of various social agents. They are considered social to signify the structural, social and cultural meaning of their actions. The representations and positions construct certain identities and are crucial to media effects in society. The routinely produced identities set the terms in which people can talk about these agents.

Mediatized European crisis

In the course of history of nation states the media has played an important role in creation of national imaginary and national identity. National media institutions have played one side of this process, but dissemination of stories that encourage people to attach themselves into national community has played the other side of the construction of imagined communities (Downey and Koenig, 2006: 165-6). European perspective on identity and community is somewhat different. Attachment to culturally shared European identity has long been a

strong concern of the European Commission, and communication issues are central in these concerns[2]. There is not really any European media or common language except for small European elite (Schlesinger, 1999). However, questions of European public sphere can be approached from a more culturalist viewpoint. National media can discuss issues with European dimension in a way that encourage citizens to attach to European identity. Many events and issues are also discussed simultaneously throughout various national media in Europe (van de Steeg, 2002: 508). In this paper European public sphere is approached from the culturalist viewpoint: Europeanization of national public spheres through simultaneous public discussion.

Many of the events, issues and people that rise to the level of European public discussion can be characterized as mediatized European rituals, exceptional issues which through the media intervene in the life of European societies simultaneously. Simon Cottle (2006: 415) stresses that mediatized rituals can either legitimate the existing power composition or question it and catalyse social change. Cottle defines mediatized rituals as follows:

> Mediatized rituals are those exceptional and performative media phenomena that serve to sustain and/or mobilize collective sentiments and solidarities on the basis of symbolization and a subjunctive orientation to what should or ought to be.

Similarly Nick Couldry (Couldry, 2003: 29) stresses the wider shared social values that are at stake in mediatized ritual:

> Media rituals are formalised actions organised around key media-related categories and boundaries, whose performance frames, or suggests a connection with, wider media-related values.

News of undocumented migration could be analyzed as a mediatized public crisis (Alexander and Jacobs, 1998: 28). Media events (e.g. Eurovision song contest, European elections) tend to legitimate the powers and authorities outside the civil sphere. Mediatized public crisis, on the contrary, tend to give

[2]The White Paper on a European communication policy of the Commission of the European Communities (2006) is one recent example of the concerns and proposed practices to enforce European public sphere. http://www.europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/pdf/com2006_35_en.pdf [Referred 3 October 2007.]

to civil society power for social change. The media create public narratives that emphasize not only the distance between is and ought but the possibility of heroically overcoming it (Alexander and Jacobs, 1998: 28). The crises are essentially conflicted in nature, and therefore they are principally disruptive and challenging established institutions and conventions in terms of their enactment and outcomes. Alexander and Jacobs take the Watergate and Rodney King as cases of crisis where the public opinion created a pressure to authorities and elites and changed policy and practice. However, these cases are local and national. The question here arises: Could there be a European level mediatized public crisis that could offer opportunities for social change?

Mediterranean "illegal" migration has been a European wide news issue especially for the last ten years. The news of migrants without documents entering Italy (Lampedusa), Malta, and Spanish territory (Costa del sol, Gibraltar, Melilla, Ceuta, Canary Islands) construct a long-term narrative. The Gibraltar and Ceuta/Melilla cases can be seen as key events (Brosius and Eps, 1995) which increase the media access of similar events taking place afterwards. The media tend to take an interest in events which resemble earlier cases with high media visibility. Furthermore, the frames and sources used in the key events are generally easily and automatically applied in the coverage of the new event.

The Canary Islands case, examined in this article, is one event in the continuum of similar mediatized crisis at the Mediterranean. The media images on television and newspapers of African men in wooden boats and corpses at beaches in Italy and Spain have been engraved in the minds of European citizens. One manifestation of the forcefulness of these mediated images is the piece of art work at the Venice Art Biennale 2007 by a Finnish artist Maaria Wirkkala[3]. Her installation contains a wooden boat on broken Venice glass. As the motivation for this particular peice she states: "People who are forced to leave on boats and who cannot beach their boats anywhere. People, who never reach their destination. These are the news I repeatedly see in the newspapers' (*HS* 7 June 2007.)

There are no people coming ashore as immigrants in Finland. Still, the mediated experience of African migrants attempting to enter Europe and being

[3]Images of the work of art at http://www.maariawirkkala.com/index_flash.html [Referred 10 January 2008.]

denied entrance by the European authorities has touched someone living far North: this Finnish artist felt it was her duty to engage in this debate; instead of perceiving it as a Spanish issue and debate she feels it is also her business. This is a concrete example of Europeanization of public sphere and media repetition of certain events and frames as crisis. The news coverage of immigration conflicts at the Mediterranean has increased the mediated salience of immigration as a European issue. The result has been that the issue can be, and *is*, discussed by anyone who feels responsible, not necessarily by those who are immediately geographically, socially and economically affected by this type of migration.

The issue of African migration is recurrently raised on the agenda, and increasingly in the context of European security and policy. I went through the news coverage of previous events in the 1990s at the Mediterranean and they were framed as national problems of Italy and Spain rather than as common European problems. News framing was focused on the Mediterranean countries rather than Europe as a whole. Undocumented migration was presented as the problem of European Mediterranean countries, not as a European problem. The claims that were made by Italian and Spanish authorities in news coverage were directed to North African countries, not the European Community.

However, since the immigration and asylum policy is increasingly shifting to supranational decision making in the European Union[4], the issues related to Europeanization become more and more current. European mediatized public crisis would mean Europeanization of public debate around an issue. National media would simultaneously discuss the issue and they would find sources and viewpoints from each other. Increased status on the agenda would create opportunities for various viewpoints, genres and sources. The media coverage could create pressure against authorities and change policy. A public crisis

[4]The Amsterdam Treaty in 1999 followed by the European Council's Tampere conclusions in 1999 and the Hague Action Plan of 2005 started a policy development to set some migration issues under supranational powers. Although there were elements of partnership between countries of origin and transit, a joint European Asylum System, and fair treatment of third country nationals in the Tampere conclusions, the focus of the practical side of "harmonization" has been on the management and control of migration flows, namely on the fight against "illegal" migration, smuggling and trafficking. Little energy has been devoted to the management of legal migration.

generally begins with the break down of existing social order, and media coverage explores possibilities to sustain order. Methods of textual analysis can track down the offered problem definitions, positions of agents and solutions.

Illegals, objects of control and victims

Previous research on media representations of asylum seekers and "illegal" migrants prove that in general three types of framing are used in news coverage: the often unwanted immigrants are framed as "illegals", as objects of control and as victims. Many case studies claim that the media are involved in a process, where, in collaboration with state authorities, they construct a social problem which may develop into a moral panic (Cohen, 2002) in the society at large. The panic or a threat of a panic often results deportations of 'illegal' migrants, changes in the asylum process, tightening of internal and external immigration control, changes in the rights and privileges of asylum seekers etc. (Hier and Greenberg, 2002: Nordberg, 2004; Brune, 2004: 57-120; Horsti, 2003: ter Wal, 1996). In most cases the construction of a social problem involves surprisingly similar language use in media texts. The activity is verbalised in terms of natural catastrophe or war: the people are framed as intruders (Van Gorp, 2005).

The illegality frame is supported by presenting undocumented migrants as objects of control and surveillance (Horsti, 2007). For instance visual images where asylum seekers are filmed in the custody of the police, in handcuffs, or behind bars support these frames. These images resemble images of criminals and animals (Ana, 1999). Asylum seekers are often dealt with from the authorities' viewpoint: they are moved, removed, and observed. The control framing is also produced by the close connection between authorities and journalists. Journalistic text easily adopts language from the authorities but certainly authorities giving statements to the media are aware of the public debate. There is a mutual interest to make the story and therefore it is not always clear who is adopts whose language in the first place. (Brune, 2004: 87; Horsti, 2003: 49-50; Horsti, 2005: 178-80.)

Although most of the studies focus on the criminalizing framings of asylum seekers and "illegal" migrants, van Gorp (2005:) and Brune (2004: 72-8) remind us that the media also frequently uses victimization. This framing

has also been connected to victims of natural catastrophes and wars and refugees located in neighbouring areas of catastrophes (Malkki, 1995). Ylva Brune (2004: 72-8) in her study of Swedish hard news coverage of refugees and asylum seekers in 1993 summarizes the coverage to two frames: security aspect (säkerhetsaspekten) and bureucracy's object (byråkratins objekt). However, in the more popular news genres there is also a consistency of stories of victimized heros with topics related to deportation orders. These news invoke emotional reactions particularly since they mostly have a young girl or a child as a victimized hero. The storyline in these items is very similar, Brune (2004: 89-105) analyses the texts with Vladimir Propp's Morphology of the folk tail: there are villains, donors, helpers, kings, princesses, victimized heros and false heros. However, the criticism towards authorities in these emotional melodramas is not structural since the campaign focuses only on single persons who are presented as being part of "us" and their "Swedish" qualities are highlighted. Similarly, van Gorp (2005) in his analysis of Belgian press coverage of aslym seekers shows that the victim frame increased during Christmas time when helping others is part of the Christmas "mood". The Belgian press framed 20 per cent articles on asylum seekers "purely" as victims compared to 25 per cent articles in which they were framed "purely" as intruders. Most of the articles used mixed framing.

However, it is clear that in all framings, undocumented migrants are presented as objects (of charity, criminalization or control), which means that they are treated as having no social or personal history and life: non-persons (Dal Lago, 1999). In addition throughout the three frames there lies an atmosphere of conspiracy. "Illegal" migrants, asylum seekers and refugees are presented as hyphenated: there is never a positive trust or answer to who these people are and why they are here. Conspiracy is evoked by terrorism, human trafficking, smuggling and drug trafficking –themes which are routinely contextualised with undocumented migrants and asylum seekers (Horsti, 2007).

It should also be reminded that European foreign news coverage of Africa is usually biased. It has been more than 10 years since foreign news flows were analyzed in Finland, but the study from 1995 reveals that only four per cent of the foreign news was about Africa. The topics were either entertainment and sport or conflict oriented. (Pietiläinen, 1998: 84-97.) Foreign news coverage is afflicted by "euroscleritis": the news cover mostly familiar areas and issues (Kivikuru, 2003: 179). This is part of the issue culture of Africa

and Africanness: the background from which the news frames of "illegal" migration surface.

Domestication of a foreign news event

The re-location of African undocumented migration became news in March 2006. The main change in intensity and frequency of coverage took place in early June when the case became domesticated as a Finnish story. The following table summarizes the coverage.

Tabela 1: Helsingin Sanomat 2006

	March	**April**	**May**	**June**	**July**	**August**
Frequency: Days of coverage	2	0	3	8	4	4
Intensity: Number of stories	2	0	3	13	6	5
Main events	change of route arriving migrants	–	Finland considers assisting	Finland decides to send assistance Spain claims for help from EU EU accelerates patrol Finland's assistance not needed	migrants keep arriving	migrants keep arriving

In 31 May *HS* reported that Finland considered sending an aircraft for patrolling the shores of Mauritania and Senegal. Furthermore, in June it was reported that the EU commission decided on a joint emergency border squad

which would give assistance to countries facing problems with migration at the Schengen borders. The fact that the Executive Director of Frontex[5] is a Finn increased national interest in the issue. The news genre dominated the coverage until 7 June, but after that a diversity of genres and sources appeared. For instance on 7, 8 and 11 June, *HS* published reports from Tenerife by the Barcelona correspondent. Another set of reportage style coverage was published on 23, 29 June and 3 July when a *HS* reporter and photographer were sent to Senegal to cover the issue of migration from the viewpoint of sending countries. In addition to these genres one editorial was published with reference to the events taking place at the Canary Islands.

In the news coverage of African undocumented migrants all the three frames introduced in the literature review section were used. The migrants were presented as victims, illegals, and objects of control. In the following section I will analyse in more detail two news stories and illustrate with examples how the three frames appear in the research material.

The frames are mixed within single news stories. However, victim framing can be interpreted only in few cases where as frames of illegality and control dominate. Victim framing shows rarely for instance in some images which present the migrants as victims of nature (the sea) or stories which mention difficulties encountered by migrants. However, drownings and tragedy are not highlighted in the coverage: only 3 out of 31 headlines focus on deaths and dangers. This means that the victim frame is clearly in a marginal position.[6]

Still, the few cases of headlines focusing on the tragedy from the migrants' point of view should be taken into account. These extracts illustrate the stress on danger. The first one is the only case where an African migrant is given a social existence. Tragedy of death and dangerous sea journey is stressed by mentioning a name and social relation. The second one is an example of a matter of fact style used also in news text elsewhere. Emotionality and empathy is not specifically added but repeating the fact that many die on the way to Europe an opening to victim framing is created. The third headline is

[5]Frontex, he EU agency based in Warsaw, was opened in 2005 to coordinate the operational cooperation between Member States in the field of border security.

[6]In another paper (to be presented at the ICA 2008 conference, Montreal) I compare the news coverage of Swedish daily paper Dagens Nyheter with the Finnish Helsingin Sanomat. DN tends to stress the drowning, deaths and dangers more and raises these issues into headlines frequently (41 per cent of headlines focus on these issues).

not a news item particularly on migrants heading for the Canary Islands but a case elsewhere in the Mediterranean. However as it is published while the Canary Islands case is hot it contributes to the issue culture. In this extract the words "abandoned" and "languished" stress victimhood.

> *The son of Yayi Bayam Diouf and hundereds of other Senegalese have died in dangerous sea journey.*
> *Yayi Bayam Dioufin poika ja sadat muut senegalilaiset ovat kuolleet vaarallisella merimatkalla.* (This is a reportage story made from Africa. *HS* 29 June 2006.)

> *18 migrants found drowned on the shore of Mauritania.*
> *Mauritanian rannikolta löytyi hukkuneina 18 siirtolaista.*
> *HS* 16 March 2006.

> *Abandoned refugees languished over a week at the Mediterranean.*
> *Hyljeksityt pakolaiset viruivat toista viikkoa Välimerellä.*
> *HS* 21 July 2006.

In addition, in this following image the African migrants can be seen as victims of dangerous seas. They are collected into a ship and they are wearing protective clothing provided by authorities. The angle is from above which makes the target suppressed. The clothing gives connotations not only of protection but also unhygiene and disease. They are all wearing similar abnormal clothing which somehow gives an unhumane feeling: the image resembles pictures of oil catastrophes where birds are rescued from the sea or even of aliens. To sum up, the image is highly passivising and distancing the migrants: they do not have names, there are many of them in the same picture, they are objects of patrolling and caring.

Although the image makes a reference to victim framing the headline and the stories connected are strongly supporting the frames of illegality and control. This is a good example of how the news often use a variety of frames interconnectedly. The headline states that ten EU countries are ready to prevent illegal migration at the Canary Islands. EU (and more specifically those ten countries) is put on as an actor capable of solving the problem. The defined problem is illegal migration and resolution is to fight off the incoming migrants. The term used here for prevention (*torjua* in Finnish) carries a militaristic connotation (an enemy *torjutaan*), and therefore the headline strongly

supports illegality and control framing albeit for the possible interpretations of victimhood suggested in the chosen newsagency image.

The main news story written by a Finnish journalist based in home editorial office and an interlinked story by a correspondent from Madrid are lacking victim framing. The main story focuses on the role of Finland, EU and Frontex in decision making and patrolling. The sub-headline "Finland guarantees an aircraft and experts for border patrol" reflects the nationalistic discourse produced in the story. Solution to the problem is presented in technical and bureaucratic terms and Finland is seen as a key player in this area as the following example illustrates.

As expected the ministerial committee of EU affairs decided on Friday to support Finnish participation to border patrol operation at the Canary Islands.

EU-asioiden ministerivaliokunta päätti perjantaina odotetusti puoltaa Suomen osallistumista rajavalvontaoperaatioon Kanariansaarilla.

In this second image the Africans are again in a controlled group. There is a policeman with a gun in the front which implies criminality and authoritative control. This is an example how the illegality frame and control frame are

Kymmenen EU-maata valmiita torjumaan laitonta siirtolaisuutta Kanariansaarilla

Suomi lupasi rajavalvontaan lentokoneen ja asiantuntijoita

Leo Pugin
HELSINGIN SANOMAT

▶ EU-asioiden ministerivaliokunta päätti perjantaina odotetusti puoltaa Suomen osallistumista rajavalvontaoperaatioon Kanariansaarilla. Suomi on valmis lähettämään alueelle kahdeksi viikoksi Dornier-valvontalentokoneen sekä kahdesta neljään asiantuntijaa.

Rajavalvontaoperaatio toteutetaan Espanjan pyynnöstä. Espanja pyysi viikko sitten EU:n uudelta rajavalvontavirastolta Frontexilta kiireellistä apua, koska laittomasti Eurooppaan pyrkivien afrikkalaissiirtolaisten virta Kanariansaarille on lisääntynyt rajusti.

Viime vuonna Kanarialle tuli espanjalaisviranomaisten mukaan 10 000 laitonta maahan-

"Tämä [rajavalvontaoperaatio] ei tule olemaan varsinainen operatiivinen toimi, vaan kyse on lähinnä asiantuntijoiden antamasta teknisestä avusta, kuten laittomien siirtolaisten tunnistamisesta, tietojen vaihdosta osapuolten välillä ja espanjalaisten viranomaisten avustamisesta laittomien siirtolaisten palauttamisessa", Frontexin tiedottaja **Michel Parzyczek** kertoi.

Lisäksi Espanjan viranomaisia autetaan ihmissalakuljettajien jäljittämisessä. Se toteutetaan yhteistyössä Europolin kanssa.

Suomalaiset eivät ole suoraan tekemisissä laittomien tuliljoiden kanssa. Sisäministeriön mukaan näin vältetään oikeudelliset ongelmat.

Sisäministeriö ilmoitti

GIORGIO FELICE RAPETTI / AP

Espanjan kansalliskaartin alus toi perjantaina kalastusveneestä löytyneitä maahanpyrkijöitä Arguinegunin satamaan Kanariansaarille.

ATLANTTI
Ceuta (Espanja)
MAROKKO
Kanariansaaret (Espanja)
Länsi-Sahara
Kap Verde (Portugali)
MAURITANIA
SENEGAL
Genimap

Espanjan va
ollut tehoto

Johanna Kippo

MADRID. Espanjan omat yritykset hillitä laittomien siirtolaisten pyrkimistä Kanarian-

Figura 1: *Headline: 10 EU countries ready to prevent illegal migration at the Canary Islands. Finland guarantees an aircraft and experts for border patrol. Helsingin Sanomat 3 June 2006.*

very often interconnected. The viewer of this image is situated at the same level with the migrants. However, the group is being surveilled through the control agent and the viewer ("us") remains on "this" side (freedom) where as the migrants are on the "other" side (captured). The migrants are wearing individual clothes in this image, but again their names or stories are not told which make them seem as strangers.

Teneriffasta on tullut väliasema Eurooppaan

Rantalomakaupungista on tullut
ikkaan Euroopan ja Afrikan
köyhälistön kohtauspaikka

ohanna Kippo

OS CRISTIANOS, TENERIFFA.
Kun siirtolaiset näkevät me-
ellä toisen aluksen, he suun-
avat äkkiä sen luo", kertoo
anuel Díaz, teneriffalainen
alastaja.
Hänen venekuntansa törmä-
toukokuussa Teneriffan ete-
puolella kolmeen laittomia
iirtolaisia kuljettaneeseen ka-
stusveneeseen. Alukset olivat
aksi kertaa niin suuria kuin
änen omansa. Kyydissä mat-
usti 70–100 ihmistä.
"He olivat vähäpuheisia
utta hyvin kitoltisia siitä, et-
heidät löydettiin. He pyysi-
ät vain vettä. Me kutsuimme
eripelastuksen ja odotimme
eidän kanssaan viranomaisten
apumista", selostaa Díaz Te-
eriffan Los Cristianosin sata-
assa ennen hän kuin lähtee
öksi sardiininpyyntiin.
antalomakaupungista on

sessaan sekä läntisen Afrikan lähtösatamien valvonnassa.
Tärkeintä on saada siirtolaisvirrat hallintaan ja vältää onnettomuudet ja kuolemat merellä", sanoo Espanjan sisäministerin erityisavustaja **Arturo Avelló**. Espanjalaisviestimissä operaatiota on arvosteltu riittämättömäksi ja tilapäiseksi laastarolmiseksi, joka ei puutu ongelman syihin, kuten köyhyyteen.
"Tämä on lyhyen aikavälin ratkaisu. Pitkän tähtäimen ratkaisu vaatii huomattavasti enemmän apua ja varoja Euroopan unionilta ja jäsenmailta", myöntää Avelló. "Siirtolaisuus on koko unionin ongelma. Espanjan ei pidä olla yksin tätä ratkaisemassa", hän sanoo.
Espanja kaipaa unionille yhteistä siirtolaispolitiikkaa. Sen puuttuminen on toisaalta johtanut myös siihen, että useiden maiden vastustuksesta huolimatta Espanja laillisti viime vuonna satoja tuhansia laitto-

Poliisi ja Punainen Risti vastaanottivat Senegalista Teneriffalle Los Cristianosin satamaan saapuneet siirtolaiset. Matka jatkuu vastaanottokeskuksiin Man

Figura 2: *Headline: Tenerife became a transfer station of Europe. Beach resort has become the meeting spot of the rich of Europe and the poor of Africa. Helsingin Sanomat 7 June 2006.*

Framing of the news story supports the division suggested in the image. The headline states that "Tenerife has become a transfer station to Europe" and that "Beach resort has become the meeting spot of the rich of Europe and the poor of Africa". The headlines therefore highlights division between us and them, rich and poor, also suggested in the image. Although the subheading claims that Tenerife would be a "meeting point", the image reveals that there is no meeting taking place, but the opportunity of the rich to survey the detention and incoming of the poor.

This news story uses victim framing within the news text. The story is basically constructed of material gathered in interviews with a Spanish fisherman and an adviser to the Spanish Minister of Interior. In the first paragraph

migrants are presented as victims receiving humanitarian aid from fishermen and authorities. The interviewed fisherman is presented heroically, but with a mundane attitude. Although his work is sometimes interrupted by poor migrant ships needing rescue, he continues with his everyday activities – he is off to catch sardines again. The following paragraph makes the difference between Europe and Africa. In addition, migration is presented as a possible threat to the rest of Schengen countries, Finland included. This makes the migrants seem as potential criminals and problem to the rest of Europe. Therefore, it implies that common action needs to be taken.

"They were reticent but very thankful that they were found. They just asked for water. We called the marine rescue and waited with them until the authorities arrived", explains Díaz at the port of Los Crisianos in Tenerife before he goes out for the night to catch sardines.

During spring the beach resort town has become a meeting place of wealthy Europe and the poor of Africa. However, instead of being the final destination of the hundereds of African migrants Los Cristianos is the first foothold in Europe. Within the EU without internal borders the journey can continue without obstacles to any other memberstate.

"He olivat vähäpuheisia mutta hyvin kiitollisia siitä, että heidät löydettiin. He pyysivät vain vettä. Me kutsuimme meripelastuksen ja odotimme heidän kanssaan viranomaisten saapumista", selostaa Díaz Teneriffan Los Cristianosin satamassa ennen kuin hän lähtee yöksi sardiininpyyntiin.

Rantalomakaupungista on kevään aikana tullut yltäkylläisen Euroopan ja Afrikan köyhälistön kohtauspaikka. Los Cristianos ei kuitenkaan ole satojen afrikkalaissiirtolaisten päätesatama, vaan vasta ensimmäinen jalansija Euroopassa. Sisärajattomassa EU:ssa matka voi jatkua esteittä mihin tahansa jäsenmaahan.

Representations and identifications

My methodological standpoint is in critical discourse analysis which stresses political and social functions of language use. First of all, language both reflects social realities and reproduces them. Secondly, language use (re)produces identites and positions in the society. Thirdly, language use is considered as social action: various "sponsors" inform or argue for and against something.

Therefore, there are power and political issues involved in language use. Particularly the news genre is considered influential (Richardson, 2007).

In Fairclough's (2003: 134-53) discourse analysis, texts can be analyzed as action, representation and identification. In the case of migration news we could analyse the news texts as action: they shape public opinion and policy. The news also construct representations of the world and identification of social agents[7]. This paper focuses on the representations of Africa and Europe and on constructed identities and positions of social agents.

The positions of actors are analyzed through close examination of language: verbs, nouns and noun phrases, adjectives and metaphors. The actors are proportioned with each other on the scales of activity (activated/ passivated and affected) and "positivity"/"negativity" of their actions. With this scaling I am able to compress the positions and define the more subtle and stereotyped roles (villain-victim-hero-helper) appearing in the sequence of news stories. Activity and status of the agents is analyzed examining the level of personification/ impersonification: if the agents are named (names or social relations) or classified ("migrants", Africans).

Nine types of social agents appear in the news coverage: African migrants, Spanish authorities and authorities and locals of the Canary Islands are the most often appearing agents. In addition, traffickers, NGOs and relief organizations, African sending and transit areas, Morocco, Finland and EU receive media attention. In the following table I sum up the positions and discursive characteristics which (re)produce certain identities and roles.

[7]Fairclough uses agent and actor interchangeably.

Tabela 2: Positions and roles of various agents in Helsingin Sanomat

Social Agent	**Position and role**	**Verbs, adjectives, nouns and noun phrases**
Traffickers	- enterprising - criminal - role:villian	- relocate, make money - criminal organizations, networks of smugglers, mafia, threats of homicide
African migrants	- passive objects: of control, criminalization, charity, dangers - silence: voice through official sources of NGO's and authorities - their arrival is the main problem causing the crisis - (reportage: heroes and logical agents supporting their poor families) - role: 1) impersonalized passive problems, 2) victims of traffickers and dangerous sea, 3) heroes (only in reportage from Africa)	- they drift, drown, wait, spend time, arrive illegally - they are a group, a pressure, troops, drought, disorder, suffering, outraged, disappointed, yarning for wealth - (in reportage): - remittances support whole families, deliver money for their families, send grand share of their income to home, work at rubber factory, sell bags, are under pressure; migrants described as: big brother, husband, migrant (without "illegal"), Senegalese residing abroad, interviewed with names
African transit and sending countries, African locals	- poor areas, diseased - incapable of sustaining order - in favour of migration - role: 1) villain (governments, traffickers), 2) heroes (in reportage)	- locals benefit - oppose deportations
Morocco and authorities	- active control agents - brutal means - role: 1) villain (un-humane actions), 2) helper of EU	- increased control and force, suppress migrants - dreaded transportations, violence of security forces

Positions and roles of various agents in Helsingin Sanomat (continuation)

Social Agent	**Position and role**	**Verbs, adjectives, nouns and noun phrases**
Canary Islands: authorities	- claims maker (to Spain and EU) - evaluate and criticise policy and practise - role: 1) victim (of catasthophe), 2) helper of EU	- they ask for help, criticise, explain - Canary Islands: “gate to Europe”, “tourist islands”
NGOs, refugee/relief organizations	- speak on the behalf of migrants - evaluate, but do not make claims or criticise - role: heroes	- they believe, describe, worry, are called out, start to languish
Spain: as a nation, authorities, locals	- practical activity and heroism of local fishermen and sea rescue - authorities make claims (to EU), evaluate, describe - Spain: decision maker, but inefficient - role: 1) victim (of catastrophe), 2) villain (agreement with the devil)	- Spanish authorities find drowned ones, hope for co-operation, send boats and aircraft, ask for emergency help, decide, struggle, are under pressure - Spain benefits from undocumented labour
EU and Frontex	- capable of bringing order - abstract and distant actors - role: heroes	- coordinate, make suggestions
Finland: as a nation, authorities	- capable of bringing order - role: 1) hero, 2) helper of EU and Frontex	- considers assisting, is going to send border guards, ready to prevent, promises, takes initiatives

The majority of news are basic items which do not give reasons for the actions of Africans. The news look at the event from European and/ or Spanish viewpoint and do not present African migrants as actors making rational choices. Rationality and motivation of the actions are presented in the reportage genres, especially in those stories which interview the migrants and possible migrants in Senegal. The image of the African migrants varies from a hero (taking risks to support families) to a victim (of social pressure to support families, of dangerous seas, of trafficers and other problems) and passive object of control (under police, border officials and relief organizations). Moreover, the image of the local Africans becomes more diverse in the reportage genre. For instance, one reportage from Senegal (*HS* 29 June 2006) presents the local women active and capable of taking the initiative. They have established a protest group to oppose the young men's eagerness to take the dangerous trip. When discussing the interconnectedness of various frames earlier in this paper I analysed the headline of this reportage story. In the following image we can see Africans presented in totally different actor roles as compared to the dominating images of migrant groups in custody or in vessels. In this image, the people have social roles, they are actively doing something, they are wearing personal clothing and the woman in front is smiling. Again the headline, the caption and the text refer to people with names and social history: these Africans are not "non-persons" but real people with life histories.

Poikansa menettänyt Yayi Bayam Dioufin (oik.) kampanjoi kotikylässään, jotta nuoret senegalilaismiehet eivät pyrkisi laittomasti Eurooppaan.

Thiaroyen äidit yrittävät estää poikiaan pyrkimästä Eurooppaan

Figura 3: *Headline: Mothers in Thiaroye try to prevent their sons to pursue for Europe. Yayi Bayam Diouf's son and hundereds of other Senegalese have died during the dangerous sea journey. Helsingin Sanomat 29 June 2006.*

Illegality is mentioned in all stories, also in the reportage stories. The migrants are characterized as "illegal migrants" which is the viewpoint of the destination. Senegal and other African countries do not consider emigration unwanted (except some activists) and therefore do not wish to accept the migrants back. Spanish authorities, particularly in their quotations but also the journalistic text itself, characterize the event in terms which stress the "crisis" and "illegal" nature of the event. Organized crime and trafficking of people are mentioned. However, the reportage stories from Senegal try to question the criminality in organization of trips. The interviewees claim that the journeys they know about are organized by local fishermen who are also trying to get to Europe, not by organized criminal leagues.

The following news story summarises and up-dates the event that has been covered over the summer. It is a very short item stating facts and therefore illustrates well the routine repetition of illegality framing. The concept "illegal migrant" is repeated three times in this story which gives a negative and unwanted connotation of the migrants. The arrival of the migrants is presented as a natural catastrophe and therefore the action is passivised. It is the "stream of illegal migrants" that continues – not action based on conscious decision. It is also the "boat" that "came ashore" – not people with intended action. This is a typical example how the African migrants are presented simultaneously as illegal and passive.

> *Stream of illegal migrants to the Canary Islands continues*
> *Two people were found dead in a small wooden vessel which arrived at the Canary Islands on Monday. There were altogether 48 illegal migrants in the boat and many of them were taken into local hospitals. Another boat carrying 30 migrants came ashore Spanish continent in Almeria. So far this year 11 000 illegal migrants have arrived at the Canary Islands.*
>
> *Laittomien siirtolaisten virta Kanariansaarille jatkuu*
> *Kaksi ihmistä lö ydettiin kuolleena pieneltä puuveneeltä, joka saapui Kanariansaarille maanantaina. Veneessä oli yhteensä 48 laitonta siirtolaista, joista monet vietiin paikallisiin sairaaloihin.*
> *Toinen, 30:tä siirtolaista kuljettanut vene rantautui maanantaina Espanjan mantereelle Almerian maakuntaan.*
> *Kanariansaarille on tähän mennessä saapunut jo 11000 laitonta siirtolaista tänä vuonna.* (*HS* 25 July 2006.)

Difficulties in reception and return are presented as Spanish problems and they do not get much attention in the coverage. On the one hand the authorities of Canary Islands are reported to make claims to both Spanish government and the EU for funds and assistance in dealing with the migrants. Spain on the other hand makes claims to the EU. However, the Finnish media does not get involved with the claims making to the extent that is typical in national coverage of incoming migrants. Previous studies on the coverage of illegally defined migrants in Finland show that the public discussion is strongly harnessed into the claims making of authorities (Horsti, 2003: 49; Nordberg, 2004).

In this case the media stresses much more the patrolling, controlling and stopping of the migrants. These actions are presented as a joint European effort. As an example, out of 31 headlines eight headlines focus on European collaboration and five headlines on Finnish assistance in patrol.[8] In this sense the coverage is Europeanized: the EU border and controlling of it is an EU matter and requires co-operation between the countries. Reception and return on the contrary are still more of Spanish responsibility. The following paragraph illustrates how the EU is positioned as an active agent and a decision maker with technical expertise.

> *The European union is going to construct an extensive control network at the Mediterranean and in the area of the Canary Islands to cut off the migration stream. Operation at the waters of the Canaries and Malta has largely been agreed upon. In November a joint project headed by Greece is launched to intensify surveillance of East Mediterranean. In addition, satellite system in the area is improved with EU support.*
>
> *Euroopan unioni aikoo rakentaa Välimerelle ja Kanarian saarten alueelle kattavan valvontaverkoston laittoman siirtolaisvirran tyrehdyttämiseksi. Operaatioista Kanarian ja Maltan vesillä on pitkälti jo sovittu. Marraskuussa avataan Kreikan johdolla uusi yhteishanke itäisen Välimeren valvonnan tehostamiseksi. Lisäksi alueen satelliittijärjestelmiä parannetaan EU:n tuella. (HS 11 June 2006.)*

In the following illustration I have situated the various agents within two dimensions: positive actions vs. negative actions and active subjects vs. passive objects.

Positions and normative qualities of various agents

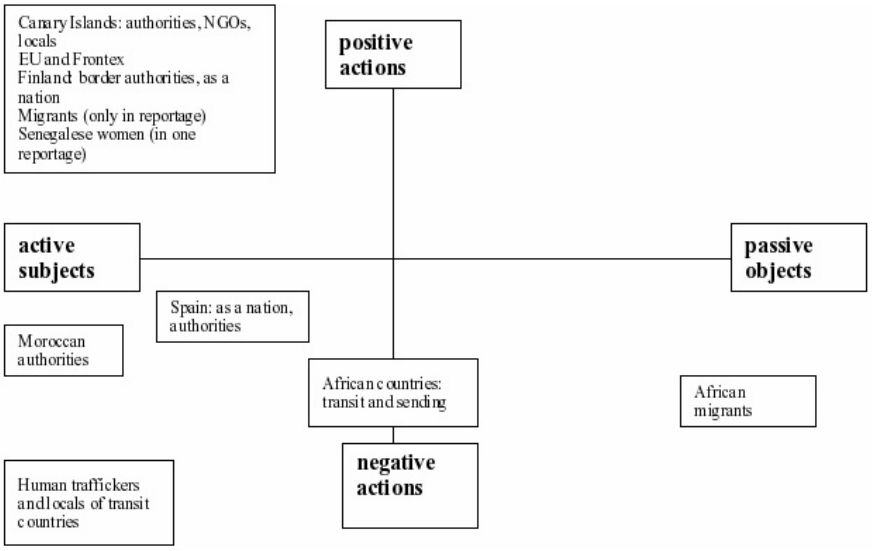
We could almost draw a horizontal line across the scheme: Europe would be above the line and Africa under it – the heroes above and the villains under. This is the main image we get from the routine news, but it would undermine the diversity of newspaper journalism. Reportage stories made in Africa change the setting by presenting (some) Africans in a more active and positive manner. In addition, the divisions constructed within Europe change the setting: not all actions within Europe are considered positive.

[8] The remaining 18 headlines focus on deaths, drownings and dangers (3), unusual numbers and re-direction of migration route (8), other single issues (7).

The heroes of the story are authorities, NGOs and locals at Canary Islands, the EU and Frontex, and Finland. However, African migrants are presented as heroes and the local Senegalese women as decision-makers in the reportage stories from Senegal. The most negative actors, the villains of the story are human traffickers and locals of transit countries who are claimed to organize the trips. African migrants themselves are presented in negative terms, but their role remains too passive and impersonal to produce the role of a villain. The activity of the migrants (the fact that they have left and arrived) is managed through physical objects –the ships –which are considered as subjects. See the following extracts where the ships are represented as active agents:

[...] migrant ships have directed [...] siirtolaisalukset ovat suunnanneet (13.3.2006)
[...] so that the ships would not leave from its shores [...] jotta alukset eivät lähtisi sen rannoilta (13.3.2006)
[...] bow determinedly towards the Canaries [...] kokka määrätietoisesti kohti Kanariaa (8.6.2006)

In addition, the first reports which are crucial in the definition of the problem in the first place, rationalise the actions of African migrants in very technical terms with details of routes. The problem is defined as "arrival of



migrants in Canary Islands" and the reasons for this are "tightened control in Morocco-Europe border".

African countries are on the one hand active: they support migration and refuse to take back the deported. On the other hand, however, they are presented as passive since the transit countries cannot control mobility. However, all this is considered negatively. It should be recognized here as well that the reportage stories from *HS* reporters both in Tenerife (where she interviewed migrant children) and from Senegal produce a more diverse image of the sending countries. The local circumstances are explained which makes the migrants seem rational actors. However, in these stories Africa is also presented with problems (poverty, illnesses, and unemployment).

Spain and Morocco are both discussed controversially. On the one hand Moroccan authorities are efficient: they have "strengthened" control at the European border. On the other hand the actions are considered too brutal and the Moroccans are criminalized: the transits to the desert are described "dreaded" and the security troops "violent". Spain is presented active (it "deports", "sends ships") but not active enough ("slim results", "control ineffective"). The actions are positive (they are doing something about the problem), but at the same time they have caused the problem by attracting the migrants with amnesty and black labour market.

In the news coverage the event is presented from the viewpoint of Spain and Europe. The public is invited to participate in this group. In this setting, the Canary Islands and Spain are presented as being under pressure, they are claiming help from the EU. However, doubts that the problem would be partly caused by Spain itself (by the "naturalization" of migrants[9]) gives a conflicting image of Spain. On the one hand Spain is a victim; on the other hand it is the one to blame. For instance these paragraphs illustrate how the news evoke guestions and criticism towards Spain (while simultaneusly glorifying Finnish action).

> *The attempts by Spain itself to calm down the entrance of migrants to the Canary Islands has produced slim results.*
> *Espanjan omat yritykset hillitä laittomien siirtolaisten pyrkimistä Kanariansaarille ovat tuottaneet vain laihoja tuloksia.*

[9]Spain declared an amnesty in May 2005 for about 700,000 un-documented immigrants. Un-documented workers and their employers could apply for residency and work permits during a three month period. The Guardian 9 May 2005.

> [...]
> *It turned out that the agreements [between Spanish diplomats and Wester African nations] were unsteady when an enormous sensation on deportations flamed out in Senegal and a new controversy appeared between Senegal and Spain.*
> *Sopimusten huteruus kävi kuitenkin ilmi, kun palautuksista roihahti valtaisa kohu Senegalissa ja uusi kiista Senegalin ja Espanjan välillä.* (*HS* 3 June 2006.)

The news construct an image that the border between Africa and Europe is being insidiously violated. The EU is presented as capable of solving this situation, and interestingly Finland is raised as a hero and helper (of EU). Domestication of the news event through the up-coming EU presidency of Finland, the possible participation of Finland in patrolling group and Finnish nationality of the director of Frontex increases the role of Finland. EU remains significantly abstract as an agent and a source. The claims are not directly posed at EU actors and there are no direct quotations (except for Frontex, because of the Finnish director). This is a feature which is typical in all coverage related to EU and the problem of "facelessness" is acknowledged in the White Paper on a European communication policy (2006). The lack of EU sources and proper public debate enforces the distant image of the EU and declines the quality of journalism in issues related to migration. However, the lack of "human face" and public debate does not prevent the media applying the hero role to the EU.

Finland is positioned in opposition to other "not as efficient" EU countries. This following example shows how in the beginning the problem of "some countries with large migration streams" (referring to Italy and Spain) is presented to result from lack of efficiency. In the following paragraph Finland is presented as the authority to solve the problem.

> *It has turned out that some countries with large migration streams the finger prints are not taken although the countries are involved with the Eurodac-system. [...] During its presidency Finland is going to raise this defect. The Ministry of Interior is preparing an initiative to deepen the European burden sharing in matters of migration, border control and refugee.*
> *On kuitenkin käynyt ilmi, että eräissä suurten muuttovirtojen maissa sormenjälkiä ei otetakaan, vaikka maat ovat mukana Eurodac-järjestelmässä. [...] Suomi aikoo puheenjohtajakaudellaan nostaa epäkohdan pöydälle.*

Sisäministeriössä valmistellaan aloitetta eurooppalaisen yhteisvastuun syventämisestä maahanmuutto-, rajavalvonta-ja pakolaisasioissa. (*HS* 14 June 2006.)

If we sum up the representations of various actors of the two continents we can find mental/ imagined border between the two geographic spaces of Europe and Africa. Division is made between "poor Africa" and "rich Europe". This is stressed in the visual images of boatfuls of weary looking men who are taken into custody by officials wearing protection against diseases. In the visual images Africa is determined dirty and diseased, and since Europe is imagined as the opposite, it is loaded with good qualities. However, Europe is not understood as one entity, but distinctions are made between the North and South of Europe.

The following table sums up the imagined geographic and cultural spaces that are being constructed in the texts:

Imagined borders

Africa	**Europe**	
poverty	prosperity	
dispair	hope	
disease	hygiene	
	South Europe	**North Europe** (Finland)
	creating pull (amnesty)	consistent policy
	lax implementation of policy	order
	deficiency in border control	technical and operational knowledge
	socially accepted black market for labour	strict social control

Conclusions

Previous empirical research on the media representation of asylum seekers and undocumented migrants stresses the frames of illegality: migrants are presented as intruders and as a threat. However, a closer textual analysis shows the diversity of news journalism. Illegality and control frames are no doubt the most recurrent ones, but the migrants are also framed as victims and as heroes – particularly in reportages made in Africa. Therefore, the positions of the African migrant vary from the standpoint the journalists take. When the event is covered from the viewpoint of the Spanish (numbers, control and reception problems highlighted), the migrants are passivised. Illegal migrants are presented as Europe's common folk devils: an anomaly which unites the "normal" of us, constructing collective solidarity among White Europeans. However, when the journalist travels to Africa and writes the story from that viewpoint, it is different. Migrants are personalized, they have names and

social status (they are someone's sons, husbands and brothers) where as in the routine news coverage they are represented impersonally as "non-persons". Still, the image of Africa is "poor and despair" where as Europe is presented as the opposite.

The argument of contradictory roles also applies to some other actors appearing in the news. Moroccans are effective on the one hand and brutal on the other hand. EU, Finland and the traffickers are the only actors which have consistent positions. Europe is presented as holding the position to solve the problem and determine the future course of events. Finland is granted an important assisting position in the EU. Spanish position is divided between a struggler and a guilty one.

The case illustrates that European identity is a complex issue. Europe is presented as a unity when it comes to the opposition between the "chaotic and diseased Africa" and "Europe needing protection". In this context EU is expressed as an agent in principle capable of dealing with the "problem of Africa". Individual countries, especially the Southern European countries are presented as having almost no powers to deal with the issue. From the Finnish perspective, the EU is presented effective especially because such well organized states as Finland are involved. The news constructs mental geography where the outer frontier of the Finns is drawn along the shores of Canary Islands. However, Europe is not presented as a unity with shared cultural identity when it comes to the effectiveness and organization of the Union. The case illustrates that the European identity is both stressed and questioned through the media depending on the setting and viewpoint.

Furthermore, the case demonstrates that European and national frameworks are not necessarily exclusionary but complimentary. Finland is taking the EU Presidency and this increases the news value of European related news items per se. The rotating Presidency seems crucial to the development of European public sphere. The migration crisis becomes "domesticated" and therefore its news value is raised. Nationalization of a "European" or "foreign" news event increases the frequency and intensity of coverage and therefore enhances the European framework. By increasing the relevance on the agenda through national framework the media also increases the access of other frameworks into the agenda, for instance more humanistic frameworks become relevant. In previous research (Horsti, 2005: 288-9) I have claimed that human rights frames get access to the news agenda in other genres than the basic news genre.

Documentaries, reportage, talk shows, personal interviews and columns have more means to address the voice of an "ordinary" person than the news genre which is more oriented towards official and organized sources in all types of coverage, not only in immigration coverage. When the issue is on the agenda, the media tends to deal with it in variety of genres and viewpoints.

In the introduction I posed a question: Could there be a European level mediatized public crisis that could offer opportunities for social change? Based on the material analyzed in this paper I would suggest that the main obstacles for mediatized public crisis to develop around issue of "illegal" migration are firstly related to meta-discourses of colonialization and racism which still are re-produced through stereotyped images of Africa and secondly to communicative practices of the EU and individual countries. Journalistic production clearly needs to be scrutinized more thoroughly, but it seems that the "facelessness" of the EU and the structural difficulty to reach migrant sources prevents the development of public discussion.

Evidently news coverage of migration is increasingly dealt as a European issue. "Illegal" migration is routine news and at times the issue rises to the level of European mediatized ritual: it is discussed in all European countries simultaneously and visibly. However, the ritual is rather stabilizing the existing power relations and creating the border of Europe than offering possibilities to question policy and creating social change towards a more open and humane policy.

There lies a dilemma under all coverage of poverty and experience of the South, which is radically different from the experience of the well-off in the North. Poverty is transferred and transmitted "here" in Europe from "there" in Africa. Confrontation to African circumstances, like to the recklessness of the young African men to take the dangerous and costly sea journey, is disturbing.

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Framing the War on Terrorism? Linguistics Variation, Perspective and Iraq

Viktoria Jovanovic-Krstic
University of Toronto
E-mail: viktoria.jovanovic.krstic@utoronto.ca

On October 7, 2002, President George Bush delivered his Address to the Nation on Iraq stating quite firmly:

> America believes that all people are entitled to hope and human rights – to the non-negotiable demands of human dignity. People everywhere prefer freedom to slavery; prosperity to squalor, self-government to the rule of terror and torture. America is a friend to the people of Iraq. (October 7 2002 whitehouse.gov).

Shortly after President Bush's Address, the "war on terror" was expanded to include Iraq. In the press, perspective is everything, and nowhere has this been more apparent in recent history than in the much publicized war on terrorism. Ideally, the fundamental function of press journalism is to inform the reader; therefore, a journalist's interpersonal positioning must enable or facilitate negotiation not only with readers but also with the institutions directly implicated by the stories being produced (Martin and White 2005). Spinning and framing is therefore at once both linguistic manipulation and variation, as well as strategic packaging, including but not limited to, the physical placement of the story and the exposure of key terms and ideas, such as 'war on terrorism.' When journalists frame news stories, they express and strategically manipulate rhetoric, sources, positioning, tone, and headlines with the purpose of representing and presenting a particular perspective on 'reality;' it is the classic case of *same news, different views*.

This paper will demonstrate that the press frames and varies the perspective of news stories in order to achieve a particular ideological goal. The focus is a comparative account of the third year anniversary of the American-led invasion of Iraq, examining Guy Gugliotta's (March 19 2006) assessment of America's military effort in the war on terror in Iraq (washingtonpost.com)

and a similar article written by Nedra Pickler (March 20 2006, boston.com article). Using Appraisal Theory's systems of Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation the focus will be on how writers use rhetoric to pass judgment, appreciate situations, and express attitude and emotion towards the events in question. Since attribution of external sources effects the framing of information in news stories, the paper will also compare aspects of intertextual positioning within the two texts.

Framing: a rhetoric

According to J. Herbert Alstschull (1984), information in the press is a direct result of the ideology of the times. The news is framed to present the content of the day (Borchers 2005). Hence, framing is a product not only of the institution of the press, but also of those who finance the press and those who control politics (Hicks 2006). Frames resemble topics or central themes, in that they organize the news story to make it accessible and interesting to the reader. Frames are also metaphorical in nature; they present the something-is-like-something else relationship to readers and this helps readers make connections, often between things they would never consider connecting on their own. From a placement perspective, frames are usually grouped together in a logical manner; hence, combatitive, consensus and conjecture frames are the typical frames found in war reporting. Metaphorically, these three typical frames tend to reflect the America-as-Hero, the State-as-Person System, and particularly in the current war on terrorism, the Fairy-Tale of the Just War (Lakoff, 1991, 2003). Taking each of these typical frames In turn, combative frames are usually centered around very specific themes or topics. Since the beginning of the war on terror, the combative frames characterizing many newspaper articles have revolved around playing out a number of very popular metaphorical scenarios, specifically War-as-Violent-Crime, where there are clear winners and losers. According to Lakoff, (1991: 4) this metaphor "highlights strategic thinking, team work, preparedness, the spectators in the world arena, the glory of winning and the shame of defeat". Another common metaphorical frame is that of the Irrational Villain. In the current war on terror, Saddam Hussein was presented as above all cunning, strategic and evil. Hence, it was clear from the beginning that as well as being amoral, vi-

cious, and a villain, he was also irrational – the key ingredient to convince a reading public that war alone would improve the situation in present day Iraq and rid the world of weapons of mass destruction. Finally, in order for the metaphorical frame of the Fairy Tale of the Just War to be believable, it must contain a hero who survives a treacherous terrain and an evil monster whom the hero must engage in battle and conquer. Victory can only be achieved in the Fairy-Tale of the Just War when the villain is defeated and the victim or victims are rescued (Lakoff 1991: 2).

Appraisal Theory and the rhetoric of framing

As a method of analyzing discourse, Appraisal Theory (AT) concerns itself with how writers express and negotiate ideological positions. The-se beliefs usually take the position of binary opposites: good or bad, appropriate or inappropriate behaviour, and they tend to illustrate what should or should not happen in the world, thereby setting one society or culture apart from another. Appraisal Theory is a functional theory which views language from a social perspective as a theory of choice. Hence, it stems from the notion that writers make choices and that these choices are subjective not objective. Thus, writers choose to present the news in one way as opposed to another; they choose to represent information strategically by avoiding certain issues and concentrating on others.

Like many theories, AT is ideologically laden, but it chooses to examine ideology lexicogrammatically by defining and describing how writers use language to examine, negotiate and maintain their ideology. Appraisal Theory examines negotiation in action based on three very specific systems: the system of Attitude, the system of Engagement and the system of Graduation.

Attitude – the system of Evaluation: Affect, Judgment, Appreciation

As a method of analyzing discourse, AT concerns itself with how writers express and negotiate ideological positions in discourse. Attitude is the system which examines the rhetoric of evaluation, attitude, and emotion based on the sub-systems of Affect, Judgment and Appreciation.

Attitude: Affect

Affect is concerned with how writers construe emotion. In the press, emotion can be represented either Authorially, using the first person, or Non-Authorially, where the writer is the source of the emotion by which evaluation is conveyed or where what is being described is not the writer's emotions but those of other people or groups (Iedema et al. 1994). Writers who construe emotion in their articles put solidarity between themselves and the readers at risk, since solidarity can only be maintained if the reader agrees with the writer's position and the evaluation of the phenomena in question (Iedema et al., 1994).

Attitude: Judgment

The subsystem Judgment is concerned with how writers evaluate people based on socially accepted norms. Appraisal Theory recognizes two mutually exclusive perspectives: Social Esteem and Social Sanction.

Social Esteem is based on evaluations in which the person or group being judged is raised or lowered in the esteem of his, her or their community; social esteem has no legal or moral implications. It is concerned with evaluations of Normality, Capacity, and Tenacity (White 2006) measured on a cline of positive and negative.

Social Sanction is based on evaluations in which the person or group is being judged on the basis of legality or morality. Social Sanction is concerned with evaluations of Veracity (truth) and Propriety (ethics). Like Social Esteem, Social Sanction is measured on a cline of positive and negative.

Writers may indicate Judgment in one of two ways: explicitly or implicitly. Explicit Judgment is clearly indicated with a lexical marker which shows a positive or negative evaluation, for example: "What a *monster*!" Implicit Judgment may be less clear-cut. The system of Attitude: Judgment recognizes two types of implicit judgment: Evoked Judgment and Provoked Judgment.

Evoked: Judgment has no evaluative language present in the proposition; nevertheless, although it appears factual, the information which is presented still manages to imply either positive or negative evaluation because it stands out from what can be considered normal/abnormal or good/bad behaviour, for example: "Bush marks Iraq date, omits using 'war' word" (Judgment: evoked:

negative: veracity – target Bush) (Pickler, headline, Associated Press, Boston Globe, boston.com March 20, 2006) and "For some, the temptation to retreat and abandon our commitments is strong," (Gugliotta, quoting Bush, clause 4, Washington Post, March 19, 2006). (Judgment: evoked: negative: social esteem: tenacity: resolve. Target: those who wish to abandon the efforts of the government).

Provoked: Judgment also has no explicit markers of Judgment, but evaluative language is being used to direct the reader towards either a positive or negative evaluation of some person or group of people, for example "Turning our backs on postwar Iraq today would be the modern equivalent of handing postwar Germany back to the Nazis" (Pickler quoting Rumsfeld, March 20, 2006).

Attitude: Appreciation

Appreciation is concerned with how writers evaluate products and processes based on the subsystems of Reaction, Composition, and Valuation. Hence, under Reaction a product or process is examined from the perspective of its impact (either positive or negative) on the writer; under Composition the makeup of a product or process is evaluated either positively or negatively; finally, under Valuation the evaluation is concerned with the content of the product or process according to popular social convention.

Engagement – the discourse of framing: sourcing and intertextual dialogism

Engagement is the system whereby writers regulate and negotiate the arguability of their utterances, and it is concerned with the resources that writers use to include and adopt a position towards what they typify as the viewpoints, opinions, and words of other writers and/or speakers (Iedema et al., 1994; White 1998, 2007a, 2007b). This notion of objectivity is construed through the use of quoted material and through the belief that, for the most part, journalists have been "taught" to view the world in an objective fashion and to present their findings accordingly. Nevertheless, a study by the *Project for Excellence in Journalism* (PEJ) 2006 have found that the typical narrative frame of the

inverted pyramid (the straight news account of a story) accounted for only 16% of front page stories. The remaining stories all revolved around frames which required some level of interpretation from the journalist: a subjective perspective. In short, according to the PEJ journalists are taking a decidedly interpretative role in their presentation of the news. By framing the news around stories of conflict, injustice, irony, winners and losers, journalists are framing an ideological perspective – one which inadvertently dominates how a story may be interpreted and accepted by the reading public. Hence, as White (1998) notes, "even the most ostensibly 'factual' report will be the product of numerous value judgments" (White 1994:3). These judgments determine what goes into the article and what stays out, and which sources are quoted directly and those which are presented as reported projections of information that has already been interpreted and, at the very least, analyzed. This next section examines how the system of Engagement: Attribution and Sourcing can be used to analyze framing effectively in text.

Engagement: Attribution and Sourcing

Under the framework for the system of Engagement, a number of options enable a writer to vary the terms by which he or she engages with attributed sources and alternate positions in the news article (White 2007a, 2007b; Iedema et al., 1994). Hence, writers frame how they present a proposition through the sources which they choose to include (or avoid) and through the grammatical resources of the language that allow them to choose how they will represent a proposition to readers. When writers opt to explicitly cite personal names, or to identify groups and/or people as source types, they construct a relationship of trust with the reader based on the belief that they are attempting to provide reliable and truthful information. The opposite is said to be true when generic, unnamed, or collective sources are used; then, writers actively choose to distance themselves from the issue, and therefore risk presenting information which is too general or untrue – information that they choose not to take responsibility for. Hence, by examining not only who is taking responsibility for the utterance, but also how much responsibility is being attributed, as well as whether the writer is purposefully distancing him or herself from the utterance by using disendorsed attribution. Issues such as these are interesting from a rhetorical perspective because they recognize that the utterance invariably af-

fects the rhetorical thrust of the text and solidarity between the reader and the writer.

Endorsement and Disendorsement issues of relevance

This presentation of data must be further evaluated as being either neutral, endorsed, or disendorsed, and then as either closed or open to further dialogic positions according to the implications each choice carries. Neutral utterances are typically set off by the verb 'to say.' Neutrality implies that the writer neither believes nor questions the truth validity of the proposition(s), but rather is just presenting the information. Endorsed utterances are those which the author indicates support for or agreement with the proposition either directly or indirectly. Endorsed utterances are therefore represented as being reliable or true and in the very least, convincing and believable, for example: "He also pointed out that Iraqi political leaders themselves called for calm after the Samarra attack" (Hauser, clause 24 NYT, March 19, 2006). White (2007b) also points out that writers may, at once, indicate that they support or endorse a proposition at the same time as they distance themselves: *the President finally acknowledged that he had made a mistake*[1]. Here the lexical item *acknowledge* carries with it many connotations. First, *acknowledge* indicates that the President only hesitantly came to offer up the proposition *that he had made a mistake*. Indeed, (*finally*) *acknowledged* carries with the same implications as conceded or admit in that the President was somehow made to admit the truth, *that he had made a mistake*. Therefore, although the proposition may be true, the positive endorsement is not of the quoted source but of the proposition itself (White 2007b). Disendorsement allows writers to distance themselves from an utterance through quoting verbs such as "to claim" and "to allege." Specific lexical items such as 'surprisingly," for example, also serve to indicate disendorsement in a somewhat more indirect manner because the proposition is set up to be read as unexpected, unusual or uncharacteristic. White (2006) also recognizes that disendorsement allows writers to deny or reject the attributed proposition.

The system of Engagement allows a writer to make a choice with respect to endorsement: if he or she choose non-endorsing, he or she agrees to

[1] Based on a hypothetical example

be neutral, but, if the choice is one of endorsement, the writer must choose between the options of endorsement or disendorsement, and ultimately, this puts a strain on reade-writer solidarity by framing the proposition and the text as a whole towards a particular point-of-view.

The function of intertextual dialogism in framing

Writers negotiate the arguability of their utterances in a text by presenting the proposition as either extra-vocalized information (information which has been attributed to another) or as bare assertion (information which has not been attributed and which must therefore belong to the writer).

When a writer chooses to use another to represent information (i.e. a quoted source), he or she must represent that information as either truthful and valid or as problematic. The differences between using *said* versus *show* versus *claim* therefore become more than just a choice of verb; they affect dialogic positioning. Thus, for example, the verb word *show* presupposes the truth validity of the proposition in question while *claim* does the opposite (White 1994, 2006). The implications affect whether the proposition is being represented as dialogistically expansive or contractive – as whether they are open or closed to further interpretation and to alternative dialogic positions.

White (2006) and Miller (2004) suggest that there are a number of factors which determine the dialogistic positioning of extra-vocalised information including, but not limited to, the degree of authority indicated by the source and the degree to which the writer endorses (or disendorses) the attributed material. Thus, once a proposition has been observed as Attributed (either acknowledged or distance), it may be further divided into a proposition which is represented as dialogically expansive (open) or dialogically contractive (closed). The categories of dialogically contractive propositions are Proclaim: Pronounce, Concur, Endorse and Disclaim: Deny, Counter, while those of the dialogically expansive or open type are Entertain: Evidence, Likelihood, Hearsay, and Attribute: Acknowledge and Distance. Neutrality is maintained through the use of the attributed reporting words *said* or *told*.

Graduation – Using rhetoric to focus and force information

The system of Graduation is concerned with locating values in language that scale other meanings (Attitude or Engagement) either by "locating them on a scale of high to low intensity or from core to marginal membership of a category" (White 1998:25) across the Appraisal system. Graduation is concerned with a wide array of lexical and some grammatical resources, with the most prominent being adverbs, nouns and verbs. These lexical and grammatical resources are then scaled along two parameters: Focus and Force. Each will be discussed below.

Scaling: Focus and Force

The virtues of Focus scale other meanings in terms of the softness or sharpness of the relationship represented by the item (White 2007a:31). At the soft end, values are exemplified by hedges or vague language indicating incompleteness: "sort of," "all this stuff," "kind of nerve-wracking," etc. (Eggins and Slade 1997:137, White 2007a:31). At the sharp end of the Focus scales, values of Graduation are represented by core terms which are sharply focused: "true friend," "pure evil," "hooded thugs" etc. (White 2007a:31). Under Focus, scaling operates in contexts that are not gradable in any concrete way. Instead, it is concerned more with a sense that some values in the semantic Focus have been either softened or sharpened through the process of broadening or narrowing.

By raising or lowering the intensity of the semantic categories, the values of Force contrast with those of Focus. Under Force, grading operates with little problem since it is specifically concerned with values which express different degrees of some core meaning (White 2007a). Typically, values of force are realized by adverbials, adjectives, verbs or modals. Force is therefore either implicit (*adore* versus *love* versus *like*) or explicit (*slightly, somewhat, really*) (White 2007a:32). Implicit values of Force operate across Appraisal categories and are not confined to the system of Graduation. Explicit values of Force, on the other hand, can and do operate within the system of Graduation and are divided into Graders and Amplifiers.

Issues in intensity – grading versus amplification

White (1998, 2007a) divides scales of Force into two broader categories: Graders and Amplifiers. Graders are lexical items such as adverbs and adjectives which specify degrees of intensity from high to low, e.g. *completely* satisfied, *very* satisfied, *slight* fall, *severe* fall, etc. (White 1998:26-27). Graders are also realized through items of Measure, resources for grading extent or number. Measure is realized both interpersonally and experientially. Interpersonally, Measure is the application of intensity to some mode of counting where the writer's subjectivity is at stake. Experientially, counting is typically realized as a numerative with the noun group thereby having an objective status to some external reality. Thus, the experiential "fourteen protesters screaming" is interpersonalised as "lots of protesters screaming" (White 1998; White 2007a). The broad category of Amplifier is different from those of Grader primarily in that Amplifiers specify solely for maximum degrees of intensity. Amplifiers may be subcategorized along two separate axes: isolating versus fused and experientialised versus interpersonalised.

Isolating Amplifiers are typically realized in one of two ways: colour (*bloody awful day*) and repetition (*he laughed and laughed and laughed*) (White 1998; 2007a). Isolating Amplifiers are typically realized by individual lexical items with the sole purpose of raising or lowering intensity. fused Amplifiers are such since they do two things at once: they specify some degree of intensity at the same time as they code a separate semantic value (White 1998:27). There are five major categories of fused Amplifiers: Metaphor (prices *skyrocketed*), Quality (the car *veered off the road*); Evaluatory (*desperate* bid); Universalise (*the talks went on endlessly*); and Measure Plus (*minuscule, huge, gargantuan*) (White 1998, 2007a). fused Amplifiers are then further subdivided into those which are interpersonalised or those which are experientialised. Accordingly, fused Amplifiers of Metaphor and Quality belong to the experientialise subcategory since both Metaphor and Quality amplifiers exhibit material processes (White 1998:29). The remaining three: Evaluatory (intensity entailed by appraisal value), Universalise (intensity entailed by measure or usuality) and Measure Plus (intensity fused with measure) are all examples of the subcategory of interpersonalise fused amplifiers.

Description of methodology and outline of results

Two days were spent searching for appropriate texts for analysis. The two chosen were based on the following criteria: word count, topic, hard news format, date of publication relevant to topic (No earlier than March 19, no later than March 20) and country of printing (American vs Canadian, vs International paper). The texts under consideration appear in the body of this paper. Each has been divided into numbered clauses. Each of the texts was analysed using AT systems of Attitude, Engagement and Graduation. The analysis was done on a clause-by-clause basis. First, the texts were divided into clause complexes, then each clause was individually analysed for delicacy. The findings have been tabulated below in the form following Miller (2004). After an examination of each text from the position of AT, a comparative on the topic of framing is presented; however, as space limits preclude the possibility of an in-depth analysis of all clauses, global results have been provided in sections 5.0.1 and 5.0.2 below.

Global results for text one "Bush marks Iraq date, omits using 'war' word,"

by Nedra Pickler, Associated Press, published in the Boston Globe and boston.com March 20, 2006, with the description based on Miller (2004):

Total number of clause complexes: 24
Appraisal: Attitude
Total number of instances in the clause complexes showing instances of the system:
Total number of instances of Attitude: Judgment = 16 (see:1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 22, 23)
Appreciation = 12 (see: 2, 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 24)
Affect = 0
From the perspective of delicacy and subsystem Judgment
Inscribed: Judgment = 0
Implicit: Judgment = 16
Social Esteem = 9
Social Sanction = 7

Total number of cases of implicit Judgment either provoked or evoked:
Total number of instances of: Provoked: Social Sanction = 4
Evoked: Social Sanction = 3
Total number of instances of Provoked: Social Esteem = 8
Examples of positive provoked: Social Esteem = 6
Examples of negative provoked: Social Esteem = 2
Examples of evoked social Esteem = 1
From the perspective of delicacy and subsystem Appreciation
Total number of instances in the clause complexes showing attitude: appreciation: 12
Specifically: Reaction: 5 (see: 2, 4, 19, 20, 21)
Composition: 7 (see: 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 24)
Valuation: 0

From the perspective of delicacy and the subsystem Affect: 0
Total number showing authorial affect = 0
Total number showing non-authorial affect = 0

Appraisal: Engagement: Attribution and Dialogical Positioning
Total number of instances in the clause complexes showing attribution: 10

Specifically:
Endorsed: 2 (see 11, 13)
Neutral: 7 (see: 4,6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 18,)
Disendorsed 1 (see 8)

Total number of instances in the clause complexes showing extra-vocalisation/dialogism
Specifically:
Contraction: 4 (see:4, 7, 11, 13)
Expansion: 8 (see: 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 18)
Specifically:
Contraction: Proclaim: Pronounce = 1 (see 4)
Contraction: Proclaim: Concur = 0
Contraction: Proclaim: Endorse = 1 (see 13)
Contraction: Disclaim: Counter = 1 (see 11)
Contraction: Disclaim: Deny = 1 (see 7)

From the perspective of Expansion, specifically = 8
Expansion: Entertain: Evidence = 0
Expansion: Entertain:
Likelihood = 0
Expansion: Entertain: Hearsay = 1 (see 6)
Expansion: Attribute: Acknowledge= 6 (see 4, 6, 9, 10, 12, 18)
Expansion: Attribute: Distance = 1 (see 8)

Number of Clauses showing Bare Assertions: 14 (see: 1, 2, 3, 5, 14, 15,16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24)

Appraisal: Graduation

Total number of instances in the clause complexes showing the system of graduation: 24

Total instances of Force: 20 (see:2, 4, 7,8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23)
Total instances of Focus: 4 (see: 7, 13, 20, 24)

Delicate Breakdown of Force in clause complexes:
Specifically: Solitary examples of Force = 3
Force: Graders = 2 (see 7, 13)
Force: Repeat = 1 (see 22)
Force: Colour = 0

Specifically: Fused examples of Force in Clause complexes: 17
Fused: experientialise: Measure = 12 (see: 8,14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23)
Fused: experientialise: Metaphor = 2 (see: 2, 12)
Fused: experientialise: Quality = 1 (see: 10)

Fused: interpersonalise: Measure-Plus = 0
Fused: interpersonalise: Evaluatory = 2 (see: 4, 11)
Fused: interpersonalise: Universalise = 0

Delicate breakdown of Focus: 0
Instances of focus: soften : 0
Instances of Focus: sharpen: 0

Global results for text two: "As Iraq War Heads Into 4th Year, Bush Pledges 'Complete Victory,"' by Guy Gugliotta, Washington Post, and washingtonpost.com March 19, 2006, with the description based on Miller (2004):

Total number of clause complexes: 18

Appraisal: Attitude

Total number of instances in the clause complexes showing instances of the system: 12
Total number of instances of Attitude: Judgment = 7 (see: 4. 6, 8, 11, 16, 17);
Appreciation = 9 (see: 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18)
Affect = 0
From the perspective of delicacy and subsystem Judgment
Inscribed: Judgment = 2 (see: 17)
Implicit: Judgment = 5 (see: 4, 6, 8, 11, 16)
Social Esteem = 6 (see: 4, 6, 8, 11, 16)
Social Sanction = 1 (see: 17)

Total number of cases of Inscribed: Judgment
Social Esteem = 0
Social Sanction= 1 (see: 17)
Total number of cases of implicit Judgment either provoked or evoked: 5
Total number of instances of: Provoked: Social Sanction = 1 (see: 16)
Evoked: Social Sanction = 0
Total number of instances of Provoked: Social Esteem = 3 (see: 6, 8, 11)
Examples of positive provoked: Social Esteem = 0
Examples of negative provoked: Social Esteem = 3 (see: 6, 8, 11)

From the perspective of delicacy and subsystem Appreciation
Total number of instances in the clause complexes showing attitude: appreciation: 7
Specifically: Reaction: 1 (see: 13)
Composition: 4 (see: 8, 11, 12, 15)
Valuation: 2 (see: 14, 18)

From the perspective of delicacy and the subsystem Affect: 0
Total number showing authorial affect = 0
Total number showing non-authorial affect = 0

Appraisal: Engagement: Attribution and Dialogical Positioning
Total number of instances in the clause complexes showing attribution: 17 (see: 1, 2, 3, 4,5,6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18) **note: 10 & 12 show only partial attribution; they are intravocalised in nature*
Specifically:
Endorsed: 7 (see: 1, 2, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15)
Neutral: 9 (see: 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18)
Disendorsed 1 (see: 10)

Total number of instances in the clause complexes showing extra-vocalisation/dialogism
Specifically:
Contraction: 11 (see: 2, 3, 5, 6, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18)
Expansion: 6 (see: 1, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11)
Specifically:
Contraction: Proclaim: Pronounce = 8 (see:2, 3, 5, 6, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18)
Contraction: Proclaim: Concur = 0
Contraction: Proclaim: Endorse = 0
Contraction: Disclaim: Counter = 0
Contraction: Disclaim: Deny = 0

From the perspective of Expansion, specifically = 6
Expansion: Entertain: Evidence = 1 (see: 11)
Expansion: Entertain: Likelihood = 1 (see: 4)
Expansion: Entertain: Hearsay = 0
Expansion: Attribute: Acknowledge = 3 (see: 1, 8, 9)
Expansion: Attribute: Distance = 1 (see: 10)

Number of Clauses showing Bare Assertions: 3 (see: 7, 10, 12)

Appraisal: Graduation

Total number of clause complexes showing the system of graduation: 11(see: 1,2, 8, 9, 10,12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18)

Total instances of Force: 8 (see: 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18)
Total instances of Focus: 3 (see: 1, 2, 12)

Delicate Breakdown of Force in clause complexes:
Specifically: Solitary examples of Force = 4
Force: Graders = 4 (see: 9, 10, 18)
Force: Repeat = 0
Force: Colour = 0

Specifically: Fused examples of Force in Clause complexes: 8
Fused: experientialise: Measure = 2 (see: 8, 9)
Fused: experientialise: Metaphor = 2 (see: 12, 14)
Fused: experientialise: Quality = 0

Fused: interpersonalise: Measure-Plus = 0
Fused: interpersonalise: Evaluatory = 3 (see: 13, 14, 17)
Fused: interpersonalise: Universalise = 1 (see: 15)

Delicate breakdown of Focus:
Instances of focus: soften: 1 (see: 12)
Instances of Focus: sharpen: 3 (see: 1, 2, 18)

Text One (566 words)

By Nedra Picker, Associated Press, boston.com. March 19, 2006

http://www.boston.com/news/world/middleeast/articles/2006/03/20/bush_marks_Iraq_dat...>> Retrieved March 27, 2006 and checked September 29, 2007.

1. Bush marks Iraq date, omits using 'war' word
2. Washington – President Bush marked the anniversary of the Iraq war yesterday by touting the efforts to build democracy there and avoiding mention of the daily violence that has raged, three years after he ordered an invasion.
3. The president did not use the word "war."
4. "We are implementing a strategy that will lead to victory in Iraq," the president said to a public that is increasingly sceptical that he has a plan to end the fighting after the deaths of more than 2,300 US troops.
5. Antiwar protests were held throughout the country over the weekend, including a rally in Washington.

6. Bush said he spoke with US Ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad, who said progress was being made by Iraqi leader to form a government.
7. Earlier yesterday, former Iraqi prime minister Ayad Allawi said his country was in the midst of a civil war.
8. Over the weekend, several administration officials repeated the theme that progress continues toward building a unified Iraqi government and nation.
9. "Now is the time for resolve, not retreat," Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld wrote in a column for The Washington Post.
10. "Turing our backs on postwar Iraq today would be the modern equivalent of handing postwar Germany back to the Nazis."
11. Yet there were acknowledgments from the top commander of US forces in Iraq that the situation is fragile and that he did not predict the strength of the insurgency.
12. "I did not think it would be as robust as it has been," General George W. Casey said on NBC's "Meet the Press."
13. "And," he added "it's something that, obviously, with my time here on the ground, my thinking on that has gained much greater clarity and insight."
14. The third anniversary of the US-led war in Iraq drew tens of thousands of protesters around the globe, from hurricane-ravaged Louisiana to Australia.
15. About 200 war veterans, hurricane survivors, and demonstrators gathered yesterday at the national cemetery in Chalmette, La., to protest how the military conflict overseas had hurt the country's ability to help the Gulf Coast recover from last year's hurricanes.
16. About 200 joined a march yesterday down Fifth Avenue in New York.
17. One slogan was: "We the People Need to do More to End the War."
18. Seventeen people were arrested for disorderly conduct, police said.
19. A rally Saturday in Times Square drew more than 1,000.
20. More than 7,000 people marched through Chicago on Saturday.
21. Others marched in Boston, in San Francisco, and in Pittsburgh.
22. Antiwar rallies in Japan yesterday drew about 800 protesters chanting "No war! Stop the war!" and banging drums as they marched through Tokyo toward the US Embassy.
23. A day earlier, about 2,000 rallied in the city.
24. Protesters also gathered outside the US Embassy in Malaysia, and at least 1,000 people turned out in Seoul, which has the third-largest contingent of foreign troops in Iraq after the United States and Britain.

Discussion of findings – remarks on Attitude and Engagement

According to White (1998, 2007), strictly objective media texts are constructed through the elimination of any authorial input whatsoever. Nevertheless, White also (1998, 2007a, 2007b) recognizes that although the only true measure of subjective authorial insertion is through the use of personal pronouns, implicit subjective markers can be inserted through the use of specific words and evaluations of circumstances[2] that would not necessarily be considered examples of purely objective reporting but that do not make it an entirely subjective text either.

Pickler's text reveals not only implicit authorial input through the use of bare assertions but also strategic use of frame development and strategic placement of attributed material. Thus, although the article is represented as an objective text --there are no markers of explicit authorial insertion through personal pronoun usage and no explicit linguistic evidence of the author's value judgments – the article does have a strong underlining implicit subjective aspect. Hence, it is an example of how press journalists can combine both subjective and objective representation of an event spinning it in order to break down the current existing frame – here, the "Fairy Tale Just War" – to build up and develop a distinct anti-war frame through the strategic use of attribution and attributed proposition, evaluative language, and repetition of numbers.

Attitudinal and Intertextual Positioning within the text

An analysis of Attitudinal and Intertextual positioning reveals the following patterns: the article commences by presenting the accepted narrative hard-news frame of objective news reporting, beginning with a lead and developing the story of Bush's address to the nation on the third anniversary of the war in Iraq. However, the use of strategically placed evaluative language such as "invasion,"[3]: provoked: social sanction rather than "war" in reference to America's role in Iraq, as well as "touting" (see: 2) and "marked" (see: 2) to

[2] see clause complex 4: "... to a public that is increasingly skeptical... and clause complex 2: "...touting the efforts to build..." as examples of implicit subjective evaluations – author as observer and interpreter.

[3] see: 2 Judgment: negative

represent Bush's speech serve to position Pickler's ideological perspective on America's involvement in Iraq as other than entirely supportive. Further, use of propositions by sources such as Ayad Allawi[4] but with an underlining message that disclaims Ambassador Khalilzad's statement that democratic progress is being made. and General George W. Casey's acknowledge that the situation in Iraq is "fragile"[5] as well as Dialogism: Contraction: Disclaim: Counter and volatile (see: 11-13) In combination, the strategies present Pickler's anti-war perspective. implicitly, but the message is quite clear through specific evaluative markers and high degrees of bare assertion using numbers as markers of force.

Attitudinally, the examples are almost equally divided between the subsystems of Judgment: Provoked[6] and Judgment: evoked and examples of Appreciation: Composition and Appreciation: Reaction respectfully. Judgment: Provoked and Evoked[7] and Appreciation: Composition[8]and Reaction[9] Examples of Judgment have for the most part the negative evaluative target of Bush and/or US occupation.

The use of Attitude: Appreciation to evaluate the function and process of the peace rallies and/or the situation in Iraq make up the remaining examples of Attitudinal evaluation. Appreciation: Reaction (see: 4) reflects the public's growing scepticism of Bush's plan in Iraq. Appreciation: Composition is used once (see 8 Appreciation: positive: composition: Progress) in an extra-vocalised attributed assimilated disendorsed statement by unnamed administration officials quoted as repeating *"the theme that progress continues toward building a unified Iraqi government and nation*," once, to explicitly Disclaim: Deny the positive state of affairs in Iraq (through the process of Expansion: Attribute: Acknowledge[10] and twice[11]and 12: Appreciation: composition: negative: robust to evaluate the strength of the insurgency. The remaining examples of Appreciation: Composition reflect the positive parti-

[4]see: 7 Dialogism: Expansion: Attribute: Acknowledge

[5]see: 11 as an example of Appreciation: negative: composition

[6]see: 2,4, 6, 8, 9, 11,13, 14.

[7]see: 1, 3.

[8]see for example, 8, 11, 14.

[9]see: for example 20, 21.

[10]see: 7 Appreciation: Negative: Composition and Extra-vocalised: Expansion: Attribute: Acknowledge functioning to Disclaim: Deny clause complex 6)

[11]see 11: Appreciation: composition: negative: fragile

cipation and resolve of anti-war protestors and marches which extend across the US and outside of the US in Malaysia and Seoul (see 14- 24).

Bare assertions versus sourcing, status and textual integration

According to White (1998), the challenge for the media is to present one version of a story through the use of "selective heteroglossia" without putting solidarity at risk. Obviously, ideological, political and socio-economic factors affect the way news is delivered by the press. More precisely, the media often models the ideal ideological and political perspectives represented by people in power; and, for the most part, it is always in the media's best interest to present war as a set of oppositions: the good and the bad, the villain and the victim, the people and the state. Presented in this way, the reality of any situation is easier to handle, and far more acceptable to readers. However, all is not always black-and-white, and the news, although "reliable," may in fact be biased.

Choosing Bare Assertions over Heteroglossia: what it means to the reader in issues of solidarity

There are direct rhetorical implications to choosing bare assertions (monoglossia) over heteroglossia in any discourse the main implication being solidarity. Solidarity as defined by White (1998) has more to do with the relationship that is maintained by the writer and the reader than with the necessity of the writer and reader agreeing on point of view. As White notes, negotiations of solidarity must leave room for the act of negotiating. This means that although a reader and writer may not see eye-to-eye on an issue, if a degree of empathy or sympathy for a cause can be maintained, then solidarity may still be salvaged (White 1998). Solidarity is always at risk when a writer presents a proposition in an unattributed form: the Bare Assertion.

Of the 24 clause complexes in Pickler's text, 14[12] are Bare Assertions, eight[13] have been attritubuted to some higher source power such as President Bush, Former Iraqi President Allawi, Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and one (see: 8) has been categorized as medium (on a hierarchy of high, medium,

[12] see: 1, 2, 3, 5, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24
[13] see: 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11,12, 13

and low) and is attributed to various unnamed White House Administration Officials. From the position of textual insertion, five of the propositions are direct quotes[14] and the remainder have been assimilated. That Pickler has chosen to present most of the propositions in her text as a Bare Assertion is important, since the presentation of any information in the form of a Bare Assertion always has consequence.

For White (2007b), bare assertions are not simply facts to be ignored. Rather, bare assertions serve a particular rhetorical function as either examples of power or solidarity. Often, these evaluations are in the form of subjective observations of either the mental states of participants not directly involved in the text or of the physical surroundings of the geographic areas that the subject is occurring in. In either case, power monoglosses put at risk the writer/reader relationship, as these monoglosses tend to assume a certain degree of generality. Solidarity bare assertions are propositions represented as common knowledge.

Graduation: using numbers to propel the message for-ward

In this text, graduation is used to dramatically draw the reader's attention towards the events of March 20, 2006 by using implicit and explicit examples of fused amplifiers and solitary graders to guide the reader towards taking a stand against the war, and more importantly, to outline America's growing antagonism towards its role in Iraq. Numbers, repetition and movement across geographical space are the keys means of achieving this goal.

Explicit repetition occurs when a lexical term or terms is repeated with the effect of drawing the reader's attention to some concept or idea. In this text, examples of explicit repetition force: solitary: grade are few; however, Pickler does begin the article by purposefully drawing the reader's attention to what Bush's speech does not do – it omits reference to the word 'war' – and as she repeats this proposition explicitly in clause complex 3, implicitly in clause complex 2, and again in clause complex 7 through attribution and classification of "civil war," Pickler's negative appreciation of Bush's war becomes obvious. The use of partial reiteration through substitution is important and occurs in clause complex 2 through the use of the term "invasion," which

[14] see 4, 9,10, 12, 13

draws the reader's attention once again to Pickler's anti-war stance and position. Rhetorically, "invasion" may be graded as rhetorically and attitudinally more negative than the term war, as war implies two parties and can be romanticized as in the notion of 'just wars'; however, invasion implies forced entry, hostile takeovers and brutality. The stark negative stance that Pickler takes on Bush's role in Iraq is amplified by the bare assertion in clause complex 3: "The President did not use the word "war [.]"" Not only does the repetition implicitly evaluate the honesty of the President, but also the proposition in clause complex 4 – anticipated and alluded to through the use of a bare assertion in clause complex 3 – explicitly classifies the public that Bush is addressing in his speech as "increasingly sceptical," thereby using clause complex 3 to position the upcoming "America against the State" frame.

In fact, Pickler refers explicitly to Bush's role in Iraq only once[15] but in doing so, she strategically creates an anti – 'just war' frame by inundating the reader with numbers. Quantification is used throughout the article as a means of implicit and explicit force. Martin and White (2005) and White (1998, 2007a) assert that, although intensification can occur through the use of explicit graders such as 'very,' implicit graduation of non-attitudinal lexis can also occur. Thus, in clause complex 8, the quantifier "several" is used to draw the reader's attention to the "administration officials," who are repeating the theme "that progress continues toward building a unified Iraqi government and nation," and thereby furthering the divide between the truth-validity of the source – Bush himself – and Pickler's spin. The problem here stems from the ideology underlining the message of negative truth veracity implied through the use of "several administration officials repeat[ing] the theme..." as repetition of a general idea; this seems to imply spinning of that idea. Further, although she makes reference to the extravocalised source, she disendorses herself from the proposition through the use of "repeated the theme," implying to a degree that she neither supports the truth validity of the proposition nor the nature with which it was intended.

Further, the inclusion of a specific number to a situation, such as anti-war rallies, can be interpreted as offering an attitudinal evaluation of sorts. In the case of Pickler's text, numeration is used extensively to propel the message and the reader forward towards some negative judgment about America's and

[15] see clause complex 14: "*...U.S. led war in Iraq...*

specifically Bush's role in Iraq. The quantity of the sources provided from clause complex 13 onward offers not only a degree of truth validity to the overall frame that this is not a fairy tale just war that Pickler is creating, but also to the unstated yet clear ideological position that Pickler is adopting. Numeration thus results in grading the phenomenon as amount and, to some degree as extent (White and Martin 2005), and it plays an important role in the text particularly from the position of amplification. In fact, quantification through numeration becomes the central means of focusing the reader's attention on Bush's growing skeptical public and the anti-war movement itself. From clause complex 13 onwards, Pickler uses numbers to evaluate, from the position of either judgment or appreciation, the circumstances surround the third anniversary of the US-led war (clause complex 14). Further, she presents the data cumulatively through repetition of numbers (see "200" repeated in clause complexes 15 and 16) that become progressively larger[16] and geographically vast moving from the US to Asia. Thus, through the resources of graduation: Force, Pickler has succeeded in breaking down the frame of "America as Hero" and installing the frame of "People against the State". This is important, as it represents an ever-growing ideology – one which was not as prevalent, or at least not as published, at the beginning of the war.

Text Two (455 words)

By Guy Gugliotta, *Washington Post*, March 19, 2006

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/03/18/AR200603 1801256_...>>

Retrieved March 27, 2006 and checked September 29, 2007.

1. **As Iraq War Heads Into 4th year, Bush Pledges 'Complete Victory'**
2. On the eve of the third anniversary of the Iraq invasion, President Bush yesterday promised to "finish the mission" with "complete victory," urging the American public to remain steadfast but offering no indication when victory may be achieved.
3. "More fighting and sacrifice will be required," Bush said in his weekly radio address.
4. "For some, the temptation to retreat and abandon our commitments is strong.
5. Yet there is no peace, there's no honour, and there's no security in retreat.

[16] See clause complex 15 & 16 citing 200 protestors and clause complex 19 citing 1000 and clause complex 20 citing 2000 protestors

6. So America will not abandon Iraq to the terrorists who want to attack us again."
7. Bush's address comes at a time when confidence in the administration's Iraq strategy appears to have reached a new low.
8. A Washington Post-ABC News poll this month found that 65 percent of Americans think that Bush has no plan for victory, while 35 percent – the lowest ever recorded by the poll – think he does.
9. A White House fact sheet on Iraq noted that casualties from the devices have been halved in the past 18 months and that nearly half of the devices are being found and disabled before they can be detonated.
10. The fact sheet also buttressed the president's assertion last week that Iraqi security forces are assuming greater battlefield responsibility.
11. Democrats noted last week, however, that a recent Pentagon report said the number of "Level 1" Iraqi units capable of operating independently of the United States had dropped from one to zero.
12. For the most part, the fact sheet ignored the missteps and false starts that have dogged the war since the invasion on March 19, 2003, and instead contrasted Iraq under Saddam Hussein with Iraq today.
13. Three years ago, the fact sheet said, "life in Iraq was marked by brutality, fear and terror," and Iraqis "had no voice in their country or their lives."
14. Today, it said, "the reign of terror has been replaced by a democratically elected government."
15. In his address, Bush noted that sectarian violence plagues Iraq, but he urged Iraqis to "reach across political, religious and sectarian lines," to convert December's democratic elections into a "government that can confront the terrorist threat and earn the trust and confidence of all Iraqis."
16. "These past three years have tested our resolve," he said.
17. The enemy has proved brutal and relentless...and our troops have shown magnificent courage and tremendous sacrifices" which, along with Iraqi sacrifices, had given Iraq a "historic opportunity" to rebuild itself.
18. "The security of our country is directly linked to the liberty of the Iraqi people," Bush said, "and we will settle for nothing less than complete victory."

Discussion of findings: Attitude, Engagement and Graduation

The text opens with a rhetorically powerful headline that not only sets the stage for the entire article but also frames it within the two voices of the text:

Bush and the writer. The use of "pledges" in the headline is the first example of implicit subjectivity in the 18 clause complexes making up the article. The theme throughout will be to elaborate on the notion of "complete victory," using the phrase to ideologically frame the major conquests gained by Americans in Iraq in the last three years, and to highlight the expectations of Americans in the future. It will also be the means of maintaining solidarity and creating unity with the reader through the use of specific markers of graduation: force and focus, attitude: Judgment: social esteem and strategic use of dialogic positioning.

Framing through Attitude and Engagement

Clause complex 1 "As Iraq War Heads Into 4th Year, Bush Pledges 'Complete Victory"' has no markings of Attitude but the use of explicit graduation: focus: sharpen in 'Complete Victory' coupled with the insertion of what appears to be an authorial use of the implicit high intensity verb 'pledges' sets the tone of the entire article. Clause complex 2 like 1 has no explicit marking of Attitude. However, as in 1, there appears to be an authorial inclusion in the form of 'urging the American public to remain steadfast but offering no indication when victory may be achieved.' We may interpret this to be Negative: Judgment: Social Esteem: Capacity/Tenacity where what is at stake is Bush's ability to follow through with the 'complete victory' pledged in clause complex 1. The clause itself is therefore more likely categorized as an instance of both extra and intra-vocalisation, where extra-vocalisation is apparent clearly through the partially assimilated proclamation made by President Bush, while intra-vocalisation appears near the end of the clause as a form of assessment, one where the ability of the President to follow through is questioned. This affects solidarity in that those readers who agree with the assessment will read on; on the other hand, the other two effects of the question are to create irony (picked up by the subsequent reference to sacrifice and 'minor' failure) and to question the meaning of the term. Hence, those with a vested interest in 'complete victory' may not appreciate Gugliotta's authorial insertion and the recognition of this fact.

It is through clause complex 3 – "More fighting and sacrifice will be required..." – that Gugliotta begins framing the main claim of the text: victory will necessitate sacrifice. What is being presented, therefore, is an example of At-

titude: Judgment: Evoked: Tenacity, where the target of evaluation becomes the American people who are not, at this point, being offered an opportunity to open the proposition to further consideration or discussion. By presenting the clause complex in the form of engagement: contractive: proclamation, Bush is presenting a situation which, if the American people want to win, they must follow through on. The use of high intensity implicit graduation through the modal verb phrase "will be required" further stresses this obligation.

To further the ideological goal of the text, clause complexes 3, 4, 5, and 6 offer examples of carefully constructed links between ideology and framing and specifically, the role of America in attaining Bush's ultimate goal – complete victory:

(3) "More fighting and sacrifice will be required," Bush said in his weekly radio address.

(4) "For some, the temptation to retreat and abandon our commitments is strong.

(5) Yet there is no peace, there's no honour, and there's no security in retreat.

(6) So America will not abandon Iraq to the terrorists who want to attack us again."

In each, the following patterns are obvious: from the perspective of Engagement: Attribution all of the propositions are framed as neutrally attributed meaning that Gugliotta neither entirely endorses nor disagrees with the truth validity of the propositions. From the position of Engagement: Dialogism, the four clause complexes are presented as contractually closed to further discussion in the form of pronouncements and yet, they are addressed to the American people as a type of appeal. Solidarity is constructed through the use of 'our' in clause complex 4 and 'us' in clause complex six. This inclusion is not only important, but also deliberate, since it enhances the message of the necessary and honourable course of action presented in complexes 4 and 5. Clause complexes 4 and 5 share the pattern of no specific graduation markers; however, the implicit intensity illustrated through the repetition of "retreat" in both clauses, first as a temptation and abandonment and then as an elaboration through isocolon gradiatio where "retreat" represents a lack

of peace, honour and security, require examination. Clause complex 4 is an example of Expansion in the form of Entertain: Likelihood with a high degree of negative evoked judgment: social esteem: tenacity: resolve, where the targets are those who wish to abandon America's efforts of victory. Again, the inclusion of this recognition in the piece is rhetorically important particularly when dialogically contracted against clause complex 5 (Contraction: Proclaim: Pronounce) which implicitly criticizes the act of retreat in the form of Appreciation: negative: valuation by assigning it negative value and aiming it at the target audience of those who do not support America's war effort. It becomes an ideological conflict between 'us,' the supporters of the war effort, and 'them,' the protestors. Clause complex 6 becomes a very important proclamation when through the use of high intensity modalisation: obligation/probability and provoked: Judgment: Social Esteem: Tenacity he makes very clear his position on the war of terror and therefore announces his plan, not only for himself and his country, but also for the integrity and tenacity of the American people as a whole.

Breaking down the Fairy Tale Just War frame through attribution and sourcing and dialogism

Unlike Pickler, Gugliotta presents only three propositions in the form of a bare assertion (see: 7, 10, 12), and each works to further the theme "unstable administration" – which is based to a degree on the premise that in a 'just war' everyone is on the same side. The importance of the bare assertion in clause complex 7 is highlighted through the interpretation of the material presented in the Fact Sheet and used by Bush as the basis of his pledge to 'complete victory.' Clause complexes 10 and 12 interpret the information in the Fact Sheet, thereby putting it in direct conflict with clause complexes 11, 13, and 14, each of which is rhetorically significant and worthy of examination:

(11) Democrats noted last week, however, that a recent Pentagon report said the number of "Level 1" Iraqi units capable of operating independently of the United States had dropped from one to zero."

(13) Three years ago, the fact sheet said, "life in Iraq was marked by brutality, fear, and terror" and Iraqis "had no voice in their country or their lives."

(14) Today, it said, "the reign of terror has been replaced by a democratically elected government."

To begin, neither of these clauses attempt to discuss the nature of the situation in Iraq nor to make any reference to the widely rumoured 'civil war' occurring. Clause complex 12, points to the major fault of the fact sheet used by Bush as the basis of his 'complete victory' speech. Although not a bare assertion in the true meaning of the term, it nevertheless has implications of intra-vocalisation, namely through the use of interpretation. The high level instances of evaluative language through "dogged" and "invasion" in clause complex 12 serve to classify America's role in Iraq as less just and more tyrannical in nature. The weak simple comparison in clause complex 14 presents another dilemma: the notion that simply replacing governments can eradicate fear is not only ridiculous but also hypocritical, since clause complex 11 maintains that "Iraqi units capable of operating independently of the United States had dropped from one to zero," and thus the situation appears less stable than it was in the recent past. Clause complex 13[17] is strategic attribution since although it is a proclamation[18], the main function of clause complex 13 is to highlight the expansive extra-vocalised proposition of 14, namely that "the reign of terror has been replaced by a democratically elected government." Ideologically, the proposition presents a pro-Western notion that once an oppressive government has toppled everything must just naturally fall into place. From the position of solidarity, clause complex 14 can put at risk the relationship fostered in the earlier half of the text and developed in the later half. Essentially, the problems lie in the information presented as clause complex 13 speaks of a quality of life while 14 introduces information of a political and possibly ideological change. Neither, however, mentions the civil war, escalating violence and continued US deaths and so each appears to have been solely employed for the purposes of ideological enhancement.

Clause complexes 15-18 take the reader through the last cycle of the text. Each is presented as Contractive: Proclaim: Pronouncement and this is significant because at the end, Bush leaves no room for discussion. Clause complex 15 is dialogically significant and rhetorically important since it is the first time that sectarian violence in Iraq is addressed. From the position of attribution,

[17] An example of Appreciation: negative: quality: oppressive

[18] An example of Engagement: Contractive: Proclaim: Pronounce

the propositions in 15 are both endorsed. Attitudinally, the clause complex is an example of Appreciation: Composition: Balance: Negative: Discordant where what is being evaluated is Iraq as a country. From the position of voicing, the proposition is problematic. Presented as Engagement: Contractive: Disclaim: Counter it is at once a message to the American people as well as the Iraqis. Clause complexes 16 – 18 are in the most basic of terms an appeal to Bush's U.S. citizens. Positive Provoked: Judgment: Social Esteem: Tenacity: Resolve is used to reiterate the need to US commitment, heroism, and bravery. Also important to note is the use of personal pronouns as an obvious strategy to maintain reader/speaker – writer alignment and thus: "our resolve" (16), "our troops," (17) "our country". These are contrasted with reference to "Iraqi sacrifices," (17) and "Iraqi people" who are intended to be seen as part of the group, but who do not fall within the full realm of "our" since the "it" is the security of the US which is directly linked to the "liberty of the Iraqi people". This, in short, is the future dilemma for the war on terrorism, since as Gugliotta notes, quoting Bush, "nothing less than complete victory" will do.

Remarks on graduation patterns of force and focus

In this text, graduation is used to draw the reader's attention to the current situation in Iraq through intensity markers of both the implicit and explicit type. Beginning with clause complex 1 and continuing to 3 graduation sets the tone, namely attaining "complete victory"[19] through the use of the explicit marker of "complete" and an implicit high intensity marker of extra-vocalisation located in the verb "promised" which sets the rhetorical aspect of the text and introduces Bush's requirement of more fighting and sacrifice from the American troops. Rhetorically, the text is at once a pledge of victory to the American people and a call to arms as well.

In both cases, graduation is used to focus the reader's attention to the underlining message of discontent that Bush is attempting to play down but which Gugliotta makes reference to in clause complexes 7 and 8 through low intensity use of scaling with "appears to have reached," (see: 7) and then specific mention through "lowest ever."[20] Here, what is important is the gradual

[19] An example of +graduation: focus: sharpen

[20] See 8: +graduation: force: fused: experientialise: measure: grader: lowest ever.

shift in meaning. In clause complex 7, the use of "appears" is strategic from a solidarity aspect since the use of "appears" is very different from an assertion such as "it did reach" or "it obviously reached," where the rhetorical implications would put the writer/reader relationship at risk. Clause complex 8 moves from the indecisive "appears" to a quantification of numerical type. The use of numbers – "65 percent" and then later "35 percent" offer information and aspects of authorial inclusion which introduces a subjective reading of the situation into the text; the further use of "lowest ever"[21] enhances Gugliotta's implicit assessment of Bush's plan by highlighting the negative composition of it through the use of measure to illustrate possible discontent.

The resources of graduation are used tactically to inform the audience of not only the plan Bush has created or is creating but also the information set out in a White House fact sheet on Iraq. Clause complex 12 uses focus and force advantageously. Focus: Soften "For the most part" inserts Gugliotta into the text as the interpreter of the information while "dogged"[22]: *dogged* allows him to comment on that information by pointing out how the plan is flawed. Further, high intensity implicit graduation occurs through the use of value-laden language such as 'invasion' and 'ignored,' which culminate in the negative evaluation of the information presented. Clause complexes 13 to 15 elaborate. Clause complex 13 exhibits interpersonalised evaluatory markers in the form of adjectives: brutality, fear and terror; clause complex 14 uses the experiential metaphor "reign of terror" to imply that simply changing the government can and will change the situation. Hence the stress on the democratically elected government[23]: interpersonalise: evaluatory implies normalcy at the same time as it strategically avoids the claim that Iraq is in the midst of a civil war and that violence is escalating. Clause complex 15 repeats the theme of the power of the democratically elected government introduced in 14. Further, in this same clause complex, violence becomes graded as "sectarian," a term affiliated with "lines," while the ideal of a democratically elected government is endowed with power – one which confronts terrorist threats[24] and earns "trust" and "confidence."

[21] An example of +graduation: force: fused: experientialise: measure: grader
[22] An example of +graduation: force: fused: experientialise: metaphor
[23] An example of +graduation: force: fused
[24] An example of +grader: force: implicit value laden

graduation is employed throughout to highlight the main objective of Bush's speech, which is to convince the American people that the U.S. role in Iraq is not only necessary but also successful. Stress is placed on the degree of responsibility that Iraqi security forces are assuming through the use of "greater" in clause complex 10[25] and specific force is used to stress the importance of the new "democratically"[26] elected government in clause complex 15. This culminates in Bush's assertion that U.S. and Iraqi sacrifices have led to "historic opportunity"[27] hence successfully minimizing the focus on what has gone awry.

Clause complex 18 further sharpens Bush's objective; it contains three examples of graduation: two of force and one of focus. Each builds up on the other to create the message of increasing importance. Rhetorically, this is significant as the proposition advances the security of America via the liberty of Iraq; hence, everything depends on Iraq and the continued support of the American public in a war with no apparent end in sight.

Discussion: Subjectivity in the texts and the role of authorial stance

Objective news reporting is generally viewed as all news reporting not confined to the feelings of the journalist. In other words, the propositions and proposals put forth in the article are those belonging to another source. In this way, news reporting is objective because it does not involve the writer's opinions, feelings, or judgments on a particular matter. On the other hand, subjective news reporting reports an incident from the perspective of the writer. The problem, as White (1998) points out, is that journalists collect the news from sources and present it in the form of either direct or indirect speech, and sometimes a bit of both. Journalists also present to readers what they see, and thus there is therefore no clear-cut way to decide whether the writer is positioning him or herself objectively or subjectively when attributed propositions are used.

[25] An example of +graduation: force: solitary: grader: grade: *greater*

[26] An example of +graduation: force: fused: interpersonalise: evaluatory

[27] An example of +graduation: focus: sharpen

Definitions of subjective and objective reporter voice make clear that objective news reporting is based on the theory that news reporting may be viewed as objective as long as all evaluative judgments, arguments, and contentions are confined to the words of external sources. The dilemma with this type of reasoning is that attributed propositions cannot be truly separated into more subjective or less subjective based on whether direct or indirect forms of quoting are used. According to White (1998), the uses of direct quotation is perhaps more objective than the use of indirect quotations which require authorial interpolation. The choice between presenting information in the form of a direct, as opposed to an indirect quotation can have direct implications on reader interpretation. These implications are rhetorical because the words used to convey the meanings may in fact alter the original meanings intended by the attributed source. Essentially, the problem is one of certainty, where what is at stake has everything to do with how certain the reader is that the information presented in the indirect quotation is exactly what was initially said and understood. Of the two texts in question, it is apparent that each is objective in nature, with degrees of subjective insertion built in.

Of the 10 instances of attributed propositions Pickler uses[28], two are endorsed,[29] one is disendorsed (see: 8) and seven are neutral; the remainder of the propositions are in the form of Bare Assertions. Textually, Pickler inserts five and assimilates the remainder of her attributed propositions. From the position of authorial stance, it may be argued that Pickler is slightly less objective than Gugliotta, particularly since her choice of material pushes the reader towards viewing the war as one which is other than what Bush presents, and specifically since so much of her article is based on bare assertions – the subject matter of which only furthers to create a specific ideological frame different from what Bush presents and from the topic that she is said to be reporting on: Bush's address to the nation.

Gugliotta's text, which is slightly longer than Pickler's, contains seven endorsed[30] and nine neutral attributions[31]; he presents three bare assertions[32]and

[28]see: 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18
[29]see 11, 13
[30]see: 1, 2, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15
[31]see: 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18
[32]see: 7, 10, 12

uses two[33] to not only interpret information for the reader, but also to present an ideological position, one which casts doubt on the information of success presented by Bush to the readers. Of the attributed material, ten of the propositions have been inserted as direct quotes. By using a large number of direct quotes, Gugliotta maintains objectivity to a greater degree than does Pickler, at least from the perspective of authorial stance. This is based on the assumption that the insertion of quoted speech puts more stress on objective writing than does assimilated reported speech, which assumes, to some degree, that information in the proposition may have been interpreted and perhaps reformulated from its original to suit the needs of not only the journalist, but also the institution (White 1998). Both writers confine their attributions to high status sources, namely President Bush and other White House Representatives; Gugliotta also refers to White House Fact Sheets, based, it is assumed, on various statistical analyses and surveys compiled by various White House representatives and/or government institutions.

Solidarity and Bare Assertion versus Heteroglossia

When a writer opts to present an argument as given, he or she does so at the risk of the information which has already been presented. In other words, a bare assertion must and will be taken into consideration by the reader from the perspective of where it is coming. Thus, because bare assertions are inextricably socially and interpersonally charged, they do enter into relationships with the information which has been presented before and perhaps with the information which is yet to be uncovered by the reader. Bare assertions appear in both articles and serve particular strategic positions. Of the two texts, Pickler uses bare assertion to present an image of an unsettled America, one which has not given up the struggle to end the war in Iraq. The bare assertion, therefore, serves to not only inform, but also, more subtly, to introduce the frame of People against the State. By including herself into the text, Pickler has the unique ability to present information in an objective fashion using language which, although value-laden is still implicitly attitudinal and not out-rightly condemning. In fact, the interweaving of data represented through the slogans and chants of the protestors helps preserve her relationship of solidarity with

[33] see 10, 12

the reader because her uses of Bare Assertion are typically confined to subjective observations of the protestors – observations which serve to propel her point forward but still maintain her integrity.

Like Pickler, Gugliotta also uses bare assertion to point out that Americans are discontent and have to a great degree, "lost confidence in the administration's Iraq strategy" (see:7); in clause complex 12, he explicitly includes himself into the text by analyzing what the fact sheet does not mention, and in this way, presents information very much akin to that of Pickler. Hence, although the degree of Bare Assertion used by Pickler may be unsettling to some readers, not only through information and language choice but also through the barrage of numbers that are thrown at the reader through the bare assertions, Gugliotta's quiet interpretation and inclusion into the text also serves a very important role, one which is arguably slightly more subjective and thereby dangerous from the position of solidarity.

In contrast, when a writer uses heteroglossic representation to present a proposition, the heteroglossic representation recognizes the possibility of heteroglossic opposition (White 1998, 2007a, 2007b). Heteroglossia assigns some responsibility for the proposition to an external source. From the perspective of the reader, it is clear that a particular intersubjective stance is being adopted and likewise, depending on the heteroglossic resources being used, the proposition may be either dialogically contractive or expansive. The more dialogically expansive a heteroglossic proposition appears to be, the less at risk solidarity becomes, since this type of representation allows the reader to maintain the possibility of entertaining different dialogic positions and voices (White 1998, 2007b). As White puts it, it is in the best interest of the media to choose heteroglossic representation above that of Bare Assertions, since it is in the form of heteroglossic representation that the greatest number of readers will be influenced and reached (White 1998). Of course, although heteroglossic representation may be the representation of choice, solidarity may still be at risk because content of information is more important that attribution itself.

Conclusion

As the articles under examination demonstrate, the current war on terror is as much about the rhetoric of freedom and victory as it is about the war. Con-

sidered in context, both articles represent a rhetoric of war – one where the message is constructed through a value-laden language with specific goals in mind. For the most part, the writers both present information which creates an internal division between groups of Americans: those that are for the war and those against it. Thus, while Pickler focuses on the protestors and uses numbers to enhance the degree of discontent, Gugliotta interprets findings for the reader by including himself into the text, thereby assuring that a level of understanding has been met – even if solidarity is breeched.

The media view any war from the perspective of its position on it: it is either just or unjust. When reporters write about 'just' wars, chances are that the ideological and political ramifications are high, as are the reputations of the countries and politicians at stake. Gugliotta opens his article with just a stance noting that "on the eve of the third anniversary of the Iraq invasion, President Bush yesterday promised to 'finish the mission' with 'complete victory" urging the American people to remain steadfast but offering no indication of when victory may be achieved" (2). Since war is a heavily laden word, Gugliotta's use of "invasion" may be interpreted in two ways: he has avoided the use of war, since war is never really just, or, he has chosen to use "invasion" because it represents an ominous quality, far different from 'war', which, at the very least requires two parties willing and necessary to participate. Invasion, however, has no such romantic qualities; it does imply, at the very least, forceful takeover of land and resources. On the other hand, Pickler focuses her reiteration of the events by presenting what has not been mentioned – the word war. By focusing on why the President may not have chosen to use the term war, she also introduces the value-laden 'invasion' and in this way, she makes invasion more devious, more unjust. Numbers advance the presentation of discontent regarding the war, not only because these numbers reference partisan deaths, but also because they tangibly portray the frame of "People against the State." In each case, therefore, the frame of the "Fairy-Tale Just War" has been replaced with one that has higher- reaching ideological implications. Gugliotta replaces the Fairy-Tale with "A Nation is a Person," and in this way, he shows how unrelenting Bush is when it comes to achieving victory at any cost. Pickler replaces the fairy tale with "People against the State." In either case, the Fairy-Tale Just has been shattered, and America is at war even if the President won't admit it.

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Shifted focus: newspaper coverage of female military personnel as casualties of war

Mercy Ette
University of Huddersfield
E-mail: m.ette@hud.ac.uk

On March 23, 2007, a team of British sailors and marines were captured by Iranian Revolutionary guards in a disputed waterway that separates Iran and Iraq. The 15 service personnel were on a UN-authorised anti-smuggling patrol when they were seized and accused of incursion into Iranian territorial water. The incident quickly became front page news and sparked off a diplomatic conflict between the UK and Iran. Initial accounts of the incident in the media followed conventional journalistic news frames but these changed when one of those captured was identified as a woman. From then onward, Faye Turney, a 26 year old sailor, became the reference point and the human face of the story. However, subsequent reports, far from reflecting the reality of Iran's seizure of the personnel, were strategically framed in gendered terms with Turney's experience serving as the focus of an international conflict. The emerging rhetoric underscored not only the difference between Iran and the UK, but decontextualised the crisis, moving it away from a military stand-off to victimisation of women as notions of masculinity usually associated with war gave way to the feminisation of the captured. The focus on Turney emphasized her identity as a woman and not a sailor and reflected male-naming strategies as she was represented mainly as a mother, a wife, a daughter and not as Leading Seaman Faye Turney.

This article examines the coverage of the incident in British newspapers using media representation of Faye Turney as a case study. It argues that the newspaper discursive practice used was based on the notion of gendered mediation. The media, as Zotto (2002: 142) has noted, 'give meaning to events by selectively choosing the words and images that describe the events.' By concentrating on certain issues, and conversely ignoring others, the media can be quite influential in constructing prominent images in the audience's mind and understanding of an event (McCombs and Estrada, 1997). The media generate what Stuart Hall (1997) calls 'a circuit of culture' through artificially construc-

ted imagery that emerges as 'truth' over time. As a result, the narrative frames used to tell stories define and shape public understanding of issues on the media's agenda. Crucially, the 'media help to establish the parameters which structure public thinking about the social world' (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996: 112).

By focusing on media representation of Leading Seaman Faye Turney in British newspapers, this article attempts to illustrate how conventional news frames used to report military conflict, and which are stereotypical masculine, tend to shift when women are subjects and focus of stories. It will show how gendered mediation helps to conflate issues of gender and social roles in public discourse.

Gendered mediation

The notion of gendered mediation is premised on the argument that conventional news frames treat the male as the normative and favour a masculine narrative of events and issues (Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996). It concentrates on the form of bias that emerges when news frames, which traditionally reflect stereotypical masculine narratives, are applied to issues that concern women (Gidengil and Everitt, 1999). Gendered mediation, however, is not about the simple use of feminine stereotypes in the coverage of women's affairs but about the nuanced representation of women in public arenas that are conceptualised as being gender-sensitive. Roles in areas such as politics, national security, the armed forces, and the home are associated with specific genders and are usually represented in media narratives by gendered symbolic systems.

Gendered mediation manifests in the imagery of language used to report issues where one gender is considered the norm and the other an exception. Sex-differentiated coverage of national security and politics, for example, illustrates this notion and underscores the emphasis often assigned to stereotypical gender differences. Gidengil and Everitt (2005) argue that gendered mediation shifts the focus from obvious stereotypes to subtle frames that emphasis popular conception of gender differences. And given that conventional news frames used to report certain issues are typically masculine, when applied to women these regularly bring into sharp focus gender differences

with women often at a disadvantage. The implication of this, as noted by Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, is that both the 'manner in which issues relevant to women are framed and the way in which those active in public life are represented may play crucial roles in the formation of public opinion...' (1996: 103).

Recent research, (Ross, 1995, Jamieson, 1995, Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996) especially of election campaigns, has pointed to a gendered perspective in the coverage of women in public life through frequent use of metaphors that are not only masculine but typically those associated with activities favoured by men. Coverage of election campaigns, for example, is often constructed in sporting and warfare terms with references to horse races and boxing tournaments dominating the discourse. Journalists routinely resort to metaphors of confrontation thus ensuring that election candidates clash over policies, exchange blows, scramble for the finishing line and battle for public support. As Kathleen Hall Jamieson argues, 'by describing the political world in terms we comfortably associate with ...men, women are subtly defined as creatures alien to that habitat.' (1995: 175). This supports the gendered nature of discursive practices of news organisations, an approach which is also applicable to public discourse of war and other forms of military conflict. The representation of women in the coverage of war is grounded in gendered mediation because such reporting is significantly embedded in news agendas that support war as a male-dominated territory. As this article argues, the framing of newspaper coverage of war often makes women invisible until they become victims and therefore, newsworthy. However, emerging narratives of their experiences, even when they are considered 'newsworthy', tend to trivialise, hype and sensationalise their roles and positions.

Gender and war

If coverage of the political sphere rests on the conceptualisation of the field as being dominated by men, war reporting does not only encapsulate gender differences but also illustrates how conventional understanding of the place of women in society often shapes the representation of their roles in war. Traditionally, the armed forces have not been seen as contested arenas between men and women but a conclave of men and consequently closely intertwined with masculinity. In the western world, war is what Dowler calls 'a conser-

vative agent for the gendering of political identities,' which is implied in the 'tendency to perceive men as soldiers, warriors and heroes of war, while women are understood as the victims or icons of ... war' (2002: 161). As a quintessential male-dominated institution, the military relies

> On the construction of a soldier in specifically masculinist terms. While women have always been a part of the military, their presence has been systematically marginalized. Their role has typically been as "camp followers," i.e., service and maintenance workers, rather than those involved in active combat (Kumar, 2004: 297).

Against this backdrop, aggression and competition, regarded as masculine attributes, are often elevated above cooperation and conciliation, which are seen as feminine traits. This understanding, feminist scholars (Segal, 1995, Dowler, 2002, Takacs, 2005) argue, influences public perception of war. The military, as Mady Wechsler Segal explains:

> has been defined traditionally as a masculine institution; it may be the most prototypically masculine of all social institutions. For women to participate, either the military has to be perceived (by policymakers and the populace) as transformed to make it more compatible with how women are (or are perceived to be) or women have to be perceived as changing in ways that make them more seemingly suited to military service. Alternatively, the situation has to be perceived as so dire as to require an extreme and unusual response. These perceptions are socially constructed. The discourse on the issues, indeed the salience given to specific arguments about women's military roles, is not based on objective reality, but rather on cultural values (1995:758).

The military has, indeed, been transformed to accommodate more women especially in response to shifting frontlines in the war on terror, but the cultural values Segal referred to still permeate society beyond the confines of the barracks. Besides, military culture is still 'marked by particularly entrenched gender images of women' (Nantais and Lee, 1999: 182). At both institutional and cultural levels, the military's function of protection has always been conflated with its connection to masculinity and this conflation makes women's military roles problematic at the intersection of their gender and professional identities. Female military personnel challenge the conceptualisation of

women as the protected by assuming professional roles that assign to them the responsibility of being protectors. This role transformation, from the protected to the protector, therefore undermines the rhetoric of war as an act of protection of the vulnerable, for once women who traditionally are seen to be vulnerable become 'warriors', they cease to be victims (unless captured or hurt). In the event of them becoming victims, their perceived vulnerability becomes a recurring motif in news reports, thus raising questions about their suitability for roles that are culturally conceptualised as being masculine.

War narratives in media coverage paint gendered pictures of women and rarely present them as heroes and warriors, roles conventionally associated with male soldiers. Augusta Del Zotto's study of the coverage of women's experiences in the Kosovo conflict, for example, revealed patterns of gendered narratives. She concluded that 'media representation of women in Kosovo supports the theory that popular culture still upholds a masculinist paradigm of war. (2002: 149). A similar understanding was also reached in an analysis of the coverage of the United States' first female prisoner of war in the 1991 Gulf war. Nantais and Lee (1999) examined women's military roles using the story of Melissa Rathbun-Nealy who was captured and imprisoned in Iraq during the war, and came to the conclusion that although women's military roles have expanded over the years, their image as constructed by the media has not, especially when they become victims of war as a consequence of their professional role. The media, they noted, continue to reinforce the 'traditional imagery of protected femininity' (Nantais and Lee, 1999: 189). This was also illustrated by the staged rescue of Jessica Lynch, an American soldier wounded in Iraq, and supported by the coverage of Faye Turney in British newspapers. From the point Turney became the leitmotif of the story, scant attention was paid to her professionalism, and instead, the construction of her media image was mediated by several discourses that emphasised her gender and its associated connotations. It could, of course, be argued that the news frames were not constructed deliberately but were the outcome of particular understandings of the armed forces, women, and culturally defined gender roles. The point has been made that part of the reason why men go to war is to protect women . Given this, it follows that when women are not at home but on the front line, their presence becomes problematic for a variety of reasons. Firstly, they take on roles not culturally assigned to them and secondly, they raise questions about men's responsibility to protect them.

A key variable in the understanding of women's military role is the social construction of family and how this affects women's social roles. As Segal argues:

> Women's social roles are affected by anything having to do with the family. Women's historical primary societal function has been associated with reproduction and child rearing. The extent to which a culture continues to assign women this primary role affects women's military roles. Cultures often see the mothering role as antithetical to the warrior role; giving life in childbirth is seen as the opposite of taking life in war. In addition, the long dependence of young children on adult caretakers (traditionally mothers) has precluded those caretakers from participating in activities that take them away or require their uninterrupted attention (such as hunting or war) (1995: 770)

As this article illustrates, this social construction of women's roles has impact on media coverage of women who combine their culturally assigned roles as mothers with professional roles that challenge the former. Take the example of the coverage of the British *Sunday Express* reporter Yvonne Ridley, who was arrested and held by the Taliban in Afghanistan in 2002. The coverage amplified the 'misogynistic assumption that women with children are mothers foremost, while careers are of secondary importance' (Magor, 2002: 143). Interestingly, some of the most gendered views were expressed by women. Magor cites an example from the *Scotsman* in which a female writer condemned Ridley for recklessly sacrificing her daughter's future in pursuit of her career and questioned the value of her job as a journalist.

> Is her copy so marvellous that she thought it worth making her daughter an orphan? ...This may be a strange war, but it is a proper war, not a gender war. We want information, not pictures of blondes in khaki (*The Scotsman*, October 2, 2001: 12)

This gendered representation is underscored by the lack of coverage of fathers who risk making their children orphans when they go to war. The dynamics relating to the portrayal of gender in the context of conflict are generally weighted in favour of men. They are often portrayed as being powerful and in control, to highlight their masculinity, while the image of women is often associated with the home, family and relationships, to conform to the stereotypical notion of femininity.

Gendered mediation in the coverage of women in the context of war, or any other military conflict, which routinely represents men as 'protectors' and women as the protected, frames women in ways that support 'masculinist interpretations of conflict' (Zotto, 2002: 142) and sends critical messages to the public about the place of women on the frontline. The coverage of the 'rescue' of Jessica Lynch is probably one of the best illustrations of this gendered logic. The highly creative reconstruction of her alleged rescue from a 'fortified Iraqi hospital' underscored the common understanding of men as protectors. Stacy Takacs in a robust and critical essay illustrates how this reconstructed rescue was used to 'facilitate the conflation of militarism, masculinity, and security in a variety of ways' (2005: 302). She argued that the staged rescue and the media coverage that resulted from it were to mobilise support for 'militarised masculinity as the only logical antidote to national security' (2005: 307). Lynch's femininity and vulnerability provided the backdrop for that display of masculinity. The invocation of gender roles was also evident in the coverage of British sailors who captured by Iran in 2007 as outlined in the section that follows.

Newspaper coverage of captured British sailors and marines

This study examines newspaper coverage of the capture of 15 British service personnel by Iran using the Faye Turney story as a case study. A Proquest search of articles published between March 23 2007, the day they were captured and April 6 2007, when they were released, covered all the national and regional newspapers featured on Proquest. As the data was obtained from an electronic web source that does not provide photographs, the analysis does not take graphic illustrations into consideration. A full text search (not just headlines) on the following terms was carried out: 'Faye Turney', 'Leading Seaman Faye Turney', 'British sailors and marines', 'captive British sailors,' 'hostages', and 'navy crew'. These terms were chosen after a pilot study identified them as the key phrases used in stories. The search results showed two major news frames and clusters of stories. Between March 23 and 26, all the stories applied the conventional narrative frames of journalism of conflict and focused on the captured servicemen as a group with only a passing mention that a woman was among them. The bulk of the stories conformed to these news frames but from March 27, the focus shifted when Faye Turney was na-

med as the woman captured by the Iranian Revolutionary Guards and from then on, the reports became gendered. The dominant media image that emerged from the reports was that of Turney. She overshadowed the 14 others who were also captured as she became the face of the story and a candidate for a rescue mission.

A full text search using 'Faye Turney' produced 570 hits while 'British sailors and marines' threw up 479 hits, 'Leading Seaman Turney' produced 305, 'captive British sailors' drew 138 references, 'hostages' produced 73, and 'navy crew' 30. A breakdown of hits in particular newspapers also produced similar clusters. 'Faye Turney' produced 77 hits in the *Daily Mirror*, 35 in *The Sun*, 24 hits in the *Daily Telegraph*, 22 in *The Guardian* and *The Times*, and 20 in *The Independent*. The term also generated nine references in *The Herald* (Glasgow) and the *Belfast Telegraph*. The focus was on the number of stories in which the search terms appeared. It should be noted that most of these stories were on the front pages of the newspapers. On April 6, the day the captured sailors and marines returned home, a search using 'Faye Turney' produced 53 stories in newspapers ranging from the *Birmingham Mail* to *Coventry Evening Telegraph* and Glasgow *Daily Record*, 'British sailors and marines' produced 107 and Turney was referred to in the bulk of those stories. The text search identified two dominant frames: implicit and explicit gendered mediation. The frequent use of certain contextual language in headlinesand in the text of the stories by the media strongly supports the argument that the news coverage was gendered.

On the first day of coverage, most of the headlines conformed to conventional news frames with Iran as the recurring term as apparent from a selection of headlines: 'British navy personnel detained by Iranian military' 'Iranians seize UK Marines': Fifteen are snatched in Arabian Gulf.' 'BRITAIN last night demanded the immediate release of 15 sailors and marines captured by Iranian forces', 'MARINES TAKEN HOSTAGE BY IRAN. ' Other keys words were 'captives', 'hostages', 'sailors' and 'prisoners'. The adoption of a conventional news frame could have been informed by the lack of information on the incident at that point and as more details emerged, the story also unfolded. However, once the focus shifted from a diplomatic crisis to the plight of a young mother being held against her will by a repressive regime, the frames changed to reflect gendered mediation.

Faye Turney: Leading Seaman turned woman and mother

As key actors in the art of constructing reality, the media help to formulate public opinion and this was apparent in the pattern of coverage of the capture of the British service personnel. It is important to note that journalists do not just report events, they reconstruct them and the narrative forms adopted are symbolic at several levels. News reports often create forums for public discussion of public concern and the coverage of women as frontline actors in military conflict is a good example of such occasions. Media reports perpetuate traditional conceptualisations of the military and war by separating the feminine identity of female soldiers from their military roles. By reproducing the masculine constructions of war, the media contribute to the dichotomy between women's role and their gender identity. As already noted, the military has traditionally been projected as men's domain with notions of masculinity dominating war narratives. Consequently men are always represented as protectors and fighters, roles closely linked to masculinity. The application of a masculinist narrative, therefore, undermines women's contributions, questions their roles and reinforces notions about their social place. Paradoxically, women and children are often victims of aggression brought about by masculinist tactics that lead to war in the first place.

The idea of men as protectors is problematic in its consequences on the protected. Zotto makes the point that 'women have historically served the war process by providing the much-needed day to day maintenance of war such as feeding the troops and relinquishing male children to the 'cause" (2002: 142) but when they move from their perceived peripheral positions to become major actors as legitimate participants, their contributions challenge the organisational and social structure of military. Historically and culturally, men have always been seen as potential warriors and women as supporters of war efforts (Dowler, 2002). The presence of women fighting on the same side as men therefore challenges the balance of power by drawing attention to the process by which the image of women is shaped not by their professional roles but by traditional gender roles.

The coverage of Faye Turney by British newspapers reinforced this and showed how news coverage of female soldiers is frequently constructed in the context of social relationships and identity. Named first and interviewed first on television, Turney quickly became the reference point in the coverage

of what was a diplomatic standoff between the UK and Iran. The coverage was replete with references to womanhood and all its associated undertones. Her professional role, which was what put her on the scene in the first place, became secondary, giving way to her culturally constructed social roles as daughter, wife and mother. As Emily Harmer (2007) argues, she was represented as being vulnerable, subjugated and in need of protection. Her vulnerability and the notion that she needed rescuing was emphasised, above everything and this produced a narrative that failed to recognise her role as a member of the navy as being significant and important as her social roles. The reports showed how women often become pawns in the rhetoric of war as it quickly became apparent that she was a malleable pawn for both sides of the conflict. From an Iranian perspective, she was portrayed as a victim of Western materialism that separates mothers from their children to serve in the armed forces and from a British angle, as a vulnerable woman being exploited by a heartless regime for propaganda purposes. As a symbolic representative of the hostages, Turney's image was exploited by both sides and even the Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad played the gender card: 'How can you justify seeing a mother away from her home, her children? Why don't they respect the values of families in the West?" he thundered.... (*Daily Telegraph*, April 5, 2007, p.2).

From the first story in which she was named, on March 27, Turney dominated the news frames and was the primary focus of the story as a selection of headlines on that day shows: 'Mother held in Iran', 'Fears for Iran mum hostage,' 'Let mummy go,' 'Navy mother being held prisoner in Iran,' 'Family of woman sailor abducted by Iranians speak of their distress.' Going by the headlines only, the 14 others who were also being held were invisible once Turney was named. Subsequent narrative of the crisis highlighted her gender with the emphasis shifting from a professional, neutral perspective to superficial and physical. Her appearance and personality became news worthy. The *Daily Mail*, for example, constructed a story based on her body language during a television appearance.

> Former Oxford don Dr Peter Collett said her body language clearly revealed her discomfort and unhappiness. He added that visual clues such as the corner of her mouth being turned down and the tension in her forehead made her distress plain.

> Her eyes remained downcast throughout the recording, indicating that she wanted to blank her captors out, Dr Collett said.
>
> When we look at her body language we can see several signs of distress suggested by her facial muscles,' he added.
>
> 'She can't bear to look at the camera crew as they remind her of the fact that she is obviously feeling coerced.
>
> 'Gaze aversion shows people feel unhappy. She is worried, genuinely unhappy and definitely stressed.' The former psychology professor said that Mrs Turney's flat, unemotional tone indicated she was concerned about saying the wrong thing and feared the consequences of making a mistake (*Daily Mail*, March 29, 2007 p. 3)

The coverage amplified Turney's position as a victim, not only of Iran but of her government for putting her at risk. Paul Routledge writing in the *Daily Mirror* wondered:

> ...what was she doing there, risking not just her own life but the motherhood of an infant child.
>
> Amid the relief that we will feel when she eventually returns, it still has to be asked why we are sending young mothers to a war zone of our own creation. Britain cannot be so short of military personnel that such women should be permitted - nay, encouraged - to go gadding around the world's most dangerous and volatile waterway.
>
> Call me old-fashioned but I think it is wholly wrong to separate a young mother from her child, put a gun in her hands and send her off to the Gulf (*Daily Mirror*, March 30, 2007).

Routledge's story reflected sentiments similarly expressed by a female journalist over the capture of the *Sunday Express* reporter Yvonne Ridley when she was arrested and detained in Afghanistan. Editorial comments and news stories used terms and phrases that questioned Turney's sense of responsibility as a mother. Jill Parkin, writing in the *Daily Mail*, asked: 'Isn't a mother's first duty to her children?' and stressed that she did not believe that 'a responsibility so fundamental as motherhood can, without anguish, be put

on hold for the duration of a military campaign' (*Daily Mail*, March 30, 2007, p.9). Ironically, her view was dismissed by another female commentator, who described it as 'blatant sexism about women in arms - and, worse - mothers in arms' (*Daily Telegraph*, March 31, 2007, p.24). Vicki Wood argued that as a ranking sailor deployed in a war zone, Turney was only doing her job. That is a fact most newspaper reports ignored.

Although 14 men were also captured, their fate and the effect of their captivity on their families did not make front page news. Their invisibility in the newspapers seemed to suggest that captivity was the norm in their choice of career. Nameless most of the time, their story when told was always as a subtext to Turney's. While Turney's victimhood was illustrated by references to her family, dressing – being forced to wear a headscarf - her isolation – being separated from her colleagues – her vulnerability – being forced to write letters to her parents and her government, and apologise on Iranian television – her male colleagues were assigned the role of supporting actors who for the most part were barely seen and hardly heard in the drama that was unfolding in the newspapers. The media constructions of Turney as a victim were further underscored by pleas from her parents, references to her three year old daughter, and personal narratives by colleagues who described her as 'a great girl with a warm sense of humour. Everyone knows her because there are not many Wrens who do what she does. It is quite an achievement. Topsy loves being a mum...' (*The Times*, March 27, 2007, p.4) Also to stoke up more sympathy for the captive,

> ...the priest who married Faye and Adam in 2002 -as well as baptising Molly -spoke of her shock. Mary Fearnside, from the village church of Oxon, in Shropshire, said: "Everybody is devastated at Faye's capture.
>
> "They are a lovely couple. It's terrible to think this has happened. Faye is a charming woman and very professional -I hope she is able to cope (*The Sun*, March 27, 2007)

The coverage also evoked images of helplessness as expressed by recurring references of her headscarf. For example, 'her blond hair covered with a black headscarf', 'Forced to cover her head with an Islamic hijab' and 'dressed in a black headscarf.' These references suggested that she was doing it against her will and not out of respect for the country of her captivity. Harmer (2007) has suggested that this emphasis may possibly be an attempt to

reinforce the notion that the headscarf symbolises the oppression of women in Iran, one of the motivating factors of the war on terror. Harmer argues that being made to wear the scarf was seen by the press as an attempt by Islamic militants to impose their beliefs on a Western woman. The headscarf was such a key issue in reports that even when Turney was shown without it, reports made references to it as in when she 'appeared without a headscarf' (*Daily Telegraph*, April 4, 2007, p. 1) and was 'for the first time not in an Islamic hijab.' Daily Mail, April 4, 2007, p. 10

Before Turney was named, she was a professional doing her job with 14 other colleagues but once she acquired a name, her professionalism became irrelevant even though she is recognised as a 'sailor' and 'sea survival specialist' and one of only a dozen women who pilot navy boats. Although her gender was an issue, it was probably her social role as a mother that dominated the narratives. She was described and defined in the context of her responsibility to her three year old child and the impact of her captivity on her family. Highlighted phrases in the selection below amplify the emphasis paid to her gendered role.

> The 15 Brits, including a **young married NCO mum in her twenties** (*News of the World*, March 25, 2007)
>
> **A YOUNG mother** is among 15 British Armed Forces personnel who were last night being interrogated by the hardline Iranian regime.
>
> *The Mail on Sunday* can reveal that the woman in her 20s is understood to have more than one child and is a Royal Navy NCO. (*The Mail on Sunday*, March 25, 2007)
>
> Leading Seaman Turney, 26, who has a **three-year-old daughter**, is being kept separately from the other hostages, it was revealed today (*Evening Standard*, March 27, 2007)
>
> THE brave Royal Navy woman sailor being held hostage by Iran has a **three-year old daughter** (*The Sun*, March 27, 2007).
>
> FAYE Turney's captors were last night branded cruel and callous after using the **terrified mum** in yet another sick propaganda stunt to bolster their lies... Faye, who has **a three-year-old daughter** Molly, was paraded on

> Iranian TV on Wednesday in an outrageous attempt to shore up the lies of her captors (*Daily Mirror*, March 30, 2007)

On her return, the *Daily Mail* captured the scene:

> Faye Turney the young mother who became the face of the hostage crisis was finally reunited with her three-year-old daughter.
>
> The ecstatic 26-year-old wrapped her arms around little Molly, who had spent the last fortnight oblivious to the trauma that her mother was enduring thousands of miles from home (*Daily Mail*, April 6, 2007, p.8)

Overall, the media representation of the crisis created an impression that did not convey a complete story. The other 14 rarely named captives were also victims but by ignoring them in the coverage, the media conformed to the notion that men belong to the front line and being captured comes with that responsibility.

Women and war narratives

An examination of the representation of Faye Turney in British newspapers has illustrated the impact of gendered mediation. It has also highlighted how the portrayal of women in war and conflict narratives tends to strip them of their professional identity and to confine them to culturally assigned roles. As Deepa Kumar has noted, the 'most prominent role that women play in war narratives is that of victim' (2004: 297) and this was also apparent in the coverage of Turney. There is no doubt that gender assumptions structure the representation of women as victims, passive, vulnerable, and weak even when they earned their place on the frontline. Consequently, media representation of women in war narratives emphasises their gender role above their professional capabilities. Conventional assumptions of their role as mothers dominate debates and relegate their professional role to a secondary position. Invariably when captured, as Lynch and Turney were, militarised masculinity becomes justified as in the staged rescue of Lynch and where that is not a viable option, as in the case of Turney, the opponent is demonised for attacking a woman. This rhetorical strategy seeks to illegitimise the action of the opponents and conversely to legitimise attempts to rescue the victim. Takacs, (2002), for

example argues that documentaries about the rescue of Lynch 'fetishized her femininity and vulnerability in order to remasculinise a coed military and militarise the identities of civilian men and women in ways that would perpetuate the project of hegemony' (2002: 301). In one of the documentaries, Lynch is reportedly referred to as 'the blond 19 year old from Palestine, West Virginia' (ibid). As Takacs noted, such references stripped off her military identity and underscored her gender identity. Ironically in 'Saving Private Lynch', (2003) when the US commandos who rescued her burst into her hospital room, they reportedly said, 'Jessica Lynch, we are United States soldiers come to take you home,' she declared, 'I'm an American soldier, too,' thus suggesting that even in that vulnerable state, she still defined herself as a professional and not as a teenager in danger.

This identity construction was not limited to the 'brave commandoes' who stormed a deserted Iraqi hospital to rescue a damsel in distress; it was also adopted by the media in their narratives of the incident. When reporting on women like Lynch and Turney who defy culturally defined notions of what it means to be a woman, media narratives of their experiences as casualties of conflict becomes one dimensional as their gender identity becomes the reference point. Consequently, war narratives of women experiences frequently employ what Virginie Sanprie (2005) calls 'caricaturization of femininity'.

> When reporting on women who participate in traditionally non-female arenas, like sports or the military, the media constructs gender and enforces gender roles by either inattention to female participants, or by caricaturizations of femininity including an emphasis on aspects of the women's appearance, sexuality, and personality over her actions and achievements (Sanprie, 2005: 388)

This often results in the depiction of women 'within an exaggerated feminine style, emphasising their physical appearance and feminine characteristics (ibid: 389). Note references to their hair as in 'her blond hair covered with a black headscarf' and 'blond 19 year old.'

As already argued in this article, Turney was subjected to the above treatment in some of the newspaper narratives. Some articles referred to her as 'girl' even though she was 26 years old and a mother. Readers who did not watch her performance on the Iranian television when she was 'paraded' learnt from newspaper reports that when she was on the screen her mouth was

turned down and her eyes downcast. Readers were therefore prompted to think of her as a vulnerable victim and not as a professional in a difficult situation that was not alien to her line of work.

From this analysis, it is obvious that the narratives of professional women in male-dominated domains who become casualties while on duty are problematic to construct on two levels. Firstly, they call into question the notion of gender equality and secondly, they reveal the media's inability to move beyond the boundaries of conventional construction of identity. Examples from other incidents abound. Take for example the coverage of the murder of Sharon Beshenivsky, a police constable in Bradford, who was killed by armed robbers. A full text search of stories published in 2005 using her name produced 564 hits on Proquest. She was even named woman of the year by Anila Baig, a columnist for *The Sun* newspaper. Very few, if any, male police officers killed on duty have received similar media attention. The narrative of her death was made more poignant by references to the children she left behind, especially the daughter whose fourth birthday she was planning to celebrate after work.

Conclusion

The Faye Turney story illustrates media representation of women in male-dominated public spheres. Her story takes into account culturally defined gender roles and how these clash with non-traditional roles at the intersection of professional responsibilities in arenas conceptualised as masculine. The focal position assigned to her by the media echoed multi-layered issues that surround women's role in war. Even as skilled participants, their career choice is often interpreted as reckless, selfish and irresponsible. Compare that with narratives that follow conventional news frames and the differences become more glaring, as was evident in the coverage of the heroes of 9/11, who predictably were men. Most of the initial narratives of the attack on the World Trade Center celebrated the brave men who valiantly responded to the tragedy. Sue Curry Jansen argues that 'what was most notable about the early phase in the coverage... was the virtual disappearance of women' (Jansen, 2002: 139). The narratives were woven around men acting and women, when they did appear on the scene, reacting. Jansen likens this news construction to mythical tales where heroes, by definition, were brave men who took charge while 'wo-

men watched, waited, and emoted' (ibid, 140). The majority of women who featured in the narratives were represented as victims – widows and mothers and sisters of the men who gave their lives to rescue others.

The point of this argument is not to suggest a conspiracy in the representation of women but to draw attention to the dominant news frames in journalism of conflict. That war narratives 'relegate women to the role of victims of war while men are understood as warriors and the heroes of war' is not in question (Dowler, 2002:159). What *is* in question is whether women's expanding participation in male-dominated domains is recognised by the media. From this analysis, that is not yet the case.

This article has examined the representation of Faye Turney in newspaper coverage of the 15 British service personnel who were captured and detained by Iran in 2007. The article argues that the dominant news frames in the reports were gendered to reflect the conventional conceptualisation of war as a masculine arena and that these distorted the image of Faye Turney, the only woman in the group. As Thompson et al have argued, media coverage does not often go beyond 'stereotyped images of women as passive victims...' (2007: 438). In the case of Turney, her passivity, vulnerability and helplessness were recurring motifs in the narrative. She was represented as a helpless victim of propaganda and of an oppressive regime. She was 'paraded on Iranian television', according to *The Guardian*, 'pressurised into making propaganda', according to *The Times*, she was a 'valuable trophy of war, a prize to be used as blackmail,' according to the *Daily Mail* and her appearance on Iranian television showed 'transparent coercion of a frightened young woman', according to *The Independent*.

It is apparent from this analysis that women's participation in war does not conform to the socially constructed roles assigned to them and that society is still uneasy with the notion of women being active soldiers and warriors (Dowler, 2002) in spite of their expanding roles in a male dominated arena. The media reflect this unease through their gendered perspectives in their war narratives.

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Biographical note

Mercy Ette (PhD University of Leeds, 2000) teaches Media and Journalism at the University of Huddersfield. Her research interest focuses on media and society. She has published in *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*.

Address: Media and Journalism, University of Huddersfield, Huddersfield, HD1 3DH [email: m.ette@hud.ac.uk]