POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES AND IDENTITY IN BRITISH NEWSPAPER DISCOURSE

Dean Hardman, BA. MA.

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ABSTRACT

Newspaper editorials have a special role within the pages of the press, as they are openly persuasive and there is less emphasis on objectivity (Lee and Lin, 2006). They represent the participation of the newspaper in public debate (Le, 2003) and are sites where the ideological stances of a newspaper can often be found (Hackett and Zhao, 1994). Editorials frequently focus upon issues surrounding national politics, often discussing political leaders and the decisions taken by leading politicians. This thesis investigates four British newspapers, *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Mirror*, in order to assess the different ways in which identities have been constructed over the past thirty-five years by the newspapers for the political leaders featured in the editorials. The thesis utilises a novel analytical framework that modifies Critical Discourse Analysis by incorporating theories of performed identities and metaphor with a "Discourse Historical" approach to critical analysis.

The creation of identities, alongside the stance adopted towards individuals and political issues, are found to both help create an ideological identity for the newspaper itself while simultaneously encouraging readers to conceptualise events in such a way that serves the ideology in question. The findings show a series of strategies used by newspapers to evaluate political leaders and their decisions in ways that serve the newspapers' ideologies. Differences in the linguistic strategies used to reflect stance in tabloid newspapers when compared to broadsheet newspapers are also found.

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CHAPTER 1
Introduction

The number of national daily newspapers published in Britain, when compared to other nations throughout the world, is vast (there are eleven main newspapers as of April 2008 compared with six in Spain, six in Italy and seven in France, for example) and competition between rival newspapers is fierce, with each striving to gain as large a share of the market as possible (Conboy, 2006). The newspapers reach an estimated 10.35 million readers every day (www.abc.co.uk, April 2008), and as such, along with key broadcast media outlets, they set and follow the national and, in some cases, international news agendas. They also effectively function as 'papers of record' for British society (Cotter, 2001). While current newspapers might aim to inform and entertain their readers, newspaper archives are used in historical research in order to gain information about and insight into the events of the past, as well as to gauge public opinion in relation to key historical occasions.

For these reasons alone it is important to research the nature of news texts – if such large numbers of people are so reliant on them for information on events of national importance, and if it is newspapers that dictate which of the multitude of occurrences and events that happen every day qualify to be turned into "stories" for people to read (Bell, 1998), then it is natural for research to be carried out that examines the perspective from which these stories are told. Likewise, as Bell suggests, "the media are crucial presenters of culture, politics and social life, shaping as well as reflecting how these are formed and expressed…it is important for what it reveals about society and because it also itself contributes to the character of society" (Bell, 1998: 64). Fairclough, too, acknowledges the importance of examining media texts, when he states that "the media is an important element within research on contemporary processes of social and cultural change"

(Fairclough, 1995a). In order to examine then, the nature of society both past and present, the analysis of media texts is of vital importance. In so doing, it is also possible to highlight the ways in which events and individuals are represented.

As Fowler (1991) has pointed out, the language of the news is never neutral, and articles within newspapers must be regarded as constructed "stories" told from a particular point of view. The differences between how different newspapers present the same issues and discuss the same people are, in very simple terms, the subject of this thesis.

Whereas journalists pride themselves on attempting to be as objective and fair as possible, making every effort to be "neutral" when writing news stories (Fowler, 1991:1), newspaper editorials have a special role within the pages of the press, as they are openly persuasive and there is less emphasis on objectivity (Lee and Lin, 2006). Editorials represent the participation of the newspaper in public debate (Le, 2003) and are sites where ideological stances can often be found (Hackett and Zhao, 1994).

Bell (1998:67) discusses the generic structure of news texts and identifies "attribution" – information about where a story came from or who has written it – as a core component of a traditional news story. This might be a journalist's byline or the name of the news agency from which the story was procured. Editorials are the only sections within daily British newspapers that do not feature an individual journalist's byline, the name of a news agency, or the job title of the person responsible for composing the text ("Staff Reporter", for example). Instead, the name and address of the newspaper (in the broadsheet press) or a headline that indicates that the text of the editorial can be attributed to the newspaper as a whole

(such as "*Daily Mail* Comment" in the tabloid press). So, if, as van Dijk (1998a:21) suggests, editorials are expected to express opinions and make ideological presuppositions, then it is the opinions and ideological stance of the newspaper as an institution (comprising the editorial team and proprietor in addition to all others involved in text production) that are featured. It is to editorials rather than news stories that readers are expected to turn for explicit guidance on how to orient towards issues and individuals. It is not coincidence that such texts are alternatively referred to as "leaders". If editorials are openly persuasive, ideological in nature and written from a particular viewpoint, the questions to be asked are firstly, *what* is that ideological stance, and secondly and more importantly, *how* is that stance articulated?

Newspaper editorials can be written on any number of subjects. The tabloid press regularly includes editorials on celebrities and their behaviour, for example, but the most common topic on which editorials are written is politics. While politics can include any number of possible subjects, much attention in editorials is given to Westminster party politics, as this is a topic that is relevant to their national readership. Conboy (2006) points out that politics is often personalised by the press, and editorials regularly appraise the actions of political parties in terms of the performance of the leaders of those parties. In so doing, the newspapers by necessity have to represent individual politicians in some way, and it is the way in which newspaper editorials appraise and represent political leaders that is the subject of this thesis. In representing individual politicians, the editorials are constructing identities for political leaders, identities which, given the function of newspapers, form part of the constructed reality with which readers are confronted. At the same time, the differing identities that are constructed for political leaders are reflective of the ideological identity of the newspapers themselves, and can be

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viewed as one example of how newspapers attempt to represent reality in such ways that serve their ideological positions.

More specifically then, this thesis critically examines the ways in which identities have been constructed in British newspaper editorials over the last 35 years. It will compare and contrast how both tabloid and broadsheet newspapers at opposite ends of the political spectrum have constructed differing professional, social and personal identities for various individual political figures and will assess how such constructed identities serve and reflect the ideological goals of the newspapers concerned. It will also identify the key linguistic strategies adopted by the newspapers when appraising political leadership and when constructing a particular view of reality for their readers, and illustrate how these and the political ideologies themselves may have changed over time. For a fuller explanation of the goals of the thesis, see chapter four. The following chapter features a discussion of works from the field of critical language study that are most relevant to this study. Chapter three outlines the methodological approaches taken to data collection and analysis, while chapter four outlines the analytical framework used.

CHAPTER 2
Literature Review

In this chapter the different approaches to work carried out in the field of critical language study that are most relevant to this thesis will be outlined. Firstly, the terms 'discourse' and how it is used both within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and traditionally in wider linguistic disciplines will be discussed. Following this, how critical discourse analysis has been used to study the mass media and, in particular, how text production is analysed as part of a full critical analysis will be illustrated. Finally, how CDA has been used to examine social change will be examined.

2.1 Theories of Discourse

The term 'discourse' has been much used within sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, not always with a consistency of intended meaning across the different branches of the disciplines. Within linguistics, Brown and Yule (1983) saw discourse as language in use, while Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) saw it as 'an extended piece of text, which has some form of internal organisation, coherence or cohesion' (Mills, 1997:9). I believe discourse is language in use, but would label the Sinclair and Coulthard 'discourse' as a 'text'.

Discourse, according to Fairclough (1989) is language as a form of social practice and this is the general meaning of the term that Fairclough uses throughout his work. This view of discourse implies that 'language is part of society and not somehow external to it…that language is a social process…and that language is a socially conditioned process, conditioned that is by other non-linguistic parts of society' (22). Fairclough's meaning of 'discourse' implies then, that evidence of social trends, such as oppression of minority groups, prevalent in language use is indicative of such oppression (or trends) being present within society.

I will describe (below) how Fairclough views discourse as existing on three levels, all of which must be analysed in order to understand fully its role within society and institutions.

Fairclough's view of discourse is, as Mills (1997:148) states, '(an integration of) Michel Foucault's definition of discourse with a systemic framework of analysis', and CDA in general is 'inflecting Foucault's analysis of discourse with a political concern with the effects of discourse' (149). Foucault's definition of discourse then, although, as Mills points out, difficult to pin down, is 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault, 1972:49). Mills argues that discourse is therefore 'something which produces something else (an utterance, a concept, an effect), rather than something which exists in and of itself and which can be analysed in isolation' (Mills, 1997:17). Foucault also discusses discursive structures, which can be detected because of the systematicity of the ideas and ways of thinking which are formed within a particular context, and because of the effects of these behaviours (Mills, 1997:17). It is clear then, that Foucault's theories of discourse contributed significantly to how critical discourse analysts view the role of discourse within society (see section 2.2).

2.2 Critical Language Study: A New Discipline

Discourse analysts like Sinclair and Coulthard, Brown and Yule and McCarthy and Carter (1994) may have viewed discourse as primarily the domain of linguistics but, as Van Dijk (1990) has discussed, a cross disciplinary focus upon discourse studies has a tradition dating back to the founding of sociolinguistics in the 1960s (for example, Bright 1964; Hymes 1964; Fishman 1970; Labov 1972; Gumperz and Hymes 1972). Alongside this was an increased interest in conversation analysis and politeness theory in the 1960s and 1970s (such as Sacks *et al* 1974; Sinclair and

Coulthard 1975; Brown and Levinson 1978). Similarly, a focus upon language in use – pragmatics – as opposed to the study of language in its abstract form, also dates from this period (Grice 1981; Searle 1975). As Van Dijk comments, 'somewhat hesitantly at first, linguistics and grammars dared to go beyond their self-imposed barriers of the sentence to discover a rich field of discourse constraints on grammatical rules'. Text, or discourse, was proposed as the 'proper unit of grammatical analysis'. "Discourse Analysis" could therefore be described as a cross disciplinary tool designed to examine the social and interactional element within texts at a level above the sentence. As Van Dijk (2001) points out, much of these formal paradigms, such as conversational analysis, were 'asocial' or 'uncritical'.

Wodak (2001:2-3) argues that

A fully "critical" account of discourse would…require a theorisation and description of both the social processes and structures which give rise to the production of a text, and of the social structures and processes within which individuals and groups as social historical subjects, create meanings in their interaction with texts.

The cross-disciplinary studies within pragmatics, sociolinguistics, conversational analysis and other paradigms in discourse analysis were asocial in the sense that they were either not attempting to link the texts being analysed with the social world which created them, or, in the case of sociolinguistics, 'positing a simple deterministic relation between texts and the social' (Wodak, 2001:3). The focus of the studies was on description of the language in use, whereas a critical study goes beyond description to assess the power relations present in the text, place a text in

its historical context, and uncover how dominance structures are legitimated by ideologies of powerful groups (Wodak, 2001).

It was not until the late 1970s then, with the work of Fowler *et al* (1979), that paradigms of discourse analysis could be said to have a "critical" element. Using their 'critical linguistics', Fowler *et al* analysed discourse by applying Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (from Kress, 1976) to texts, but adopted the position that language can never be neutral, and that 'syntax can code a world view without any conscious choice on the part of a writer or speaker' (Fowler *et al*:185). They argued for the existence of connections between linguistic structure and social structure in a way that moved beyond the realm of traditional sociolinguistics, and claimed that 'social groupings and relationships influence the linguistic behaviour of speakers and writers, and…that these socially determined patterns of language influence non-linguistic behaviour include…cognitive activity'. Fowler *et al* therefore used a descriptive paradigm (systemic linguistics) but added their own critical perspective to their analyses, using models such as modality and transitivity to highlight power inequalities that exist within discourse and how such inequalities serve specific ideologies, as well as to control the thoughts of readers/interlocutors.

The models of modality and transitivity used by Fowler *et al* (1979) and Fowler (1991) were taken from Halliday but simplified to suit their more specific purpose. The most important aspect of Halliday's notion of syntactic transitivity in terms of critical linguistics is that transitivity is the foundation of representation, in that it is the way the clause is used to analyse events and situations as being of certain types (Fowler, 1991:70). By analysing the transitivity of a clause it is possible to view how the same event has been portrayed in different ways, including ways dictated by specific ideologies (for further discussion of ideology, see section

2.4 below). This is the ideational function, the representation of the propositional content. As Fowler shows, by analysing transitivity choices it is possible to highlight how ideologies are encoded within language choices. For example, he shows that the verb phrase 'PC shot boy from 9 inches' could be chosen to assign blame to the police officer, by choosing the 'active' voice and foregrounding the shooter. The 'passive' voice would read 'Boy (was) shot by PC', in which case the boy is foregrounded.

Modality examines the interpersonal function of language, looking at the mediation of personal roles and social relationships. Fowler (1991:85) argues that modality can be regarded as '"comment" or "attitude"', and describes how comment can be 'to do with a) truth, with b) obligation, with c) permission and with d) desirability'. These distinctions can be seen in modal auxiliary verbs and modal auxiliaries. By highlighting the use of modals it is possible to examine how language users express attitude. In relation to news media, it is possible to see how newspapers attempt to manipulate their readers, or at least shape their language to encode ideological viewpoints. An example of this, given by Fowler, is a news article in which the Home Secretary's plan is described as 'barmy' by the *Sun* newspaper. This is an example of a modal being used to describe desirability, and the newspaper is clearly leading its readers to come to particular conclusion. I will return in more detail to the concept of modality in Chapter 4.

Fowler (1991) attempted to update critical linguistics, focusing upon the language of newspapers. An example of his work on newspapers is his analysis of newspaper editorials, in which he highlights how emotive vocabulary, modals relating to inevitability (e.g. will and must) and generic statements are used to persuade the reader to adopt a particular viewpoint on various topics. Similarly, he highlights the

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linguistic characteristics of 'press scares' in order to show how newspapers become hysterical about potential problems in order to frighten their readers and to ensure that they continue to buy newspapers. This is in addition to the types of modality and transitivity analyses designed to highlight manipulation of readers and the encoding of elite or unjust ideologies within news texts.

Critical linguistics, according to Fowler (1991),

seeks, by studying the minute details of linguistic structure in the light of the social and historical situation of the text, to display to consciousness the patterns of belief and value which are encoded in the language – and which are below the threshold of notice for anyone who accepts the discourse as "natural". (67)

The methodology of critical linguistics (I will focus more upon the theorisation of text production that Fowler *et al* contributed in section 2.3.1) continued to draw upon the 'linguistic tools' provided by Halliday, but for the critical perspective, Fowler argued that

The significance of discourse derives only from an interaction between language structure and the context in which it is used: so the discourse analyst must always be prepared to document the circumstances in which communication take place and consider their relevance to the structure of the text. (90)

Fowler continues to say that '(he did) not know of any *procedure* for guiding this essential use of contextual knowledge' and that 'contextualising is a matter of knowledge, experience and intuition' (90).

There is certainly truth to the claim that knowledge, experience and intuition go a good distance towards explaining how a certain text may be biased towards a particular ideology, and the significance of certain recurrent linguistic features. Yet, it as unsatisfactory to argue that intuition alongside knowledge and experience are the sole methods of discovering the significance of linguistic relationships. Similarly, Fairclough (1992a:28) has criticised critical linguistics for its heavy 'emphasis upon text as a product, and too little emphasis upon the processes of producing and interpreting texts'. This said, Fowler *et al* do give insights into text production (see section 2.3.1). By understanding better the ways in which texts are produced, it might be more possible to 'guide the use of contextual knowledge' (Fowler, 1991:90).

Fairclough (1992a:29) also argues that critical linguistics has an 'exclusively top-down view of power and ideology'. Fowler, Fairclough argues, sees power relationships within society as stable and fixed rather than as processes that are causing constant change. The final criticism Fairclough makes, and one that I share, is that 'the language-ideology interface is too narrowly conceived'. As Fairclough points out, aspects of texts other than grammar or vocabulary may have some ideological significance. So, it is possible that page layout, overall narrative argument or theme of the text, or position within the newspaper, for example, might be important to analyse.

Fowler places much emphasis on the microstructures of language, tending to answer only questions that arise from specific analyses. He is not overly theoretical in his approach, leaving aside issues such as how texts in general work within society, and despite discussing the ways in which media discourse is produced, does not go as far as to theorise the place that discourse has in the workings of specific institutions.

Fairclough (1989, 1992a, 1992b, 1995a, 1995b, 2003; Fairclough and Chouliaraki, 1999) has developed an alternative approach to critical language study, his version of 'Critical Discourse Analysis' (CDA). Fairclough sees discourse as language as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1989) (for a fuller discussion of theories of discourse, see section 2.1), and his CDA provides a framework for the analysis of discourse, including the theorisation of the place which discourse occupies within society and institutions, an element lacking in Fowler *et al*'s critical linguistics.

Fairclough has a three-dimensional conception of discourse as it exists, and envisages a necessity to analyse any particular example on all three levels. Discourse, in CDA, exists as 'Text', as evidence of 'Discursive Practice' and evidence of 'Social Practice'. The boundary between what must be analysed as text and what as discursive practice is particularly blurred, as it is difficult to argue that formal features of a text are separate from the norms and practices that produced them. However, textual analysis is essentially the examination of *any* formal features of the text. These features are not limited in any way, although it may well be the case that the text is analysed in a similar way to the methods used in critical linguistics. Fairclough (1992a:137-200) goes as far as to suggest that some of the features worth examining are modality, transitivity, nominalisation and word meaning. However, he also points out that other textual features that have been highlighted

within the tradition of linguistics and discourse analysis should also be investigated, such as interactional control features, turn-taking, exchange structure, setting and policing agendas, topic control, formation, politeness, ethos and text cohesion and structure. Unlike critical linguistics, the textual features within CDA can be viewed in light of further theorisation, as opposed to mere 'intuition', because whereas critical linguistics analyses language on the level of grammar, CDA analyses extended texts and can incorporate analysis on all levels of the linguistic rank scale.

The next level is discursive practice. Discursive practice 'involves processes of text production, distribution, and consumption, and the nature of these processes varies between different types of discourse according to social factors' (Fairclough, 1992a:78). I will be discussing various arguments and theories of text production in section 2.3.1, and the nature of these processes in relation to media discourse in 2.3. However, Fairclough's ideas on this subject are central to his version of CDA. In general terms, Fairclough (1995b) sees a set of constraints in place upon text producers, which vary depending upon the institution to which they belong. These constraints are described as being a result of two types of pressure - centripetal pressure (the need to follow conventions of language) and centrifugal pressure (the need to be original and novel). Centripetal pressure is applied in the form of an 'order of discourse', the ordered set of discursive practices or textual features associated with a particular social domain or institution, which must be adhered to in order for the text or text producer to be considered part of that institution. Social institutions are also said to contain diverse 'ideological discursive formations' (IDFs) associated with different groups within the institution, with one IDF usually being dominant. The dominant IDF is likely to be the discursive formation (linguistic constructs that encode ideological beliefs) most often used by the largest or most influential group within an institution. An IDF is considered the 'norm' for that

institution and will have associated generic textual conventions. An example might be the various ideological beliefs within the British Press and the conventional ways in which various topics, such as immigration, are discussed. There are varying ideologies regarding immigration held by the press, but the dominant one is that immigration is economically and socially problematic. Not all members of the institution hold this particular ideology, but it is by far the most dominant, and has even become 'naturalised' (Hardman, 2005).

This is linked to Gramsci's (1971) concept of 'hegemony', which sees society as a whole under the power of the economically elite classes, who are aided by other social forces, and whose aim is to gain power through consent by methods of integration and persuasion. This form of power is seen as leadership as much as domination, across economic, political, cultural and ideological domains. These elite groups have the ability and status to make their own ideologies be seen as 'common sense' to those over whom they have power. Fairclough (1995b), in line with Gramsci, argues that dominant IDFs have the capacity to naturalise ideologies – to make members of the institution see these ideologies as 'common sense' and true.

Discursive practice, then, sees the textual features previously analysed on the level of text, contextualised as evidence of processes of text production and consumption specific to the institutional setting. Relevant to an analysis of discursive practice is the notion of 'intertextuality' (Fairclough, 1992a:101-136). He bases his ideas on intertextuality on the work of Bakhtin (1986), who saw any utterance or text as being inherently intertextual – any one text being made up of elements of another. Fairclough discusses how discourse can feature 'manifest intertextuality' – direct quotations for example – and 'constitutive intertextuality (or interdiscursivity)', which is one particular genre or discourse type utilising the textual

features of another apparently unrelated genre (I am using here Bakhtin's definition of genre). Within CDA then, Fairclough asserts that it is important to acknowledge that discursive practices are changing, and that analysis should incorporate a recognition of how textual features from one genre, say private, informal conversation, are appearing in other genres, for example public speeches. I will return to this topic in relation to media discourse in section 2.3.

The final element of Fairclough's concept of discourse – and therefore his approach to CDA, is analysis on the level of social practice. Fairclough sees the concepts of ideology and hegemony as central to the analytical concerns on this level. Fairclough's definition of ideology follows Althusser (1971), and situates discourse as a site where ideological positions and struggles are found and take place. Discourse therefore reflects the ideologies of the societies or institutions that produce it, and certain uses of language can be said to serve these specific ideologies. The ideological stance of the text producers will contribute then, to the methods of text production and consumption.

Hegemony (see above) is concerned with power relations, specifically domination. These power relations might be on the level of social class – such as the power that one social class has over another in terms of national government – or the power relationships that exist within any social institution, such as the family, the courts or the educational system (Fairclough, 1992a:94). Analysis on a level of discourse as social practice might therefore view the textual features as possible evidence of domination of one group over another, for example, but central to this level of analysis is the goal of establishing how the text functions in the social world. All three levels are linked, as the text might function through the existence of IDFs, for example.

Fairclough's CDA is intended as a tool with which to analyse discourse for the specific purpose of highlighting instances of ideological struggle, as well as the inequalities in society that are manifested in discourse. Unlike Fowler *et al*'s critical linguistics however, there is a framework that shows more clearly the relationship between discourse and the society and institutions that contribute towards its production, which therefore makes it clearer to see how and why discourse is used to oppress certain groups, or to justify claims made. Similarly, CDA can be used to highlight how society is changing in particular ways.

CDA improves upon critical linguistics as, as I have implied, it highlights oppression and inequality within society or the existence of ideological stance by suggesting a more fleshed out link between social theory and textual analysis. However, Fairclough does not provide enough clear examples of how *all* these theories can be incorporated into one analysis. Toolan (1997) has identified that CDA often lacks detailed textual analysis, a criticism that is still valid, despite Fairclough's (2003) attempt to rectify this by providing a user-friendly guide to textual analysis. Indeed, sometimes the detailed analysis can get lost in the large amount of theory that often accompanies it.

It seems that any specific analysis using a CDA approach is not wholly different from one using critical linguistics, despite the increase in linguistic levels available to be analysed, such is the amount of theorisation that needs to be discarded as 'background' to reduce it to a manageable size. Similarly, whilst providing an excellent justification for intuitions, CDA still relies heavily upon the analyst's own intuition as to which textual features to study. The qualitative approach to text analysis is also limited by the fact that any analysis can only truly

make claims about the specific text being analysed, and not necessarily about society or the institution/discourse type as a whole. However, I still see the link between the social theories and textual analysis that Fairclough uses as important tools when analysing discourse in order to highlight social change and oppressive ideological practices. For further discussion of the limitations of CDA in general, see Chapter 3.

Van Dijk also uses the term 'Critical Discourse Analysis' to describe his approach to language study, much of which involves the analysis of media texts (see section 2.3 for elaboration). With the development of more sophisticated media technologies, the mass media has adopted a central focal point for society, hence its attractiveness to critical discourse analysts analysing power in society. The CDA approach favoured by van Dijk differs from critical linguistics and from Fairclough's work in a number of ways, although its overall aims correspond closely – it is 'the study and critique of social inequality', by looking at 'the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance' (van Dijk, 1993:249). Dominance is seen as 'the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality' (288-249).

Van Dijk sees one task of CDA as making clear and understanding the nature of social power and dominance, which therefore presupposes the existence of relationships between different social groups (Van Dijk argues that ideologies have a socio-cognitive basis in individuals, are produced by societies, and are therefore socially constructed and shared, and require discourse in order to be manifested and represented. Ideologies are therefore, shared social beliefs of specific groups within a society that form a base for that group). Social power 'is based on privileged

access to socially valued resources, such as wealth, income, position, status, force, group membership, education or knowledge' (van Dijk, 1993:254). The key phrase here is 'privileged access', the understanding that the access is not fair to all within society. The power one group has, according to van Dijk, involves control by members of that group over members of another, either by actions or cognition – influencing their minds. This influence is usually manifested by discourse, hence the application of CDA. Van Dijk agrees with Fairclough by using the term hegemony to describe these relationships, and discusses how dominance might be enacted by 'everyday forms of text and talk' (van Dijk, 1993:154). This is essentially another way of discussing Fairclough's orders of discourse and ideological discourse formations, as van Dijk's everyday text and talk can be seen as examples of naturalised dominant institutional discourse.

If it is fair to say that van Dijk and Fairclough have a similar approach to the aims of their analyses – that there are unequal power relationships in society that manifest themselves in discourse, which need to be exposed – the differences between the approaches lie in the multi-disciplinary nature of van Dijk's work. Fairclough's approach is possibly less immediately accessible, due to van Dijk's heavier reliance on empirical evidence, but certainly more theoretical in the discussion of the relationship between social structures and discourse, whereas van Dijk incorporates more social psychology into his work, with an emphasis on 'social cognition'.

Van Dijk's model of social cognition moves beyond purely textual analysis, which is what Fairclough (1995a) accuses critical linguistics of being, and even beyond Fairclough's CDA, whose concept of discourse still has text at its foundation. Van Dijk argues that management of discourse is one crucial social dimension of

dominance, but that power also has a large cognitive dimension, and that the exercise of power usually involves mind management, such as the influence of 'knowledge, beliefs, understanding, plans, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values' (van Dijk, 1993:257). Social cognition then, is socially shared representations of societal arrangements, groups and relations, as well as mental operations such as interpretation, thinking and arguing, inferencing and learning (van Dijk, 1993). Van Dijk claims that 'Discourse, communication and forms of action and interaction are monitored by social cognition' (van Dijk, 1989). It is also argued that understanding of social events, social institutions and power relations is also monitored in this way, and therefore despite being present in the minds of individuals, such beliefs and acceptance of events are socially shared by members of groups and underlie the social and cultural organization of society as a whole.

This model of social cognitions allows for a link between dominance and discourse, explaining the production and understanding and influence of dominant text and talk – which means that social cognitions are the reason for IDFs and orders of discourse, and why such dominant ideologies and norms are accepted so widely. Indeed, dominant ideologies are the 'fundamental social cognitions that reflect the basic aims, interests and values of groups' (van Dijk, 1993:258). Social cognitions therefore affect the way that readers interpret texts, as well as how producers create them.

Van Dijk's methodological approach to CDA is similar to Fairclough's in that individual utterances are analysed along with textual features, such as variations in syntax and lexicon. Similarly, there is also an emphasis on other features of the discourse aside from grammar, such as the roles of participants, the themes of the

whole text in question and pragmatic aspects of the text, such as implicit meanings created.

Van Dijk's CDA is therefore a variation on Fairclough's, although close enough in concept to share its name. As I have intimated above, it seems as though both choose to theorise the same ideas using slightly different terminology, yet Van Dijk's work has an added cognitive dimension, that provides an explanation for why ideologies and a desire to oppress others exist within groups and individuals, states of affairs that Fairclough simply accepts as being.

Other scholars have also attempted to point to a link between CDA and cognitive approaches to language study. Stockwell (2000) has highlighted the similarities between CDA and Cognitive Linguistics (CL), and suggests that some proponents of CDA and CL are essentially doing the same things. He points out that 'there is little difference between Fairclough's writing and that of Lakoff in relation to the same subject matter' (Stockwell, 2000:10) – in this case the Gulf War. Whereas Lakoff uses CL terminology, such as 'conceptual metaphors', Fairclough uses his Foucaultian 'orders of discourse'. Stockwell points out that 'practical differences are minimal', whilst acknowledging that CDA and CL are, in many cases, different. He also accepts that the similarities can only be seen when the analysts are exploring the same issues within a text. Stockwell perhaps focuses too much upon Fairclough as **the** critical discourse analyst, but by focusing more upon other scholars, such as van Dijk, even greater similarities between the two disciplines might have been found, implying that the cognitive approaches can be incorporated within a CDA analysis.

O'Halloran (2003) has also examined the role that language cognition can play within CDA. O'Halloran attempts to look at the interpretation stage of CDA from a cognitive point of view, examining how the reader of newspaper texts is 'mystified' – that is how they are encouraged by text producers to understand the text from a particular viewpoint – by focusing upon how the reader interprets. However, by his own admission, O'Halloran does not exemplify his method by providing numerous analyses, choosing to only analyse one particular discourse event. This makes it difficult to assess whether his methodology is truly replicable and verifiable, and only adds to the criticism of CDA that argues that there is too much theorisation and not enough analysis. This said, he does argue convincingly that by theorising the 'ideal reader' it is possible to aid the interpretation stage, even if this is only a small part of CDA.

Critical language study, then, has moved on from critical linguistics, which had narrow aims to simply highlight how texts can be biased or be demonstrative of inequality in society, to CDA, which has loftier ambitions. These ambitions, as van Dijk (1993) explains, are to provide

> A detailed description, explanation and critique of the ways dominant discourses (indirectly) influence such socially shared knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, namely through their role in the manufacture of concrete models…(and) to know how specific discourse structures determine specific mental processes, or facilitate the formation of specific social representations.

CDA therefore seeks to provide a more thorough analytical model in which the ideas of critical linguistics can be placed. The small scale evidence of critical linguistics can

be seen as the final result of any analysis, with CDA providing the necessary demonstration of which processes culminated in that result, and how.

However, there are criticisms of the CDA approach to context, such as Blommaert (2001), who argues that it is oversimplified and not sufficiently justified by reference to empirical research. By this, he means that while analysts like Fairclough provide contextual information about a text, such as how the British media works, or that conversationalisation has been occurring, they do not provide background information as to how they have reached these conclusions. It is for these reasons that the present study has been undertaken – conversationalisation, for example is said to be a feature of modern social life, but nobody seems to have investigated how long it has been occurring and during which time period it began to take place. Similarly, critical discourse analysts often do not provide evidence of data collection, or highlight their methods. As Meyer (2001:23) comments, 'there is no typical CDA way of collecting data…some authors do not even mention data collection methods'. Again, this study attempts to address this problem with CDA, by providing a detailed account of data collection.

As critical linguistics and CDA are compatible, with critical linguistics focusing upon grammar and syntax and CDA on all aspects of the linguistic rank scale alongside other, non-textual elements, the approach taken, including the analysis of grammatical features of language, is retained. I would also like to continue to view society, and therefore the discourse within it, in a similar vein to Fairclough and van Dijk, but will amend the method of analysis they employ, to address some the criticisms of Fairclough's work mentioned above (see chapter 3 – Methodology). This new methodology provides more justification for claims made about discourse types, due to it requiring the analysis of vast amounts of text.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis and Media Discourse

There is a tradition within CDA and within linguistics of analysing media texts for reasons mentioned above (for example, Johnson and Ensslin, 2007; Bell and Garrett, 1998; Machin and van Leeuwen, 2007; Conboy, 2006; Conboy, 2007), and it is easy to see how the press, or the mass media, can be viewed as part of the framework that Fairclough and van Dijk use (above).

Media discourse is subjected to centripetal and centrifugal pressures, the press is an institution that has clear orders of discourse – there are specific linguistic features associated with the media, which must necessarily be used in order for any text to be viewed as a successful example of media discourse – and there are also prevalent ideologies within the institution. Similarly, it is possible to imagine how media texts are in a position to influence those who hear/read them.

However, there are peculiarities with media text production, and therefore media discourse, which require media texts to be analysed slightly differently from the framework of CDA in general. Close examination of how these texts are produced allows for greater understanding of ideologies of the media and how far their influence might stretch. One such peculiarity is that news media texts are, as their name suggests, mediating between events that have happened, or texts that have been produced, and the people who receive the media discourse. A transformational process has therefore occurred (Fairclough, 1995b:68), which means that, unlike with a text such as a parliamentary report for example, the text producers must have to choose how the event is reported linguistically and which elements to emphasise or omit. Such decisions are governed by various factors which will now be considered.

2.3.1 Theories of media motivation and text production

In order to provide a full critical account of the way media texts have changed and are understood, it is necessary to be aware of who produces them and how. Firstly, one must examine the place of the news media within society. Fowler (1991:1) makes a number of points about the motivation of the press as an institution. Fowler sees the press as containing 'ideas' not 'facts' and as 'highly constructive mediators' rather than as neutral reporters. These opinions are justified by referring to the fact that the press choose which events become 'news', and choose the linguistic structures that are used to report them. Differences in expression, according to Fowler, carry ideological distinctions. Fowler also highlights the ways in which ideologies are served by the language of the press by referring to a 'consensual theory of society'. This involves the press using pronouns such as 'us' in order to make the reader feel as though they are part of a group, when in fact this is something that the newspaper has constructed. Fowler touches upon the types of ideologies that the linguistic structures of the press help to encode when he argues that social and economic factors determine what eventually become news. He argues that the press is required to make a profit and that therefore it cannot do anything but reproduce a capitalist ideology, as its very survival as an institution is dependent upon the dominance of capitalism. Tied in with capitalism are the maintenance of the status quo and therefore the dominance of institutions that are currently powerful. Ways in which this domination is sustained include only providing a platform for certain institutions to have their voices heard. Ordinary or oppressed people rarely get their opinions aired. Indeed, it is argued that the style of language used in the press (certainly the broadsheets) maintains the domination of the institutions whose style is being mimicked (i.e. the white, middle and upper classes).

Fairclough (1995a:2) comments on the strategies used by media organisations when reproducing dominant ideologies. There is frequently a blurred boundary between primary discourse (the voice of the writer/newspaper) and secondary discourse (organisations, institutions or individuals whose speech is being reported or quoted). This allows the press to manipulate what has actually been said, and allows dominant ideologies to be maintained. More specifically, reported speech can be translated into the linguistic norms of the institution, which can have a major effect on the ideological meaning of the statement being reported. This is an example of how IDFs specific to an institution can maintain an ideology dominant within that institution regardless of whether the person producing the secondary discourse subscribes to the ideology or even views the linguistic methods of the press as norms. Tied in to this is what Fairclough (1992b) has to say on the appropriacy of 'appropriateness' (33). There is a commonplace view that certain varieties of language are appropriate for certain purposes and situations. It is this type of belief that contributes to IDFs and ideological linguistic constructions becoming the norm in the press.

Fairclough (1995b) discusses still further the role that the language of the media has in the representation and shaping of society's values and opinions. This is achieved through discussing how the media represent the world and attribute identities to those who are involved in the media story. By creating negative stereotypes of actors within media discourse, it is possible for the media to play a part in the oppression of social groups. For example, newspapers often have decisions to make regarding how they name individuals in their stories. When a news story discusses a negative action by a member of an immigrant community and chooses to identify the individual as an 'asylum seeker' or an 'Albanian' for instance,

this contributes to the creation of negative beliefs about the whole social group in which the individual has been placed. This results in any use of 'asylum seeker' being deemed negative (Hardman, 2005). The analysis of how the media represent the world and attribute these identities is part of the wider political goal of CDA. As Wodak (2001:2) comments, 'CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimised and so on by language use (or in discourse)''

Van Dijk's (1988) approach to the analysis of news media involves separating the analysis into 3 parts: textual analysis, news production and news comprehension. These categories can be viewed as broadly similar to Fairclough's levels of analysis: Textual practice, discourse practice and social practice. It is argued that for the discourse to be analysed effectively, the textual analysis must highlight the structures of news and the effects, whilst a cognitive analysis of production and comprehension provides the social/economic context. It is also suggested that elite participants and institutions are given more of a voice and form the basis of news reports, which would imply that minority groups and those in less powerful positions within society are being oppressed, and trapped in a circular process, in which they struggle to get their voices heard. Fairclough (1995b:30) has criticised van Dijk's approach to theorising news production, arguing that it 'gives a one-sided emphasis to news-making practices as stable structures which contribute to the reproduction of relations of domination and racist ideologies, which backgrounds the diversity and heterogeneity of practices'. This criticism is fair, in that it seems unlikely that all newsmakers operate in the same way, making it difficult to make direct links between the news-making practices examined and all reproduction of racist ideologies. Of course news-making practices can be unstable and subject to change. However, van Dijk does attempt to undertake empirical

research, and any evidence of how newsmakers work is surely better than none. Indeed, there is little empirical evidence on how the media industry operates, which is why it is worth examining in detail the studies that do exist, such as Bell (1991).

Bell (1991:35) gives insight into the workings of the news media and how texts are produced, as well as to the reasons for some of the trends mentioned above. Bell illustrates how news media texts begin with the news source, and that a transformational process occurs, in which the original quotations or events are described by a chief reporter and journalist, and modified by sub editors and editors before being received by the hearer/reader. With this chain of individuals involved in text production, it is possible to see how individual and institutional bias can be inflicted upon a text, resulting in the trends discussed above, and in texts subscribing to the constraints of an order of discourse. This chain of interference results in a modification to the model described by Hymes (1974) and Goffman (1981) that distinguishes between the two roles played by the person originally called the 'speaker'. Hymes saw a distinction between the 'sender' (the person who initiates, writes or modifies a stretch of language) and the addressor (the person who actually speaks the words). Goffman split the 'sender' into two, resulting in the 'principal' (whose position or stance is expressed) and the 'author' (who generates the form in which the content is encoded). The 'animator' is the organ that verbalises the utterance. Bell argues for another split of roles when describing news production, reclassifying the author to include both author and 'editor'. These distinctions help to provide a vocabulary for discussing the language of the press, as well as identifying exactly whose ideological position is being reproduced within newspapers. It also goes some way to explaining the nature of some of the centripetal pressure on text producers/animators.

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Similarly, Bell (1991) discusses the sources of news articles and the criteria by which newspaper principals and editors adhere to when selecting which events and voices to include within their pages. News sources are press conferences, organisationally produced documents (such as surveys, reports etc.), public addresses, press releases and interviews, as well as news agency copy and journalists' notes. These sources show a clear bias towards powerful organisations (who can afford to hold press conferences etc. and produce reports) as well as elite actors. This implies a lack of opportunity for voices outside powerful elites to gain access to newspaper pages. Such findings correspond with what van Dijk (1988) discovered – that oppressive practices exist within the press, and that elite groups are more likely to feature within its pages than non-elite actors (other than in negatively portrayed ways).

Bell (1991:156) also shows the values in a news event that enhance its 'newsworthiness'. Amongst other criteria, he cites consonance (a story's compatibility with preconceptions about the group or nation from which the news actors come), unambiguity (the more clear cut a story is, the more it is favoured), superlativeness (the more superlative the action of the story, the more likely it is to be covered, e.g. most violent crimes, biggest buildings etc.) and eliteness (reference to elite persons like politicians or celebrities mean a story is favoured by editors). This again highlights how the processes of news production might be biased against less powerful groups and those that do not fit social expectations, as well as against groups (or political parties) who might oppose the ideologies of the newspaper.

Editorial texts within the print news media, while not news reports as such, are still subject to similar processes of text production. The topic of the proposal still must be selected according to similar news values, and the chain of production is still

present, with the key difference being that the final text is attributed to the newspaper as an entity, rather than to an individual journalist.

The idea that groups within society are being oppressed or opposed is relevant when examining linguistic and social change. It could be argued that any trends towards increased informality of language, for example, within the media signifies a shift in power in favour of 'the ordinary person', who might not speak the formal prestige dialects traditionally associated with the media. CDA can be used to assess these claims.

2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis and Social Change

2.4.1 Democratisation

Fairclough (1992a, 2003) has argued that social change, in the form of a process of democratisation of discourse, is taking or has taken place. Democratisation is 'the removal of inequalities and asymmetries in the discursive and linguistic rights, obligations and prestige of groups of people.' Key elements of discursive democratisation are relations between languages and social dialects, access to prestigious discourse types, elimination of overt power markers in institutional discourse types with unequal power relations, a tendency toward informality of language, and changes in gender-related practices in language (1992a:201).

The most relevant aspect of democratisation to the study of written media discourse is the tendency towards informality of language, and I will discuss this in 2.4.2, yet it is important to comment on the validity of the overall claims. Fairclough himself notes that there are 'questions about how real or cosmetic changes have been' (Fairclough, 1992a:201). If we are to accept that there have been changes in power relationships within society, I see it as more likely that power has been

repressed (Pateman, 1980) and has taken different forms, rather than groups of people suddenly becoming equal. The oppressive discourse of the past (before any 'democratisation') would be replaced with repressive discourse. Relationships then, would not necessarily be any more symmetrical, the asymmetry would merely be disguised by such features as conversationalisation'. Power forms could be said to be more coercive. Indeed, Kress (1989:60) argues that it has been pointed out that democratisation is occurring because the 'you'/'thou' distinction that characterised overt power relationships in English has been removed. Kress rejects this, instead believing that power relations are still manifested in English but instead are spread throughout the linguistic system in discourses (orders of discourse in Fairclough's terminology) and texts. On these grounds Kress sees 'democratisation as a myth'. I agree with his findings. It seems more likely that news text producers are appearing more informal to maximise their fit with their intended readers in order to attract more customers. This is linked with the idea that the press are keen to maintain the status quo, as it is in the current capitalist climate that they are economically successful in making profits (Fowler, 1991), and therefore informal language use allows them to interact with their intended readers at 'their level', allowing for manipulation to maintain the status quo.

2.4.2 Conversationalization and interdiscursivity

Fairclough (1992a, 1994, 2003) has noticed a tendency toward informality of language as a key aspect of democratisation of discourse. He calls this 'conversationalisation' and sees it as a method by which power markers in formal settings can be eliminated. He argues that 'conversation is colonising the media' (Fairclough, 1992a:204), by its discourse taking on an increasingly conversational character. This is an example of interdiscursivity, where linguistic features from one genre – informal casual conversation – are being integrated into another genre –

newspapers, for example. This process is also said to signify a shift in the relationship between speech and writing. As Carter (1997) illustrates, speech and writing have differing characteristics, and these can be seen as part of a cline, with formal, standard English writing at one end, and informal, casual conversation at the other. Texts appear on the cline depending upon whether they conform more towards spoken or written language, an example of a text at the centre being an informal email – writing that features spoken characteristics. Any shift in the relationship between speech and writing centres on the fact that texts, such as media texts, are shifting along the cline, in this case from written towards spoken language. Fairclough argues that conversationalisation, and indeed democratisation, are examples of 'fragmentation of discursive norms and conventions'. This means that there is greater variability of discursive practice, yet whether this can be viewed as a wholly positive change is unclear. The same doubts raised (above) as to whether such changes are positive for oppressed groups apply here.

This said, it is important to observe whether these changes are actually happening, as they could be viewed as a step towards equality in discursive rights and practices for all, even if it is found that they are currently indicative of merely a change in how power relationships appear. By illustrating that changes have begun to take place, such changes can be encouraged, and any repressive discourse could be eventually seen as emancipating. This would mean that repressive discourse is one notch on a continuum away from oppressive discourse towards truly democratised discourse.

2.5 Identity and Ideology

While the critical analysis of media discourse is of central interest within the current study, of equal importance is the concept of "identity" and the role that its linguistic construction within discourse can have in encoding ideological stance.

2.5.1 *Ideology*

Ideology is a term frequently used in a wide range of academic disciplines, from linguistics to social theory, and is also used in a variety of different ways. Like discourse, the notion of ideology forms a central part of critical discourse analysis, and it is therefore useful to define how ideology is used within this thesis. The everyday meaning of ideology, according to the Oxford English Dictionary is:

> A systematic scheme of ideas, usually relating to politics or society, or to the conduct of a class or group, and regarded as justifying actions, esp. one that is held implicitly or adopted as a whole and maintained regardless of the course of events.

Van Dijk (1998b) points out that traditional notions of ideology involved the narrow view of it as a situation where the dominant ideas of elite classes were imposed on the masses. Ideology was therefore associated with overt power and dominance. Ideology is still used to discuss these situations, but the concept of hegemony has come to better theorise this relationship. In the second half of the twentieth century a more inclusive, less pejorative meaning has developed. Van Dijk (1998b) contends that:

> Ideologies are usually defined as political or social systems of ideas, values or prescriptions of groups or other collectivities, and have the function of organising or legitimating the actions of the group.

Van Dijk (1998b) also provides an overview of how ideologies are formed, and more importantly, of what they actually consist. Van Dijk argues that ideologies have a

socio-cognitive basis in individuals, are produced by societies (and are therefore socially constructed and shared), and require discourse (in this instance a 'communicative event') in order to be manifested and represented. Ideologies are therefore, although mentally present in individuals, shared social beliefs of specific groups within a society that form a base for that group. They might also have certain polarised structures to them, such as an 'us and them'. Ideologies have the specific function of 'optimally helping to realise group goals' (316), by representing group interests and defining group cohesion and solidarity. The purpose of this study is to highlight, as Fairclough has done before, how the ideologies of specific groups are encoded in the language used or presented to everyone in society (newspapers are therefore viewed as being part of a wider political grouping). It is van Dijk's view of ideology that I will be referring to when I use the term.

In order to effectively identify and analyse ideology encoded within media texts, Van Dijk (1998a) argues that the social function of the ideology must be identified. The social function of ideologies is to co-ordinate the social practices of group members for the effective realisation of group social goals and the protection of its interests. The ideologies encoded within editorials therefore function to persuade readers to share the ideological stance, so that the interests of the wider group (Conservatives, for instance, in the case of a right-wing newspaper) are served.

In addition to identifying the social function of ideologies, van Dijk (1998a) argues that it is also possible to identify their cognitive structures. He argues that inn order to sustain the social functions, the cognitive contents, structures and strategies of ideologies should be tailored to these social functions. The cognitive underpinnings of many ideologies might therefore be "Self and Others", "Us and

Them", "We are Good They are Bad". Ideologies may also be represented as group

self-schemata, with categories such as: -

- Membership (Who belongs to our group? Who may be admitted?)

- Activities (What do we do?)

- Goals (Why do we do this?)

- Values (How should we do this?)

- Position (Where are we? What are our relations to other groups?)

- Resources (What do we have and not have?)

Finally, van Dijk identifies that there are particular ways in which ideologies are

discursively expressed and reproduced in discourse. These include the choice of

particular lexical items with ideological connotations, such as the use of evaluative

premodifiers, use of modals (see Chapter 4), clause structure, implications and

presuppositions, the use of detailed or vague descriptions, and cohesion (cohesive

chains of lexical items).

Ideologies are the ways in which meanings within texts serve to establish and

maintain domination (Knowles and Malnkjaer, 1996) and this study is focused upon

uncovering the ways in which language is used in editorial texts in order to attempt

to sustain such domination of readers through the constructing of both institutional

(for the newspapers themselves) and individual (for news actors) identities. The

framework identified by van Dijk (above) is therefore utilised, especially in drawing

attention to the discursive reproduction of ideologies.

2.5.2 Theories of identity

The concept of identity has been a central theme of research within linguistic

analysis in recent decades, especially within the fields of sociolinguistics, discourse

analysis and gender studies (for example Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003; Benwell and

Stokoe, 2006; Butler, 1990; Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998; Talbot, 1995; Taijfel, 1982, Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). The traditional view of identity, dominant until the 1990s, is that it is fixed – that a person or group have an identity that is innate within them, that is fundamental to "who" someone might be. This is referred to as an essentialist approach (Joseph, 2004:83), and views individuals as simultaneously belonging to a number of fixed categories that are static. For example, a person's linguistic choices might reveal their nationality, race, class and gender, and their membership of these groups, and therefore their identity, is fixed.

In more recent times, an alternative approach that has coexisted with the essentialist view, that identity is something that can be performed and constructed depending upon the situational context and the social goals of an individual, has been the dominant theoretical pillar (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 4, Joseph, 2004:84). This is a constructionist approach to identity. As Benwell and Stokoe point out, a person can have multiple identities, all of which lie dormant, waiting to be performed when the need arises – for example an individual might be a Socialist or a Conservative, and only when the situational context allows will that person perform that identity. The linguistic choices made in the composition of newspaper editorials can therefore be viewed as the newspaper performing its own identity in relation to political issues and political ideology. This doesn't, however, account for the issue of identity performance of individuals about whom editorials are being written.

Benwell and Stokoe (2006:108) have discussed the notion of identity within CDA, highlighting how linguistic analyses of transitivity, mood and modality, pronouns, presupposition, intertextuality, vocabulary and theme can reveal the identities being created by a text producer, but their discussion focuses primarily on

how such analyses can reveal how the text producer's own identities are constructed, rather than the identities constructed for others. While the identities, and, more importantly, the subject positions, ideologies and stances of the text producers are of importance within this study, it is also necessary to investigate how the construction of identities for others forms part of this process (see below). This study takes the notion of a constructionist approach to identity further, by examining how text producers construct both their own identities, alongside the identities of those about whom they write.

In this study I am therefore taking a dual perspective: looking at how the self-identities of the newspapers are created, which is in part achieved via the construction of identities for the politicians featured in the editorials. Editorial texts are vital in highlighting the self-construction of identity, as it is here, (see Chapter 3), that the newspapers are most overtly adopting a stance.

Holmes et al. (1999) have discussed the concept of identity within professional and institutional settings, although they focus upon how individuals construct identities for themselves rather than for others. They too view identity construction as dynamic and interactional processes, while acknowledging that context significantly affects how what is said is interpreted. They argue that any particular utterance can be analysed as simultaneously contributing to the construction of more than one aspect of an individual's identity, with these aspects being their institutional, social and personal identities. Whenever a speaker makes an utterance, their social and personal identities are constructed, therefore affecting the perceptions of the person to whom the utterance is addressed. Professional identities are performed via speech acts (such as indirect or direct – direct speech

acts might indicate a strong, powerful professional identity, for example) and agenda setting.

Holmes et al focus solely upon identity construction via spoken discourse in the workplace, with a special emphasis upon the ways in which professional identities at work are simultaneously constructed alongside social relationships and private identities, yet the categories that they choose can be adapted to written media discourse (see below). The types of identities constructed in written media texts fit well into the categories proposed, hence the decision to apply them to the editorial data. Newspaper editorials focusing upon individual political leaders do discuss the political capabilities of the politicians (constructing professional identities), but also represent their personal qualities (personal identities) and categorise them according to their social situation (their nationalities, or their age – social identities). It is therefore appropriate to examine the construction of identities within the editorials according to this model.

2.5.3 Group identities

Benwell and Stokoe (2006:25) highlight how "social identity theory" (Taijfel and Turner, 1979) accounts for the way in which individuals are categorised as belonging to a particular social grouping, the way in which individuals identify as belonging to a group as result of reflexive knowledge of group membership and emotional attachment to that group, and the way in which we compare our own group with other groups. Of great importance to this study is the suggestion that group membership is defined by difference to other groups – the differences between "ingroups" (of which one is a member) and "outgroups" (of which one is not). In the case of newspaper editorials, text producers include idealised readers as belonging to

an ingroup, and can choose to either include or exclude the subjects of their editorials.

In the case of how idealised readers are co-opted into the ingroup, the notion of "communities of practice" is relevant (Holmes and Meyerhoff, 1999). This constructionist theory builds on social identity theory by focusing upon what members of a group do. Wenger (1998) suggests that a community of practice involves three crucial dimensions: mutual engagement (i.e. regular interaction between group members), a joint negotiated enterprise (not just shared goals but an ongoing process of establishing members' place within the group) and a shared repertoire of resources accumulated over time (such as means of linguistic expression and even physical items and places). These dimensions and their associated actions allow group members to form a group identity.

While communities of practice relate to actual actions of groups and the individuals of which they comprise, it is still applicable to newspaper editorial discourse. While readers and text producers do not actually interact physically, the process of readers consuming the texts allows for what Mullany (2002) describes as a "synthetic community of practice" to exist. This means that readers, idealised or otherwise, are constructed by the newspapers' text producers as sharing goals, resources and therefore as members of the same group. Whether politicians are also constructed into the synthetic community of practice is entirely dependent upon the newspaper's and the politician's political ideology.

Within this study it suffices to state that I view the editorial text producers as drawing upon readers' (or the perceived idealised readers, see above) perceived membership of ingroups and therefore constructing identities for whole groups of

people with the purpose of forming cognitive structures for their own (the newspapers') ideologies that are easy for readers to understand (van Dijk, 1998a). Synthetic communities of practice are, in essence, constructed. In constructing and foregrounding group identities to which their readers can belong, such as nationalist identities, religious identities and even the identity of belonging to a group of readers of the same newspaper (a synthetic community of practice), the editorials allow readers to easily conceptualise as to which side of the ideological divide they fall. As with the individual identities discussed above, taking a constructionist over an essentialist approach is vital, as the group identities which readers are given is a changing process rather than a fixed state, albeit a process less subject to change than the process of constructing identities for news actors. This is due to the idealised version of readers for whom the text producers write – such an idealised group is by nature less fluid than if actual readers, in all their shapes and forms, were being represented.

2.6 Stance in Discourse

"Evaluation", as Hunston and Thompson (2000) point out, can also be referred to as "appraisal", "attitude", "stance" and "connotation" or even "point of view", with all terms being used almost interchangeably by various discourse analysts (such as Martin, 2000; Halliday, 1994; Lyons, 1977). While "connotation" is often associated with language items themselves and is therefore closely related to the meaning of a word, "stance" and "attitude" are more closely associated with the intentions and feelings of the speaker or writer of a text. It is for this reason that within the current study, the term "stance" will be predominantly used, as it is the ideological point of view of the newspapers, through the language used in the editorials, that is the subject of investigation. Likewise, while connotations are generally categorised as being "good" or "bad" in relation to a particular word, the use of the term "stance"

further reinforces the notion that it is writer/speaker attitude or opinion that is being encoded in texts, and that such opinions, as van Dijk (1998a) shows, can reflect a more complicated ideological position taken by the speaker.   Within such an understanding of evaluative language, the choice of words with negative or positive connotations can be viewed as deliberate choices that reflect the attitude of the writer to particular events, individuals or states of affairs.

Hunston and Thompson argue that the study of evaluation within texts can be useful, as examining the existence of evaluative items can lead to a greater understanding of a writer's opinion, which thereby reflects the "value system of a person and their community" (6). This is particularly pertinent when considering the presence of authorial stance in newspaper editorials, as any stance encoded can be said to reflect the views of the newspaper as a whole, and the political movement to which the newspaper identifies itself as belonging.   This is clearly linked to Fairclough's (1992a) notion of discourse as evidence of social practice (see section 2.3, above).

Evaluative language, according to Hunston and Thompson, is also used to "construct and maintain relations between the speaker or writer and hearer or reader", which, like the use of metaphor (see discussion of Koller, 2004 in 4.5 of this study), is important to consider when analysing newspaper editorial discourse. Maintaining relations between text producer and readers through the use of markers of stance is evidence of the establishment of group identities and can be used to manipulate or guide readers into following a particular ideology (see also the discussion of Wodak, 2001 in section 4.1).

Linguistic markers of stance can, according to Hunston and Thompson, include lexis, such as adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs, while the use of modals, especially modals indicating possibility, necessity and prediction are also key markers (Biber and Finnegan, 1989). For the purposes of the current study, it is the linguistic tool of modality that will drive the analysis of stance in newspaper discourse, although other lexico-grammatical markers will also be discussed (for a further fuller discussion of lexico-grammatical markers of stance, see section 4.4 of this study).

Martin (2000) has also shown how "appraisal" can be analysed within texts. Within his framework for examining speaker or writer point of view, he identifies three systems in which stance markers can fit. These are "judgement", "affect" and "appreciation", with "affect" being the system used by text producers for expressing emotion, the system of "judgement" being the deployment of moral assessments of behaviour, and "appreciation" assessing aesthetic quality of natural phenomena or processes (such as the use of the adjective "remarkable").

All three systems involve the utilisation of both lexical items and grammatical structures to allow readers or listeners to identify the types of stance being taken by the text producer, while Martin's concept of "engagement" involves identifying the level of commitment made by text producers to the stance taken. Engagement is also marked by lexico-grammar, such as through the use of verbs (e.g. to "suppose") used to hedge, degree adverbs, evaluative adjectives, or even through the use of deliberately vague language (e.g. "kind of").

Within the current study, "engagement" is discussed in terms of modality, which is the main focus of the investigation and through the lexico-grammatical

markers of stance identified by Carter and McCarthy (2006) and Biber et al (1999) (see section 4.4 for the full analytical framework).

Having examined the notions of ideology, identity, stance and CDA and how they have been utilised in relation to media discourse, I will move on to discuss how these have been incorporated, into the analytical framework of this study in chapters three and four.

Chapter 3
Methodology

3.1 Media Discourse

The influence and range of the mass media has been increasing over the past century, with increased numbers of newspapers, television channels and the introduction of the Internet. Economic competition has become fiercer. As Fairclough (1995a:2) points out, 'media language should be recognised as an important element within research on contemporary processes of social and cultural change.' He further points out that media discourse is subject to tension between the public and private, as well as tension between information and entertainment. Newspaper editorials are no different in this respect, although I would suggest that there is a third binary of tensions that newspaper editorials are subject to – with their focus on opinion (van Dijk, 1998) there is also the tension between persuasion and agreement. On the one hand editorials are attempting to persuade readers to share the opinions expressed in the text, which is linked to the ideological stance of the newspaper and its principals, but on the other there is a pressure to reaffirm the views of the idealised reader (O'Halloran, 2003) in order to maximise their fit with their perceived readership. So newspaper editorials are produced in order to inform, entertain and reaffirm ideological stances which can be linked to the profit motive discussed in chapter 2 of this study, but also to persuade, which can be linked to ideological stance of the newspaper and its principals.

3.2 CDA methodology

Fairclough (1989, 1992a, 1992b, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 2003), Fowler (1991), van Dijk (1988) and many other scholars working within the field of critical language study have approached the study of discourse in what might be described as a 'qualitative' way. That is, they take one text at a time and analyse it using the

techniques mentioned in section 1, such as theorising about how the text has come to be produced, under what circumstances and under which pressures and influences. Fairclough and Fowler have argued that a text can be analysed closely using functional linguistics, an approach which lends itself to the line by line analysis of a specific text. A lack of elaboration on the issue of data collection in critical discourse studies has also been a criticism levelled at Fariclough in particular (see chapter 2 of this study), so in outlining the methodology of this thesis I will highlight the key aspects in terms of analysis and data collection.

3.2.1 Qualitative versus Quantitative research

Firstly however, it is necessary to examine the claim that CDA is actually a qualitative approach, and the subsequent problems that result from placing critical language study within one of the two dichotomous approaches to research within the social sciences.

Brannen (1992) has pointed out that there has traditionally been a gulf between qualitative and quantitative research methods within the social sciences. The distinctions between the two relate to the research process and the production of knowledge, with the biggest difference lying in the process of data collection and the form in which the data are recorded and analysed.

Qualitative research, Brannen argues, views the testing of a theory as the most important aspect of the project, whereas quantitative research is concerned with description of a state of affairs and, in the use of numbers and statistics, whether findings can be generalised. The strength of qualitative research is therefore the fact that an issue can be explored in great detail, yet concerns have been raised about replicability (Brannen, 1992). Stubbs (1988) suggests that

qualitative research attempts to account for 'feelings' that cannot be quantified, whereas quantitative research adds depth absent from qualitative studies, that are often focusing on specific instances of any phenomena. The results of quantitative research, and the associated benefits of larger sample sizes, are seen as more generalisable (Hammersley, 1992). Yet the lack of detail means it is largely descriptive and therefore unable to prove social hypotheses.

As there are associated strengths and weaknesses of qualitative and quantitative research methods, it has been suggested that it is possible to conduct research in which the two approaches are combined (Bryman, 1988; Bryman, 2004; Brannen, 1992; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). These mixed methodology approaches can be split into three distinct types (Bryman, 1988, 1992): Where qualitative facilitates quantitative research; where quantitative facilitates qualitative research; where there is an equal emphasis on both. Bryman (1992) does warn however, that in all instances, the choice of approach should be dictated by which is most appropriate to the research question, and that the mixing of methodologies is not always superior to the use of a single approach.

It is important, at this stage, to ask whether discourse analysis specifically, and linguistics in general, can even be viewed as qualitative or quantitative approaches. Brannen, Hammersley and Bryman are agreed that differences between qualitative and quantitative research within the social sciences are primarily to do with methods of data collection. Qualitative research is inextricably linked with ethnographic field analysis and participant observation of the kind that Silverman (1993) has discussed. Quantitative research is associated with eliciting data through the use of structured questionnaires. CDA could be used upon transcripts of talk recorded as part of an ethnographic study, but in the context of the present study, in

which newspaper discourse is to be analysed, it is difficult to see how, in terms of data collection, CDA can be viewed as a traditionally qualitative technique.

Similarly, there are a variety of linguistic analyses that can be undertaken on any type of text, regardless of method of data collection. It suffices to say that data collection methods should be outlined, but it is not the method of data collection that allows CDA to be viewed as a qualitative approach. It is the methods of data analysis that categorise CDA as qualitative, and it is on this that I would like to focus upon. Social science research, both quantitative and qualitative, generally focuses upon the behaviour of groups of people. This is especially obvious in studies adopting ethnographic participant observation techniques, or even interviews or structured questionnaires. Discourse analysis is less **overtly** interested in the behaviour of people, rather the product of people (or the results of behaviour) - texts they have produced. It is by conducting discourse analysis on these products that conclusions about the society that produced them can be drawn.

However, I would regard the CDA of Fairclough, Fowler and van Dijk in their newspaper analyses as qualitative analysis. As Bryman (1992:70) points out, there is a distinction between qualitative data and qualitative research. The data that Fairclough analyses is qualitative, in that it is usually an extended piece of text, as opposed to a series of statistics. Indeed, although it could be argued that CDA is already a multi-theoretical approach, given the variety of theories that can be applied to a text, all of these approaches tend to analyse qualitative data (extended texts). CDA Is therefore not qualitative research in the fullest sense (data collection is sometimes not 'qualitative'), it is certainly qualitative analysis.

Corpus linguistic analysis, on the other hand, can be more quantitative. Studies such as Stubbs' (2001) can often focus on word frequencies within texts, as well as analyse large numbers of texts simultaneously. There is often a large amount of use made of statistical features of texts or groups of texts, including numbers of types and tokens. Within the techniques of corpus linguistics, the data that are deemed worthy of attention are often numbers. This said, corpus analysis can be of statistical information gleamed from the corpus or qualitative analysis of whole texts lifted from the corpus (Carter and McCarthy, 1997). While there have been some studies in which the methods of analysis of corpus linguistics and CDA have been successfully combined (such as Koller and Mautner, 2004), the importance place upon context and cotext within CDA studies makes the two methods of analysis difficult to marry.

It is important, then, to draw a distinction between qualitative and quantitative 'research' in which there are strong traditions of data collection methods, and the respective methods of analysis associated with the two approaches.

In attempting to analyse newspaper editorial discourse, I have chosen to sample from a 25-year period in order to closely examine the relationship between ideology and identity within the texts, paying close attention to any changes in ideological stance and its discursive representation over time. As a result of valid criticisms of CDA and it's lack of evidence of data collection, I have decided to employ a mixed, quantitative and qualitative approach, in which qualitative analysis is combined with the methods of data collection associated with corpus linguistics. Data will therefore be collected using a sampling technique that can be broadly described as quantitative (Bell, 1991).

The decision to sample data was taken according to Bryman's (1988, 1992, 2004) suggestion that methods should be selected according to the research question, as well as due to a desire to make the study more replicable. The nature of CDA means that the perspective and interpretation of the analyst is paramount and true replicability is therefore impossible.

In the remainder of this section I will set out the precise methods of data collection, and the following chapter will introduce the analytical framework, including the key theories upon which it relies.

3.3 Data Collection

As discussed above, in order to answer the research question, a qualitative method of analysis has been mixed with a broadly quantitative approach to data collection. Similarly, the research by definition requires the analysis of media texts. Newspapers have been chosen as the data for this research for a number of reasons. Newspapers are easily obtained and are stored in public libraries, which makes the data easily accessible, but most importantly, newspapers, as a print medium, are reliant upon the representation of reality and the news actors through linguistic choices, in a way that broadcast media are not. Newspapers are also an integral part of media discourse. There are numerous different titles available with differing viewpoints, and their medium allows them direct access to thousands of people each day. As discussed in chapters one and two, above, editorials are a texts in which opinions, and therefore ideologies, are expected to be found, in a way that news texts are not, making editorials a rich source if varying stances adopted towards political figures. Similarly, given the attribution of editorials to the newspaper itself

as opposed to individual journalists, it is only in editorials that purely the stance of the newspaper itself can be found.

It is inappropriate to discuss the data collection in terms of the traditions of quantitative and qualitative research paradigms, as these generally involve questionnaires or structured interviews on the one hand, or open interviews or ethnographic studies on the other. Instead, I have chosen to follow Bell's (1991) suggestion for the collection of media texts, which is a sampling technique that could be described as quantitative.

Bell suggests making a clear delineation of exactly what is to be collected and limiting the amount of data to manageable proportions. Similarly, he draws the distinction between editorial content – written copy – and advertising. He also divides news into four categories: hard news; feature articles; special topic news; and headlines, crossheads, subheadings and bylines. Opinion within the newspapers is kept separate from news reporting. When sampling texts from the newspapers, Bell recommends choosing stories on particular page numbers or numbering stories within each issue and selecting every nth story. Consideration, according to Bell, must also be given to which newspapers to sample, and criteria for making this decision must be based on geographical area, audience size and type, and time of day at which the newspaper is sold. A further three decisions must be made: the time period to cover, the days sampled within that period, and the specific issues sampled.

As discussed above, I have sampled editorial content, as opposed to advertising, and, have sampled "opinion" for reasons that have already been outlined. The time period for the study is the twenty-five years between 1973 and

1998.   This time period was chosen as a result of the fact that one of the newspapers, the *Daily Mail* (see below) only introduced a true "comment" page in the early 1970s, and also it was considered that 35 years into the past was sufficient time to show changes in ideological stance and constructions of identities. 1998 was chosen as the end date for the study due to it being around this time that national newspapers in Britain began to share content with online versions of the newspapers.   The newspapers were sourced from Manchester central library, and their archive was not added to beyond this year, making it a fair comparison of paper-only versions of the newspapers.   25 years was a manageable period of time in terms of sampling.

I chose to sample newspapers from Britain, the geographical area in which I live, and to use national morning newspapers.   These are more widely read than evening newspapers.   I sampled the *Guardian*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Telegraph* and the *Daily Mirror*, whose circulations are 315,599, 2,203,508, 823,393 and 1,465,533 respectively (as of April 2008 according to http://www.abc.org.uk).   These newspapers offer perspectives from both sides of the political spectrum, the *Daily Mail* and the *Telegraph* having a right-wing viewpoint, and the *Guardian* and *Mirror* being considered broadly left-wing publications.   Similarly, the *Daily Mail* and Mirror are tabloids, while the *Guardian* and *Telegraph* are broadsheets, offering a further point of comparison.

Having arrived at these decisions, it was necessary to take samples in as objective a way as possible, following Bell's criteria.   For each newspaper I elected to sample editorials published on a Wednesday.   Wednesdays were chosen at random, as each newspaper included editorials every day.   I therefore sampled the first Wednesday of the months September to March at two points per decade, from the

1970s onwards. The two points were the years 1973-1974 and 1978-1979. The same points were used each decade. Upon collection of the editorials for each time period, I then selected one day from those sampled on which each editorial was written about the same political figure or issue. For time periods in which there were no single days on which all four newspapers devoted an editorial to the same issue, either one newspaper was left out of the analysis, or an editorial from the same week was selected (if such an editorial on the same topic was published). I therefore analysed a group of 3 or 4 editorials for each of the 6 distinct time periods, each dealing with a different political figure or group of figures (see chapter 5).

3.4 Data Analysis

The data are therefore analysed in terms of a comparison between the left and right wing press and between broadsheet and tabloid, with the separation of different years allowing for further comparisons to be made. This facility for comparison is crucial to the study, as it allows for conclusions to be drawn as to which newspaper types change over time in the ways in which their ideological stances are represented. Chapter 4 features an in depth discussion of the analytical framework utilised in the study.

3.4.1 Criticisms of CDA

Toolan (1997) and Widdowson (1995a, 1995b, 1996) have criticised CDA for a lack of objectivity, over-elaborate theorisation, circularity and a lack of truly close detailed textual analysis.

Widdowson (1995a; 1995b; 1996) has been perhaps the fiercest critic of CDA and Fairclough's work in particular, citing a number of problems with its use as an analytical tool. Widdowson's (1995b) chief complaints are with the understanding of

the concept of discourse within CDA, its status as a form of analysis, the relationship between its theoretical underpinnings and the practice of analysis and Fairclough's (1992a) approach to context.

Widdowson argues that proponents of CDA, and especially Fairclough, fail to sufficiently distinguish between what can be said to be a "text" and what can be referred to as "discourse". He argues that while Fairclough defines discourse as a form of social practice, this definition is insufficiently explained. Similarly, the question of the meaning of "text" is, according to Widdowson, unclear. Widdowson argues that discourse is in actual fact the process of "meaning negotiation": the ways in which a reader uses contextual knowledge to understand the workings of a text – with the text itself being a product of discourse. In such a reading, as Widdowson (1996) points out, it is possible for different readers of the same text to identify different discourses within the product. I would argue that this view of discourse is not incompatible with CDA – that any analyst performing CDA is aware that while any insights found must be fully evidenced, that it is possible for alternative readings. In my view, CDA is not the only way to analyse a text, and its results are not the only possible reading.

Widdowson himself acknowledges that those who share his (Fairclough's) approach to analysis easily understand Fairclough's work, while it can remain oblique to those who do not. With this in mind, I would argue that Widdowson's critique of Fairclough's approach to the concept of discourse, while valid, is further evidence of an ongoing dispute within linguistics and social theory as to the definition of the term. For the purposes of this study, I adopt Fairclough's (1992) definition that discourse is language that functions in the social world, while accepting that there are alternative, even compatible views.

Widdowson's (1995a and 1995b) suggestions that CDA is not a form of analysis but is instead a form of interpretation is refuted by Fairclough (1996). Widdowson (1995b) argues that CDA is, like stylistics, an exercise in interpretation, and that CDA rarely allows for the existence of other possible interpretations, claiming that its insights are unique. Analysis, according to Widdowson, should be the illustration of how different discourses can be drawn from texts through the demonstration of different interpretations and the linguistic evidence for these. Fairclough (1996:51) argues that such a definition would invalidate many conventional types of linguistic analysis (given that all approaches invariably look at a text from a single perspective) and that analysis should be more widely defined as a "reasonably systematic application of reasonably well-defined procedures to a reasonably well-defined body of data". Here I agree with Fairclough in principle, but with Widdowson in his criticisms of how Fairclough conducts such an analysis.

The way in which my own analysis is conducted (see chapters 4 and 5) does take a singular perspective, but at no point does this disallow the possibility of alternative readings, and at the same time, as Widdowson advocates, any interpretation is fully upheld by pointing to linguistic evidence. This is an understanding of analysis that is partially compatible with Widdowson (although it doesn't include all possible interpretations, just my own), and fully compatible with Fairclough's definition. However, Widdowson (1996), is critical of Fairclough's (1992) data presentation – in that his example analyses are of extracts or segments that are provided without further recourse to contextual information, despite his frequent reference to the importance of processes of textual production and consumption. Widdowson is therefore arguing that not enough regard is given to context, and that Fairclough's analyses rarely fully utilise or apply the theoretical

frameworks introduced. In Fairclough's own words, I would agree with Widdowson's assertions that Fairclough's data is not a "reasonably well defined body" and that his procedures, although reasonably well-defined, are not reasonably well-applied.

In the case of this study, as my analytical framework shows, I see my procedures as well-defined and applied and my data as well selected and collected (with context, where possible, provided).

Much of Widdowson's criticism rests on his belief that the proponents of CDA see its insights as fixed, concrete and singular. This is not a view that I share. Similarly, the criticisms that Widdowson makes of CDA's approach to analysis, are, in the case of the current study, annulled by the adoption of an innovative mixed approach to analysis that takes a more narrow focus, combining sociolinguistic insights with CDA while providing clear linguistic evidence for the insights found. Any analyses are presented as possible readings rather than as concrete evidence of abuse of power. This analytical framework is introduced in chapter 4.

Scholars working within the field of critical language study also lack agreement on precise methodology (Meyer, 2001:14-30). While I am aware of such potential criticisms, in randomly sampling the data for this study I hope to have reduced the level of subjectivity that can lead to overly subjective and circular studies. Wodak (2001:5) points to the other criticisms: 'the often very large theoretical framework which does not always fit the data…and…the political stance taken explicitly by the researchers.' These are criticisms that could still be levelled at this thesis. In response to the first, I would argue that whilst textual analysis is of utmost importance, it is necessary to show awareness and understanding of how the texts are examples of social product. I believe an analysis is pointless unless allied

to some wider goal or social issue, and if this means lengthy theorisation in order to make these links satisfactorily then so be it. Finally, I believe the political stance taken by the analysts in CDA is just a more overt example of the stance taken by all linguistic researchers. To argue that any analysis is not subjective is surely incorrect, and critical discourse analysts are merely being more open about their reasons for conducting research. Even traditional descriptive linguists have a personal reason for wishing to conduct their research; it is just less public. Indeed, all researchers make subjective choices when analysing data. Similarly, the criticisms levelled at CDA, that it lacks detailed textual analysis, can only be answered by providing real examples from the texts that illustrate the phenomenon being examined.

3.4.2 Qualitative Data Analysis: CDA

Halliday and Hasan (1989) show how context can be split into context of situation and context of culture. Context of situation means the immediate environment of a text, i.e. the words either side of the object of analysis, and context of culture is paying attention to the social world that spawns the text. With the qualitative aspect of this study, it is important to examine both. This corresponds with Fairclough's (1992a) three levels of analysis, text, discursive practice and social practice. It is broadly on these three levels that the qualitative analysis will focus.

Fairclough (2003:11) argues that texts should be analysed with a view to their social effects. Indeed, he argues that by analysing modality, for example, it is possible to conduct a comparative study of the roles of social characters and their identification and how they feel they can act. In terms of this thesis, comparisons of the newspaper editorials and their identity positions can be compared in this way. By incorporating such an analysis into this study, it will be possible to discern

changes in orientation towards public figures, or, in the case of newspaper editorials, newspapers themselves.

Analysis on the textual level involves examination of modality, noun phrases, evaluative adjectives, adverbs and use of metaphor, for example (see Chapter 4 for a fuller list) yet Bednarek (2006) warns against listing features of lexico-grammatical markers of stance to be examined, as such rigidity can potentially close off possible avenues of analysis. It is important to also consider simultaneous analysis on the level of discourse practice and social practice. To do this, for discourse practice it is necessary to draw attention to linguistic features that illustrate the presence of: (For full details of what each element entails, see sections 2.2 and 2.3)

- **interdiscursivity**, i.e. elements from one discourse type (casual conversation) present within another (written media discourse**);**

- **conditions of discourse practice**, i.e. specifying the social practices of text production and consumption associated with media discourse; and

- **manifest intertextuality**, i.e. direct quotation, for example.

On the level of social practice, which essentially examines the potential social functions of the texts or linguistic structure

- **orders of discourse** should be highlighted when text is analysed that is produced under pressure from the institutional norms, alongside the identification of

- **ideological discourse formations** – examples of language use that encode the dominant ideologies of the institution, and which have come to be considered as 'common sense' and are the 'norm' for that institution. Both the ideology itself is an IDF, as are particular linguistic constructs, such as well used phrases e.g. 'bogus asylum seeker'.

By analysing the texts qualitatively in this manner, paying due attention to the theoretical aspects of discourse, any changes or differences in the ways in which ideological stance is encoded within editorials across newspaper type and over time can be identified. This is not only in terms of linguistic norms on the textual level, but also in terms of evidence of change on the levels of social and discursive practice.

Chapter 4 outlines the precise analytical framework utilised in this study, how it incorporates the theoretical concepts of identity and metaphor, as well as the questions to be asked of the data.

CHAPTER 4
Analytical Framework

Chapters 2 and 3 have outlined the general approach taken in this study (Critical Discourse Analysis) and the methods of data collection employed. Chapter four details the specific analytical framework utilised by defining how the key theoretical concepts of ideology and identity are used in this thesis.

4.1 Wodak's 'Discourse-Historical' approach

Wodak (2001:64) suggests that politicians are best seen as both shapers and shifters of public opinion and interests, as well as "seismographs, that reflect and react to the atmospheric anticipation of changes in public opinion and to the articulation of changing interests of specific social groups and affected parties." In this respect, newspaper editorials can be seen to mirror this view of politicians, in that they seek to perform exactly the same roles. Likewise, Wodak rightly claims that the relationships between the media, politicians and the masses are very complex, and that it has been difficult to answer the question as to "who influences who". Critical discourse analysis, she argues, can help answer this question. I would suggest that critical discourse analysis can at least partly answer such a question, especially as to how political points of view are presented to the readers of media texts.

In order to do this, in addition to Fairclough's three dimensional approach to textual analysis, Wodak's "disourse-historical" approach is appropriate. Wodak (2001:65) also sees texts, especially historical texts, or texts that form part of a diachronic study, as having three interrelated aspects, all three of which must be considered as part of the analysis: -

1. The first aspect of analysis, the "text or discourse immanent critique" aims to uncover inconsistencies, contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas within the internal structures of the text or discourse.

2. The "socio-diagnostic critique" is concerned with the "demystifying exposure of the…possibly persuasive or 'manipulative' character of discursive practices." This requires the use of contextual knowledge and is external to the text(s).

3. The "prognostic critique" is the practical application of the findings of the analysis, such as how texts/discourses can be made more equitable.

Within this study, I will utilise both Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2003) version of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), by examining the selected texts and the associated discursive practices, while simultaneously discussing the social practices, as well as Wodak's discourse-historical approach (the first two aspects of which correspond closely with Fairclough's "textual" and "discursive practice" levels of analysis). These two approaches are compatible, in the sense that both approaches have been developed in order to examine uneven power relations and the presence of dominant ideologies within texts, and both take a critical standpoint.

The need to integrate the approaches arises from the fact that while Fairclough's CDA allows for the examination of a text or texts in context, the discourse-historical approach places greater emphasis on the close, critical analysis of a diachronic series of texts. The diachronic data set of this study lends itself to such analysis. While both versions of CDA require the analysis of "manipulative" discursive practices, Wodak states more clearly the importance of contextual knowledge external to the texts – above and beyond the discursive practices of textual production and consumption.

In practice, in this study, the integrated approach will still involve analysing the texts on the levels of text, discursive practice and social practice, with the inclusion of contextual historical knowledge forming, as Wodak suggests, a greater part of the examination of discursive practice and social practice.

On the textual level, I will examine the point of view of the texts by examining their stance in terms of their lexico-grammar (Carter and McCarthy, 2006; Biber et al, 1999) and their modality (Simpson, 1993; Fairclough, 2003; see section 4.3 below for a discussion of both modality and encoding of stance within lexico-grammar).

In addition to simply analysing the internal textual features and practices and the wider discursive and social practices, as part of the discourse-historical approach to analysis, Wodak finds it useful to ask specific questions of the texts under investigation. By adapting the questions asked by Wodak (2001:72-73), in this study I will be asking:

1. In general terms, how, in terms of their lexico-grammar, do the editorials encode the political ideology and identity position of the newspaper through their stance towards political leaders?

More specifically:

2. How do the editorials help to create an ideological identity for the newspapers through their degrees of commitment to events/propositions (Fairclough, 2003)?
3. How do the editorials evaluate decisions/events made by political leaders?

4. How are leaders/news actors named and referred to linguistically? In broader terms, how do the text producers construct professional, social and private identities for the politicians discussed?

5. What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them, for example through use of copular verbs and subject predicators, premodifying adjectives?

6. What perspective/point of view do the editorials take, and do these (and the way in which they are expressed) change over time?

4.1.1 Application of identity within the framework

The theories of identity and ideology utilised as part of the analytical framework in this study have been discussed in Chapter 2. Within this thesis, these notions must be viewed as part of an overall critical discourse analytical framework.

In this study I am taking a dual perspective: looking at how the self-identities of the newspapers are created, which is in part achieved via the construction of identities for the politicians featured in the editorials. Editorial texts are vital in highlighting the self-construction of identity, as it is here, as discussed in Chapter 3, that the newspapers are most overtly adopting a stance.

Newspaper editorials, as a form of mediated discourse (in this case mediated by editorial text producers), do not allow individuals, or even groups, to perform or construct their own identities as they might wish to. Instead, depending upon the ideological goals of the newspaper and its principals, text producers construct identities for the individual news actors under discussion and appraisal. All newspapers are faced with the necessity of representing individuals and groups in some way – it is impossible to do otherwise – but the nature of the identity

constructed for groups and individuals is indicative of the point of view and ideological stance of the newspapers.

In this study, I will take Holmes et al's (1999) categories of performed identities – professional/institutional, social and personal (see Chapter 2, this study) – and use these to categorise the ways in which individuals and politicians have their identities constructed for them in print. I contend that the editorial text producers within the course of an editorial construct identities for news actors depending on the ideological goals of the newspaper. News actors might be given a professional identity – one in which their power or decisiveness, for example, is foregrounded; a social identity – one in which their social status is foregrounded, such as their gender or marital status; or a private identity – one in which their personal qualities are foregrounded, such as their friendliness or goodness. Crucially, such identities may be combined within a single stretch of text or even within the same sentence.

The analytical framework of this thesis therefore integrates notions of constructed and performed identities that have been previously associated with individuals' own language use, into the discursive immanent/discourse practice level of a critical discourse analytical framework. This sees the textual and discursive practice of constructing an identity for somebody else in a newspaper editorial as an ideologically driven act. Hall (2000, cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:29) points out that there is a political need to exploit a notion of identities, while maintaining the constructionist view that identities are temporary rather than fixed. While he was discussing the need for individuals to position themselves in a favourable subject position, this is just as applicable to the construction of identities for others. The decision to construct a personal identity for a politician, for example, might be viewed as sympathetic towards that individual, suggesting support and a positive

stance towards the politician and his party or personal political ideology. The construction of a personal identity for another politician in another editorial however, might be designed to distance that person from the political sphere (which constructing a professional identity would not do) and would therefore be designed to manipulate readers into viewing that person negatively. The construction of social identities for politicians can likewise be for contrasting reasons – constructing an aged identity could be viewed positively as a way of highlighting experience, but also negatively, in terms of a politician being past his/her best. Finally, professional identities can also be constructed to serve contrasting ideological stances. A professional identity constructed on a politician's competence can be used to either highlight positive qualities or incompetence.

These examples highlight the necessity of understanding context in all cases.

4.2 Stance in media discourse

Bednarek (2006) has directly examined the expression of opinion within news media discourse, although she focused exclusively on news reports, as opposed to editorials, and did not adopt a critical approach to her study. In this respect, with this study, I am seeking to take the examination of stance in media texts in a new direction, by closely examining the ways in which the stance expressed in newspapers encodes political ideology. Similarly, while Bednarek looks at contemporary news reports, I am examining editorial texts published over a period of time, thereby examining if and how the relationship between stance and ideology has changed over time.

Nevertheless, it is relevant to note how Bednarek found it useful to identify within the news media the existence of "evaluative parameters", that is a series of

binary viewpoints that speakers/writers take towards the world. These include whether something is "good or bad", "important or unimportant", "expected or unexpected", "genuine or fake", "comprehensible or incomprehensible", "possible or impossible" or "necessary or unnecessary". The key evaluative parameters within media texts, according to Bednarek (2006:67) are comprehensibility, emotivity, expectedness, importance, possibility/necessity and reliability.

Bednarek (2006:8) also warns against merely listing all lexico-grammatical markers of modality and limiting the analysis of texts to investigating these exclusively, as this would unnecessarily close off potential ways in which a text producer has evaluated a situation or expressed a point of view. I agree with Bednarek in this respect, in that drawing up a list of possible lexico-grammatical markers of stance, and then searching for them, might well result in important or relevant examples being overlooked. Instead, in this study, a close qualitative examination of the texts will be carried out, with all markers of stance noted and discussed. Nonetheless, it is still important to be aware of the ways in which lexico-grammar encodes point of view (see section 4.4 below).

4.3 Modality and stylistics

There have been a number of studies within stylistics and critical language study that have sought to apply or exemplify how the issue of point of view and modality can be analysed within texts (For example, Simpson, 1993; Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 2003).

Simpson (1993) argues that in utilising terms such as "modality", which has a commonly accepted designation within language study, some of the subjectivity that is inevitable within textual analysis can be bypassed. This seems to be a pertinent

point, as projects like Carter and McCarthy (2006) and Biber et al (1999) are based on large language corpora. The result of the studies of such large banks of data is to allow analysts to apply the frameworks safe in the knowledge that the insights are grounded in empirically sound methods.

The attitude of a speaker, the modality of a text, helps to construct the ideology of that text (Simpson, 1993:6). Simpson provides a framework for examining systems of modality and transitivity in language. I provide a summary of how they work. Modality is split into four modal systems:

- Deontic – the modal system of duty, concerned with the degree of obligation attaching to the performance of certain actions, for example use of modal auxiliaries such as 'may', 'should' and 'must', and use of deontic expressions. Deontic modality is a 'valuable analytical tool' for examining 'persuasive language' (Simpson, 1993:48).

- Boulomaic – Expressions of desire, often modal lexical verbs, such as 'hope', 'wish', 'regret'.   Again, these are likely to be present in types of persuasive language.

- Epistemic – linked to a speaker/writer's confidence in what they have said. This system is characterised by modal auxiliaries such as 'could', 'may', 'must', 'might', and 'should', and adverbs such as 'possibly', 'arguably', 'maybe' and 'certainly', as well as modal lexical verbs like 'think', or 'suppose'.

- Perception – this is a type of epistemic modality, where the degree of truth of a proposition is predicated on some reference to human perception.

All four modal systems are relevant to the current study. In terms of deontic modality, the way in which editorials indicate the level of obligation attached to the actions of political leaders and upon readers will indicate the political ideology being expressed. This is especially the case in relation to contextual issues, such as whether readers are obliged to support government, or whether politicians are obliged to act on political issues. Similarly, boulomaic modality will be examined, in terms of how editorials orient readers towards leaders and actions. For example, whether it is "hoped" that a particular action should take place will determine the point of view, and therefore the political ideology of the editorial.

Epistemic modality is a key modal system under analysis in this study, as the level of confidence in propositions expressed in the editorial will also indicate the ideological stance of the editorial. Whereas Simpson (1993) examines modality purely in terms of modal auxiliaries and modal lexical verbs, this study utilises his modal systems, but also examines lexico-grammatical features as markers of each system in use (see section 4.4 below).

Fairclough (2003:164) argues that modality, "what authors commit themselves to" in his terms, and "evaluation", "what is desirable or undesirable", are important ways of examining how text producers identify themselves. He argues that what speakers commit themselves to is a significant part of who they are. Modality choices within texts are therefore helping authors to self identify. Speakers committing themselves strongly to propositions that encode right-wing ideologies or viewpoints, are therefore identifying themselves as holding right-wing views.

Fairclough (2003:166) also suggests that identities are relational. This means that "who one is a matter of how one relates to the world and to other people". When weak commitment is made to a proposition, this is as much a part of constructing one's own identity as strong commitment.

Fairclough (2006:167) also asks a key question, in asking "who is able to commit themselves to strong truth claims about this or that aspect of the world?" Using the example of making predictions, he argues that while anyone might make a prediction, it is important to examine who identifies themselves as part of the group that has a socially ratified power of prediction. Fairclough refers to the making of predictions as "futurology" and it is necessary as part of this study to examine how and why the editorials within newspapers practice it.

4.4 Lexico-grammatical markers

As intimated above, recent grammars of the English language (Carter and McCarthy, 2006; Biber et al, 2002) have argued that the attitude of a writer towards, or their point of view about, a state of the world can be identified through analysis of the lexico-grammatical features of a text.

Modality is usually expressed through modal verbs, semi-modal verbs, other lexical verbs, modal phrases, as well as through use of some adjectives, nouns and adverbs (Carter and McCarthy, 2006: Sections 377-406). In addition to these markers of stance, Biber at al (2002) also point to the use of copular verbs and to clause and syntactic structure as key in assessing point of view within a text.

Carter and McCarthy (2006) point to two types of modal meaning in English. One is related to certainty, probability and possibility and therefore attitude towards

and assessment of potential facts. This type of meaning involves making predictions and deductions. The other type of modal meaning involves getting tasks completed and trying to control the course of events through the expression of degrees of obligation and whether something is necessary, or desirable, for example. The type of modal meaning expressed at any given time is dependent on linguistic co-text and situational context.

Biber et al (2002:175) argue that modals and semi modals have "stance meanings" related to possibility, necessity, obligation and desirability, but also that any modal can have two distinct types of meaning: personal (intrinsic) meaning refers to the control of actions and events by human and other agents, such as personal permission, obligation and intention to do something; logical (extrinsic) meaning refers to the logical status of events, such as level of certainty over something, the likelihood of something happening or the logical necessity of something happening.

Biber et al (2002) point to how the modals "can", "could", "may" and "might" are related to permission and ability, their intrinsic meaning being related to permission, possibility or ability, whereas their logical meaning is related to possibility. "Must", "should, "had (better)", "have (got) to", "need to", "ought to" and "be supposed to" are categorised as obligation or necessity modals, their intrinsic meaning being related to obligation, their extrinsic meaning to necessity. Finally, volition (intention) and prediction modals are "will", "would", "shall" and "be going to", and these have an intrinsic meaning of intention, and an extrinsic meaning of prediction.

Biber et al (2002) then show how the structure of a clause reveals whether a modal is used intrinsically or extrinsically, arguing that when the subject of a verb phrase refers to a human, and when the main verb is dynamic and referring to an activity that can be controlled, then the modal meaning is intrinsic. When there is a non-human subject of a verb phrase and a main verb that expresses a state, the modal meaning is extrinsic.

Carter and McCarthy (2006) also discuss the meanings of some of the most frequent modal expressions. Modal verbs and semi-modals have a range of meanings, with differences in meaning often occurring depending upon whether the context is spoken or written. The key meanings in terms of this study relate to logical possibilities, probability, the expression of permission, desirability, predictions, obligations and expressions of degrees of certainty.

Table 1 (adapted from Carter and McCarthy, 2006) – Key meanings of modals.

Modal	Meaning
Can	Expresses permission, ability, logical possibilities
Could	Assessments of weak probability, suggestions, speculation, degree of certainty
May	Permission, weak probability, speculation, degree of certainty
Might	Probability, degree of certainty
Should	Likelihood, desirability

Will	Refers to future time, predictions (if…will…)
Shall	Predictions, intentions
Must	Strong obligation
Would	Used in conditional sentences to refer to likely, possible or desirable outcomes

In addition to modal verbs, Carter and McCarthy (2006) also point to the use of semi-modals, which have similar meanings to full modal verbs. The key of these in the present study, is "ought to", which functions in a similar way to "should". It is therefore used to refer to what is likely or desirable. Other modal verb phrases include "be to" ("are to" or "is to"), which again reflects desirability (but also futurity), "be going to", which is used to make predictions, "have (got) to", which expresses obligation, "be able to", which functions like "can" and "be likely to/that", which expresses probability. Others are "be meant to" (desirability, necessity), "be obliged to" (obligations) and "be supposed to" (refers to what is expected to happen, duties or obligation). There are also full lexical verbs that express modal meanings, especially possibility or likelihood, such as "appear", "believe", "expect", or "suppose" (See Carter and McCarthy, 2006 for a fuller list of such verbs).

A lexico-grammatical view of modality implies that modality is expressed in other ways than merely modal and semi-modal verbs (which is how Simpson, 1993, argues that modality is expressed). While the analysis of the use of modal verbs and semi-modals will form a key part of this study, it is as part of a wider investigation into lexico-grammatical markers of stance and their relationship with political ideology.

Biber et al (2002) show how the use of copular verbs, especially the copula "be", and adverbials, adverbs and adjectives express modality within texts. Many verbs able to function as copular (Biber et al, 2002). They can express a state of existence, or identify an attribute that is a result of a process of change. Copular verbs differ in the complements that they take, but usually occur with an adjective phrase as the subject predicative. In this sense, the use of copular verbs reflect a high degree of certainty on behalf of the speaker, who categorically asserts that the subject of the clause is in the particular state of existence or will end up with the result expressed. "Seem" and "appear" are the most common copular verbs that express state of existence, especially when used in conjunction with an adjective of likelihood and "that" as a complement.

The copula "be" is the most frequent copular verb in English, and when an adjective phrase is used as the subject predicative in the verb phrase with "be", stance is usually expressed (Biber et al, 2002:141). "Possible", "important", and "necessary" are examples of adjectives that can be used in this way.

Biber et al (2002:187) also point to the use of adjectives and adverbs as ways in which stance can be expressed. Adjectives express stance both within their syntactic role as part of a noun phrase, in modifying nouns, and in characterising noun phrases that are separate clause elements, such as when they function as subject predicatives following copular verbs. It is in their role as descriptors (as opposed to classifiers), especially evaluative or emotive descriptors, that adjectives can express stance.

Another way in which stance is expressed within a text is in the use of adverbial clause elements, through the use of adverbs. Adverbs can be used for three types of adverbial, circumstance, stance, and linking (Biber et al, 2002:207), and it is, quite obviously, as stance adverbials that they can encode point of view. Within stance adverbials, adverbs convey the speaker or writer's assessment of the proposition within a clause. There are two key types of stance adverbs: **epistemic**, which encode levels of certainty or doubt, and **attitude**, which reflect emotional attitudes towards a proposition. Epistemic adverbials contain adverbs such as "certainly", "undoubtedly", "probably" and "maybe", while attitude adverbials contain adverbs such as "surprisingly", or "predictably". A fuller list of nouns adverbs and adjectives that express modal meanings has been produced by Carter and McCarthy (2006:678), but within this study, they will be merely discussed as they are analysed.

The purpose of this summary of Carter and McCarthy's (2006) and Biber et al's (1999) findings, is to highlight the variety of ways in which stance can be expressed within a text. Whereas Simpson (2003) limits his discussion to modal auxiliaries and modal lexical verbs, in this study I take a broader approach. I seek to continue to examine the different modal systems within the texts under analysis, but to broaden the analysis to include the ways in which deontic, boulomaic, epistemic and perception modality are encoded within clause structures, adverbials and in the use of copular verbs, adjectives, adverbs and other verbs.

This textual analysis of stance forms the textual level of a critical discourse analysis that incorporates Wodak's attention to historical context from her discourse-historical approach. As Fairclough (2003) discusses, in examining writers' stance, it

is possible to reveal their self-identity, and in doing this it is possible to answer the questions set out in section 4.3.

4.5 Metaphor

While the lexico-grammatical structure of a text encodes stance, examining the use of metaphor can also identify the ideological viewpoint of a text. Metaphoric language has been the subject of much study within linguistics and other academic disciplines, especially psychology (most notably Lakoff and Johnson, 2003; Lakoff, 1987; Goatly, 1997;) and metaphors are key to communication. Media discourse is no difference in this respect, and work has been carried out on metaphoric language in media discourse (Koller, 2004; White 1997; White, 1998, White and Herrera, 2003).

Koller (2004), bulding upon the work of Halliday (1994), points to how metaphors are multi-functional. Their textual function is simply to contribute to cohesion within texts by making connections between concepts, yet the interpersonal and ideational functions of metaphor are central to a critical analysis of texts. The interpersonal function of metaphors is to help writers define a topic for readers, with the intention of persuading readers to share the particular way in which an event or issue has been conceptualised. On an ideational level, using a metaphor helps to construct a particular view of reality, thereby conceptualising topics from a particular viewpoint.

Lakoff and Johnson (2003) have shown how metaphors have a grounding in cultural experience, and newspapers draw on the cultural experience of their readers when including metaphors within their editorials. Lakoff and Johnson argued that

the way in which metaphors work is through the mapping of features from the source of the metaphor onto a new target, thereby, on an interpersonal level, encouraging readers to share the view that there are similarities between the source and the target. This model still holds to a great degree, but Koller points to a more sophisticated way in which metaphors can be viewed, which accounts for the use of novel, complex metaphors. She argues that metaphors in media texts are often extended over sentence boundaries, and can draw on more than one source, performing an ideological function. In such cases metaphors can be described as hybrids, which feature a blending of sources.

In using extended, culturally shared hybrid metaphors, Koller (2004) argues that media texts help to naturalise ideologies. The very nature of journalism is that it is a secondary discourse, whose function is to constrain primary discourse. In terms of this study, politics is a primary discourse that is represented in editorials. When metaphors are used, they serve to constrain how readers view politics and political figures. Positive representations allow the politicians to be viewed in a positive light, and whether they are represented in such a way depends on the ideological stance of the newspaper and whether this matches that of the politician. In any case, Koller suggests that the constructing of reality through metaphor or otherwise helps to maintain the journalists' (and the newspapers as institutions) own symbolic power.

Critical discourse analysis then, can utilise metaphor theory to examine the socio-cultural and ideological function of metaphor, with the aim of attempting to establish the vested interests influencing choice of metaphors within texts. In this study, examination of the ideational and interpersonal functions of metaphors forms

part of the discourse immanent, textual level of analysis. They are simultaneously viewed in terms of their function on a social practice level.

It is the *choice* of metaphor then, which is significant from a critical viewpoint. The specific construction of reality in a particular way and the encouragement of readers to share that conceptualisation will differ from newspaper to newspaper dependent upon the ideological stance and point of view of the newspaper.

4.6 Analysis of the editorials

The analytical framework used to examine the editorials in this study is therefore a unique combination that incorporates and amends a variety of existing theories and approaches. Ultimately, the framework of analysis is a form of critical discourse analysis, but the focus, on a textual, discourse immanent level, on the construction of identities through the use of metaphors, modality and lexico-grammatical markers of stance, allows a close examination of the texts in a way that builds upon existing frameworks.

Chapter 5 features the analytical framework applied to the sampled editorials.

Chapter 5
Analysis

As discussed in chapter 3, a key recurring theme in the editorials of the *Daily Mail*, the *Guardian*, the *Mirror* and the *Telegraph*, was the issue of political leadership and the construction of professional/institutional, social and personal identities (Holmes et al, 1999) by text producers for news actors, especially politicians. The construction of identities affects readers' perceptions of individuals and is directly related to the political ideology and the identity position of the newspaper concerned. Similarly, as with all the issues identified within this study, implicit within discussion of political leadership within the editorials are the ways in which the political ideology of each newspaper affects the construction of these identities and the ways in which text producers construct political identities for themselves and for their readers. Indeed, in their use of pronouns for example, editorial text producers create a consensual view of their readership (Fowler, 1991), forcing their readers to view themselves in a broadly nationalist sense and, more specifically, as a community of practice of readers of a particular newspaper (Conboy, 2006). Readers therefore have their own identities constructed as part of a group with shared ideological beliefs.

As discussed in chapter 1, newspaper editorials have a special role within the pages of the press, as they are openly persuasive and there is less emphasis on objectivity (Lee and Lin, 2006). They represent the participation of the newspaper in public debate (Le, 2003) and are sites, as discussed in chapter 3, where ideological stances can often be found (Hackett and Zhao, 1994). In six distinct sections, this chapter will feature examination of a series of editorials taken from the randomly collected sample.

Summary of editorials to be analysed (these can be found, in this order, in the appendix)

Text No.	Date	Newspaper	Summary
1	6/3/1974	**_Daily Mail_**	Discussion of Harold Wilson's cabinet reshuffle and leadership
2	6/3/74	_Guardian_	
3	6/3/74	_Daily Mirror_	
4	6/3/74	_Telegraph_	
5	4/10/78	_Daily Mail_	Discussion of the issues faced by Jim Callaghan
6	4/10/78	_Guardian_	
7	4/10/78	_Daily Mirror_	
8	4/10/78	_Telegraph_	
9	5/10/83	_Daily Mail_	Views on Michael Foot standing down as Leader of the Opposition (but Geoff Boycott in _The Mirror_)
10	5/10/83	_Guardian_	
11	5/10/83	_Daily Mirror_	
12	5/10/88	_Daily Mail_	Views on Neil Kinnock's speech to the Labour Party conference
13	5/10/88	_Guardian_	
14	5/10/88	_Daily Mirror_	
15	5/10/88	_Telegraph_	
16	1/12/93	_Daily Mail_	Appraisals of Kenneth Clarke's budget
17	1/12/93	_Guardian_	
18	1/12/93	_Daily Mirror_	
19	1/12/93	_Telegraph_	
20	7/10/98	_Daily Mail_	Discussion of Tony Blair, Gordon Brown and William Hague
21	6/10/98	_Guardian_	
22	7/10/98	_Daily Mirror_	
23	7/10/98	_Telegraph_	

Conboy (2006:152) discusses how the British tabloid press (in his 2004 sample) habitually treats the subject of politics. He argues that political issues are represented as part of a nationalist framework – that political issues featuring in the tabloid press are almost always national in nature – and that, more importantly, they are portrayed in populist and personalised terms. The language used, and the approach of the press, therefore points towards a state of affairs that sees the press aligning itself with perceived popular attitudes (mainly negativity) towards politicians in general and specific personalities, which contributes to a representation of Britain as cynical and apathetic with regard to politics.

Importantly, this approach does little to contribute towards engendering political change, often rejecting the proffering of any form of political perspective in favour of populism, or simply a firm adherence to the political ideology of the particular newspaper (a form of populism, if we can assume that the majority of readers buy a particular newspaper because its ideology is broadly in line with their own). This contributes to the maintenance of the status quo in which the print media have financial security (Fowler, 1991). In the context of the current study, alongside the questions posed in chapter 4 and the examination of identity construction discussed above, it is necessary to investigate whether these prevalent attitudes in the press in the 2000s were evident in the past, and whether the approach adopted in news reports (Conboy's data) is mirrored in editorial texts. This aim fits into the overall broad goal of the study – an examination of how editorials encode stance towards political leaders in their lexico-grammar.

5.1 Leadership and the cabinet of March 1974

The random selection of texts resulted in the inclusion of editorials from all four newspapers on the issue of the appointment of the March 1974 cabinet. As Wodak (2001) suggests, the texts should therefore be viewed in light of their socio-historical context. After the unusual occurrence of a hung parliament resulting from the February General election, the Labour Party formed a coalition with the Ulster Unionist party, and the leader, Harold Wilson, named his cabinet. All four newspapers devoted editorial space to commenting on the naming of the cabinet, and the suitability of the various individuals to the posts that they had been asked to fill. In terms of identity, this allows for an examination of the newspapers' stance towards Wilson as a leader, his decisions, as well as the many individuals involved. The stance towards Wilson and his colleagues is encoded in the way in which they are represented in the editorials, with identities being constructed throughout. This also, naturally, mirrors Conboy's notion that politics is personalised and populist (populist in the sense of sharing the cynicism of the ideal reader). What follows is a textual, discourse immanent critique of the texts, with a simultaneous socio diagnostic critique, which attempts to demystify some of the persuasive language.

5.1.1 *Headlines*

Daily Mail	*Guardian*	*Telegraph*	*Mirror*
Mr Wilson's Labour Coalition	Mr Wilson's Old Team	Wilson's Team	No Reds under this bed

On a textual or "discourse-immanent" level of analysis, the first points of comparison between the texts are the headlines. The *Daily Mail*, the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph* all adopt a formal register, highlighting Wilson by explicitly constructing him as the decision maker, through the use of his name as a genitive premodifier. In the case of the *Daily Mail*, the right-wing tabloid, the use of the premodifying noun "Labour"

foregrounds Wilson's political affiliation, which serves to identify him to their ideal reader as a member of an outgroup, and therefore distance him from the *Daily Mail* and its community of practice.

Both the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph* have very similar headlines, with only subtle distinctions to be made between the two. The *Guardian*, like the *Daily Mail*, identifies Wilson using his title and last name ("Mr Wilson"), whereas the *Telegraph* merely represents Wilson using his last name only. Ide et al (1992) have shown how title plus last name (TLN) is a distinct form of address, arguing that TLN is a more formal and polite form that is used to convey a polite or formal attitude. I would suggest that last name only (LN) is a form that conveys a slightly reduced level of formality and politeness in most contexts, but is not necessarily 'friendly', in the same way that the use of first name only might be. Brown and Levinson (1978) demonstrate that the use of a person's title is a "marker of deference" that also encodes a higher level of politeness than the use of last name only.

In this respect, then, the *Guardian* can be said to be more formal than the *Telegraph*, possibly affording Wilson a greater level of respect or deference (although the use of TLN in the *Daily Mail*, highlights that the use of titles can be an issue of register rather than respect), which could therefore encode a pro-Labour stance.

The *Guardian*'s use of the adjective "old" contributes to an initial construction of a positive collective social identity for Wilson's cabinet. In representing them as "old", the *Guardian* highlights to its readers that they are an experienced team, already familiar with the process of government. This headline therefore suggests a positive orientation towards Wilson and the Labour Party.

Whereas the headlines from the *Daily Mail*, *Guardian* and *Telegraph* mirror the formal, informative nature of the editorials that follow, the *Mirror's* headline is in stark contrast. It leads with an alternative that, through use of an interdiscursive metaphorical blend, draws upon discourses of childhood fear and utilises a set phrase of the period that reflected ideological opposition to extreme left-wing politics. Here the *Mirror* uses a source, checking under the bed in fear prior to sleep, and maps the associated feelings of relief at not finding terrors, onto the target, the lack of extreme left politicians in Wilson's cabinet. This metaphor of "bedtime" functions interpersonally and ideationally (Koller, 2004). Its interpersonal function is to conceptualise the naming of the cabinet in terms that fully reject the notion that the Labour-Ulster Unionist coalition includes individuals with far-Left views, while at the same time encouraging readers to share that view. The metaphor rejects fear and, as it is a declarative categorical assertion, readers are encouraged to do likewise. Its ideational function is to construct the view of the cabinet appointments as positive, as opposed to any number of other ways in which the decisions could have been represented. The choice of this metaphor serves to highlight that the *Mirror* is positively oriented towards Wilson, and that the ideology of the *Mirror* is aligned with his. Likewise, it highlights a preoccupation at the time with fear of extreme left politics, even amongst social groups with left-wing ideologies, suggesting that success in mainstream politics was predicated upon rejecting extremes and embracing moderate views (for more of this, see this section, below).

5.1.2 Wilson as a strong decision maker

The 1973 editorial is unique within this study, in that all four newspapers structure their editorials in such a way as to appraise Wilson by adopting either a positive or negative stance towards the decisions he has made in appointing politicians as members of his cabinet (through use of modal auxiliaries, adjectives and adverbs

and verb tense) as well as assessing the suitability of the politicians themselves. This is achieved through use of premodifiers within the relevant noun phrases, such as "pseudo titles" (Meyer, 2001; Bell, 1988), but more generally by representing the individual politicians concerned via the creation of fixed identities for each. In the editorials for this period, then, the newspapers take a layered approach to identity construction, whereby the professional identities constructed for individual cabinet members serve to construct a professional identity for Wilson as an effective leader or otherwise, and this helps to create an identity position for the newspapers themselves. At the same time, the identities created on all three levels serve to highlight the ideological positions of the newspapers and can be viewed as attempts to manipulate readers into sharing in their conceptualisation of events.

5.1.3 Wilson's positive decisions and positive professional identity

The headline to the *Mirror*'s editorial suggested the likelihood of a positive stance taken towards Wilson in the editorial itself (see section 5.1.1, above). Indeed, Wilson's decisions are represented in either wholly positive terms or the newspaper asks rhetorical questions of them, but at no point are they constructed as negative actions. Wilson therefore has a positive professional identity as a shrewd decision maker constructed for him by the *Mirror*, which reflects the *Mirror*'s Left wing views and serves to suggest that readers share the positive stance.

| *Mirror* | Only a bilious or chronically feverish imagination could see Harold Wilson's New Cabinet as a bunch of extremists. (1) |
| *Mirror* | Could even Anthony Barber pretend they will be "putty" in Communist hands – the charge he made in an election broadcast? (2) |

(1) and (2) positively evaluate Wilson's decisions through propositions that suggest that his choice of Cabinet is not extremist, and is therefore a balanced, well-selected team. The conditional use of the epistemic modal "could" in (1) suggests that the hypothetical (although very possible, as the editorials from other newspapers will show) possibility of viewing Wilson's Cabinet as indulging in extreme politics would be entirely outlandish. This is also achieved through the use of the evaluative adjective "bilious" and the adjective phrase "chronically feverish" to premodify the noun "imagination", which is constructed as belonging to hypothetical critics. In terms of social practice, the use of these adjectives serves to distance readers from holding the view that Wilson's team is extreme, and therefore persuades them to share in the *Mirror*'s conceptualisation.

The asking of a rhetorical question, in (2) is a discursive practice often used in the editorials (see elsewhere in this chapter) that both highlights the dialogic nature of the editorial (which serves to help construct a community of practice by engaging in "synthetic mutual engagement") but also foregrounds a proposition. In this case, the question (including manifest intertextuality) of whether even a prominent Conservative politician could suggest that the Cabinet might embrace Communism is asked, and encodes the implication that it is not possible to do so. This again functions to assert to readers that Wilson's decision making is sound.

Mirror	A Cabinet that includes Jim Callaghan, Roy Jenkins, Denis Healey, Harold Lever and Anthony Crosland, as well as Michael Foot, Anthony Wedgewood Benn and Barbara Castle, strikes a fair and sensible balance. (3)

The adjectives "fair" and "sensible" that premodify the noun "balance" encode a positive stance towards Wilson's decisions, and the use of the present tense of the

verb "to strike" in (3) sees the *Mirror* categorically asserting that Wilson's cabinet is well conceived. The categorical assertion of what is actually an opinion serves to manipulate readers into sharing that opinion. (3) also draws upon the contextual knowledge of readers, in presuming that they are aware of the political ideologies of the politicians named, which serves to reinforce a synthetic sense of group membership.

Mirror	Even that darling of the Left, Mr Foot, may well turn out to be more realistically moderate than most people would expect. Or Fear. (4)

In (4) Michael Foot (who is the subject of the editorials in section 5.3 of this study) has the professional identity of "Left-wing politician" constructed for him through the use of the noun phrase and postmodifying prepositional phrase "darling of the Left". The prepositional phrase "of the Left" serves to distance the *Mirror* itself from identifying with that political ideology, in favour of a more centrist stance. Nevertheless, the newspaper still conceptualises Foot's appointment as a positive one, through the use of the epistemic modal verb "may". This is used to in order to speculate (Carter and McCarthy, 2006), and the *Mirror* deflects potential criticism of Foot's appointment by speculating, albeit with weak probability, that Foot will be "realistically moderate". The use of this adjective phrase highlights the *Mirror'*s own identity position of being "moderate", and this is a prevailing identity position adopted by the newspapers from this era (see below). This also functions as encouraging readers to adopt a similar stance. The verb "to fear" highlights the sense of concern that Communist USSR had engendered in Britain at the time, and it is in this historical context that notions of Left-wing politics must be placed.

Mirror	The men and women picked by Mr Wilson have ability and great experience. They could blend into a most formidable team. (5)

The use of the positive nouns and adjectives "ability" and "great experience" attributed to Wilson's chosen Cabinet in (5), allied to the present tense of the verb "to have", encodes the *Mirror*'s positive stance towards Callaghan and again serves to construct a positive professional identity for him as a wise leader. The modal verb "could" is again used in order to speculate, this time foregrounding the possibility of the Cabinet becoming a "formidable team". The positive adjective used helps to manipulate readers into sharing the *Mirror*'s positive stance.

| *Mirror* | Michael Foot will certainly be persuasive. (6) |
| *Mirror* | Mr Healey will find the brilliant expertise of Harold Lever a valuable support. Mr Lever is a financial think-tank in himself. (7) |

The *Mirror* uses the modal "will" in order to predict future events (Carter and McCarthy, 2006), and in strongly committing to a version of the future which is far from certain in (6) and (7), it seeks to guide both reader expectations and the actions of the individual politicians (Foot, Healey and Lever). It is only a possibility that Foot "will" be "persuasive", for example, yet in using the stance adverb "certainly", the *Mirror* suggests high levels of confidence in Foot's future actions. This manipulates readers' expectations and encourages them to be disapproving of Wilson if the future doesn't take this shape.

The positive professional identity constructed for Harold Lever in (7) (through the noun phrase "brilliant expertise" and the categorical assertion using the copula "(he) is a financial think-tank", serves to vindicate Wilson's decision to appoint him, which in turn constructs a positive professional identity for Wilson himself, reflecting the *Mirror*'s own sharing of Wilson's political vision

The Guardian

Like the *Mirror*, the *Guardian* during this period also adopts a positive stance towards Wilson and does so through a positive appraisal of his decisions. Also like the *Mirror*, the *Guardian* does not feature any explicit criticisms of Wilson's Cabinet choice.

The discursive structure of the *Guardian* editorial involves an initial assessment of Wilson's choices in general terms, before assessing and identifying some individual Cabinet members, before finally featuring a discussion of possible future actions. Fairclough (2003) has discussed how the narrative structure of a text can encode point of view through the ordering of events or items. In this text, the first three members of the Cabinet whose appointments are appraised are appointees to relatively minor posts (Shirley Williams, John Morris and Eric Varley). This allows the *Guardian* to positively evaluate Wilson's decisions on relatively uncontentious and inconsequential appointments, which foregrounds the positive stance taken in the mind of the ideal reader.

Guardian	At the junior end of the Cabinet, Mrs Shirley Williams has the right mixture of idealism and common sense to make a success of her role on prices. (8)
Guardian	Mr John Morris is a good appointment as Welsh Secretary (9)
Guardian	Mr Eric Varley is a less well-known newcomer at Energy, but his mining experience should be useful. (10)

This positive stance is seen in (8), (9) and (10), where either positive professional identities are constructed for the politicians, or Wilson's own decision is directly positively appraised. In (8), the simple present tense of the verb "to have" is used in order to categorically assert the *Guardian*'s constructed professional and personal identity for Williams. The use of the adjective "right" to premodify the noun "mixture" which is attributed to her, as well as the nouns "idealism" and "common

sense" serve to represent Williams as both competent professionally, as well as personally having favourable attributes. Such a constructed identity serves to positively evaluate Wilson's decision to appoint her.

The use of the copula to make a categorical assertion in (9), an assertion that uses the evaluative adjective "good" to premodify the noun "appointment", does likewise. The use of the modal "should" in (10) encodes a likelihood of success for Varley, which again serves to represent Wilson's decisions to readers as good, thereby constructing a positive professional identity for him.

| *Guardian* | That was wise, for in the middle of the most severe economic crisis since the war…there will not be much time for Ministers to read themselves in and not much room for error. (11) |

This professional identity position of "wise politician" is already foregrounded in readers' minds through the use of the adjective "wise" in (11), where the use of the modal auxiliary "will" is used to predict how the process of commencing a Cabinet post is likely to proceed. In strongly committing to the prediction that there will not be "much room for error", the *Guardian* constructs an identity position for itself as a knowledgeable political commentator (see section 5.1.5, below).

| *Guardian* | Like English Test captains in trouble, Mr Wilson has set a defensive field. (12) |

The use of metaphorical language in (12) also encodes a positive stance towards Wilson. The use of a simile, in which Wilson is likened to a cricket captain involved in a troublesome period of a game, represents him as adopting the correct strategy under the circumstances, which encourages readers to share this view.

| *Guardian* | Expect no dogmatism from Mr Callaghan, the greatest pragmatist of them all. (13) |

Guardian	Mr Roy Jenkins will probably not relish his return to the Home Office, though his compassionate spirit should ensure sensible administration on immigration and pornography. (14)

Further positive professional or social identities are constructed for members of Wilson's cabinet that serve to reinforce Wilson's constructed identity as a wise politician. In (13) Jim Callaghan's identity (the subject of the editorials analysed in section 5.2 of this study) is positively constructed through the use of the superlative "greatest" premodifying the noun "pragmatist", while in (14) Roy Jenkins is constructed as having a positive social identity that simultaneously implies a successful professional identity, through the use of the adjective "compassionate". From a social practice perspective, the use of "compassionate" alongside the modal auxiliary "should" in (14) in relation to ensuring "sensible administration on immigration and pornography" encodes a Left-wing ideology (in its liberalism) and a Left identity for the *Guardian*. "Should" can be used to indicate both likelihood and desirability (Carter and McCarthy, 2006), and suggesting that compassion is desirable in administering immigration and pornography legislation implies a Left-wing approach.

Guardian	Mr Merlyn Rees's appointment to Ulster is sensible. He has outstanding qualities of calmness and good judgement and the Prime Minister should resist the temptation to interfere. (15)
Guardian	Mr Michael Foot is an altogether more imaginative appointment (16)

Direct appraisal of Wilson's decision to appoint Merlyn Rees and Michael Foot can be found in (15) and (16), with the adjectives "sensible" and "imaginative" indicating the *Guardian*'s approval. The positive appraisal of the decision to appoint Foot is in stark contrast to the stance adopted by the Right-wing press (see below). In (15), Rees has a simultaneous personal and professional identity constructed the

use of the noun phrase "qualities of calmness and good judgement", which reinforces the positive stance taken towards his appointment.

Guardian	Mr Wilson has shown a welcome touch of his old flair in giving Mr Callaghan responsibility for the European negotiations at the Foreign Office. (17)

Finally, Wilson himself is directly identified in (17) through the attribution of the positive noun phrase "old flair" to him, which reinforces the construction of a positive professional identity, and, importantly, directly represents him as a dynamic leader to readers, who are forced into conceptualising his leadership in this way. This is representative of the *Guardian*'s stance towards Wilson, with the social function of the editorial seemingly being to persuade readers to share an optimistic view of the Government and Wilson, during what was a period of instability in Britain. This, as well as reflecting the *Guardian*'s Left-wing stance and ideological position, also reflects the need for newspapers to maximise their fit with readers, who would be desperate for "good" news.

The Daily Mail

This partly explains the stance taken towards Wilson by the Right-wing press, who, one would expect, would ordinarily take a largely critical stance towards a Labour leader and Government, but who in the editorials sampled offer a slightly more balanced approach.

The *Daily Mail*, then, features a number of instances in which a positive stance is taken towards Wilson, or when a positive identity is constructed. However, on a number of occasions a specific positive evaluation of Wilson's decisions is tempered by items that encode a negative overall stance.

Daily Mail	By any standard, the new Ministers look an impressive team. But is Mr Wilson playing them in the right positions? (18)

One such example can be found in (18), where a positive stance is initially adopted through the use of the noun phrase "impressive team" (part of an institutionalised metaphor), but is tempered through the use of the verb "to look", which encodes the implication that although the Cabinet appears impressive, it is not necessarily the case. The conjunction "but" also implies that such a positive stance should be reconsidered. Similarly, the rhetorical question asked in relation to Wilson's deployment of individuals indicates that while the *Daily Mail* commends Wilson in his choice of Cabinet members, he does not have a fully positive professional identity constructed due to the implied criticism.

Daily Mail	Fortunately Mr Wilson has picked Mr Harold Lever, one of Labour's least doctrinaire and most financially astute Front Benchers to keep a watchful eye on Mr Healey. (19)
Daily Mail	Labour's bogyman, Mr Tony Benn, returns to take charge of Industry. Our only consolation here is that the most tempting targets for nationalisation…are outside his immediate Ministerial grasp. (20)

This dual function of the *Daily Mail* editorial, to simultaneously positively evaluate and negatively portray Wilson, continues in (19) and (20). In (19), the adverb "fortunately" is used to adopt a positive stance to the appointment of Harold Lever, yet at the same time Lever has what the *Daily Mail* would perceive as a positive professional identity constructed for him through the adjective phrases "least doctrinaire" and "financially astute". The former encodes the *Daily Mail*'s anti-Labour and Right-wing ideological position, as having a personal and professional identity that is not overtly Left-wing (and thereby characteristic of Labour) is presented as a positive attribute.

In (20) Tony Benn is identified using the negative noun phrase "Labour's bogeyman", which constructs a simultaneous negative personal and professional identity for him, reinforced by the use of the participle "tempting" in premodifying the noun "targets". In constructing Benn as a bogeyman who is tempted to nationalise industries, the *Daily Mail* identifies itself as adopting a Conservative subject position, in that supporting nationalisation would not constitute being labelled a bogeyman to a Labour supporter. Yet Wilson receives a positive appraisal of sorts via the assertion, through the use of the present tense of the verb "to be", that such targets can not be influenced by Benn, thereby representing Wilson as having appointed him to a post in which he can make least negative impact. This encodes satisfaction as opposed to the outright praise offered by the *Guardian* and the *Mirror* (and by the *Daily Mail* in some isolated examples, below).

The use of the second person possessive pronoun in (20) highlights the way in which newspapers take a consensual view of society, and, in terms of van Dijk's (1998) method of viewing the cognitive structure of ideologies, highlights how *the Daily Mail* constructs a group identity for itself and its readers, with Benn clearly denied group membership. As part of the self-schemata of the group, Benn does not share the *Daily Mail* readers' values and is therefore excluded. This also contributes to the construction of a synthetic community of practice through the implication of joint values for group members. Group identity construction can be linked with the profit motive of the newspapers (Fowler, 1991) as making readers feel included as part of a community of readers will encourage them to buy the newspaper regularly.

Daily Mail	It is a relief that, as Foreign Secretary, the wily and pragmatic Jim Callaghan will take charge of Common Market negotiations. (21)
Daily Mail	Meanwhile, the most fervent anti-Marketeer Mr Peter Shore, is tucked away at Trade. (22)

Extracts (21) and (22) also encode a mixture of positive and negative constructed professional identities for Wilson. While Jim Callaghan has a positive identity constructed for him along similar lines to that constructed by the *Guardian* (above) in (21), the main clause "It is a relief", featuring the noun "relief", contains the implication that it was expected that Wilson would make a less sensible choice, thereby representing Wilson as wise, but surprisingly so.

Similarly, Wilson is represented as having made another positive decision in (22), but the use of the dead metaphor in the verb "to tuck" suggests that *the Daily Mail*'s stance towards Shore is very negative, implying that Wilson should not have appointed him at all. Indeed, the constructed professional and personal identity for Shore is entirely negative, achieved through the use of the premodifying noun phrase "most fervent anti-Marketeer". The use of the superlative reinforces this negative ideological identity, which does more to indicate the *Daily Mail*'s identity position than construct Wilson's.

Daily Mail	Mr Tony Crosland is the right man for Environment. Mrs Shirley Williams is a sensible choice for the thankless chore of price control. And it is good to know that the moderate, Mr Prentice, is to handle Education. (23)

The only instance where the *Daily Mail* positively evaluates Wilson decisions is in (23), when, through the use of the adjectives "right", "sensible", and "good", the appointments of Tony Crosland, Shirley Williams and "Mr" Prentice, are praised. This is the sole time when Wilson's professional identity as a sound decision-maker is constructed by the *Daily Mail* without any caveats. The fact that the appointments praised are not high ranking posts allows for such a construction.

The pseudo-title "the moderate, Mr Prentice" also highlights not only *the Daily Mail*'s ideological stance – an anti-Left stance – but a prevailing ideological position in all newspapers (as discussed above in relation to the *Mirror*).   Ideological moderation, or a centrist identity position is viewed in positive terms in light of the perceived threat of Communism.

The extracts from the *Daily Mail* in this section, then, reflect the newspapers stance towards Wilson and the political and economic situation in Britain in 1974. There is evidence of a desire not to appear wholly negative due to the destabilising effect this could have, yet the newspaper and its ideal readers do not share Wilson's political ideology, which results in a partially positive professionally identity constructed for him, with a simultaneous negative stance and implicit disagreement with his ideology.

The Telegraph

The same can be said of the *Telegraph*'s editorial for this period, which similarly, despite it's Right-wing, Conservative reputation, also features a positive stance towards some of Wilson's choices.

Telegraph	However, Mr Lever's appointment as a close adviser to the Prime Minister on financial and economic matters helps to ensure that one expert, wise and capable mind will be brought to bear on this central area of policy. (24)

Like the *Mirror* and the *Daily Mail*, the *Telegraph* positively appraises Wilson's decision to appoint Harold Lever to the Cabinet in (24). This is achieved through constructing a positive personal and professional identity for Lever as an intelligent man and capable politician through the use of the positive adjectives "expert", "wise"

and "capable" to premodify (Lever's) mind. Similarly the verb phrase "helps to ensure" is used to highlight to readers the wholly positive nature of the appointment.

| *Telegraph* | Mr Jenkins is widely respected for his sense and moderation. (25) |

A similarly positive appraisal is made of the appointment of Roy Jenkins in (25), as he has constructed for him a positive professional identity through the attribution of the nouns "sense" and "moderation" to him. The notion of moderate ideological beliefs appears here, just as in the other newspapers (above), which further enhances the suggestion, on a social practice level, that this is dominant ideology of the time.

| *Telegraph* | The team he has gathered around him for the high offices is, at any rate, an experienced one. (26) |

The declarative structure of (26) also encodes a positive stance towards Wilson by the *Telegraph*, as, through the use of the participle "experienced" to modify the nominal substitution, the suggestion that Wilson has appointed a capable team is made.

| *Telegraph* | Mr Callaghan is probably the best choice that could have been made for the Foreign Office. (27) |

The use of the epistemic stance adverb "probably" in (27) encodes a level of reasonable certainty and commitment to the proposition that Wilson has made a sound decision in appointing Callaghan.

The *Telegraph*, as a broadsheet, takes a less partisan approach to *the Daily Mail*, constructing a positive professional identity for Wilson as a wise decision maker, with fewer caveats than the right-wing tabloid. Nevertheless, like the *Daily*

Mail, the *Telegraph* constructs a contrasting professional identity within the same editorial by negatively evaluating some of Wilson's other decisions.

5.1.4 *Wilson's negative decisions and negative professional identity*

While the *Mirror* and the *Guardian* do not explicitly negatively evaluate Wilson's decisions, or construct negative identities for Cabinet members (the editorials in these newspapers imply some criticism of Wilson through other discursive means – see 5.1.5 below), the Right-wing press have no such qualms. The *Daily Mail* and the *Telegraph* both directly and indirectly negatively appraise Wilson's decisions, thereby casting doubts in the minds of readers as to Wilson's professional competence.

Daily Mail	The key role in the Cabinet must be that of Chancellor of the Exchequer. One man above all others seemed fitted for this job: Mr Roy Jenkins. (28)

The first instance in the *Daily Mail* of criticism comes in the second paragraph, which foregrounds a representation of Wilson as a poor decision-maker to readers, as positive appraisal is only offered later in the editorial. The epistemic use of the modal auxiliary "must" in (28) indicates strong confidence in the assertion that the role of Chancellor is the "key" post in the Cabinet. The use of the simple past tense of the perception verb "seemed" asserts with confidence that Roy Jenkins was the man who should have been appointed, thereby implicitly criticising Wilson's decision and constructing a negative identity for him.

Daily Mail	His presence at the Treasury would have done more than anything else to reassure foreign bankers and restore confidence at home. He speaks for moderation. And he does so with unique authority. (29)
Daily Mail	He has been given the Home Office, a position of undoubted importance. But one on the sidelines so far as the economic crisis is concerned. (30)

The criticism of this decision at the start of the editorial continues in (29) and (30). The modal "would" is used in conditional sentences to refer to likely, possible or desirable outcomes (Carter and McCarthy, 2006) and it is used in (29) to propose that a more desirable outcome would have resulted if Wilson had made a different decision. This suggestion is enhanced through the construction of a positive identity for Jenkins, for whom the *Daily Mail* constructs a positive identity by featuring the declarative sentence "he speaks for moderation" and the prepositional phrase "with unique authority". Jenkins therefore is represented as wholly positive, which implicitly criticises Wilson's decision not to appoint him as Chancellor. In (30), the conjunction "but" is used to encourage readers to revise their thoughts on the positive stance taken to the appointment of Jenkins to the Home Office, indicating that while Wilson had made a positive decision, he could have made an even better one.

Daily Mail	Mr Foot, foremost of Parliamentarians would have made a splendid Leader of the House (a job that goes to the Worthy Ted Short). Yet his administrative experience is nil. And his Left-Wing passions, though grown somewhat circumspect with age, could still lead him off at the gallop into the red at dawn. (31)
Daily Mail	The greatest gamble is Mr Michael Foot for Employment. (32)

The use of the verb phrase "would have" is also used in (31) in relation to Michael Foot's suitability for an alternative post to the one for which Wilson has chosen him. The use of the adjective "splendid" to refer to his suitability for the job of Leader of the House compounds this, as does the construction of a simultaneous negative personal, professional and social identity for Foot that suggests his unsuitability for the job which he has been given. His professional identity is negatively constructed through the categorical assertion using the simple present tense that his "administrative experience is nil", while on a professional and personal level, his ideological identity is negatively represented via the use of the noun phrase

"Left-wing passions" and the use of the modal "could", which foregrounds the speculative proposition that Foot might embrace extremist politics.

Foot's ideology is represented metaphorically, with the source, the notion of riding on horseback away from civilisation and into the unknown, mapped onto the target, Foot's potential behaviour. This is notable, in the sense that the Daily Mail is only weakly committing to a speculative proposition, but interpersonally it still helps to persuade readers to share in that conceptualisation of events, while ideationally it constructs a view of reality in which Communism and extreme-Left politics is a very real possibility.

So, while the use of "could" does not see the *Daily Mail* committing strongly to this proposition, it subtly allows readers consider the prospect and serves to negatively evaluate both Foot and Wilson's decision to appoint him. A social identity in which Foot's age is also constructed and foregrounded through the verb phrase "grown somewhat circumspect with age", further highlighting Foot's unsuitability (which returns in section 5.3). This notion has already been suggested to readers in (32), through Foot being represented using the noun phrase "greatest gamble".

Daily Mail	Mr Denis Healey, who gets the Exchequer is a man of Ministerial weight and muscular intellect. The fear is not that he may prove too weak, but that he may turn out to be too strong a deflationist; too orthodox and too willing an accomplice both of the Treasury mandarins and of the Swiss gnomes. (33)

Like in (20) (above), the *Daily Mail* represents a politician positively, but simultaneously encourages readers to negatively view their appointment through negative propositions in (33). Denis Healey has positive professional identity constructed for him through the use of the prepositional phrase "of Ministerial weight and muscular intellect", which indicates to readers that Wilson has made a good

decision. However, the use of the noun phrase "the fear" immediately encodes the notion that readers should be concerned about his appointment. Similarly, the use modal "may", which is used to make a speculation, albeit with a low degree of certainty, foregrounds the possibility that Healey might be a failure. The degree adverb "too" further enhances the thought that Healey might be ill-suited to his role, and representing Healey, even speculatively as "an accomplice" of "Treasury mandarins and Swiss Gnomes" again constructs him negatively. This, serves to highlight a possible negative view of reality, foregrounding it in the minds of readers and serves, in terms of social practices to manipulate readers into sharing the negatively constructed professional identity of both Healey and Wilson.

The *Daily Mail* then, in constructing negative identities for individual members of Wilson's Cabinet, implies that Wilson himself has made incorrect decisions and thereby constructs a negative professional identity for him. This functions to encourage readers into sharing the *Daily Mail*'s view. Likewise, the *Daily Mail* does not wholly negatively evaluate all of the politicians or all of Wilson's decisions, perhaps due to the unstable political circumstances of the period.

The *Telegraph*, like the *Daily Mail* but unlike the Left-wing press, also critiques Wilson and constructs for him a negative professional identity. It also, directly negatively represents him, which allows for an examination of the *Telegraph*'s overt stance taken towards him.

The *Telegraph*'s main criticism of Wilson's Cabinet is related to the perceived political ideology of some of its members. Contrasting entirely with the Mirror's representation of the Cabinet in (1), (2) and (3), the *Telegraph*, in (34), (35) and (36) represents the Cabinet as largely "Left-wing" in their political views.

Telegraph	In Mr Wilson's new Cabinet the Left is well represented. Indeed they pervade almost all the economic departments. (34)

In (34) the *Telegraph* uses two declarative sentences. The first, through the use of the copula, categorically asserts that the "Left is represented", indicating that Wilson has not achieved a balance of views in his selection. The use of the lexical verb "pervade" has connotations of negativity associated with Left-wing views, which serves to negatively appraise Wilson for allowing the imbalance, while at the same time constructing a Right-wing identity position for the *Telegraph* and its community of readers.

Telegraph	Mr Healey has promised us, at the last Labour Party conference, a "soak the rich" approach to financial policy, the rich being, apparently, people who earn more than about £3000 a year. (35)

The use of manifest intertextuality in (35) alongside the relexicalisation of Healey's speech, on a discursive practice level, is designed to construct a Left-wing personal and professional identity for Healey. The careful selection of the specific quotation from the specific speech ("soak the rich"), alongside a relexicalisation that features the epistemic adverb "apparently", which implies a weak commitment to the proposition made, achieves the goal of foregrounding to readers Healey's Left-wing credentials. This serves to encourage readers into sharing this view of Healey and thereby encodes a negative stance towards his appointment and Wilson's decision, despite the proposition that "rich" people are earners of over £3000 a year being only a perception.

Telegraph	Mr Benn, Mr Shore and Mr Foot are all in important positions. None of them could be called "moderate" in the usual sense of the term. (36)

(36) encodes the view that the three politicians listed, through the use of the simple present tense ("are") to categorically assert, are all appointed to key positions. The second declarative in (36) features the negated modal verb "could", which here is used to express ability, or rather lack of ability, to make a statement. In arguing that it is impossible to call any of Benn, Shore or Foot "moderate", having suggested that they operate key roles within the cabinet, the *Telegraph* is negatively evaluating Wilson's decision to appoint them. Criticising the lack of moderate views encodes the *Telegraph*'s Right-wing stance, as well as the overarching desire for centrist views prevalent in all newspapers. Indeed, the use of quotation marks around "moderate", alongside the postmodifying prepositional phrase "in the usual sense of the term", also encodes the *Telegraph*'s anti-Left stance, as it suggests that the Labour Party's use of the term is somewhat at odds with the *Telegrap*h's definition.

Telegraph	Mr Wilson is surely a sadder and wiser man than he was when he first took office in October, 1964. He has been through many trials and tribulations since then. This experience may make him a better Prime Minister than he was last time. (37)

Finally, Wilson himself is represented by the *Telegraph* in (37). The newspaper constructs an identity for Wilson through the use of the comparative adjectives "sadder" and "wiser" (part of a fixed expression) and the attitude adverb "surely". It therefore proposes, with a strong commitment to the proposition, that his social identity has changed over time, resulting in a largely negative social identity constructed for Wilson as sad and old, despite the more positive connotations associated with being "wise". On a discursive practice level, by

intertextually referring to past failures, represented using the nouns "trials" and "tribulations" (another fixed expression), Wilson's professional identity is simultaneously constructed, while the use of the modal auxiliary "may" only points to a weak commitment to the proposition that he will be a "better Prime Minister" as a result.

The *Telegraph*, like the *Daily Mail*, takes a contrasting view of Wilson in its editorial positively evaluating some of his decisions, negatively evaluating others. By constructing negative personal and professional identities for certain individuals, and then representing them as the key appointments, the *Telegraph* takes an overall negative view of Wilson, thereby constructing a generally negative identity for him, and therefore adopting a Right-wing identity position itself. Its readers are therefore presented with a representation of reality that forces them to perceive Wilson and Labour in negative terms.

The identity positions adopted by each newspaper is a key area of investigation within the is study, and the editorials from each time period will be examined in order to identify their own identity positions.

5.1.5 Newspaper self-identities

The newspapers, as is exemplified throughout this chapter, construct identity positions not only for the subjects of the editorials and for their readers, but for themselves. These identity positions relate to both their political ideologies and orientations, as well as to a perceived status within the political world and are largely constructed through the use of modal auxiliaries, amongst other ways.

All the newspapers identify themselves as knowledgeable observers and political commentators, and all represent some of their opinions in such a way as to represent them to the reader as facts. Similarly, all make strong predictions as to the future course of events and the future actions of political leaders. Representing predictions as facts serves to engender reader expectation that the predictions will come true, which has the added social function of pressurising politicians into sharing in the opinion expressed as to the best course of action.

Mirror	Every one of them should keep in mind the words of Mr Wilson, on the Downing Street steps: "We've got a job to do and we can only do that as one people". (38)

Examples can be found in the *Mirror* editorial from this period, especially in the use of modal verbs and categorical assertions. The use of the modal auxiliary "should" as part of the deontic system of modality in (38) sees the *Mirror* participate in public debate by imposing an obligation upon the members of the Cabinet to follow Wilson's words of advice. This encodes support for Wilson and his worldview, with the choice of manifest intertextuality (an extract from a Wilson speech) confirming this.

Mirror	This is just as true of the Cabinet as it is of the nation. THEY, as well as the public, must pull together. One way. (39)

The use of another modal from the deontic system, "must", imposes an even stronger sense of obligation on the individuals and groups discussed by the *Mirror*. In (39), "must" is used to strongly oblige readers (as part of the "public" and "the nation") and Cabinet members to "pull together". This serves to strongly oblige readers to support the Government, thus demonstrating a pro-Labour/Wilson stance. It also serves to construct a national group identity through the reference to shared

goals. The use of a categorical assertion via the use of the copula constructs the *Mirror* as a knowledgeable commentator.

Mirror	There must be a shortlist of priorities. All aimed at the same target: mastering inflation. Getting Britain back in business. (40)

This constructed national group identity is further reinforced in (40) in stating that a shared goal of all readers and the Government "must" (again used to express strong obligation) be "getting Britain back in business.

Mirror	All Ministers have their pet projects, their favourite hobby-horses. This is not the moment to insist on riding them. And riding in different directions. (41)

The use of the present tense and/or the copula in order to make opinions appear as factual statements can be found in extracts (41), (44) and (46). In (41) a combination of dead metaphors and idioms (pet projects, hobby-horses) that are used to negatively represent any interest that Ministers may have that do not match the *Mirror*'s opinion of what the key goal should be, alongside a declarative statement that encodes the proposition that these interests should not be pursued, serves to represent the Mirror as an authoritative voice.

Mirror	After the Prime Minister the heaviest responsibility falls on Denis Healey, the new Chancellor. (42)

Similarly, in (42), the *Mirror* again uses a declarative featuring the simple present tense of the verb "to fall" to categorically assert the proposition that Denis Healey's is "the heaviest responsibility". This assertion is merely an opinion, yet in constructing the proposition in this way the *Mirror* encourages readers to share this conceptualisation of reality.

Mirror	To Mrs. Shirley Williams falls the vital and exacting task of protecting the consumer and ensuring fair prices for the housewife in the shops. This is a crucial part of the Labour Government's programme. If that falls much else is bound to fail. It is a tough job. Too tough, perhaps, for a man. Good luck Shirley. (43)

The same can be said of (43), in which Shirley Williams's task is premodified with the adjectives "vital" and "exacting", representing hers as a key job. This opinion is then categorically asserted through the use of the copula and the adjective "crucial" in one sentence, and the copula and the noun phrase "a tough job" in another. A rather patronising positive social identity is then constructed for Williams as a woman, with the attitude adverb "perhaps" used to weakly suggest that men would find the task too taxing. While the *Mirror* attempts to be positive about a female in politics, reflecting a liberal stance, the use of FN suggests a level of familiarity that is not used towards men, which indicates that in 1974, women were still to be represented equally in the print media, or the *Mirror* at least.

The use of rhetorical questions is a key discursive feature of the newspaper editorials examined from all periods. They are used in order to help construct a synthetic community of practice and sense of group identity among readers, through the appearance of dialogue between newspaper and reader and a sense of mutual engagement.

Mirror	Mr Foot will play a key role here. His job as Secretary for Employment is one of the hottest hot spots. Can he swiftly settle the miners' strike? Can he charm the ASLEF drivers? (44)
Mirror	Can he win the co-operation of the unions and make the "social contract" pay dividends in voluntary pay restraint? (45)

In addition to performing this social function on a discursive practice level, the *Mirror* also utilises rhetorical questions as a way of foregrounding its own stance

towards issues, reaffirms its status as a political participant, and speculates about future events. In speculating in this way rather than categorically asserting, the *Mirror* is showing a less positive stance towards Wilson and his decisions than in other instances. In (44), the *Mirror* first makes a strong prediction with the modal auxiliary "will", suggesting to readers that Foot's role will be key. This serves to suggest to readers how Government policy is likely to proceed. The use of two questions in (44) and a further question in (45) goes on to map out what the *Mirror* sees as the important issues confronting Foot, which has the social function of foregrounding the issues that the *Mirror* and its principals would most like to see acted upon. The questions encode the implications that the mining strike should be settled swiftly, and that the unions should be co-operated with, rather than "defeated".

Mirror	Can he find the recipe that has alluded so many Chancellors? The recipe that combines curbing inflation and yet maintaining full employment and not strangling economic growth. And all the time being socially fair. (46)

The same process takes place in the question asked of Denis Healey in (46), in which an interdiscursive metaphor that blends the discourses of cookery and politics allows the *Mirror* to encode the implication that "curbing inflation, maintaining full employment and allowing economic growth" are desirable. In this instance they all serve to suggest to readers that these are the key issues being faced by the individuals concerned, while also reflecting a broadly Left-wing stance (especially in the lack of hostility to unions).

Daily Mail

The other tabloid, the *Daily Mail*, features fewer propositions that can be described as speculation, which is as a result of its identity position being exemplified by the

explicit stance taken towards Wilson and his Cabinet. Nevertheless, there are some propositions that highlight how the *Daily Mail* constructs the identity of the knowledgeable political commentator for itself.

Daily Mail	Either Mr Foot will dazzle the unions and succeed against all the odds in killing wage inflation by kindness…or, as the going gets rough and the case for pay curbs becomes more pressing, he will be forced to resign rather than compromise his principles. (47)

In (47) the *Daily Mail* utilises an "either…or" construction alongside the modal "will" in order to strongly predict future events in relation to Michael Foot's role in the Cabinet. In representing reality in this way, the *Daily Mail* limits the list of possible outcomes available to readers to just two. In doing this, it foregrounds the two possibilities that it would most like to see, these being an unlikely positive outcome (reflected in the use of the fixed-phrase "against all odds"), or a desired negative outcome: the resignation of a politician who has been identified as belonging to a political outgroup.

Daily Mail	As always, connoisseurs of the political game will relish the skill with which Mr Wilson has balanced Left against Right in this Cabinet. (48)
Daily Mail	But how well, in making his selection, has he balanced party unity against concern for the needs of the nation? (49)

In (48), the *Daily Mail* uses the modal "will" in order to predict the thoughts of "connoisseurs of the political game", making a strong prediction about the thoughts of readers when it is in no position to do so. The social function of this is to suggest to readers that the question being asked by the *Daily Mail* in (49) is important, and encodes the implication that a balance of Left and Right within the Cabinet (as opposed to a fully Left Cabinet, for example) is desirable. The rhetorical question asked in (49) also encodes an implication – that a balance between party unity and "the needs of the nation" is also desirable.

Daily Mail	The economic challenge to come will soon enough provide an answer. For the moment though, we are willing to give Jim Callaghan the last word: 'It's an experienced team, give us a fair chance." (50)

The use of the modal "will" in (50) refers to future time (Carter and McCarthy, 2006) and sees the *Daily Mail* stating how future events will proceed. This contributes to constructing the *Daily Mail* as a knowledgeable commentator, but also presupposes the existence of an economic challenge. In light of its earlier suggestion that Wilson has made the wrong choice of Chancellor, this partly functions as a further subtle questioning of Wilson's decision making.

The use of the pronoun "we" within the verb phrase "we are willing", highlights the sense of the *Daily Mail* as an active political entity. On a discursive practice level, the presence of manifest intertextuality in the form of a carefully chosen exert of a Jim Callaghan speech, encourages readers to obey Callaghan's request, without the *Daily Mail* itself assenting. This indicates a distance from Labour that falls short of outright hostility, but an identity position that can still be described as anti-Labour.

The Telegraph

The *Telegraph*, too, adopts a knowledgeable, authoritative identity position that also encodes its political ideology. The use of the modal auxiliary "will" in order to make strong predictions or to refer to future events also forms a key part of this in (51), (52), (53) and (54).

Telegraph	Perhaps Mr Wilson intends to guide his Left Ministers, including his Chancellor (less Left than some and in any case extremely able), along "moderate" policies. If so, that will be no bad thing at a time when foreign confidence is going to be both crucial and fragile. (51)

In (51), the Telegraph's "moderate" identity position (discussed above) is encoded, alongside an "anti-Left" position. This is achieved through the use of the epistemic adverb "perhaps" to suggest the possibility that Ministers will be guided towards moderation, alongside the use of "will" to firmly refer to the possible future event in positive terms.

Telegraph	The uncertain political scene at Westminster will also impose severe limitations on the extent to which the Labour Left can have its way. For this at least, the country can feel thankful. (52)

"Will" is also used in (52) to strongly predict future events, in this case the uncertain political scene posing restrictions on how the "Labour Left" will be able to operate. Again, this implies that Left-wing activity would be negative, affirming the Telegraph's right-wing stance, and the declarative statement "this will be no bad thing" reiterates this point. This is an example of an editorial guiding readers towards sharing a political ideology.

Telegraph	First priority will obviously be given to the industrial front, and to relations with the unions. (53)

In (53), the Telegraph uses "will" to make a further prediction, suggesting where priorities lie for the Government. The use of the adverb "obviously" reinforces what is said, implying that readers should also have arrived at this prediction themselves. The social functions of this prediction are to foreground these issues in the minds of readers and to attempt to influence public policy by raising expectations that this prediction will materialise (the use of the attitude adverb "obviously" also achieves this). At the same time it creates an authoritative identity for the Telegraph.

The final instance of the modal "will" in the Telegraph is used to perform the same function as sentence (49) in the Daily Mail (above). Here, the use of the verb

phrase "will want" with "most people" as the subject, is designed to manipulate readers into following the *Telegraph*'s suggestion.

Telegraph	All the same, most people, whatever their political persuasion, will want to give the Government a fair chance, and to wish it well in its unenviable task. (54)

(54) shows the Telegraph adopting a similar tactic to the *Daily Mail*, in that the Government are constructed as having an "unenviable task", and readers are encouraged to give a "fair chance", yet the *Telegraph* stops short of including itself as part of the group of "most people" who "will want" to do so.

Telegraph	It would be regrettable, however, if the counsel of these two were not to weigh heavily on foreign policy. (55)
Telegraph	This is a bad thing for the country and the issue may well present itself again. (56)

Like the other newspapers, the *Telegraph* constructs an authoritative voice for itself through the use of other modal items. In (55) a conditional sentence is constructed through the use of the verb phrase "it would be" alongside the adjective "regrettable" (as the complement) and "if", to both articulate a sense of knowledge, as well as to influence Wilson's decision making. Likewise, the use of a categorical assertion when expressing an opinion in (56) also points towards an attempt to influence readers and politicians by stating as fact something that is a point of view.

Telegraph	In the meantime Mr Foot is plainly going to go a long way to meet the NUM's demands. This may get the country quickly back to full time working. But there may be a heavy price to pay later… (57)

The use of a categorical assertion (reiterated through the use of the adverb "plainly") to make a prediction in (57) functions in the same way, orienting readers towards sharing the prediction that Foot is likely to appease the striking Miners. This encodes a Right-wing, anti-union ideology. The use of the modal "may" to express weak possibility, serves to only represent future events in binary terms as there

being only two possible outcomes (in the same way as the *Daily Mail*, above), and presupposes that the *Telegraph*'s prediction is entirely accurate. This functions to represent the world to readers in narrow terms, for the purpose of forcing them to share the *Telegraph*'s interpretation of events.

The Guardian

Finally, as one would expect, the *Guardian* adopts similar tactics when making predictions during this period. The tactics used by the newspapers to influence public policy have been discussed above, and are no different in the *Guardian*.

Guardian	A caretaker Government is harder to appoint than most. (58)

The use of categorical assertions plays a key role in the *Guardian*'s encoding of its ideological stance and its authoritative voice. (58) features one such categorical assertion, through the use of a constructions in which the copula is used with an adjective as subject predicate. This grammatical construction, in (58) simply serves to highlight the *Guardian*'s own position as a knowledgeable political commentator, while also encoding a positive stance towards Wilson, whose task is represent as difficult, but (ultimately, as the later text shows) one at which he has succeeded.

More frequent in this editorial is the use of the modal auxiliary "will" in order to make predictions. The making of predictions as to the future course of events is a key function of the editorials, and highlights the role in public debate that the newspapers take. Predictions function to both construct the newspapers' self-identity as authoritative political voices, and, in conditional sentences, can also serve to influence public policy and reader expectations.

Guardian	The other notable Labour moderate, Mr Crosland, finds himself at a spending Ministry when there may not be much to spend, but if he can reinvigorate the housing programme and give some aid to tenants and mortgage holders, his time will not be wasted. (59)
Guardian	If they persist in acting as keepers of the party conscience within a Cabinet that has no majority in the House of Commons, they will cause disaster. (60)

The prediction in (59) is part of a conditional sentence that attempts to manipulate public policy by predicting a positive outcome upon the condition of the fulfilment of the *Guardian*'s proposal. The proposal itself highlights the *Guardian*'s Left-wing stance in its support for a public housing program. (60) also features a conditional sentence that functions in the same way as (59), but does so by doing the opposite – through a strong commitment to a negative prediction, that will only be avoided if politicians heed the *Guardian*'s warning. This also encodes the prevailing attitude of the time – that extreme or even overtly Left-wing politics should be avoided, even if only to prevent electoral failure.

Guardian	Whatever the Government does about the Pay Board, union help will be needed (61)
Guardian	He should struggle against any deflationary instincts. There are enough elements in the economy already which will bring deflation later this year. (62)
Guardian	The Labour Government, whether its tenure is short or long, will be judged primarily by the signs whether it can win union support in the struggle for economic survival. (63)

Predictions are not only made as part of conditional sentences as (61), (62) and (63) show. Extracts (62) and (63) are particularly interesting, in that they represent a more overt participation in the political process by the *Guardian*. (62) features use of the deontic modal auxiliary "should", which makes explicit that the *Guardian*, as an entity, is capable of foregrounding a sense of what is desirable. This is an attempt to influence policy, and again serves to encourage readers to share the

desire. The second sentence in (62) sees the text producer utilise a categorical assertion to strongly commit to a representation of the world, and then makes a prediction based upon that representation. This serves again to highlight the *Guardian*'s status as knowledgeable political commentator. This same identity position is constructed (63).

Guardian	Mr Foot's whole emphasis must be on future wage claims (64)
Guardian	Future unions' claims must indeed be moderated. (65)

While the use of the deontic modal "should" in (62) helps to express what the Guardian, as a political entity, sees as desirable, the use of the modal "must" in (64) and (65) goes further, in forcing strong obligation on Michael Foot and the Unions, the subjects of the sentences. These are examples of overt participation in public debate, and again serve to influence reader expectations.

Guardian	If a Labour Government does not have a radical at the Treasury, it ought at least to have one at the Department of Employment. (66)
Guardian	Mr Healey's priority should be to co-operate in the effort to bring wage restraint by framing a redistributive Budget...and make it clear to the nation that social advance can only come through increased production combined with restraint. (67)

This sense of participation in the political process is also encoded in the use of the semi modal expression "ought to" in (66) and the deontic modal "should" in (67). The *Guardian*'s Left-wing stance can also be found in the use of the adjective "redistributive" in "redistributive Budget", which is what is seen as desirable by the newspaper. Similarly, the theme of "moderation" that dominates this period is also present, in the use of the noun "restraint".

Guardian	The miners' settlement seems certain to be an incomes policy mess. (68)

The *Guardian*'s position as a political observer is further constructed by the use, in (68), of the copular verb "seems" alongside the adjective "certain", which highlights the newspaper's point of view and functions in the same way as a prediction.

Summary of section 5.1

Analysis of the editorials in section 5.1 has highlighted how the newspapers construct different identities for the different politicians appointed to positions within the Cabinet. These identities vary from newspaper to newspaper, and serve to construct an overall identity professional identity for Wilson, as the decision-maker, while also encoding the ideological stance of each newspaper. The key way in which identity is constructed is through the use of noun phrases and categorical assertions, especially the use of adjectives as noun phrase premodifiers, while the use of modal auxiliaries encodes the stance of the newspapers towards these individuals, through the level of certainty or doubt in there constructed identities. Similarly, the newspapers also use modal auxiliaries in order to construct their own voices as active participants in the political process. In 5.2, the editorials from 5 years later discuss the performance of Jim Callaghan, one of Wilson's Cabinet appointees, and his own performance as Prime Minister.

5.2 Jim Callaghan's speech to the Labour Party Conference

For the period 1978-79, the random selection of texts included editorials on the Labour Prime Minister Jim Callaghan's speech to his party conference at Blackpool's Winter Gardens. This is the same individual for whom a broadly positive professional identity had been constructed by the newspapers in 1974 (see section 5.1). This identity was created with unanimity, with all newspapers constructing a positive professional identity for him as an effective politician and leader, describing him using the positive evaluative adjectives "wily and pragmatic", the noun phrase "the greatest pragmatist of them all", and the adverb phrase "probably the best choice" (for a senior cabinet role). By 1978 there had been a shift in the perspective of the newspapers, and Callaghan's changed status and greater responsibilities as Prime Minister resulted in contrasting orientations towards him from the left and right wing press.

Four years on from 1974, with Callaghan as Prime Minister, Britain was experiencing economic turmoil, with countless strikes by trade unions and even a reduction in the number of hours in a working week from five days to three, alongside inflation levels of 25%. Such economic uncertainty led the newspapers to feature conflicting orientations towards Callaghan as a leader, and towards politics in general.

As with the editorials from 1974 and for the later time periods, what follows is a textual, discourse immanent critique of the texts, with a simultaneous socio diagnostic critique. Again, the focus is upon the ways in which positive and negative identities are constructed for Callaghan in order to reveal orientations towards him as a leader. This is accompanied by a combination of close, textual, critical discourse analysis in order to show how the newspaper's ideology dictates their stance towards him. As the following sections show, they utilise a series of linguistic strategies to create an identity for Callaghan, and to orient themselves towards him as a leader

through comment on the success (or likely success) of his decisions, depending on their political ideology.

5.2.1 *Headlines*

Daily Mail	*Guardian*	*Telegraph*	*Mirror*
The Daily Mail's most unlikely fan	Now on to a November election?	Callaghan at Bay	Dr. Jim's prescription

The headlines in each of the four newspapers encapsulate the stance adopted towards Callaghan in the editorials that follow in each case. The headlines from the *Daily Mail*, the *Telegraph* and the *Mirror* each explicitly foreground Callaghan's identity, whereas the *Guardian* poses a rhetorical question, a tactic that is often used in editorials to foreground stance (see, for example, section 5.1). The headlines highlight the fact that each of the four newspapers takes a contradictory approach to appraising Callaghan, and to constructing an identity for him as Prime Minister. The tabloid newspaper headlines indicate that it is Callaghan's personal identity that is to be foregrounded, while the *Telegraph*'s headline suggests that it is a professional, institutional identity that will be constructed. The *Guardian*'s headline does not focus upon Callaghan explicitly at all, which, given the critical nature of the editorial that follows and the left-wing political ideology that dominates the newspaper, can be viewed as a discursive strategy designed to deliberately move focus away from Callaghan's flawed leadership towards predicted future events (see below).

Unlike the editorials from 1974 then, when the newspapers all unanimously constructed positive institutional identities for Callaghan, the 1978 headlines show a clear contrast in stance adopted by the Left-wing compared to the Right-wing press.

The headline in the *Mirror* features Callaghan metaphorically constructed as a family doctor. The source of the metaphor is a general practitioner, and the qualities

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of trust, knowledge and the ability to achieve wellbeing associated with a family doctor are mapped onto Callaghan, the target. Interpersonally, the metaphor therefore functions to conceptualise Callaghan in positive terms as an individual primed to make things better for the reader, thereby encouraging readers to share in the concept of Callaghan's leadership as positive. Ideationally, the metaphor is functioning to construct the view that Callaghan's speech (the subject of all the editorials) was a success, and therefore the use of this metaphor serves the *Mirror*'s Left-wing, Labour-supporting political ideology.

The *Mirror*, in identifying Callaghan as "Dr Jim" uses the informal form of Callaghan's first name. Ide et al (1992:291) argue that the use of a person's first name reflects a friendly attitude on the part of the speaker (or writer), while Jaworski and Galasinski (2000:35) highlight how differing uses of terms of address can "reflect the relative positions of interactants vis-à-vis one another and in society as a whole" and that "the speaker's choice of a particular form of address locates the addressee in social space and defines, or constructs, the social actors' mutual relationship." Similarly, "intimate address forms" are "'markers' of social closeness" (Brown and Levinson, 1978:18). In referring to Callaghan as "Dr Jim", as opposed to Mr Callaghan, or even "Dr James", the *Mirror* are aligning themselves with Callaghan by implying a social closeness to him. At the same time they are orienting readers into sharing in that view of him through the construction of a pseudo-intimate social relationship and positive personal and social identity.

In contrast to the *Mirror*, the *Daily Mail*, while also constructing an identity for Callaghan in its headline, adopts a more negative stance towards him. This headline again provides an indication of the stance and discursive strategy adopted throughout the editorial that follows as the headline constructs an identity position

for Callaghan through the featuring of the noun phrase "the *Daily Mail*'s most unlikely fan". This constructed personal/professional identity characterises Callaghan as someone who has followed the suggestions for public policy outlined in previous *Daily Mail* editorials. This is presented as a negative professional identity – that of a reactionary politician. Given that one might view the editorial pages of newspapers as explicit attempts at influencing public policy or as participation in public debate (Le, 2003), it might be expected that a Prime Minister following such suggestions would be met with approval. In using the adjective "unlikely", the *Daily Mail* is acknowledging that they did not expect Callaghan to do this due to his membership of a Labour government, which foregrounds the *Daily Mail*'s Conservative ideology and Conservative stance towards political issues (see 5.2.2 below).

The *Telegraph* also adopts a negative stance towards Callaghan in the headline to its editorial. While the headline does not feature an identity position for Callaghan, the use of the noun "bay" in the complement "at Bay" does suggests that Callaghan is a threat to national wellbeing and is at the time of writing only temporarily not so. The constructed reality that the *Telegraph* creates is one in which Callaghan is in a position of being temporarily prevented from acting in a negative way, which indicates its opposition to him as Prime Minister and precedes the editorial, which constructs a negative professional identity for Callaghan as an incapable politician. The more formal use of "Callaghan" as opposed to the *Mirror*'s "Dr Jim" also encodes the less positive stance taken towards him.

The *Guardian*, as discussed above, is the only newspaper that does not explicitly refer to Callaghan individually or make any comment as to his status. Instead, by posing a rhetorical question about the date of the next election, it attempts to influence public policy by foregrounding the possibility of an election and

indicating that one would be desirable, and also avoids any overt criticism of Callaghan's leadership. A left-wing labour supporting newspaper would not want to foreground the failings of a Labour Prime Minister in a headline, so the rhetorical question can be viewed here as a discursive strategy designed to partially minimise the negativity surrounding Callaghan.

5.2.2 *Callaghan as a reactionary politician*

As discussed in section 5.2.1, the editorials adopt differing stances towards Callaghan, and it therefore follows that the identity positions constructed for him largely differ from newspaper to newspaper. As the headline to the editorial indicated, the *Daily Mail* editorial constructs a negative professional identity for Callaghan as a reactionary politician. This identity is also constructed in the *Telegraph*, where Callaghan is represented as having formulated policies in direct response to criticism or by adopting Conservative ideas.

The Daily Mail

The discursive structure of the *Daily Mail*'s editorial involves an introductory section, in which the identity of Callaghan as a reactionary politician is initially constructed, followed by a middle section, in which his reactionary status is exemplified through the use of intertextuality, and is concluded by a final section in which the identity is reinforced.

The editorial is based on the *Daily Mail* accusing Callaghan of formulating policy by adopting suggestions that had featured in previous editorials. The notion of a Labour Prime Minister following the advice of the *Daily Mail* is considered humorous (see below), which highlights the Conservative ideology of the newspaper, but also suggests that the editorials, in *the Daily Mail* at least, encode an ideology of

opposition to a political other (in this case the Labour Party) rather than a political ideology per se.   This stance suggests that the *Daily Mail*'s synthetic community of practice share a common political ideology, and that Callaghan, as a Labour Prime Minister is not part of the ingroup, and, indeed, functions as a focal point for the *Daily Mail* and its constructed group to synthetically unite against.

Daily Mail	At last, one of the best kept secrets of Downing Street must be told. (1)

Sentence (1) begins to introduce the notion of Callaghan as a reactionary politician in a hyperbolic manner, through the use of the noun phrase "best kept secret", which implies that the *Daily Mail* has discovered something of genuine interest, and the adverbial "at last", which again suggests that vital information is forthcoming. The use of the modal auxiliary "must" reflects strong obligation (Carter and McCarthy, 2006) and the obligation in this case is imposed on the *Daily Mail* itself, again reflecting the notion that important information about Callaghan has been discovered.

Daily Mail	What is it that…furtively engages our Prime Minister's attention beneath the bedclothes? (2)

Sentence (2) is a rhetorical question that makes use of metaphor and features the use of the lexical adverb "furtively", which again indicates secrecy. The use of the rhetorical question is a recurrent discursive tactic utilised by the editorial text producers (see elsewhere in this chapter) and contributes to the construction of a group identity through explicitly foregrounding the dialogic nature of the editorial and thereby constructing a sense of mutual engagement between readers and newspaper. The question itself features the implication that something (the *Daily Mail*) does in fact engage Callaghan's attention, when in fact this is merely an opinion being expressed. It also utilises an interdiscursive metaphor, which sees the source,

the everyday notion of people carrying out acts that they might want to keep secret (which includes sexual acts) under the bedclothes so as to keep prying eyes away, mapped on to Callaghan, the target. This metaphor serves, on an interpersonal level, to encourage readers to share in the view that Callaghan is likely to firstly be actually reading *Daily Mail* editorials, and secondly, be ashamed of doing so. On an ideational level, the metaphor serves to construct a view of reality that again suggests that it is the case that Callaghan is using the *Daily Mail* to form policy (when read in conjunction with sentence 3). The metaphorical depiction of Callaghan in his bed at home also serves to construct a personal identity for him, one in which he is portrayed negatively as a secretive, potentially deviant individual lacking in his own ideas and placing him outside of the *Daily Mail*'s community of readers. This simultaneously constructs a negative professional identity for Callaghan as a reactionary leader. The *Daily Mail*'s group identity is therefore being constructed through a shared opposition to Callaghan and his party.

Daily Mail	No, it is not dog-eared Marie Lloyd song-sheets he is surreptitiously thumbing through. Nor yet the latest suggestions of the home and policy committee of the Labour Party, chaired by Tony Benn. (3)

Sentence (3) continues the metaphor started in sentence (2), again utilising a lexical adverb with connotations of secrecy ("surreptitiously") to further construct a personal identity for Callaghan as a secretive individual. Here the *Daily Mail* draws upon the shared cultural knowledge of its readers, using the noun phrase "dog-eared Marie Lloyd song-sheets". This furthers the metaphorical representation of Callaghan and associates him with Marie Lloyd, an early twentieth century music hall artist famous for her risqué lyrics that made use of double entendres. This further constructs a deviant personal identity for Callaghan, suggesting through the adjective "dog-eared", that he regularly reads (or looks at) risqué material. This is in spite of the fact that the copula is used to categorically assert that it is not Marie

Lloyd lyrics that he is "thumbing". The copula is also used to categorically assert that Callaghan is not reading Labour Party policy documents. These categorical assertions form part of the epistemic system of modality and indicate the highest level of commitment possible to the propositions being made. In this case, this is despite the fact that the propositions relate to a constructed identity for Callaghan, and not to reality. This further serves to highlight the *Daily Mail's* stance negative stance towards Callaghan as it asserts that Callaghan and his party, an outgroup in relation to the *Daily Mail* and its constructed community of readers, are not formulating their own policies, but instead are reacting to those put forward by the *Daily Mail*.

Daily Mail	Mr Callaghan, canny fellow that he is, seeks his covert dawn inspiration elsewhere…in this very newspaper…in this very Comment column. (4)

The notion of secrecy and therefore the constructed personal identity of Callaghan as a secretive individual (which encodes a negative stance adopted towards him) that runs through the first few sentences of the editorial is maintained in sentence (4) through the use of the noun phrase "covert inspiration". It is here that the *Daily Mail* finally explicitly identifies Callaghan as a reactionary politician. This is achieved through the use of the present tense of the verb "to seek", as the *Daily Mail* categorically asserts that it is in the pages of its own Comment section that Callaghan gains inspiration. Again, this categorical assertion displays the highest level of commitment to what is speculation as opposed to fact, which suggests that readers are being encouraged to share the conceptualisation of Callaghan as a policy thief.

In sentence (4), Callaghan is also given a personal/professional identity using the noun phrase "canny fellow". This constructed identity is designed to mock

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Callaghan, as this otherwise positive identity position is only constructed on the basis that he is also identified as a *Daily Mail* reader. The mocking tone is further enhanced by the exaggerated use of the degree adverb "very".

The *Daily Mail*'s mocking stance towards Callaghan is interesting, in that the level of criticism and ridicule levelled at him highlights the fact that, certainly in the case of this newspaper at this time, editorials function more as a way in which to criticise the leaders of opposing political parties (outgroups), as opposed to being genuine attempts to influence public policy and opinion. The question must be: why discuss at length and propose ideas as to what politicians should do, only to ridicule them for agreeing? The answer, it seems, is that the main purpose of the editorial is to ensure readers take a negative stance towards members of the political party to which the newspaper (the principal, the authors and the writers) and its intended readers are opposed. This also serves the purpose of reinforcing the *Daily Mail*'s own synthetic community of practice.

Daily Mail	The Prime Minister, of course, will never admit to it. But the clues are there for those with the patience to ferret them out. (5)

Sentence (5), in terms of the discursive structure of the *Daily Mail* text, serves to introduce the evidence from previous editorials that contributes to the representation of Callaghan as having "stolen" policies from the *Daily Mail*. Again, the *Daily Mail* uses the present tense in order to categorically assert this proposition ("the clues **are** there"), and the modal verb "will" is also used in order to predict Callaghan's future actions (that he would deny the *Daily Mail*'s suggestions). The modal "will" is used in conjunction with the stance adverb phrase "of course", which is used to readers that the *Daily Mail*'s prediction is so common sense as to be true. This further contributes to the construction of Callaghan's personal identity of a

secretive individual, which is also encoded in the use of the verb phrase "to ferret". The representation of Callaghan as secretive is linked to his professional identity as a reactionary politician, in that his status as a Labour politician would necessitate his secrecy in utilising suggestions from a Conservative supporting newspaper. This therefore reinforces the *Daily Mail*'s own identity position as Conservative supporting, or at least anti-Labour.

The use of "of course" is also an interdiscursive blend of styles, in that it again highlights the dialogic nature of the editorial and reinforces the sense of shared goals and common interaction between newspaper and readers.

The interdiscursivity makes way for intertextuality in the middle section of the editorial (see page V, Appendices), as "evidence" of Callaghan's copying of *Daily Mail* policies is presented in the form of quotations from previous issues of the newspaper followed in each case by quotations from Callaghan's speech of the previous day. This functions solely to construct a negative professional identity for Callaghan, as a politician (and a representative of a party) who is incapable of formulating policies of his own, and who merely reacts to the work of others.

| *Daily Mail* | It is indeed humbling to think that Jim, whom we have criticised for so long and so often, yet continues as an undercover devotee of the policies promoted in this very newspaper. (6) |

The final section of the editorial reiterates the identity position constructed for Callaghan throughout the editorial. In sentence (6) Callaghan is referred to as Jim. Unlike the *Mirror*'s headline (above), where the informality connotes intimacy and builds a sense of trust, the use of the Callaghan's shortened first name is again designed to mock through the construction of an explicitly false sense of intimacy between the *Daily Mail* and Callaghan. Callaghan is also represented using the noun

phrase and postmodifying prepositional phrase "undercover devotee of the policies promoted in this very newspaper". The phrase "undercover devotee" encapsulates the *Daily Mail*'s representation of Callaghan as a weak leader (for being "undercover").

The use of the lexical verb "promoted" highlights what the text producers see as the function of the editorial, which makes it all the more striking that the newspaper, having promoted policies, is ridiculing a political leader for adopting them.

Sentence (6) also features the use of the consensual pronoun "we" (Fowler, 1991), which again highlights the *Daily Mail*'s attempt at constructing a synthetic community of practice via dialogue between itself and its readers. This serves to create a shared sense of criticism of Callaghan as a form of mutual engagement, which helps construct a group identity. The use of the present participle ("humbling") is also designed to mock Callaghan and elevate the status of the newspaper and its ingroup in the eyes of its readers.

| *Daily Mail* | What the Daily Mail commends today, the Prime Minister does tomorrow. (7) |
| *Daily Mail* | Not since Fagin has there been such an artful fence for second hand goods. (8) |

Sentences (7) and (8) reiterate the purpose of the editorial, by highlighting the fact that the *Daily Mail* sees Callaghan as having used its pages to formulate policy. This, on a social practice level, has the function of orienting readers away from Callaghan as a politician. The constructed negative personal identity in the first part of the editorial is eschewed in favour of a constructed negative professional identity, as the *Daily Mail* (sentence 7) uses the present tense to categorically assert

that Callaghan has directly acted in the way in which the newspaper "commends". This, on social practice level, encourages readers to share the *Daily Mail*'s conceptualisation of reality – a reality in which Callaghan is a reactionary, rather than proactive leader.

The final sentence of the *Daily Mail* editorial (8) offers readers one last example of how Callaghan's identity is negatively constructed in terms of discursive practices, as the newspaper draws an intertextual comparison between Callaghan and the character Fagin, from Dickens' *Oliver Twist*. This again serves to orient readers away from Callaghan by likening him to a thief.

The Telegraph

Like the *Daily Mail*, the *Telegraph* also constructs a negative professional identity for Callaghan by representing him as a politician who lacks his own convictions and as someone who reacts to the views of others outside of his ingroup.

Telegraph	The delegates, having voted against their leader's economic policy, were happy to be told that they were the most authoritative forum in the United Kingdom, and that, far from bearing malice to them, he accepted that he must have been wrong ("I ken the noo"). (9)

From a discursive practice perspective, sentence (9), shows that the *Telegraph*, in choosing to paraphrase this specific part of Callaghan's speech, is constructing him as a weak leader, as his decision to retract his own policies after conference delegates had voted against is foregrounded. Without having access to the speech itself it is impossible to discuss whether the use of the modal auxiliary "must", here given its logical meaning (Biber et al, 1999) that suggests Callaghan accepts the high likelihood that he was wrong, is a true reflection of Callaghan's

comment.   Nevertheless, it reflects a negative stance taken towards Callaghan's

professional capabilities.

Telegraph	But is this not the precisely the "uncaring" monetarist remedies he ascribes to Margaret Thatcher and Sir Keith Joseph to frighten his followers into compliance? (10)

Sentence (10) of the *Telegraph* editorial constructs a negative professional

identity for Callaghan in a similar way to the identity constructed by *the Daily Mail*.

Whereas in the *Daily Mail* it is the policies proposed by the Conservative-supporting

newspaper that Callaghan is represented as having adopted, in the *Telegraph* it is

the policies of the Conservative Party itself. The dialogic nature of editorials is again

foregrounded via the use of the oft-used tactic of asking a rhetorical question (see

the *Guardian* headline in this section). In terms of the social practice of asking a

question like this, the *Telegraph* is engaging with its readers, which contributes to

the construction of a group identity for *Telegraph* readers, while at the same time

influencing their stance towards Callaghan by foregrounding the proposition that he

is acting in a contrary fashion.

The *Telegraph* is therefore constructing a negative professional identity for

Callaghan by suggesting he has appropriated policies from members of the

*Telegraph'*s wider community of practice.

5.2.3 *Callaghan's style over substance*

While constructing a negative professional identity for Callaghan by representing his

actions as hypocritical (See 5.2.2, above), the *Telegraph*, within the same editorial,

simultaneously constructs an alternative professional identity for Callaghan.   By

commenting on his performance as a political speaker, the *Telegraph* constructs

Callaghan as prioritising style, and rhetoric, over political substance. This negative

professional identity can broadly be described as being an "insubstantial politician", and in terms of social practice, serves to orient readers away from Callaghan as a leader and therefore highlights the *Telegraph*'s own political ideology as Conservative.

| *Telegraph* | Mr Callaghan's performance in Blackpool Winter Gardens might well have been covered by our theatre correspondent. He would have given high marks for delivery but would have held the script not really worthy of the act. (11) |

Sentence (11) features the modal phrase "might have", which is used to reflect confidence in what is being said (Simpson, 1993), as well as to express possibility (Carter and McCarthy, 2006). It is used here by the *Telegraph* to introduce the suggestion that Callaghan's speech and performance at the Party conference can be viewed as a piece of theatre, and allows for the adoption of an extended interdiscursive hybrid metaphor, that draws on the conventions of theatre criticism in order to appraise Callaghan's oratory and leadership skills.

The second part of (11) uses the modal auxiliary "would" conditionally (Carter and McCarthy, 2006), to refer to a likely outcome had a hypothetical critic produced a report. This serves to construct Callaghan as lacking substance, as the positive connotations of the noun phrase and postmodifying prepositional phrase "high marks for delivery" are offset by the politically more important suggestion that the content of the speech did not reach the same standard. This serves to orient readers away from Callaghan as he is represented as lacking substance. Despite this, the *Telegraph* does provide a balance in perspective by positively evaluating Callaghan's delivery.

| *Telegraph* | Apart from verbal felicities and deftness, it was thin, and did not hang together. (12) |

Telegraph	The extra act inserted into the text at the last moment, to bring the plot closer to real life failed to fit and lacked conviction. The original dealt with the New Jerusalem; the insert was meant to deal with the Old Adam. (13)

Sentences (12) and (13) perform the same function, with the use of the simple past tense in "was", "did not", "failed", "lacked" and "dealt" demonstrating a high level of commitment to the *Telegraph*'s own representation of the content of Callaghan's speech as a insubstantial, and likewise, by association, Callaghan's professional identity.

Sentence (13) also features a continuation, on a discursive practice level, of the interdiscursive use of a hybrid metaphor, with the associated problems of the source, a badly conceived rewrite of a play, being mapped on to the target, Callaghan's speech. On an interpersonal level, the metaphor encourages readers to share in the *Telegraph*'s conceptualisation of Callaghan's speech as disjointed, and on an ideational level it serves to construct a negative view of Callaghan's performance. Again, this highlights the *Telegraph*'s ideological standpoint as being opposed to Callaghan and the Labour Party.

Telegraph	So they did not look the gift-horse too closely in the mouth but gave it one lump of sugar and a perfunctory pat in the form of a minuscule ritual standing ovation. (14)

The *Telegraph*'s negative representation of Callaghan's performance and by association its construction of a negative professional identity for him extends, in sentence (14), to metaphorically reconstructing the response of the conference delegates to his speech. By representing the audience response using the premodifiers "minuscule" and "ritual", the *Telegraph* encourages readers to share the view that Callaghan's performance was poorly received and was therefore poor (this contrasts sharply with the conceptualisation in the *Guardian*, see below). Identifying

Callaghan using the idiomatic noun phrase "gift-horse" reflects the conceptualisation of Callaghan as having been weak in consenting to the demands of delegates, and further contributes to the construction of a negative professional identity for Callaghan, as well as reinforcing the *Telegraph*'s Conservative ideological stance.

Telegraph	By contrast the public at large feels that it has been given a glass of froth. (15)

Constructing Callaghan as an insubstantial leader is also achieved in sentence (15). In using the present tense of the verb "to feel", the *Telegraph*, as Wodak (2001) suggests that newspapers do, is attempting to manipulate members of its readership by categorically asserting what the thoughts of "the public at large" are, when the *Telegraph*, in reality, is in no position to state such things categorically. In terms of the social function of the text, this serves only to suggest to readers what their thoughts *should* be. The use of the noun phrase "glass of froth" to represent Callaghan's speech and policies reinforces the identity position in which Callaghan has been placed.

Telegraph	But as Prime Minister he owes it to the public to tell it what he intends to do. Appeals are no substitute for policy at the best of times, still less when they have already been arrogantly rebuffed. (16)

Finally, the *Telegraph*, in sentence (16), further constructs a negative professional identity for Callaghan. The first part of (16) is an attempt by the *Telegraph* to influence public policy and to impose on Callaghan certain obligations. This is achieved through the use of the present tense of the lexical verb "owe", with the "the public" as the indirect object. The verb "owe" also serves the purpose of ensuring that *Telegraph* readers expect Callaghan to act in this way. This serves to put Callaghan in a position in which he leaves himself open to criticism and negative portrayal if he doesn't behave in the way in which the *Telegraph* suggests.

The second part of (16) sees another negative identity constructed for Callaghan in the form of a simultaneous negative personal and professional identity. The use of the stance adverb "arrogantly" to premodify the verb "rebuffed" serves to orient readers away from Callaghan's leadership style and from him as an individual, while at the same time expressing the *Telegraph*'s own stance towards him. The use of the present tense in "appeals are no substitute for policy" also serves to reinforce the identity position created for Callaghan as a politician without his own policies, and therefore as a weak leader.

The Guardian

While the *Guardian*'s editorial does not take a wholly positive stance towards Callaghan, it features a contrasting view to the *Telegraph* in terms of its representation of Callaghan's speech.

Guardian	Well, it was a very good speech indeed, structurally chaotic – but warm and calm as well as grim. (17)

Sentence (17), highlights the more balanced nature of the *Guardian*'s representation of Callaghan's speech. The use of the evaluative adjective "good" as a premodifier of "speech", alongside the adjectives "warm" and "calm" highlight a positive stance towards Callaghan and reflect a positively constructed professional identity. The adjective phrase "structurally chaotic" and the adjective "grim" do point however to a conflicted stance taken by the *Guardian* and a less than fully positive representation of reality presented to their readers.

Guardian	The ovation at the end seemed utterly genuine, small twinges of hypocrisy doused by a hot swell of affection. (18)
Guardian	Mr Callaghan deployed all his favourite arguments to solid effect. (19)

This cautiously positive stance is present in (18), where the positive adjective phrase "utterly genuine", used to describe the ovation that Callaghan received, is tempered by the use of the copular verb "seemed", which again suggests a positive stance without the *Guardian* fully committing to this. The clause "small twinges of hypocrisy doused by a hot swell of affection" also points to the conflict in Callaghan's representation and therefore the fairly positive professional identity presented to readers. The use of the noun phrase "solid effect" in (19) also helps to construct this identity, in contrast to the *Telegraph*'s representation of Callaghan as insubstantial.

Guardian	So Monday's humiliation – "I enjoyed it in a detached sort of way" – will not deflect this government one whit. (20)
Guardian	Jaw jutting, whistling cheerfully, it will carve a way through… (21)

(20) and (21) highlight one way in which the *Guardian* encodes a more positive stance towards Callaghan than the one constructed by the *Telegraph*. In (20), instead of attributing Callaghan as the source of the manifest intertextuality inserted, the *Guardian* attributes it to "this Government", thereby representing "Monday's humiliation" not as Callaghan's alone, but as the collective responsibility of his wider group (a community of practice of which the *Guardian* would therefore categorise itself as being part).

This representation of Callaghan as part of a wider group with collective responsibility is continued in (21) as the pronoun reference "it" clearly refers anaphorically to "this Government". This serves to deflect the need to construct a negative professional identity for Callaghan, which can be interpreted as encoding a pro-Labour stance, as personifying Labour's failings in the form of a negative identity for Callaghan would negatively affect Labour's chances of success in the election alluded to in the headline (see above).

Guardian	Splendid. But if you would excuse the question sir, how? (22)

Perhaps the only occasion on which the *Guardian* shares in the *Telegraph*'s constructed identity for Callaghan is in sentence (22), as a rhetorical question is asked (the *Guardian* expresses an interest in hearing an explanation of "how" Callaghan plans to carry out his policies). The question serves to imply that in relation to some of Callaghan's policies, the chances of success are slim, thereby constructing a professional identity similar to the *Telegraph*'s in which Callaghan is portrayed as being able to use rhetoric without the necessary substance behind his words.

Guardian	But Mr Callaghan won so much benign enthusiasm yesterday because…he made a rather telling election speech. (23)
Guardian	He rang many chords and may well appeal to a "caring" electorate. (24)

Nevertheless, as (23) and (24) show in the use of the noun phrases "benign enthusiasm" (in relation to the delegates' response to Callaghan) and "telling election speech", and the verb phrase "rang many chords", Callaghan and the content of his speech are positively appraised. Like in (17) and (18), the wholly positive stance towards Callaghan is tempered, in (24) by the use of the modal auxiliary "may", which is used as part of the epistemic system of modality. It reflects a weak commitment to probability (Carter and McCarthy, 2006) and therefore, on a social practice level, falls short of expressing full confidence in the prospect of success for Callaghan to readers.

This again serves to highlight the balanced nature of the *Guardian*'s editorial, that is torn between the outright support for Callaghan that its shared political ideology (and by implication shared group membership) would suggest, and a

representation of events that reflects public (and reader opinion). That idealised *Guardian* readers would support the Labour party allows for a more positive professional identity to be constructed for Callaghan than the one constructed by the *Telegraph* (whose own idealised readers would not share an ideological stance with him).

The contrast between the *Telegraph* and the *Guardian* then, shows that while both editorials represent Callaghan and his speech in both positive and negative terms, in each case, the newspaper only deviates from its entrenched ideological position when appraising the delivery or structure of the speech, while adopting contrasting positions on the content. Such contrasting positions suggest that the newspapers consider the need for a fit with the ideological positions of their readers when reconstructing reality.

5.2.4 *Callaghan as the safe pair of hands/incompetent politician*

While the *Telegraph* (see above) constructs an identity position for Callaghan that suggests he is lacking in political substance, it also constructs a negative professional identity for him as politically incompetent, with a particular emphasis on his fiscal failings. This contrasts with the *Mirror*'s constructed identity which is first aired in its headline (see above).

Telegraph	Mr Callaghan demonstrated his lack of any clear economic strategy.(25)

The *Telegraph*, in (25), utilises the present tense of the verb "to demonstrate" to strongly commit to its own proposition, and uses a third person possessive pronoun to attribute a lack of economic strategy to Callaghan. This serves to negatively evaluate Callaghan's capabilities and reflects the *Telegraph*'s

negative stance towards him. Such a categorical assertion also serves to encourage readers to share in this conceptualisation of events.

Telegraph	At one point in his speech he retailed the old discredited Treasury orthodoxy that price and wage restraint with reflation will bring full employment. (26)

In discussing the content of Callaghan's speech, the *Telegraph*, in (26) negatively evaluate his traditional stance on fiscal matters by using the evaluative premodifiers "old discredited". This serves to represent Callaghan as out of touch and politically incapable.

Telegraph	At another, he assigned this task to massive make-work subsidies without stopping to ask how the economy can bear the growing burden entailed in financing them. (27)

Callaghan's negatively constructed professional identity is added to further in (27), through the use of a categorical assertion (the use of the simple past tense in "assigned") in conjunction with a verb phrase ("without stopping to ask"), which represents Callaghan as reckless in his decision making.

Telegraph	Can Mr Callaghan seriously present himself as in the role of the man who is to stand up to the unions and operate the squeeze? (28)

The discursive practice of asking a rhetorical question in (28) functions in much the same way as the rhetorical questions analysed elsewhere in this chapter, as it highlights the dialogic nature of the editorial and reinforces the sense of community with readers by constructing synthetic mutual engagement. In this instance, the question encodes the implication that Callaghan would want to "stand up to the unions", which is a further example of the *Telegraph* attempting to influence public policy and also encodes a right-wing stance. The use of the modal

"can" in this rhetorical question also, in terms of constructing a negative professional identity for Callaghan, serves to cast doubts on his ability to perform this function.

The negative professional identity constructed here by the *Telegraph* contrasts with the way in which Callaghan is identified in the *Mirror*.

The Mirror

The headline to the *Mirror* editorial (discussed in section 5.2.1, above) featured a metaphor which was utilised in order to positively evaluate Callaghan's capabilities, and this stance is adopted throughout the editorial. Instead of constructing an identity for Callaghan that portrays him as professionally incompetent, the *Mirror* construct a positive professional identity, representing Callaghan as a highly competent, strong leader. Unlike the more balanced approach featured in the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph* (above), the *Mirror*, like the *Daily Mail*, takes a polarised view of Callaghan, and this reflects the shared ideological stance (and therefore group membership) between newspaper and politician/political party.

Mirror	The Prime Minister will go along with the trade unions if he can, but alone if he must. (29)

The use of the modal auxiliaries "will" and "must" in (29) reflect the *Mirror*'s constructed identity for Callaghan as a 'strong leader'. "Will" is used throughout the editorials in order to both discuss future events that are known to be about to happen, but also in order to predict policy or actions (Carter and McCarthy, 2006). In (29) it is used as part of a representation of Callaghan's own prediction of how he plans to proceed. It reflects certainty, as does the modal "must", which is used as part of the deontic system to reflect that under certain conditions, Callaghan is strongly obliged to act without the unions' assistance. In terms of the narrative

structure of the editorial (Fairclough, 2003), the decision to cite Callaghan at the start of the editorial using these modals (along with the use of his title "Prime Minister"), constructs him as a powerful, effective, strong-minded leader. This contrasts with the way in which Callaghan is presented in both the *Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail*, and encodes the *Mirror*'s pro-Labour political ideology.

Mirror	But Mr Callaghan wasn't threatening yesterday. He was a family doctor, not a bully. (30)

In (30), Callaghan's identity as a strong and effective leader is reinforced. In addition to the metaphoric representation of Callaghan as a family doctor (discussed above), the use of the negated simple past tense in "was not" categorically asserts that he "was not threatening", which serves to strong but fair in his dealings with the unions, leaving little room for doubt. This again reflects the Mirror's own ideological stance and influences readers into sharing this view.

Mirror	If his patients insist on smoking and drinking too much there is nothing he can do to stop them. (31)
Mirror	He was bound to point out, however, the damage such bad habits would do to their health. (32)
Mirror	And that if they ignored his warnings, the eventual medicine would be very harsh indeed. (33)

Like the *Guardian* (above) the *Mirror*, adopt a way of deflecting personal blame for the Government's fallings and the poor state of the economy away from Callaghan, thereby positively constructing his professional identity. On a discursive practice level, they do this in (31), (32) and (33) by shifting blame away from Callaghan and onto metaphorically constructed others. The interdiscursive metaphor that began in the *Mirror*'s headline in relation to Callaghan's own identity, is extended into the editorial and applied to the unions. The unions are constructed as medical patients who disregard doctors orders, with the negative connotations of foolishness and recklessness mapped from the source onto the target. The use, in

(31), of a conditional structure and the copula to categorically assert that Callaghan is powerless to stop union activity if the unions choose to demand pay rises, absolves him of blame if such an eventuality occurs.

Likewise, he is constructed as knowledgeable and strong in (32) and (33) through the use of another conditional structure and the modal "would", which is used to refer to a likely negative outcome (metaphorically represented using the noun phrase "harsh medicine") if Callaghan's advice is not heeded.

This focus of attention away from Callaghan and onto the unions, blaming them for the economic problems faced, serves to highlight the *Mirror*'s pro-Labour stance, and encourages readers to share the conceptualisation of Callaghan as a strong leader being undermined by forces outside of his control.

5.2.5 *Self-identities of the newspapers*

Sections 5.1 to 5.4 (above) have shown how examining the newspapers' orientation towards Callaghan can highlight their contrasting ideological stances and how an ideological identity for each newspaper can be viewed.

The negative stance adopted by the *Daily Mail* towards Callaghan and the discursive structure of the middle section of its editorial, in which the newspaper's own policy suggestions from previous editions were intertextually featured, helped to construct a Conservative ideological identity position for the *Daily Mail*. At the same time, the *Daily Mail* constructed an identity for itself as an active participant in national politics through its suggestion that Callaghan read its editorial. This serves to elevate the newspaper's standing with its readers and allows those readers to view the opinions expressed by the newspaper as authoritative. This, as has been

suggested, contributes to the construction of a synthetic community of practice consisting of *Daily Mail* readers and the newspaper itself.

The *Daily Mail*, while being the most explicit in its attempts to highlight its position within the political system, is not alone in constructing an elevated sense of self-identity and sense of status within the political system, as all three of the other newspapers do likewise.

As in the editorials from 1974, this is largely achieved through the use of modal verbs that form part of the epistemic system of modality, reflecting confidence in the propositions featured. Similarly, deontic modality is used by the newspapers to apply pressure onto Callaghan in order try to influence policy and to encourage readers, as part of a synthetic community of practice, to share in the conceptualisation of how events should proceed.

The Telegraph

The *Telegraph* uses modal verbs in order to construct an air of authority and to influence public policy.

| *Telegraph* | A conference speech has to move two distinct audiences. (34) |
| *Telegraph* | In any case, the expansion of the money supply generated by Mr Healey's pre-election boom ensures double figure inflation next year whatever the unions do. (35) |

The use of the semi-modal "has to" in (34) expresses obligation from outside the author of the text (Biber et al, 1999), and in this instance is used in order to construct the *Telegraph*'s identity (or the text producer) as an experienced political commentator, which is designed to engender trust in its readers and therefore reinforces a shared sense of group identity. This identity position is reinforced by

the use of the simple present tense of the verb "to ensure" in (35), as the newspaper constructs a sense of knowledge through the categorical assertion of what is essentially a prediction.

Telegraph	The questions in their minds will have been addressed to Mr Callaghan as Premier rather than as Party Leader. They will have wanted to know what he intends to do about the situation created by the new trade union militancy…(36)

The use of the modal verb "will" in (36) performs a similar function to the use of the present tense of the verb "to feel" in (15), above, as the *Telegraph* utilise it in order to make predictions. In this case, like in (15), these predictions relate to the thoughts of the electorate, which serves to manipulate readers into foregrounding the questions asked by the *Telegraph* and to ask the same questions that the *Telegraph* wants answered.

Telegraph	A monetary freeze will be called for, come what may. (37)
Telegraph	It will be all the harder after the unions have done their work, but harder still if they have their way. (38)

The use of the modal verb "will" in (37) and (38) is also in order to make predictions as to the outcome of events and can further be viewed as constructing an authoritative identity for the *Telegraph*, but also as a way of foregrounding the *Telegraph*'s conceptualisation of events and thereby encouraging readers and politicians to adopt the *Telegraph*'s recommendations.

The Guardian

The *Guardian* also uses modal verbs in order to construct a similar identity for itself, although the modals used reflect a lower level of commitment and certainty to the propositions made.

Guardian	There will, obviously, be a lot of negotiating behind the scenes in throughout October. (39)
Guardian	Parliament will not have confidence. It will let the people choose and let the people live with their choice. (40)

The use of the modal auxiliary "will", in sentences (39) and (40), alongside the stance adverb "obviously", operates in the same way as sentences (37) and (38) in the *Telegraph*, inasmuch as it is used to make strong, but genuine predictions, and as an attempt to manipulate both Government and the electorate while at the same time constructing an identity for itself as reliable and knowledgeable.

Guardian	Perhaps (one notion much denied) some more elastic norm may emerge, a norm that favours the lower paid more overtly and allows a measure of TUC policing. (41)
Guardian	A November election may come to seem not merely desirable but inevitable. (42)
Guardian	Within a month we should know the Dagenham outcome. We should know whether Mr Fisher's bellicose legions are bent on war. Within a month we shall either have a credible policy, or an incredible hulk drifting into winter. (43)

The use of "may" in (41) and (42) is used as part of the epistemic system of modality in order to speculate and make weak assessments of probability. The same can be said of the use of the epistemic modals "should" and "shall", which reflect likelihood, in (43). Again, this constructs an identity position for the *Guardian* as having awareness and knowledge in relation to events, and instils a confidence in readers that other propositions in the editorial are based on a sound understanding of issues.

Guardian	Perhaps this patched up, revised agreement will carry in train the possibility of a permanent pay strategy. (44)

The use of the adverb "perhaps" in (41) and (44) reflects doubt in the propositions being made via an extended metaphor (that an agreement will be reached on a pay strategy), and ties in with the rhetorical question asked in (22),

which encodes a lack of confidence in some aspects of Callaghan's speech and policies (see discussion of (22) above).

Guardian	Tuesday, arguably, stuck back together again Labour's thin hope of five more years: and while that hope lives the pay policy cannot be finally counted out. (45)

The deontic modal "cannot" is used in (45) in conjunction with the adverb "arguably", to express logical possibility (Biber et al, 1999) as well as to grant permission to its readers. In highlighting the logical state of events, the newspaper is calming its idealised readers (who would share a pro-Labour stance) and offering support to Callaghan, while simultaneously attempting to influence public policy. This serves to construct a pro-Labour identity for itself alongside the identity position of knowledgeable observer outlined above.

The Mirror

While the *Guardian* utilises modals in order to speculate, the *Mirror* constructs an identity position for itself as a knowledgeable, pro-Labour, left-wing observer largely through the use of categorical assertions and the modal verb "will".

Mirror	They (the trade unions) will accept because inflation destroys what they stand for. (46)

"Will" is used in (46) in order to commit strongly to the prediction that the unions will accept a curb in pay rises, when what is proposed is merely speculation. The use of "will" therefore serves to engender an expectation amongst readers that the prediction will occur, thereby pressuring the unions into following the *Mirror*'s (and Callaghan's) desired course of events.

Mirror	Certainly none of Labour's grand aims for a better society will withstand another burst of 25 per cent inflation. (47)
Mirror	Without a sensible incomes policy the Government will be left with no alternatives. (48)

The same strategy is being used in (47) and (48) (alongside the stance adverb "certainly") as the Mirror attempts to both predict and persuade those being discussed as to the right course of action, while simultaneously constructing, like the *Guardian*, the *Telegraph*, and the *Daily Mail*, an identity position of knowledgeable commentator.

Mirror	And those means could have harsh consequences, fewer jobs and higher taxation. (49)
Mirror	It is the enemy of social and industrial justice. (50)

The only epistemic modal used to express weak possibility is in (49), when "could" is used as part of a summary of Callaghan's speech. In representing Callaghan in this way the *Mirror* shows support for what he is saying, which reflects a positive stance towards him, and maintains the pro-Labour stance. This stance is best exemplified in the use of the categorical assertion in (50) through the use of the copula. In categorically asserting that inflation is the "enemy of social and industrial justice", the Mirror foregrounds the issue of social justice by being positively oriented towards it, thereby constructing a left-wing ideological identity position for itself.

Summary of 5.2

Like the editorials examined in section 5.1, the editorials from this period encoded vastly contrasting stances towards Callaghan as leader, and therefore constructed differing identity positions for the newspapers. In addition to the ways in which contrasting identity positions were constructed for Callaghan, of most significance are the findings that firstly, in terms of the *Daily Mail* editorial, instead of encoding simply a "political ideology" per se, the text encoded an explicitly anti-Labour stance. Evidence of this can be found in its overt hostility towards Callaghan, despite his introduction of policies that were broadly in agreement with *Daily Mail* group aims.

The second key finding is the fact that the tabloids adopt a more polarised, partisan stance than the broadsheets. The *Telegraph* and the *Guardian*, while both having a clear stance and identity position, both feature a more balanced argument than the more rooted ideological positions of the tabloids.

5.3 The departure of Michael Foot

The political leader who appeared in the randomly selected texts from the 1983-4 period was Michael Foot. Like Jim Callaghan, he was mentioned a decade earlier as a key figure in Wilson's 1974 cabinet (see above). The *Daily Mail* used him in order to negatively appraise Harold Wilson by constructing for him the professional identity of a politician of extremes, and as such, a potential liability for Wilson. They did so, in part, by attributing the noun phrase "Left-wing passions" to him, qualities that they disapproved of when discussing Harold Wilson's decision to appoint him to a senior cabinet post. The *Guardian* was much more approving of Foot, describing his appointment using the adjective "imaginative", and constructing a personal identity through use of positive nouns, he is represented as having "qualities of warmth and imagination". The *Mirror,* in their editorial, were similarly taken with Foot, constructing the professional identity of "socialist politician", something of which their broadly left-wing idealised readership would approve, with Foot's "left-wing passions" foregrounded alongside his likely "moderate" actions, the use of this noun highlighting the more positive identity constructed in the *Mirror* compared to the *Daily Mail*.

By 1983, Foot had taken over the leadership of the Labour Party, by this point no longer in power and in opposition to Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government, who had recently secured a second term after a particularly poor showing by Labour in the general election. The editorial texts from the *Daily Mail* and the *Guardian* focus on the issue of Foot's departing speech and his time as leader of the opposition. The editorial from the *Mirror* is different, in that it focuses, at least on the surface, on the retirement of the cricketer Geoffrey Boycott from the England national team. Despite this, I have included it for analysis due to the fact that, in part, it can be read metaphorically as humorous commentary on Foot's

departure and therefore shows the *Mirror* to be constructing an alternative representation of his identity. I will discuss this further throughout the analysis, but especially in 5.3.2, below. The *Telegraph*, on the other hand, did not devote an editorial to this particular issue, but did feature a lengthy report of Foot's speech. The ways in which the *Telegraph* creates identities for Foot in the news report will not be discussed, as comparisons with editorials are unfair, so this will not be used as part of the analysis and discussion.

As with the analysis of other time periods, what follows is a textual (discourse immanent) analysis, with concurrent analysis of social practices, followed by critique of the discursive practices. The ways in which the newspapers create simultaneous identities for Foot will be the key aspects of the analysis.

5.3.1 *Headlines*

Daily Mail	*Guardian*	*Mirror*
Farewell of a bad loser	Exit pursued by affection	Over and Out!

The right-wing *Daily Mail* adopts a headline to its editorial that clearly portrays a negative stance towards Foot as an individual, whereas the left leaning *Guardian* uses an explicitly positive headline to orient its readers towards Foot, again seemingly referring to Foot's personal qualities rather than his professional identity. The noun "affection" here correlates with the use of the adjective "warmth" used by the same newspaper a decade earlier, indicating that the stance adopted towards Foot has not changed. Meanwhile the *Mirror*'s stance, from the headline alone, suggests, through the use of the exclamation mark, an excitement in Foot's departure.

The *Daily Mail* then, creates a negative identity for Foot in the use of the noun phrase "bad loser", both the noun and the premodifying adjective portraying Foot as an individual and as a politician in negative terms. This constitutes a personal attack and the negative representation of Foot is not apparently directly related to his political affiliation. The noun phrase "bad loser" intertextually refers to a sporting context, and the use of the sporting metaphor simultaneously creates both a personal and a professional identity, both of which construct Foot in negative terms. As Koller (2004) has pointed out, choice of metaphors within media discourse is an ideologically driven act, and within this headline, the source of the metaphor, the culturally dispreferred individual who is ungracious in sporting defeat, is mapped onto Foot, the target. This serves, on an ideational level, to construct a view of the reality of Foot's departure in a negative way, immediately, on an interpersonal level, persuading readers to share the view that Foot is indeed, not only a bitter person, but is also to be disliked as a result (as "bad losers" are within sporting contexts). In terms of Foot's identity, this clearly serves to construct both his personal and his professional identities in such a way as represent him negatively. The ideological function of the metaphor is therefore to represent Foot as both a political failure and as a flawed individual.

This contrasts with the *Guardian*'s 1974 use of the noun "warmth" in association with Foot, and its headline from this period, which utilises the noun "affection" in representing the Labour Party conference delegates' feelings towards Foot, after hearing his final speech as Labour party leader. The *Guardian* uses intertextuality in mimicking the famous stage directions from Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*: "Exit, pursued by a bear". The sea captain in *A Winter's Tale* is pursued by a bear and is never seen again, and although the *Guardian* substitutes the bear for the noun "affection", it can be seen as an implicit suggestion by the text producers that

Foot's departure is permanent and that his time in front-line politics is truly over (see below).

This intertextuality also draws upon the eccentricity associated with the line from the play (reference) in orienting readers towards a positive view of Foot that encapsulates his personal identity and status and also allows for the editorial to interdiscursively blend the discourses of newspaper editorials and theatre criticism when discussing his speech. The tactic of using a theatrical metaphor in order to appraise a political speech was also used in the *Telegraph* text from 1978 (above) and appears to be a method favoured by editorial text producers when seeking to critique a political performance. However, whereas the *Telegraph* explicitly highlighted the fact that they were critiquing the speech by using a theatrical metaphor by using a conditional clause introduced by the subordinating conjunction "if" and the modal "would" ("if a theatre critic…he would…etc."), the *Guardian* are not so explicit (see section 5.3.2).

The *Mirror*'s headline is the fixed expression "over and out" which intertextually draws upon the discourses of radio communication and, in the use of the prepositions "over" and "out", the discourse of cricket (in cricket the word "over" is used as a noun, and "over and out" is not a fixed expression). The expression is used to signify the final turn in a radio conversation, and as such indicates that the *Mirror*, like the *Guardian*, sees the subject of their editorial as having completed his last speech or in some way completed a role. Again, as Koller (2004) argues, metaphors are carefully chosen and in this case can be viewed on an interpersonal level as orienting readers into sharing the view that Foot's political career is firmly finished. The cricket connotations are understood further when the England

cricketer, Geoffrey Boycott, is explicitly named in the fifth paragraph as the subject of the editorial. The use of the exclamation mark is again a cricket reference, in that the word "out" is frequently shouted. However, the dual meaning of the headline and the fact that the expression is not directly part of cricketing parlance can allow the interpretation that it is referring to both Boycott, whose career ended the previous day, and Foot. The fact that Boycott is not named until the fifth paragraph gives credence to this view (see below), as it suggests that readers are encouraged to view similarities between the two men. Again, the headline sets up the blended discourses of politics and sport that follow within the text of the editorial, which can be read as a tactic that allows a simultaneous professional, social and personal identity for Foot to be constructed.

5.3.2 *Foot as an aged figure/elder statesman*

The text producers of all three editorials focus upon Foot's age; thereby constructing a social identity related to age that simultaneously intersects with his personal and professional identities. In constructing this social identity the newspapers have differing motives, Foot's age being represented in both positive and negative contexts depending upon the ideological stance of the newspaper.

Daily Mail	What contempt, however, this old Socialist intellectual must have for the good sense and judgement of ordinary men and women (1)

The *Daily Mail* only refers to Foot's age on one occasion, in the use of the adjective "old" when premodifying the noun phrase "old socialist intellectual". The constructed identity is both social and professional, in that it draws on Foot's age, highlighting the fact that his views are dated, while also foregrounding his professional status as a man of left-wing politics. The use of the modal auxiliary "must" is part of the epistemic system of modality and expresses a high level of

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confidence in the proposition that Foot, in his professional identity as a left-wing politician, is contemptuous of ordinary men and women (and by implication the electorate and therefore *Daily Mail* readers). The creation here of the professional/social identity for Foot within this context shows the negative stance adopted by the *Daily Mail* towards him as a leader, and implicitly towards the "left-wing" politics that he represents, and is constructed in order to orient readers away from him and his political ideology.

Guardian	What he must have suffered in Labour's name since he was called late in life and without any obvious aptness to the leadership of the party. This wasn't, to be honest, Mr Foot at anywhere near his most stirring and memorable. (2)
	Mr Foot was a man tragically miscast (3)
	Mr Foot, rambling gamely onward, reminiscing happily if a little irrelevantly about the old days with Nye, seemed already yesterday a figure from a surprisingly distant past (4)

The *Guardian*, too, constructs a social identity for Foot as a man of advanced years. While the *Daily Mail* constructed a negative social identity in representing Foot as aged, the *Guardian*, although ageist by the very fact that age is foregrounded, adopts a more sympathetic tone in positively representing Foot. In sentence (2) the modal "must" is again used in an epistemic sense, reflecting a high level of confidence in the speculative proposition that Foot suffered in his role as leader. This positively orients readers towards Foot, and his social identity as an aged figure is constructed in order to compound that sense of sympathy. Foot's professional identity is also constructed, with the negated simple past tense used in order to fully commit to the *Guardian*'s assessment of his political performance. The use of the adjectives "stirring" and "memorable", although negated on this occasion, suggests that these are attributes that Foot does possess and contribute to the construction of a positive professional identity for Foot as a capable politician and to readers being positively oriented towards him. On a discursive practice level, the

use of the adverbial "to be honest", suggests an increased level of informality in the *Guardian* in comparison to earlier periods, with the dialogic nature of the text now being foregrounded through the use of the fixed expression typical of spoken discourse (Carter and McCarthy, 1997). Use of the adjective "honest" also serves to orient readers towards believing the content of the editorial and to share in the conceptualisation of events constructed by the *Guardian*.

Sentence (3) sees the use of the simple past tense, which again shows the *Guardian* to be committing fully to its own interpretation of events, which serves to manipulate readers into sharing this representation of reality but also serves to highlight Foot's status as someone of the past rather than the present. Here the representation of reality is that Foot is a victim of circumstance and not of his own failings. The use of the attitude stance adverb "tragically" is the linguistic choice that suggests that readers should adopt a positive stance towards Foot, with its connotations of pity rather than contempt. The choice of the verb "miscast" sees the continuation of the interdiscursive blend of discourses from theatre criticism (see above) and also sees the *Guardian* moving agency away from Foot (who agreed to be leader) and apportions blame upon the Labour Party itself for selecting him as leader.   Sentence (4) also sees the *Guardian* constructing a social identity for Foot that foregrounds his age. Here it draws upon cultural associations of elderly linguistic usage, in utilising the verb phrases "rambling gamely onward" and "reminiscing happily" alongside the stance adverb "irrelevantly". This constructed identity of an aged figure is simultaneously a personal identity, with Foot represented as behaving like a much loved elderly relative, through the use of the adverb "happily". Foot's professional identity is also encoded here, with the use of the perception verb "seemed" foregrounding the stance taken by the *Guardian*

towards Foot in his professional capacity, that of an outdated politician, with the noun phrase "surprisingly distant past" highlighting this.

The *Guardian*, then, adopts a positive stance towards Foot personally, through the construction of a social identity in which age is foregrounded, while simultaneously adopting a negative stance towards his professional identity as an outdated politician.

Mirror	Yesterday was the end of an era, the day of departure for a man whose kind we may never see again. (5)
	At his best he was brilliant, unbeatable (6)
	But he was no longer the man for his time (7)
	So Yorkshire had to sack Geoffrey Boycott. He was old-fashioned. In the bash and bang, six and out game that cricket is today, he was positively ancient. (8)
	At times he was so slow it seemed more like 139 years to score 22 centuries. (9)

The *Mirror*, as discussed above, ostensibly provides an editorial that discusses the retirement of Geoffrey Boycott, a leading but much maligned cricketer. Fairclough (2003) discusses how the narrative structure of media texts are affected by ideological decisions, such as the degree of prominence a text producer might want to give to a particular aspect of a story. In the social context of the time, i.e. the prominence given to Foot's farewell in all of the other newspapers (and the *Mirror* itself), and the fact that Boycott's name is not revealed until the fifth paragraph of the text, it is fair to assume that the *Mirror* is deliberately drawing upon the parallels between Foot's and Boycott's retirements. The editorial can therefore be read metaphorically, with both retirements simultaneously the source of the metaphor and the target, and the text itself a blend of sporting and political

discourse. The representation of Boycott can be viewed as another way of constructing Foot's identities.

The noun phrase "a man" with the postmodifying relative clause "whose kind we may never see again" in sentence (5) is designed to be deliberately ambiguous, allowing the reader to interpret it as applying to Foot or Boycott. Indeed, it is likely that readers would expect the content of an editorial in the front pages of the newspaper to be related to politics rather than sport, and the editorial is therefore creating the impression that Foot is the subject. If this is the case, then the *Mirror* is orienting readers towards a positive view of Foot. With all three descriptions prior to the naming of Boycott connoting a level of fondness, if not an outright positive stance. The identity created for Foot is simultaneously social and professional. In arguing that he is of the past (in sentences 5 and 7), the text producer socially foregrounds his status as an elder statesman in terms of age and in terms of political values. In addition to this, sentence (6) highlights his professional qualities through the use of the evaluative adjectives "unbeatable" and "brilliant", but with the suggestion, through the use of the past tense verb "was" and the adverbial "at his best", that this is no longer the case.

While in sentence (8) Boycott has been explicitly named, the parallels between him and Foot have already been drawn in the preceding paragraphs, and it is still fair to read the construction of Boycott's identity as being intended to be mapped across by readers to apply to Foot. Through the use of the adjective phrases "old fashioned" and "positively ancient", the *Mirror*, like the *Guardian*, represents Foot as having the social identity of an old man, with the adjective "slow"

in sentence (9) compounding this. In the context of sentences (5) and (6), this identity can be viewed as adopting a positive stance towards him.

5.3.3 *Foot as rebel politician*

Section 5.3.2 has highlighted the type of social identity categories that the newspapers constructed for Foot within the 1983 editorials. Interestingly, while the constructed social identities represented him in largely positive terms, his constructed professional identities, especially negative evaluation of his professional identity as a politician and political leader in particular, orient readers towards adopting a negative stance towards his professional capabilities.

While Foot's professional identity is largely represented within the editorials in negative terms, the left-wing newspapers do positively portray him as a man apart, as a passionate, committed, rebel politician.

| *Guardian* | He belaboured the Prime Minister with his usual zest and published a powerful catalogue – too much of it unhappily true – of Fleet Street malpractice. (10) |
| | As an old rebel, a man unmistakably of the left (11) |

In sentence (10), the use of the simple past tense (belaboured) highlights the *Guardian*'s strong confidence in its own interpretation of events, and the positive evaluation contained within the noun phrase "usual zest" helps construct the view that, professionally, Foot has been consistently perceived as a passionate speaker. In sentence (11) this identity is co-constructed and thus blended with the social identity category of age, with the noun phrase "an old rebel" suggesting to readers that Foot is a man apart.

The *Mirror*, too, represents Foot as possessing positive professional qualities. In sentence (13), as with *The Guardian* he is described using the noun "rebel" with the subordinate clause "but (was) not disloyal" with the negated adjective further orienting readers towards adopting a positive stance towards Foot as a professional politician. His positive professional identity is further constructed in sentence (12), with the use of the full lexical verbs "feared" and "loved" suggesting that Foot was capable of arousing strong emotions through his political performances, the dichotomous nature of the verbs suggesting that he also invited dichotomous views.

In contrast to both the left wing broadsheet and tabloid, *The Daily Mail* constructs a negative professional identity for Foot as a political failure.

5.3.4 *Foot as a political failure and the Labour Party as a negative influence*

Daily Mail	Michael Foot, in laying down his burden as leader of the Labour Party, seized the opportunity to get off his chest his loathing for Fleet Street. (14)
	Any man with that amount of bile on his chest simply has to get rid of it. (15)
	His was the swan-song of a bad loser. (16)
	Was Mr Foot's unfitness to lead his party really all a figment of journalistic imagination? (17)
	His dangerous policies. (18)
	It was his own party which persuaded him to do a job he wasn't up to. And then by its endless internal squabbling made his life a misery when he tried to do his best. (19)
	And the speech? Like all his others, bereft of substance and so defying analysis. Sound and fury signify nothing but the end of a disastrous interregnum in Labour's continuing decline. (20)

In sentences (14) and (15) the *Daily Mail* interdiscursively uses a dead metaphor that sees the source, removing phlegm and bile off one's chest when suffering from illness, mapped onto the target, Foot making his dissatisfaction about

the press known. This co-constructs a professional and personal identity for him as a failed leader and bitter individual. The *Daily Mail*'s use of this metaphor functions ideationally to represent the reality of Foot passing comment in negative terms, as an illness, suggesting that his statements are without foundation and that he is afflicted in holding his beliefs. This functions interpersonally to suggest to readers that they should view Foot's complaint in this way, sharing in the conceptualisation.

Another dead metaphor is used in (14), as Foot's leadership of the Labour party is ideationally represented as a burden that has been carried. This serves to again suggest to readers not only that the Labour Party itself is problematic, but that Foot is professionally incapable of performing his role. This fits in to Wodak's notion of discursive practices being manipulative in nature and, along with the metaphor of sickness, co-constructs professional and personal identities for Foot as a man damaged by his responsibility, unable to cope.

Yet another dead metaphor is used in (16), as the source, a dying swan, is mapped onto Foot as the target, further representing Foot's performance as his last. This, alongside use of the noun phrase "bad loser" serves to identify Foot professionally and personally in negative terms (see discussion of headlines, above).

Sentence (17) sees the *Daily Mail* make use of one of the recurring discursive techniques featured within the selection of editorials in this study, as a rhetorical question is asked of the readers. This question functions in two key ways. Firstly, on a textual level, the question encodes a presupposition, as the text producer presupposes that Foot is indeed viewed as an unfit leader, through use of the

adjective phrase "unfitness to lead". Secondly, on a discursive practice level of analysis, like the use of informal fixed expressions in the *Guardian* (see above) and the use of rhetorical questions by the *Guardian* in the 1978 editorials, the question is an example of conversationalisation, with readers encouraged to view the editorial dialogically and to see the text as an interaction between themselves and the newspaper. Overall, the effect of (17) is to construct an identity for Foot that sees him represented as a professional failure, but in such a way that presupposes that readers share in this conceptualisation of Foot's leadership. At the same time, this strategy encodes the *Daily Mail*'s Conservative and anti-Socialist ideology through the use of the presupposition, and does so in a conversationalised, hegemonic form.

The portrayal of Foot's identity as a professional failure is taken further by the *Daily Mail* by the addition of a further element to his constructed identity of failed politician. Foot is represented as so incompetent that he is represented as being a threat to national security in (18). The use of the adjective "dangerous" as a premodifier to the noun "policies" again encodes the *Daily Mail*'s ideological stance as opposite to the left-wing views of Foot, and serves to position readers against him.

The use of the simple past tense of the verbs "to be", "to persuade", "to make" and "to try" in (19) indicates categorical commitment to the *Daily Mail*'s representation of events (as is the case with the verb "to seize" in (4)), a representation that again sees the construction of the professional identity of Foot as a failed leader. This is constructed here through the use of the clause "(a job) he wasn't up to". Yet despite this, the text producer also simultaneously constructs a personal identity for Foot, through the verb phrase "he tried to do his best", as a man of integrity. This suggests that the *Daily Mail*'s main purpose in the editorial is not to denigrate Foot as a person for the sake of it, but to foreground his

professional failings over his personal identity features, which further implies that it is Foot's ideological, political position that is the main target of criticism.

The negative adjectival description of Foot's speech as being "bereft of substance" further reinforces Foot's identity as a political failure, with the adverbial "like all his others" orienting readers towards sharing the newspaper's conception of reality. The use of the present tense of "signify" again indicates categorical certainty in relation to the *Daily Mail*'s representation of events, an interpretation that is portrayed using the evaluative adjective "disastrous" to describe Foot's period as leader, which itself is relexicalised using the noun phrase "Labour's continuing decline". This again highlights the *Daily Mail*'s negative stance towards Foot (and therefore the newspaper's own Conservative ideology) through the construction of a negative professional identity for Foot and a negative representation of events in which he is involved.

While the *Daily Mail* explicitly constructs a negative professional identity for Foot and rarely counterbalances this with a positively constructed personal identity, as we have seen already, the *Guardian* is less voluminous in its criticism of Foot's professional capabilities and quicker to foreground Foot's positive personal identity, as would be expected by Foot's and the *Guardian*'s shared left-wing orientation (and the *Guardian*'s implicit acknowledgement of its assumed Labour readership), as well as the less sensationalist approach associated with a broadsheet newspaper highlighted in the other periods from this study.

Guardian	Sometimes he was nowhere near as insistent as he should have been. (21)
	An electorate initially sceptical but at first perhaps just willing to give him a chance read the message and responded accordingly. If Labour could not trust its leader, why should they? (22)

	Yet even when they railed against him the party found him quite impossible to hate. He was not often given respect, he was rarely denied affection. (23)
	The truth is he should have quit the job earlier than he did. It is some mark of his overwhelming decency and niceness that hardly anyone even in hours of crisis, could be found to tell him so. (24)
	His departure…opens the way to better things for Labour (25)

As the discussion of sentence (3) above has shown, the use of the stance adverb "tragically" alongside the verb "miscast" in relation to Foot sees the *Guardian* acknowledging Foot's failings as party leader, but at the same time apportions the blame onto the broader, political identity of the Labour Party instead of Foot himself. This therefore creates a negative professional identity for him, but implies that the identity is one that was created for him by external forces. This encapsulates the *Guardian*'s stance towards Foot – a political failure but one whose failings are not as a result of his own actions, rather the result of the actions of those who elected him. This identity is constructed simultaneously alongside a personal identity of Foot as a 'decent' human being.

The *Guardian*'s less combative representation of Foot as a political failure is typified in sentences (21) and (24), as the modal auxiliary "should" is used deontically to reflect what the *Guardian* suggests was desirable, stopping short of the *Daily Mail*'s use of the simple past tense which indicated stronger commitment to such propositions. The *Guardian* therefore represents Foot, in his role as leader, as having acted in ways that were not successful, and is arguably orienting readers away from him as a leader. However, the criticism and construction of the negative professional identity is more implicit and, as (24) shows through the use of the noun phrase "overwhelming decency and niceness", a positive personal identity is simultaneously constructed.

Like the *Daily Mail*, the *Guardian* also adopts the use of conversationalised forms in constructing Foot's negative professional identity by asking a rhetorical question in (22). This also makes a presuppostion – that Labour could not trust Foot as leader – which again serves to construct Foot's identity as a political failure, but, like sentence (3) implies that the Labour Party itself is partly to blame for overall failings, removing some agency from Foot.

The suggestion that the broader organisation of the Labour Party and not Foot as an individual who is ultimately at fault for Labour's (and Foot's) political failings is again encoded in (23), as the use of the simple past tense of the verb "railed" suggests categorical commitment to the notion that the Labour Party acted against Foot. In utilising the noun phrase "the party", the *Guardian* removes agency away from specific individuals and thereby reduces the negative perception of key members of the party. This is compounded in the clause "he was not often given respect", when again agency is removed.

The use of comparative reference in "better things for Labour" (in (25)) again shows the *Guardian* both constructing the professional identity of a political failure for Foot, while at the same time doing so in an indirect manner. The implication here is that the things will be better than Foot was able to deliver.

In terms of social practices, the *Guardian*'s construction of a negative professional identity for Foot orients readers towards a predominantly negative stance towards him, encouraging them to share in the conceptualisation that on a personal level Foot has integrity, but has failed professionally. Importantly though readers are also encouraged, to share in the *Guardian*'s conceptualisation of how and

why Foot failed, which involves apportioning some blame onto the Labour Party (and therefore the readers themselves).

While the *Guardian* implicitly suggests that Foot is not wholly to blame for his own (and Labour's) failings, the *Mirror*, as a tabloid, represents events in more simple terms.

Mirror	After this year's disaster he had to go, though it would be wrong and churlish to put all the blame upon him. (26)

In (26) the *Mirror* alludes to failed performance in using the noun "disaster" and the deontic modal auxiliary "had to" to express "obligation beyond the control of the author" (Carter and McCarthy, 2006), suggesting Foot's (Boycott's) position had become untenable. The modal auxiliary "would" is used conditionally to refer to a likely outcome if certain actions are carried out (Carter and McCarthy, 2006), and, in conjunction with the adjectives "wrong" and "churlish", serves to reinforce the view that Foot/Boycott is not entirely to blame for his own shortcomings, as was also the case with the Guardian. Use of the quantifier "all" implies that at least "some" blame should be attached.

The *Mirror* does not so much construct a wholly negative professional identity for Foot, but instead simply alludes to his failings. This reflects a more positive stance towards Foot in the *Mirror*, and, like the *Daily Mail*, highlights how tabloids represent events to readers in more binary terms.

5.3.5 The self identities of the newspapers

The identities created for Foot by all three newspapers have been discussed above, and while all three, to a greater or lesser extent, share similar conceptions of him,

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the linguistic items used have reflected contrasting stances taken towards him, and therefore indicate differing self identities and ideologies for each newspaper. As discussed in Chapter 1 the editorials are designed to represent the newspapers' view on political events and political news actors, and the stance adopted towards Foot encodes each newspaper's ideology.

The *Mirror* foregrounds Foot's professional and social identity of an elder statesman, highlighting his positive qualities. Clearly, from the evidence of the editorials, the newspapers had a relatively wide choice of identities to construct when representing Foot, so the *Mirror*'s decision to foreground his social identity rather than his flawed professional identity reveals a Left-wing political stance. Representing a left-wing politician in positive terms despite his obvious failings suggests that the *Mirror* targets a left-wing idealised readership who would not want to see a Labour leader explicitly criticised.

The *Daily Mail* also represents the issue in simple terms, foregrounding Foot's failed professional identity and neglecting to focus upon Foot's positive personal identity, which suggests that the *Daily Mail*'s agenda is to orient readers away from the Labour Party and from Foot himself, revealing, as one would expect, a pro-Conservative, anti-socialist stance. Importantly, readers are positioned, through the *Daily Mail*'s representation of reality, to share in this worldview.

Indeed, the cotext of this editorial also indicates the *Daily Mail*'s ideological stance, with another editorial about the Labour Party featuring on the same page. The second editorial headlined "Idiocy in Islington" discusses a piece of investigative

journalism that has supposedly highlighted mismanagement by the Labour-led Islington Council. The text, although not ostensibly about Foot and national politics, features the noun-phrases "Mr Michael Foot" (in referring to his dislike of the media), "Left-wing council", and "Left-wingers" alongside the noun phrase "shameful exploitation".

In featuring this text, in which Left-wing politics is negatively evaluated and associated with events that the *Daily Mail* represents as undesirable (although that funds have been "misapplied" is their stance, rather than objective fact), alongside the editorial in which Foot himself is discussed, the newspaper orients readers away from Foot and the Labour Party. The fact that this text appears at all highlights the contrasting news values of the *Guardian* and the *Daily Mail*, with the Daily Mail seeming to view perceived negativity in relation to the Labour Party as a key value.

The *Guardian* foregrounds both Foot's social identity as an aged figure and his professional identity as a political failure, but also represents Foot as a rebel politician. All this serves to provide a more complex representation of events for its readers. The fact that Foot's age is foregrounded alongside his professional failings indicates that the *Guardian* removes blame for Labour's political problems away from him personally and towards his disembodied political party for choosing someone unsuitable for the role. This willingness to implicitly criticise the Labour Party and to provide a negative representation of Foot himself can be viewed not as external criticism of an out-group and one of its members, but more as the *Guardian* writing for fellow members of a left-wing, Labour supporting in-group. The initial use of the noun phrase "the party" without a premodifier suggests that the *Guardian* is expecting readers to be able to share contextual knowledge. This contrasts with the

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Daily Mail's use of "leader of the Labour Party" and "his party" when initially identifying Foot.

The contrasting identities that the newspapers' construct for themselves can be viewed not just in terms of their political ideologies or stances adopted towards party politics, but in terms of how they position themselves in relation to their readers, and the ways in which they attempt to manipulate them into sharing in their representation of events. One way of achieving this, as discussed in relation to the 1978 editorials (above) is through the use of pronouns to create the sense of shared group identity.

The pronoun use in 1978 served to create a sense of the *Daily Mail* and its readers as a group of right-minded people. The pronoun use in 1983 continues in the same vein, with the newspaper using the consensual pronoun "we" (Fowler, 1991) to set itself apart as a group in opposition to Foot and the Labour Party. In utilising "we" alongside the full lexical verb "hope", part of the boulomaic modal system related to desire ("**We hope** he feels better for it"), the *Daily Mail* identifies itself, and potentially its readers, as an entity capable of emotions such as desire. This passage therefore indicates that as far as the newspaper is concerned, it is more than merely a record of facts and is in fact a community in itself (of text producers and readers), that is constructed through use of language that indicates a shared purpose (Conboy, 2006).

The second use of the consensual pronoun "we" occurs as the response to a self-posed question and is used along with another consensual pronoun, "our". Here,

in attesting that "we" have "pulled no punches" in "our attacks on him", the *Daily Mail* situates itself as part of a wider group identity – the institution of the press – while at the same time further creating a sense of an entity with the power to perform actions that have a real effect on the world. In justifying the actions of its in-group, it also creates another identity for itself, using the noun "opponents" ("In return he has spared no invective for his opponents"), suggesting that the newspaper identifies itself as the "other" in relation to Foot and Labour. Again, the *Daily Mail* is suggesting to readers that the collective identity of its community of readers and text producers that comprises the "*Daily Mail*" has a position of power within the political system and has an identity beyond that of a mere textual entity. This constructed group identity can be summarised as a "political pressure group". In terms of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979), membership of the *Daily Mail* ingroup is defined by direct opposition to Foot and his policies (amongst other political viewpoints). Of course, in the case of newspaper editorials, there is no way of proving that readers share in reflexive knowledge of group membership, but the use of consensual pronouns indicates that this is what the newspaper is attempting to achieve.

The newspapers also all attempt to orient readers towards sharing in their conceptualisation of events past, present and future through the use of modal auxiliaries, stance adverbs and verb tense (see discussion above).

5.4 Neil Kinnock's conference performance

The randomly selected texts for the 1988-89 period revealed that the newspaper editorials all featured discussion of the Labour Leader of the Opposition, Neil Kinnock, in October 1988. The 1987 General Election the year before had seen the electorate return the Conservative Party to power for another term, while Kinnock had been elected Labour leader in 1983 after the departure of Michael Foot (see section 5.3). 1987 had been his first election defeat, and in the conference being discussed in these editorials, Kinnock had been re-elected Labour leader, with Roy Hattersley elected as his Deputy. The editorials all focus on Kinnock's speech to the Labour Party conference (alongside his party's "policy review" announcement) at Blackpool, and use this to offer comment on Kinnock's qualities as a leader, as well as Labour's chances of winning a future election. This provides an interesting point of comparison with how previous Labour leaders were discussed in earlier editorials (see sections 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3), and especially with earlier on in the decade, when Michael Foot's performance as Labour leader had come under scrutiny.

Of the 1983 editorials, only the *Guardian* had even mentioned Kinnock by name, as the focus was upon Michael Foot. Kinnock's name had featured alongside predictions that the future would be more positive for the Labour Party, so this section will feature examination of whether the stance towards Kinnock and the Labour Party differs in any significant way by any of the newspapers. Analysis of previous periods showed the *Daily Mail* to adopt a negative stance towards Labour leaders, even when they adopted *Daily Mail* editorial suggestions, while the language of the *Mirror* and the *Guardian* encoded a positive view of Labour leaders, even when they acknowledged that some criticism was warranted, or when doubts were raised. The *Telegraph* adopted a negative stance towards Labour leaders, but did so using modal items that reflected a level of uncertainty about their propositions, suggesting

that a key difference between tabloid and broadsheet is that the broadsheets offer a more balanced and less partisan approach within their editorials. The editorials of 1988 will be analysed in order to assess whether these findings are also prevalent during this later period.

5.4.1 *Headlines*

Daily Mail	*Guardian*	*Telegraph*	*Mirror*
Forward into the past	Stern and sombre stuff, with noises off	Credible values?	A step towards victory

As with the previous two periods, the headlines of the four editorials suggest contrasting stances towards the political leader in question (in this case Neil Kinnock) and the parties and ideologies they personify. As these editorials are again about a speech to the Labour party conference, the stance adopted is towards the speech itself, and therefore Kinnock, as the speaker and leader.

In terms of structure, the headlines of the *Guardian* and the *Mirror* are both noun phrases postmodified by prepositional phrases. In both cases, the subject and the verb element of the clause is ellipted, can be assumed to be something close to "this was" or "the speech was". The use of these categorical assertions as headlines suggests that the *Guardian* and *Mirror* are strongly committed to their propositions, with the *Guardian* portraying Kinnock as a strong, serious leader through its use of the adjectives "stern" and "sombre". The *Mirror* uses metaphor to orient readers positively towards Kinnock, positively portraying his speech using the dead metaphor "politics is war" that sees movement "forward" as "progress", with Kinnock's recent actions portrayed as movement towards eventual electoral victory. This, as is to be expected of the *Mirror*, encodes a pro-Labour stance, and is reflective of the content of the editorial that follows.

The *Daily Mail* also uses a similar metaphor, "life is a journey", but in its case presents it using an adjective phrase, with the adjective "forward" as the head, postmodified by the prepositional phrase "into the past". The premodifying participle "moving" is ellipted. The *Daily Mail* takes a completely contrary stance towards Kinnock and Labour, adopting a stance consistent with the way in which negative identities were constructed for Michael Foot and Jim Callaghan in the preceding periods. This metaphor suggests that although the Labour party is indeed talking about "moving", it is returning to the values that had previously failed. This orients readers against Labour as a credible party of Government and presents Kinnock's speech negatively as a failure. It also, in suggesting that Kinnock presents Labour as moving forward when in fact it is doing the opposite, begins to construct a negative identity position for Kinnock that runs throughout the editorial (see 5.4.3, below).

Analysis of the previous three periods has highlighted the use of rhetorical questions as way in which particular ideas or suggestions can be foregrounded to readers while allowing the newspaper to appear dialogic and flexible in its stance. The *Telegraph* utilises this oft-used tactic in its headline for this period. The noun "values" premodified by the adjective "credible", presented as a question, presents Kinnock's speech as problematic and suggests the construction of an identity position for Kinnock that correlates with that of the *Daily Mail*. While the *Guardian* and the *Mirror* categorically assert positive viewpoints of Kinnock's speech and policies, the *Telegraph* encourages readers to doubt Kinnock's performance through the asking of the question. In so doing, the newspaper presents itself as balanced, in not attaching a high level of confidence in its suggestion that Kinnock and his "values"

lack credibility, but at the same time orients readers into arriving at that conclusion themselves.

The headlines of the editorials then, encapsulate the contrasting stances towards Kinnock and especially his core policies, with the newspapers split again according to their established political ideology. This reinforces the suggestion that the newspapers write for synthetic communities of practice of like-minded readers. Likewise, the contrasting approach taken by the *Daily Mail* compared to the *Telegraph* highlights the less categorical, polarised approach and more dialogic strategy taken by the broadsheet press in comparison with the tabloids.

5.4.2 Kinnock as a Socialist hero and Labour as the right choice

The editorial from the *Mirror* during this period constructs a positive professional identity for Kinnock as a "Socialist hero", and in so doing highlights its own Left-wing identity position. Like the editorials featured earlier in this, the Mirror also constructs for itself an identity of "authoritative voice", even more explicitly here than in previous periods.

A photograph of a man wearing a cravat, drinking from a bottle of champagne, alongside the caption "GIMME, GIMME: This is the face of Thatcherism…wealthy yuppies who swig champagne from the bottle – and don't care about anyone else" forms part of the cotext of the *Mirror* editorial (see Appendix page XIV). In terms of social practice, the primary function of the photograph and caption is to highlight the ideal reader for whom the editorial is written, and indeed the newspaper as a whole. Group membership of the "*Mirror* readers" group is partially defined by difference to the outgroup identified in the caption –

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"Thatcherite" yuppies, or, in simple terms, Conservatives.   By contrast, this constructs *Mirror* readers as people who DO care about others, and who, by implication, hold more socialist views.

It is in this context that the editorial must be viewed.   Extracts (1) to (4) serve to highlight the *Mirror*'s ideological identity position as not only Left-wing but as explicitly pro-Labour.

Mirror	On the eve of the 1987 General Election the *Daily Mirror* told its readers it was time for them to choose between two sets of values. (1)

The start of the main clause in (1), through the use of the noun phrase and verb phrase "the *Daily Mirror* told its readers", (1) constructs an explicitly authoritative voice for the *Mirror*, in such a way that contrasts with similar constructions from previous periods.   Here, this is achieved through the use of the verb "told" (in contrast with the use of modal auxiliaries such as "must" and "should"), which indicates, instead of a sense of a synthetic mutual dialogue, that the *Mirror* is occupying a position of power over its readers, for whom a group identity id explicitly constructed.   The subordinate clause in (1) intertextually refers back to what the group was "told", and in so doing foregrounds the ideological notion of "values", and their existence within the political system.

Mirror	"The Conservative Party," we said, "exists to preserve privileges…that is its historic role". (2)
Mirror	"The Labour Party was created to fight privilege, the degradation of poverty, the humiliation of unemployment, the misery of the slums. That is its historic duty". (3)

On a discursive practice level, the manifest intertextuality (quotations from a pre-election editorial) in (2) and (3), is carefully chosen to foreground the *Mirror*'s

own representation of the values of first the Conservative Party and then the Labour Party. The direct quotation serves, in terms of social practice, to encourage readers to share in the *Mirror*'s representations of the history of the two parties and their ideological stances. While creating a sense of authority, the editorial at the same time features a summarised representation of the Conservative Party's historical stance that is presented as negative, using the noun "role" to represent its part in the social system. By contrast, the Labour Party is represented in a more active way as having a "duty", to "fight" processes that are represented as negative through the nouns "humiliation" and "misery". This encodes an explicitly pro-Labour stance.

Mirror	Neil Kinnock fulfilled that duty yesterday, just as he did throughout that election. (4)

This is also part of a discursive strategy, in that the active representation of Labour as having a "duty" is used in order to construct a positive identity for Kinnock as having actively achieved something, and something positive at that. In (4), the use of the verb "fulfilled" to represent Kinnock's actions in making his speech constructs him as dynamic, when in reality the speech, in being only words, and Kinnock, in being in Opposition rather than Government, fulfilled nothing.

Mirror	No matter how often, how badly, Labour is defeated, it must never abandon its mission. (5)

In (5), the *Mirror* continues to construct its authoritative voice through the use of the modal verb "must" as part of the deontic system of modality, as it attempts to influence both Kinnock, on whom, as leader, the *Mirror's* strongly urged obligation falls, and readers, who are encouraged to expect of Labour the obligation to continue with the newspaper's representation of Labour values. This again,

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highlights the *Mirror*'s stance as being part of a Labour community of practice, with shared goals and aims. *Mirror* readers are co-opted into this group.

Mirror	He stated the old values in giving his modern aims. (6)
Mirror	• The achievement, at long last, of genuine equal rights for all women. (7) • A European Community prosperous and fully employed. (8) • A Recognition that neither employers nor workers could long succeed without the cooperation of the other. (9) • The acceptance that caring about the environment – ending Ridley's Raiders "spraying concrete over this green and pleasant land" – meant a price that had to be paid. (10) • The recognition that there is a responsibility upon rich nations like ours to care for the starving and oppressed in distant lands. (11)

This sense of shared goals and a positively constructed professional identity for Kinnock as the guardian of Labour values, is reinforced in (6) to (11), as the *Mirror* intertextually represents aspects of Kinnock's speech. In directly repeating elements of Kinnock's speech, the *Mirror* explicitly highlights specific issues that it wants Kinnock and readers to foreground and prioritise, while at the same time endorsing Kinnock's leadership by attributing raising of the issues to him.

The use two contrasting adjective premodifiers in (6), "old values" and "modern aims", also points to how the *Mirror* constructs an identity position for itself and Kinnock. These serve to construct Kinnock as a traditional Socialist who is applying his values to present day concerns, and in representing Kinnock's approach as such, indicate that this is a shared goal of the *Mirror*, who clearly view the newspaper and Kinnock as belonging to the same social grouping. The positive representation of Kinnock's traditional values is in stark contrast to the stance adopted by the *Daily Mail*, below.

The aims set out by Kinnock that the *Mirror* choose to represent reaffirm the Left wing identity constructed for both through the issues they address. "Equal rights", the "European Community", the "co-operation" of "employers" and "workers" and the "responsibility" to "care" for those in "distant lands" are all markedly Left-wing ideals.

Mirror	"We have a dream, he said. "But we are not dreamers." (12)

The *Mirror*'s endorsement of Kinnock's socialism is further highlighted in the use of manifest intertextuality in (12), as an evocative quotation from Kinnock's speech is directly reproduced. This extract is itself intertextual, and in allowing the comparison between Kinnock and the Labour Party and the respected American civil rights campaigner Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement, to be reproduced, the *Mirror* further constructs a positive identity for Kinnock.

Mirror	Mr Kinnock has a long, long way to go before election victory. But if deserving it is the first step, he took it yesterday. (13)

The final line of the editorial (13) acknowledges the difficulty of achieving electoral victory through the use of the noun phrase "long, long way", which serves to construct a knowledgeable voice for the Mirror. Nevertheless, the use of the conjunction "but", suggests to readers that such a thought can be revised, and the conditional sentence that follows, through the resumption of the dead metaphor featured in the headline and the use of a declarative structure ("he took it (the step) yesterday"), encodes a conceptualisation of Kinnock's performance that is wholly positive. In reading this sentence, readers are forced to share in the conceptualisation.

5.4.3 Kinnock and Labour as phoney Socialist idealists

While the *Mirror* constructs a positive professional identity for Kinnock and encodes an explicit support for the Labour Party, the Right-wing tabloid does the polar opposite, by constructing a negative identity for Kinnock and encoding an identity position for itself that is anti-Labour and pro-Conservative. Given the analysis of the editorials from the three preceding periods, this is to be expected.

While the *Mirror* represents Kinnock's speech as positive, and conceptualises Kinnock as having "old values" but "modern aims", the *Daily Mail* also constructs Kinnock's (and Labour's) ideological values as "old", but, given the *Daily Mail*'s own traditional stance (as evidenced in section 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3), this representation is presented in negative terms. Kinnock and Labour are constructed professionally, in terms of political ideology, as unevolved socialists attempting to fool the electorate into believing that the party has modernised. In (6) (above), the *Mirror* represents Kinnock's aims as "modern", thereby suggesting that Kinnock and Labour have evolved their policies, whereas the *Daily Mail* constructs Kinnock and Labour as dishonestly pretending that they have changed, when in fact they have not.

The *Daily Mail* editorial includes a series of propositions in (14) to (20) that first represent Kinnock and Labour's own conceptualisation of their actions, but that then "demystify" them by reconceptualising them according to the *Daily Mail*'s own understanding and representation of events. The *Daily Mail*'s ideological stance is therefore highlighted.

Daily Mail	Kinnock supporters are billing his keynote speech to the Labour Party conference as evidence of a new realism in a bid to steal Mrs Thatcher's clothes. (14)

Extract (14) foregrounds, in the very first line of the editorial, the fact that the *Daily Mail*, and by implication its community of readers, is not part of the same ingroup as Kinnock and the Labour Party. This is achieved through use of the noun phrase "Kinnock supporters", which suggests a lack of deference and impoliteness shown towards Kinnock. As discussed in sections 5.1 and 5.2, the lack of a title when referring to someone either encodes familiarity or a lack of respect, and in this instance it is clearly the latter. This contrasts with the use of TLN to identify the then Prime Minister "Mrs Thatcher", thereby highlighting the *Daily Mail*'s pro-Conservative stance.

In addition to this, the *Daily Mail*, in (14) represents the Labour argument that Kinnock's speech has signalled a change in party policies using the noun phrase "evidence of a new realism". This proposition encodes the ideological belief that socialist values are unrealistic, thereby illustrating the newspaper's Conservative stance. Similarly, the change of policy in order to win an election is also metaphorically represented as "a bid to steal Mrs Thatcher's clothes". On an interpersonal level, this metaphor argues for the conceptualisation of Labour's modernising as "stealing", which serves to persuade readers to negatively appraise Kinnock for attempting to change. Ideationally, the metaphor helps to construct a view of reality in which Kinnock and Labour, instead of proposing to implement their own traditional values, are actually attempting to appropriate Conservative policies.

This suggestion mirrors that made by the *Daily Mail* in the editorial featured in section 5.2, in which Jim Callaghan was negatively appraised for attempting to

implement policies that the *Daily Mail* considered Conservative. This is therefore further evidence of the fact that the *Daily Mail*, as well as adopting a Conservative identity position, also adopts a fixed political viewpoint that sees it negatively evaluate politicians and political parties who deviate from what the *Daily Mail* considers to be their traditional values or ideological position. This is the case in extract (17), where the potential adoption of more Conservative policies by Kinnock is conceptualised using the noun phrase and postmodifying clause "the spectacle of Labour's leader spouting Tory platitudes". The use of the verb "to spout" encodes the suggestion that Kinnock has not carefully considered his words and is just attempting to steal policies, while the use of the rhetorical question "Whatever next?" only serves to further suggest to readers that political parties who evolve and change policies should be seen as unusual.

In actual fact, in the present editorial, the notion that Kinnock is indeed modernising and utilising Conservative policy is ultimately rejected. This also draws negative appraisal from the *Daily Mail*, suggesting that ultimately, it is simply pro-Conservative and ant-Labour, regardless of the issues and deeper ideological positions taken.

Daily Mail	Second it rests on his remarks about the economy. He said that if we are to have social justice there must be economic efficiency too. He also showed he approved of a mixed economy. He even had kind words to say about enterprise and individualism. (15)

(15) and (16) both further represent the *Daily Mail*'s constructed version of events through the use of reported speech from both Kinnock and his unidentified supporters. They encode Kinnock's suggestions that perceived traditional Conservative values, represented using noun phrases such as "economic efficiency", "enterprise" and "individualism", can be married with Labour values, represented

using the noun phrase "social justice". The use of reported speech rather than direct quotation allows the *Daily Mail* to present Kinnock's views in a way that guides readers into adopting a negative stance towards them. The use of the adverb "even" in (15) encodes the implication, for example, that readers should not have expected Kinnock to say "kind words" about issues like enterprise and individualism, which serves to cast doubt on Kinnock's honesty.

Daily Mail	Such sayings are being projected as bold assertions of Mr Kinnock's independence of his union puppetmasters (16)

In (16) the process of an unattributed source interpreting Kinnock's speech as a positive example of his independence of thought is represented using the verb phrase "are being projected". The use of this verb phrase and the fact that the source of the projections goes unnamed, serves to present the likelihood of this being the case as unlikely, encoding the *Daily Mail*'s negative stance towards Labour and Kinnock. Kinnock's relationship with the trade unions is constructed as one in which there is a large imbalance of power, through the use of the dead metaphor in the noun phrase "union puppetmasters". This maps the notion of being controlled from the source, to Kinnock's relationship with the unions, which is the target. This serves to construct a negative professional identity for Kinnock as a powerless, weak leader.

Daily Mail	In fact, this alleged exercise in dragging Labour into the modern age is a charade. (17)

It is in (17) that the *Daily Mail* first constructs the negative professional identity outlined above for Kinnock, through the categorical assertion that Labour's modernisation "**is** a charade". The use of this noun phrase highlights the suggestion that Kinnock is actively dishonest, with the use of the participle "alleged" also

encoding the belief that "Kinnock supporters", and therefore the Labour Party itself, is also telling lies. Readers, because of the categorical assertion, are presented with a strong commitment to this representation of reality being true. The use of the present participle "dragging" also encodes the suggestion that Labour are some way off being in "the modern age", which further indicates an anti-Labour stance and constructs Kinnock as old-fashioned.

Daily Mail	Transport workers' chief Ron Todd has already made it clear that all the weight of his giant union will be swung behind the unilateralist cause. As for economic efficiency, Mr Todd has rather aptly summed that up as "all sharp suits and cordless telephones". (18)

In (18) and (19), the *Daily Mail* further attempts to construct Kinnock and Labour as fraudulent in constructing key elements of Kinnock's policies as untrue. It achieves this in (18) through an intertextual use of reported speech from the leader of a large Trade Union, Ron Todd. The use of the verb phrase "has already made it clear" represents Todd's words as true, in such a way as to make Kinnock's to be the opposite. The use of the metaphorical noun phrase "the weight" and the adjective premodifier "giant" in "giant union" constructs a powerful institutional identity for Todd, and allied to the earlier use of "union puppetmasters" further enhances the *Daily Mail*'s representation of power being with the trade unions and away from Labour. The direct quotation from Todd in (18) explicitly serves to contradict Kinnock's own suggestions that his party has modernised and embraced "economic efficiency", and due to the powerful identity created for Todd, readers are manipulated into believing him rather than Kinnock.

Daily Mail	Behind the public relations façade, Labour economic thinking still revolves around the old and outworn ideas of class war. That comes through loud and clear in the fulminations of the deputy leader Roy Hattersley. (19)

In (19), the use of the noun phrase "public relations façade" to represent Kinnock's speech further constructs his negative professional identity as a phoney politician, and simultaneously encodes a negative personal identity, in which Kinnock, in having made the speech that is being represented as a façade, is being dishonest. The use of the adverb "still" in the verb phrase "still revolves" to represent Labour's thinking conceptualises reality for readers in such a way as to ensure they view Labour policy as unchanged. Representing that thinking using the noun phrase "class war" further negatively constructs Labour's position, representing the party as driven by jealousy. This metaphorical blend of the discourses of battle and politics encodes the conceptualisation that "Left-wing politics and Right-wing politics is war", and Labour are presented as having started the war, which orients readers away from them.

The relexicalisation of Labour's policies as "class war" is linked not to the speech given by Kinnock himself, but to the "fulminations" of Roy Hattersley, Labour's Deputy Leader. The fact that it is the words of Todd, in (18), and Hattersely, in (19) – (21) that are used to orient readers away from Labour is an interesting tactic. *The Daily Mail*, instead of pointing to contradictions that Kinnock himself might have made, uses the words and actions of other members of the "Left" movement in order to negatively construct the Labour Party, and by implication, Kinnock. This means that it is not the words that Kinnock, as leader, has said that are used in order to construct a negative professional identity for him, but the Daily Mail's interpretations of words and actions of others.

Daily Mail	He has of late been steamed up about inequality in Britain and aspires to reduce it through a tax on wealth. (20)

Extract (20) features the noun phrase "inequality in Britain", of which Hattersley is represented as having concerns. The verb phrase "has been steamed up about" is used to construct Hattersely's behaviour, which indicates that *the Daily Mail* itself has no such concerns – constructing a Conservative identity position.

Daily Mail	Naturally he and other class warriors like to point to the salaries of top businessmen...Yet by the standards of the US, Europe and Japan, these are not that high. (21)
Daily Mail	As for the earnings of British executives in general, they come rather low in the pecking order. (22)

In (21), the relexicalisation of Labour's policies as "class war" is reinforced through the construction of a negative professional and personal identity for Hattersley using the noun phrase "class warrior". (21) also features the categorical assertion that the "salaries of top businessmen are not that high", which therefore strongly commits to a rejection of the opinions of Hattersley and Labour. Readers are again encouraged to therefore view Labour policies and comments as incorrect or false. The same tactic is used in (22), when the simple present tense is used to categorically assert that the earnings of British executives "come" low in the "pecking order". The use of the dead metaphor, "pecking order", conceptualises Britain's businessmen as birds struggling to feed themselves, which on a in interpersonal level persuades readers to share in the view that Labour are wrong and that the *Daily Mail* is right.

Daily Mail	Roy Hattersley and his cronies would only make things worse. Under them the Thatcherite economic revival would come to a full stop. (23)

Such a perspective is explicitly stated in (23), when it is again Hattersley who is negatively appraised and not Kinnock. This again serves to show how *the Daily Mail* uses the criticism of one politician to negatively evaluate the leader of his party

(as was seen in section 5.1). Labour are constructed using the noun phrase "his cronies", orienting readers away from them and constructing the *Daily Mail* as anti-Labour. The use of the modal auxiliary "would" is used conditionally to suggest to readers a likely outcome if Labour came to power, which is partly represented using the comparative worse. "Would" is also used in the second part of (23) where Conservative government is reconstructed as a "Thatcherite economic revival". The proposition of the likelihood of this coming to an end in the event of a Labour electoral victory that the use of would suggests, contains the implication that the Thatcherite economic revival is taking place, and that it would not be desirable to stop it. This represents Conservative politics in a wholly positive way, while doing the opposite of socialism. Again, this serves to construct a Conservative identity position for the newspaper and represents reality for its readers that encourages them to share in this vision.

Daily Mail	If it's prosperity we want as a nation we must put Labour's politics of envy, however heavily disguised, firmly on one side. (24)

Finally, in (24), the contrast between the *Mirror* and the *Daily Mail* and their construction of group identities for the Labour Party is most clearly observed. While the *Mirror* conceptualised Kinnock in positive terms and constructed his (and Labour's) aims as "duties", the *Daily Mail* relexicalises them using the negative noun phrase "politics of envy". The use of the adverb and participle "heavily disguised" continues to construct Labour as dishonest, and the modal verb "must" strongly obliges readers (and, in the use of the consensual pronoun "we", a wider national group) to reject Labour. This is achieved through the use of the dead metaphorical verb phrase "to put on one side".

The *Daily Mail* in (24), constructs a national group identity for readers, that sees them as part of a synthetic community of practice that is partly constructed through the creation of a mutual goal of rejecting Labour, and Kinnock, as leader, and in opposition to Labour, as a recognised outgroup. This opposition is partly due to a negative constructed identity for Kinnock, Labour and Roy Hattersley as dishonest, old-fashioned and jealous of Conservative success.

The *Telegraph*, like the *Daily Mail* also constructs a very similar negative professional identity for Kinnock and the Labour Party and adopts a negative stance towards Kinnock and Labour, but does so in a less partisan and slightly more balanced way. While the *Telegraph* stops short of fully representing Kinnock and Labour as phoney, or as a charade, the same position is essentially adopted.

Telegraph	Labour has shed a few of its worst absurdities under Mr Kinnock's leadership, but his overlong, at times powerful speech was a salutary reminder of how far it still is from becoming a credible alternative government. (26)

In extract (26), the *Telegraph* constructs reality in a similar way to the *Mirror* (see extract (13) above), in representing Labour's chances of achieving power as slim through the use of the dead metaphor "success can be measured by distance". Likewise, the *Telegraph* positively constructs a professional identity for Kinnock and, unlike the polarised stance of the *Daily Mail*, represents Labour as having evolved, through the use of the categorical assertion that "Labour **has** shed a few of its worst absurdities under Mr Kinnock's leadership". However, this assertion encodes the implication, in the noun phrase "worst absurdities", that Labour both was absurd, and that it still has some absurdities. This reflects a Conservative identity position for the *Telegraph* that is present throughout the editorial, and serves to manipulate readers into sharing this conceptualisation. Similarly, the conjunction "but" also

encourages readers to revise their thoughts after the relatively positive stance taken in the opening, which orients them away from Labour and Kinnock.

Kinnock himself has a contradictory identity constructed for him through the use of the adjectives "overlong", which negatively describes his speech, and the positive adjective "powerful". The adverbial "at times" again encodes an implication that at other times, Kinnock was not powerful, resulting in a mixed professional identity being constructed.

Telegraph	It is one thing for Mr Paddy Ashdown to remind his party's Blackpool conference last week of the need to achieve power; it is a reflection of Labour's shrunken condition that Mr Kinnock should have felt it necessary to do the same yesterday. (27)

The use of the copula alongside a metaphorical blend in (27) also encodes a negative stance towards Kinnock and Labour. Labour are represented negatively as having a "shrunken condition", which sees the discourses of illness and politics blended together. The end result is that interpersonally, the *Telegraph* is informing readers that the Labour party is weak and unfit to govern, which, ideationally, is the view of reality with which readers are confronted.

Telegraph	Despite the conference's overwhelming endorsement of a statement of "aims and values" which sets the tone for the review, battles loom over how far Labour should retreat from unilateralism and nationalisation in pursuit of votes. (28)

The *Telegraph*, like in its editorials featured in sections 5.1 and 5.2, also constructs an identity position for itself that marks it out as a knowledgeable, authoritative voice when discussing political events. The reference to the future in the use of the verb phrase "battles loom" in (28) constructs this voice. This also metaphorically constructs Labour as a "warring faction", blending, like in *the Daily Mail*, above, the discourses of politics and war, resulting in a metaphor that encodes

the view that "politics is war". This constructs a view of Labour as indecisive and unable to agree, which readers are encouraged to share. The use of the verb "retreat" continues this metaphor, with the categorical assertion that "battles loom over how far Labour should retreat", presupposing that some concessions by Labour on the issues of unilateralism and nationalisation are inevitable.

All this serves to construct a negative group identity for Labour, discouraging readers from viewing them as an electable proposition (see discussion of the *Guardian* editorial in 5.4.4, below) and positioning the *Telegraph* and its wider community of readers away from them.

Telegraph	Mr Kinnock made much yesterday of his party's environmentalist credentials in response to the Prime Minister's playing of the green card. His claims that Labour was there first were unconvincing. (29)

In (29), the use of the third person possessive pronoun in representing Labour as "his (Kinnock's) party" also serves to distance the *Telegraph* from Labour – the implication being that the party is "his" but not the *Telegraph*'s or its readers'. Here, like Michael Foot before him, Kinnock is constructed as a reactionary politician in his policies on the environment. This negative professional identity is constructed for Kinnock to encourage readers to see him and the Labour Party as reactive rather than proactive, and therefore unfit to lead. This is achieved through the use of the prepositional phrase "in response to". Similarly, the choice of reporting verb in "his claims" and the use of the copula with an adjective (participle) as the subject predicative ("his claims…were unconvincing") encodes the *Telegraph*'s negative stance. Kinnock is negatively constructed as a poor orator and, as in the *Daily Mail* editorial, the use of "claim" encodes an expression of doubt as to the veracity of what he is saying, which implies dishonesty.

Telegraph	He defended the green belt, when previous Labour Governments have punctured it to build council estates. He attacked nuclear energy, yet it is fossil fuels that are increasing the "greenhouse effect". (30)

Also like the *Daily Mail*, the *Telegraph* in (30) uses a discursive structure of main clause followed by subordinate clause, in which twin declaratives are used. The first, in terms of discourse practice, intertextually reports an element of Labour policy (in this case Kinnock's speech, through reporting verbs "defended" and "attacked"), while the second categorically contradicts Kinnock or implies that he is incorrect. This serves to negatively construct Kinnock and Labour professionally, as either dishonest or misinformed.

Telegraph	Mr Kinnock must long for the days when he could hope to steer Labour to power by denouncing mass unemployment and Cruise missiles. With those foxes shot, his task is all the harder. (31)

Finally, the use of the modal "must" is used in (31) not to express obligation, but to express certainty in a prediction. This strong prediction constructs Kinnock as outdated, in that it represents him using the verb "to long" as fondly remembering the past. When he "could" (here used as the past tense of "can", expressing ability) envisage electoral success while still having limited policies.   This encodes the proposition that Kinnock is currently unelectable, as well as that Labour have only limited appeal.

The *Telegraph* editorial, in terms of social practice, functions in a very similar way to the *Daily Mail*'s in terms of orienting readers away from Kinnock, and constructing a negative professional identity for Kinnock as a weak leader lacking in "modern" policies, and similarly a simultaneous negative professional and personal identity as, at worst, a liar. Even at best, Kinnock and Labour have a shared identity as outdated.

5.4.4 Kinnock and Labour as an electable proposition

The editorial from the Left-wing tabloid constructed Kinnock and Labour positively, while the *Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail* did the opposite. In constructing Kinnock and Labour either way, the newspapers are attempting to persuade them that either Labour is an electable proposition, or not. The *Guardian* editorial directly addresses this issue in its representations of Kinnock and Labour. As a broadsheet, it is less partisan than the *Mirror* text (above), but does serve to influence readers into arriving at the conclusion that Kinnock is indeed and electable proposition.

In terms of its discursive practices, the *Guardian*'s stance towards Kinnock, and Labour in general, can partly be observed in its use of intertextuality. The *Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail* both utilised specific, carefully selected extracts from Kinnock's speech, or from other policy documents, in order to contradict his statements and to negatively construct his professional identity. The *Mirror*, on the other hand, utilised manifest intertextuality in order to encode approval, by adopting a positive stance to elements of the speech that matched its own ideological stance. The *Guardian*'s use of intertextuality most closely follows that of the *Mirro*r, in the sense that much of the opening paragraph, the middle and final third of the text is free indirect speech, in which the elements of Kinnock's speech viewed by the newspaper as most relevant are reproduced as a précis. For example, the *Guardian* writes: "Social justice, he argued, was not incompatible with economic efficiency: the two went hand in hand. Economic efficiency could not be achieved without the kind of social justice which allowed the whole community to fulfil its potential. But social justice would not be achieved without the economic means to pay for it." This is just one example from the text in which Kinnock's arguments are faithfully

reproduced. The text, needless to say, is an editorial, not a news story, where one would expect to find reported speech. Therefore the inclusion of lengthy extracts from Kinnock's speech can be viewed not as information-giving, but as endorsement on behalf of the *Guardian*, and as encoding a positive stance towards Kinnock, as well as constructing a Left-wing, pro-Labour identity position for the newspaper (see appendix, p. XIII for full text).

Guardian	Labour, Mr Kinnock told his party at Blackpool yesterday, will be of no lasting use to anyone unless it can first win back power at the ballot box. (32)

Extract (32), the opening line of the editorial, serves the same social function as the example discussed above, in that while not presented as a quotation, it is an intertextual representation of Kinnock's words. In foregrounding Kinnock's own prediction (made through use of the modal "will") that encodes the belief that Labour need to win an election to justify its political existence, the *Guardian* encodes its own positive stance towards the proposition and identifies itself as belonging to the same wider community of practice as the Labour party, through the sharing of a mutual goal.

Guardian	…it meant, above all, constantly keeping in mind the need to make Labour electable: every policy, every commitment, every public pronouncement ought in his book to be weighed by the test of whether it would help Labour back to power. (33)

Similarly, in (33), the intertextual use of another part of Kinnock's speech reiterates the need for all Labour's energies to be devoted towards achieving electoral success. The reproduction of the modal "ought to", which highlights the desirability of the proposition, albeit attributed to Kinnock through the use of the set prepositional phrase "in his book", encourages readers to share in this conceptualisation of future events. Intertextuality, then, fulfils the role of reiterating Kinnock's and Labour's desires and policies and repackaging them as having the

Guardian's endorsement. Readers are constructed as being sympathetic to Kinnock and as wider group members.

Guardian	Much of the hall cheered a stern and sombre message long and loud for that. Coming as it did after the triumph of the Kinnock-Hattersley ticket over the forces of fundamentalism in this week's leadership contest, it looked like a solid endorsement. (34)

Just as the manner in which the conference delegates' response was represented in the editorials from 1978 to either construct a positive or negative professional identity for Jim Callaghan, the *Guardian*, in (34) positively reconstructs Kinnock's reception through the use of the verb "to cheer", and the positive adjectives "long" and "loud". The speech itself is relexicalised using the noun phrase "a stern and sombre message". Both serve to positively construct Kinnock as a serious, popular politician, which further indicates a positive stance towards him. However, use of the perception verb "looked", rather than the copula, casts some doubt on the proposition that the response was a "solid endorsement".

Guardian	Yet apart from obdurate fundamentalists like Mr Arthur Scargill, Mr Kinnock's analysis seemed to command agreement. (35)

While the *Daily Mail* and the *Telegraph* construct Kinnock as a traditional socialist who has failed to change with the times, the *Guardian*, by identifying others, (Arthur Scargill) in (35), using the negative noun phrase "obdurate fundamentalists" implies that Kinnock is separate from this group, and is therefore more open to change and potentially electable. The use of another perception verb in "seemed" again highlights the *Guardian*'s less than fully committed stance to a representation of a positive reception for Kinnock by other members of the party.

Guardian	Austere, mostly succinct, short not just on jokes but even on alliterations , it signalled throughout Mr Kinnock's resolve to use the renewal of the mandate which his re-election represented to push on with modernisation. (36)

Kinnock's speech, having been partially represented earlier in the editorial is positively represented using a list of largely positive adjectives ("austere, mostly succinct"), which construct Kinnock not as the perfect leader (the adverb "mostly" suggests that his delivery was not always perfect), as the *Mirror* does, but as a competent, serious politician. The newspaper also relexicalises Kinnock's speech as a signal of "Kinnock's resolve…to push on with modernisation". The dead metaphorical verb use and the attribution of the noun "resolve" to Kinnock highlight how the *Guardian* further positively constructs a personal and professional identity of Kinnock as a determined individual and progressive politician. This is the opposite of the *Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail*'s constructed identities.

Guardian	That took him into territory which Labour has mostly regarded as populated by heretics (37)

The construction of Kinnock as an electable moderniser is reinforced in (37) through another interpretation of what Kinnock's speech represented, as the simple present tense of "to take" is used to introduce a metaphor in which Kinnock's leadership and ideology is constructed as a journey. Kinnock's present modernising ways and ideological stance is metaphorically constructed as "territory which Labour has mostly regarded as being populated by heretics". This serves, interpersonally, to encourage readers to share in the ideational conceptualisation of Kinnock's policies as rejecting the "old" values associated with electoral failure.

Guardian	Of course it was incomplete. Defence, that most crucial of issues for Labour, was laid aside till later. (38)

(38) reflects both the *Guardian*'s balanced approach, in offering some mild criticism of Kinnock through the use of the categorical assertion that his speech "was incomplete", as well as serving to reflect the *Guardian*'s attempt to influence Labour

Party policy, by using the adjective phrase "most crucial of issues" to indicate that Labour, and readers, should prioritise the resolving of what the *Guardian* sees as a key debate.

Guardian	The policy though, must be "serious about nuclear disarmament, serious about defence. Indeed, so serious about both objectives that we are capable of earning the democratic power to achieve them." (39)

The same can be said of (39), in which the modal auxiliary "must" is used to strongly oblige Kinnock and the Labour Party to follow *Guardian* advice to keep an open mind on unilateral disarmament. The stance taken by the *Guardian* on this issue is interesting, in that it encodes not a strongly Left-wing ideology, but a pr-Labour, or ant-Conservative, stance, in which the electoral success of the party is prioritised over ideological goals. The shared goal of Labour electoral success is what contributes to a shared group identity for the *Guardian*, its readers and the Labour Party, not necessarily a shared ideological stance. This is reminiscent of the approach taken by the *Daily Mail* in its 1978 editorial, when it was party politics rather than ideology that led to the negative appraisal of Jim Callaghan.

Guardian	If the test is to be electability, then Labour's non-nuclear commitment must remain an open question which might be resolved either way. (40)

The final point to be made about the *Guardian* editorial, is how, in contrast with the *Daily Mail* editorial, it represents Kinnock's relationship with the trade unions. Extract (40) constructs the Labour Party conference after Kinnock's speech as sending out "confusing signals", implying that this was the case even prior to Kinnock's speech, through a lexical verb "remain". The use of the past perfect in the perception verb phrase "had looked like" constructs the notion that Labour, during Kinnock's speech had the potential to be perceived as an electable proposition (and much of the editorial hints at the *Guardian* positively constructing such a notion), but

the use of the conjunction "but" encourages readers to reject that position. The prospect of Labour being electable is conditionally constructed metaphorically as "an illusion", and the blame for that "beginning" to look like an illusion, is apportioned to Ron Todd, the union leader, not Kinnock. Todd's comments, outlined earlier in the editorial are metaphorically represented using the noun phrase "a blast", which, interpersonally, serves to encourage readers to view their effects as being like a bomb blast, destroying something that had been patiently built.

In representing Todd's comments as negative for the Labour Party and Kinnock, the *Guardian* highlights its pro-Labour and pro-Kinnock stance, by constructing the unions as the potential reason for Labour's future failures, rather than Kinnock or the party itself.

Earlier, after outlining comments from Todd that suggested his union would not support Kinnock's plans for modernisation, the *Guardian* stated that the

> "results were entirely predictable. The evening TV news, which was due to have been full of Kinnock, was swiftly recast to take in a hunk of Todd. Writers of hostile headlines were provided with reinforcements. Above all, the spectre the Conservative press has paraded all week of a Labour leadership still in hopeless thrall to the union barons revived again with a vengeance."

The construction of Kinnock's professional identity as weak in the *Daily Mail* was predicated on the notion predicted by the *Guardian*, which neatly highlights how two newspapers of contrasting political ideologies can reconstruct the same events in two different ways. The *Guardian* constructs Kinnock and Labour as separate from the unions, while the *Daily Mail* chooses to represent that relationship as close. In the

above quotation, the *Guardian* acknowledges that the discursive construction of real events within the editorials is a subjective and ideologically driven process.

The *Guardian*, then, encodes a pro-Kinnock, pro-Labour stance through the discursive practice of utilising intertextually his speech and constructing a positive professional identity for him as a competent, electable politician.   His potential failings are not attributable to him or his party, but to the interference of others from outside his ingroup, which further serves to construct Kinnock positively.

The editorials from this period have reinforced the findings that the tabloid press take a more polarised stance towards individuals than the broadsheets, and have shown how the same person and events can be reconstructed in very different ways in order to construct that stance.

5.5 Kenneth Clarke's budget

The political leader featuring in the randomly selected texts for the 1993-94 period was the Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer, Kenneth Clarke, with the editorials from all four newspapers featuring discussion of his December 1993 Budget. This was Clarke's first budget after replacing Norman Lamont as Chancellor. Lamont had been a failure in the post after the Conservative Party had unexpectedly won the 1992 General election the year before, despite opinion polls indicating that the Labour Party would regain power. Britain was undergoing a period of economic uncertainty, with a particularly bleak period culminating in a day that became known as "Black Wednesday", when on the 16th September, 1992, Britain was forced to withdraw from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism, costing Britain's treasury an estimated £3.4 billion[1]. Interest rates were high, and the period referred to in section 5.4 by the *Daily Mail* as a "Thatcherite economic revival" was well and truly over. The newspapers therefore saw Clarke's first budget as the key to determining Britain's future economic success. Editorials about national politics presuppose a construction of a nationalist group identity, but discussion of a Budget and its implications makes the construction of a national readership even more explicit.

Sections 5.1, 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 have all featured analysis of editorials that focused upon Labour politicians. 5.1 and 5.2 featured editorials written about Labour Prime Ministers, while 5.3 and 5.4 featured editorials written about Labour Leaders of the Opposition. This is the first period within this study then, that examines how identities are constructed for a Conservative Politician by both the Left and Right-wing press, as well as analysing editorials in which it is not the actual leader of a

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[1] The history of Britain's involvement with the Exchange Rate Mechanism is complex, and not the subject of this thesis. However, for a basic understanding of the origins and implications of Black Wednesday, go to http//news.bbc.c.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/september/16/newsid_2519000/2519013.stm

political party who is being discussed. Analysis of the editorials in earlier periods has shown that the *Daily Mail* adopted a negative stance towards Labour leaders and has constructed negative identities, both politically and personally, when representing them, their decisions and their policies. The *Mirror* has been almost a polar opposite, supporting the Labour leaders by referring to them in positive terms, creating positive identities for them, and representing their actions in such a way as to orient readers towards them. Both tabloid newspapers have a tendency to represent leadership simplistically, portraying individuals as either entirely strong or entirely weak, whereas the broadsheet press, primarily through their use of modal auxiliaries and other modal expressions, as well as the use of metaphor and intertextuality, present a more complex view of leadership and identity. Whereas the general orientation towards a political subject in the preceding periods has correlated with overall political ideology (the left wing *Guardian* generally presenting Labour leaders positively, the right wing *Telegraph* doing the opposite), the broadsheets have adopted a less explicitly partisan point of view. This has seen the *Telegraph* positively appraise Labour leaders, and the *Guardian* negatively represent them when they see fit. Similarly, analysis has shown that it is as a result of membership of a real or synthetic wider community of practice based on party political affiliations that the newspapers adopt the stance they do when constructing professional, personal and social identities for their subjects.

5.5.1 *Headlines*

Daily Mail	*Guardian*	*Telegraph*	*Mirror*
Taxes mightier than the axe	Waiting for the world to rescue us	Recovery for the Tories and for the country	A big rip off

Like the headlines of editorials analysed in previous periods, the headlines of the 1993 editorials show a great contrast between the stance taken in the right-wing

press towards Clarke and his budget, compared to the stance taken by the left-wing press. Not in any of the headlines is Clarke directly represented, but all headlines indicate the likely stance taken by the newspaper in question. The *Telegraph* uses the noun "recovery" postmodified by the prepositional phrase "for the Tories and for the country", which, in the absence of a verb, indicates a high level of commitment to the proposition that the budget is a positive one for all concerned. This primes the reader for the positive construction of Clarke's identity and positive stance towards the Conservative Party that follows. The Conservative's are represented through the use of their less formal nickname, "the Tories", which potentially indicates a less formal register compared with that of previous periods.

The *Daily Mail*, does not overtly appraise the budget, but instead refers to its content. The structure of its headline, a declarative sentence with the copula ellipted, is a categorical assertion, which reflects absolute commitment to the newspaper's own interpretation of Clarke's budget, that the key aspect is the introduction of new taxes, rather than a series of cuts or civil service job losses. This headline does not orient readers towards adopting a particular stance towards Clarke himself, yet, in terms of its place in the narrative structure of the editorial, it does foreground the issue of tax (Fairclough, 2003) – with the comparative adjective "mightier" indicating that the *Daily Mail* is positively constructing Clarke professionally as a strong leader, and that the increased taxation is not necessarily a negative decision. The noun phrase "the axe" is a dead metaphor that refers to the termination of a contract of employment, and it can be assumed that the *Daily Mail* is constructing a specific view of what the Budget entails for its readers, rather than positively appraising it and Clarke.

Whereas the *Telegraph* represents the budget positively and the *Daily Mail* focalises a particular issue, the left-wing press are in agreement in representing it negatively. The *Mirror* uses a simple noun phrase to construct the dead metaphor, "a big rip off", which, in the use of the adjective "big" and the choice of the noun "rip off", indicates a strong anti-Clarke stance and negatively constructs him as not only producing a poor budget, but as actually intentionally deceiving the public. This identifies Clarke as devious and malicious, as although the headline refers to the budget, it is clear that Clarke is the person responsible for it. The *Mirror*'s headline is in-keeping with the stance taken in previous periods, as it represents the issue in simplistic, binary terms from a pro-Labour, socialist ideological viewpoint.

The *Guardian* also appears to represent the budget and Clarke in negative terms, using the non-finite verb "waiting" alongside the prepositional phrase "for the world to rescue us". The use of a non-finite verb is important, in that it allows for the possibility that it is the readers who are waiting, as a result of Clarke's poor decisions, or Clarke and the Government, as a result of the struggling world economy. This allows the *Guardian* to be both even handed in its appraisal, but at the same time orient readers towards a negative view of the Conservative Government and Clarke himself, through the implication that it is at least partly due to poor government that the British economy is in such a poor state. The *Guardian*'s headline is therefore complex, in that superficially it appears to be entirely negative, the implication of its proposition being that the budget, and therefore Clarke, is so poor that the British economy is reliant upon outside forces. Taken in the context of the editorial as a whole however, it is clear that the *Guardian*, unlike the *Mirror*, does not take a partisan view of Clarke's budget, and instead the headline refers to the fact that the economic situation in Britain is parlous, regardless of Clarke's individual actions. In fact, the editorial (see below) features both positive and negative

appraisals of Clarke and his decisions, in all likelihood due to a sense of fear created by economic uncertainty that overrides party politics. Nevertheless, the headline orients readers to an overall negative stance towards the economy, and therefore positions them in such a way to expect Clarke's budget to be one that is not the answer to the economic problems faced. The use of the second person pronoun "us" explicitly situates the *Guardian* and its readers as part of a wider national ingroup. Readers are included within this consensus and are constructed as sharing the goal of economic stability with the *Guardian* and the rest of the nation.

5.2.2 *Clarke as a magician*

Mirror	Naturally Mr Clarke did not tell us where most of the savings would come from. Magicians never explain their tricks. (1)
	But a trick it was. And the British people should not be bamboozled into thinking it was not. (2)
	The bill for the budget will already cost the average family £16 a week. Mr Clarke will need a real magic wand to prevent it rising far higher. (3)
Guardian	John MacGregor is supposed to be the magician in the cabinet, but yesterday Kenneth Clarke presented a unified Budget which claims to be spiriting the £50 billion deficit away…without even broadening the VAT base, as everyone was cunningly led to expect. (4)
Daily Mail	Is it a confidence trick? Or will the new Chancellor's boldly presented strategy really dig the Treasury out of its cavernous holes?(5)
Telegraph	This seems a considerable achievement, so considerable, indeed, that Mr Clarke must forgive a period of caution, while the Magic Circle of economists ensures that he has not left out a nought or two somewhere. (6)

One similarity between all four newspapers is the way in which they all either directly construct an identity position for Clarke as a magician, or use a metaphorical blend to represent his actions as magical or supernatural. Despite the fact that all four of the newspapers construct this identity for Clarke, they do so in contrasting ways, and each case encodes a different stance and differing identify position for the newspaper itself.

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The *Mirror*, in (1), as is the case in all of the editorials from this period, constructs a group identity for itself and its readers through use of the inclusive pronoun "us", highlighting the fact that group members are commonly affected by Clarke's actions. Use the epistemic adverb "naturally" indicates that the proposition made in the first sentence, that Clarke did not provide a full account of his workings, should have been expected by readers, which encodes a negative stance towards him. The declarative statement "magicians never explain their tricks" is an intertextual metaphorical blend drawing on the discourse of magic to map the behaviour of a magician onto the target, Clarke. It is designed, on an interpersonal level, to ensure that readers make a connection between Clarke's actions, who is identified in the previous sentence, and those of a magician, for whom the notion of not explaining "tricks" is commonplace. Clarke's "budget" is therefore negatively relexicalised and constructed as part of the metaphor, as "tricks", a construction of reality that readers are forced to share.

Extract (2) reinforces this representation of the budget through a reiteration of the noun phrase "a trick" as part of a categorical assertion of the reconstruction. The noun phrase "British people" is also used to represent readers and highlights that the pronoun "us" constructed earlier is a national community of practice. The modal auxiliary "should" here encodes desirability, and reflects the *Mirror*'s desire for that group (the British people) not to reject its reconstructed version of the budget. The use of the verb "bamboozled" also serves as part of the metaphorical blend and continues to negatively identify Clarke as a crafty magician.

Finally, in the *Mirror*'s final paragraph, the modal auxiliary "will" is used in order to make reference to future time, pointing to the effects of Clarke's budget on

the "average family". This serves to orient readers, who can be viewed as being "the average family", away from Clarke. Critically, "will" is then used again, this time to make a prediction, in which it is predicted that Clarke will need a "real magic wand to prevent it (the cost) rising far higher". This punctures the metaphorical constructed identity for Clarke and identifies him as only human. This serves to strongly commit to a negative prediction (when the outcome is, in reality, unknown) and raises the expectation of a negative outcome for Clarke within readers. Similarly, in puncturing the metaphor, it constructs Clarke as powerless to stop the negative prediction from occurring.

The other Left-wing newspaper, the *Guardian*, also constructs the identity position of crafty magician*.* It also explicitly uses the noun "magician", this time referring to a colleague of Clarke's, John MacGregor, with the participle "supposed" in conjunction with the conjunction "but" constructing the notion that this is in fact not the case, and implying that Clarke should be identified as such. Like the *Mirror*, although in a less polarised way, the *Guardian* constructs this metaphorical identity in negative terms, which serves to construct a negative professional and simultaneous personal identity for Clarke as a slightly dishonest and potentially incompetent. This is achieved by the choice of reporting verb "to claim", which encodes a sense of doubt in the truthfulness or ability to achieve success of Clarke's announcement. The use of the stance adverb "cunningly" to premodify the verb "led" constructs a view of reality that suggests to readers that Clarke is also a crafty, which obviously has both positive and negative possible interpretations.

The *Daily Mail*'s use of this metaphor is rather more subtle, as it utilises the same discursive practice as in previous periods, the rhetorical question. The question here asks readers whether Clarke's budget is a "confidence trick", allowing

readers to draw their own conclusions as to whether or not the budget should be negatively relexicalised. The *Mirror*, of course, did not allow readers the option of doing so, in categorically presenting it as such. This suggests a less negative orientation towards Clarke from the *Daily Mail*, and while it does not categorically construct a positive professional identity for Clarke, it conditionally allows for one to be constructed, through the asking of another rhetorical question in the next sentence. While the first question foregrounded the implication that Clarke and his budget might be a negative prospect, the second foregrounds a positive professional identity for him through positively reconstructing his budget using the noun phrase "boldly presented strategy". This question implies that the whole budget, and therefore Clarke, might be a success.

The use of the perception verb "seems" in (6) also suggests that the *Telegraph*, like the *Daily Mail*, take a cautiously positive stance towards Clarke and his budget. The use of "seems" encodes the notion that there is a possibility that, like with a magic trick, all is not quite as it appears in Clarke's workings. This suggestion is reinforced by the use of the deontic modal auxiliary "must", which is used to strongly oblige Clarke to allow for the suggestion that the budget appears too good to be true. The comparison between Clarke and a magician is used here not to negatively evaluate, but merely to highlight the miraculous nature of the budget, and therefore construct a positive professional identity for Clarke as a creative and talented economist. The metaphor is discursively represented through the noun phrase and prepositional phrase "Magic circle of economists", which is a constructed identity position for all financial experts with an interest in the budget. The role of scrutinising Clarke as an economist is reconstructed is blended with the role of magic circle in scrutinising the activities of magicians, which serves to conceptualise Clarke as a magician, and encourages readers to do likewise.

On a social practice level then, the construction of a metaphorical identity of Clarke as a magician for readers is used by all four newspapers to encourage readers to share in the conditionally positive or negative stance that they themselves take.

5.5.3 Clarke as a fraudulent accountant/politician

As with the editorials analysed taken from previous periods covered in this study, the editorial from the *Mirror* takes a polarised stance towards Clarke and constructs a wholly negative professional identity for him. This reflects the *Mirror*'s Left-wing identity position that has been consistently present from the first editorial examined up until this point.

In terms of discursive practices utilised by the *Mirror*, the placement of the editorial within the newspaper is key. Kress and van Leeuwen (1998) and Bell (1991) have illustrated how the placement of a text upon the page within a newspaper can be ideologically motivated. In the case of the *Mirror* editorial[2], it appears on page 3, embedded alongside a number of news stories about the budget. There is a large banner headlines which reads "That's your lot gran", which, in a conversational register, encodes the notion that the budget is bad for the elderly. Similarly, below the editorial is a text headlined "'Odious' attack on needy, says Smith", in which the Labour leader John Smith is intertextually quoted as negatively evaluating the budget. There is a second story, continued from the front page, headlined "£16 pickpocket" and a large cartoon in which Clarke is represented as the artful dodger, from Dickens' Oliver Twist (interestingly, it is this work from which the

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[2] Note: not all of the source material for this study allowed access to the layout of pages, hence the fact that this issue has not always been foregrounded.

Daily Mail borrowed a character in its 1978 editorial, constructing Jim Callaghan as Fagin).

Readers of the editorial are therefore already likely to have formulated a negative stance towards Clarke, as the cartoon is arguably the most salient part of the page (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1998). This has been achieved by metaphorically constructing a negative social identity for Clarke as a thief in both the cartoon and the headline to one of the stories. On an interpersonal level, this encourages readers to share in the mapping of the negative qualities associated with thieves, onto Clarke. Similarly, the other headline, in which the budget is metaphorically constructed as an "attack on needy", constructs Clarke as actively seeking to inflict pain, as opposed to his budget merely having negative effects.

The editorial itself does not construct Clarke as a thief, but does encode a negative stance towards him via the construction of a negative professional identity, more akin to a fraudulent accountant than a common thief.

Mirror	It was a breathtaking budget. Breathtaking in its audacity. (6)
Mirror	With Norman Lamont's clobbering of taxpayers last March, it adds up to the biggest rip-off in budget history. (7)

While it is impossible to identify whether the use of the present participle "breathtaking" and the noun "audacity" to reconstruct the budget for readers in the first line of the text (6) is positive or negative (although the cotext would suggest negative), the proposition in (7), the second sentence of the editorial, foregrounds the negative representation of the budget, and Clarke, that the *Mirror* constructs.

The use of the present tense in "it adds up to" ensures that the *Mirror*'s construction of the budget, made using the noun phrase "the biggest rip-off in

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budget history", is categorically asserted, encoding the highest level of confidence in the proposition. The use of the noun "rip-off" serves to construct a negative social and professional identity for Clarke as fraudster, which serves to encourage readers to evaluate him negatively as a person, and in a professional capacity. The use of the superlative in "biggest" serves to reinforce this and highlights the polarised stance taken.

Mirror	And this from a Government which claims it believes in cutting taxes. (8)

A Left-wing newspaper might be expected to support the notion of taxation, viewing it as a way of redistributing wealth, yet in extract (8), the *Mirror* negatively appraises "this Government" (and by implication, Clarke) for increasing taxation. The use of the reporting verb "claims" implies disbelief in the Conservatives', and Clarke's, articulated stance on taxation, and further implies the existence of them wilfully misleading the public. Again, this constructs a negative persona/professional identity for Clarke as dishonest, and identifies the Conservative Party as an outgroup with differing social goals to the *Mirror* and its readers' community of practice.

Mirror	But most breathtaking of all was Kenneth Clarke's amazing sleight-of-hand in his final sentences. (9)

Clarke's budget announcement is further negatively reconceptualised in (9) through use of the noun phrase "amazing sleight of hand" to metaphorically reconstruct for readers the final stages of his budget speech. This is a metaphorical blend, drawing on the discourse of criminality, comparing the speed in which criminals can spirit items away from their owners to Clarke's cutting of public spending. Ideationally, this constructs a negative view of Clarke's actions, and interpersonally, it forces readers to conceive of his actions in the way presented to them by the *Mirror*.

This editorial reinforces the notion that the *Mirror* habitually adopts an unsubtle stance based on party political affiliations, achieved by the polarised construction of identities for politicians. While positive identities are constructed for Labour politicians in earlier periods, here, a negative professional identity is constructed for Clarke, despite the fact that other newspapers (see below), see the budget as, in part, socially just.

5.5.4 Contrasting views of the budget

While the *Mirror* takes a wholly negative stance to the budget and achieves this by constructing a negative identity for Clarke, the other newspapers encode a more positive stance through more positive constructed identities for him. While the *Mirror* strongly committed to the metaphoric conception of Clarke as a thief, the *Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail* prefer to construct him positively as a skilled operator. Nevertheless, through the use of epistemic modal auxiliaries, amongst other discursive expressions, even the Right-wing press does not always commit strongly to this constructed identity, as the examples (below) show. This can be explained by the very poor economic situation in Britain at the time, resulting in a climate of uncertainty. The newspapers, mindful of their readers' possible financial concerns and recent poor economic performance by the Conservative Government, do not feel able to embrace Clarke's budget and can only conditionally positively represent it and Clarke. This stance can be summarised as "it looks too good to be true".

The *Guardian* (see 5.5.5, below), does share a stance with the Right-wing press, indicating its more balanced approach to politics, but while the *Daily Mail* and the *Telegraph* directly construct a positive professional identity for Clarke, the

Guardian only constructs this through positive appraisal of his policies. Instead, within the same text, it simultaneously constructs a potential negative identity for Clarke as a poor accountant.

The *Daily Mail* and the *Telegraph* then, include some propositions that suggest confidence in Clarke, and both include propositions that express some disbelief in the accounting. Even these propositions serve to positively construct Clarke's accountancy, through highlighting how creative, unexpectedly successful he has been. Readers of these newspapers are therefore presented with a version of reality in which Clarke is a successful accountant, albeit with the added notion that they should be wary of believing in the legitimacy of that success.

Clarke as a skilled operator

Both the Right-wing newspapers construct a positive identity for Clarke through representing him using positive noun phrases and evaluative adjectives, as well as through using epistemic modality to appraise his general approach to the budget. As discussed above, the *Guardian* doesn't do this, instead only positively appraising his policies which suggests a desire not to overtly support Clarke, as a member of an outgroup, as an individual.

Daily Mail	With the chuckle of a confident man, Ken Clarke introduces the Budget that can make or break this Government. (10)
	Without doubt, the politics of the Budget were persuasive, as you would expect from this formidable operator. (11)
	Mr Clarke has done all- and half a billion pounds more – than was expected…That should defuse the most unpopular and unjust item of Lamont's legacy. (12)
	The reductions forecast by Chancellor Clarke certainly look impressive. (13)
	That is the Big If in this Budget of big ideas, most of which are very much to the liking of this newspaper. (14)
Telegraph	Yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer has produced a Budget which promises to deliver all that the stern voices – including our own – demanded in government borrowing cuts, while imposing what at first sight appear to be only moderate tax increases. (15)

	If, however, the figures disclosed yesterday prove to be well-founded, then both he and the Government as a whole deserve full credit. (16)
	If so, then the numbers probably add up. (17)
	Even when all the cautionary notes have been entered, however, Mr Clarke seems to have pulled off a notable Budget, which will do his own political prospects no harm at all. (18)
	If it has been done with mirrors, then these are elegant mirrors. (19)
	He has shown himself humane and paternalistic in his concern for the most vulnerable sections of society, and tough where we have always urged he should be – towards those who are able to pay, or are receiving benefits society cannot afford and should not be indulging. (20)
	If his forecasts are fulfilled, then the Chancellor could indeed have laid the foundations of a political recovery for this Tory Government, as well as for the restoration of the public finances. (21)

In referring to Clarke directly, the *Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail* take contrasting approaches. In (10), the *Daily Mail* refers to him using the proper noun phrase "Ken Clarke". The lack of a title contrasts significantly with the use inclusion of names in the *Daily Mail* editorial from 1973 (in section 5.1), in which all politicians discussed were formally identified using "title, first name and last name". This reflects a more informal register in the editorials of the 1990s. Similarly, the use of the shortened form of first name in "Ken", just as the *Mirror* did, with "Dr Jim" in 1978, serves to imply a closer relationship between the newspaper and the subject, identifying Clarke as part of the *Daily Mail*'s ingroup and positively constructing a more human personal identity for him.

The *Telegraph*, on the other hand, in (115), constructs a professional identity for Clarke, foregrounding his status as "Chancellor of the Exchequer". This denotes a more formal register and similarly serves to emphasise Clarke's role in the social hierarchy, thereby affording him respect.

Clarke's positive personal identity is further constructed by the *Daily Mail* in (10), through the use of the noun phrase "a confident man", which simultaneously constructs Clarke as professionally confident. The fact that he is represented as "chuckling" also constructs an endearing personal identity, manipulating readers into a sympathetic stance.

Readers are directly addressed in (11), through the use of the second person pronoun "you", which serves to emphasise the dialogic nature of the editorials, and to form the synthetic "mutual engagement" that constructs a synthetic community of practice of *Daily Mail* readers. The use of the simple past tense in "were", and the prepositional phrase "without doubt", help to commit strongly to the newspaper's appraisal (using the evaluative adjective "persuasive") of the budget, and primes readers to share in the positive professional constructed identity for Clarke made later in (11) through the noun phrase "formidable operator".

The *Telegraph* also constructs a positive identity for Clarke in (20) through the use of the positive evaluative adjectives "humane", "paternalistic" and "tough". These construct a simultaneous personal and professional identity that presents Clarke as both a caring individual but with the hardened qualities necessary for government. Also within (20), the *Telegraph*'s Right-wing stance and self-identity is foregrounded. This is marked through the consensual pronoun "we", which serves to construct a sense of group identity for the *Telegraph* as an institution. The use of the past perfect tense in the verb phrase "we have always urged" constructs a sense of the *Telegraph* adopting a recognisable (to group members) stance towards the issue in question (the subject of state benefits), and the notion that "toughness" is required, similarly encodes its Right-wing stance. Likewise, the verb phrase discussed above alongside the deontic modal auxiliary "should", also highlights the

perceived influence the *Telegraph* sees itself as having within the political system, constructing itself as influential and as having itself obliged Clarke to act. This also positively evaluates Clarke's actions, by way of an endorsement.

The *Telegraph*'s active construction of a group identity is also achieved in (15) through the explicit representation of the *Telegraph*'s "stern voice". This is achieved through the use of the possessive pronoun "our" and, in the choice of adjective, represents the *Telegraph* as authoritative.

This constructed role, as an active participant in the ongoing political process, is also present in the *Daily Mail* in (14), through the categorical assertion that Clarke's "ideas" are very much to the liking of "this newspaper". While constructing a positive professional identity for Clarke as an imaginative and creative accountant, the use of the prepositional phrase "the liking of this newspaper" constructs the *Daily Mail* itself as active and both positively endorses Clarke and attributes human qualities to the newspaper.

Both newspapers also feature the use of predictions and perception verbs to positively construct and encode varying degrees of confidence in Clarke. In (13) and (18), the *Daily Mail* and the *Telegraph* use the verbs "look" and "seems" respectively, in order to encode the proposition that, on the surface at least, Clarke's budget is a good one. The use of the positive adjective "impressive in (13) and "notable" in (18) reinforce the positive representation of the budget, while the verb phrase "to have pulled off" in (18) encodes the notion that through having achieved the unexpected, Clarke should be positively appraised. The use of perception verbs, does, however, also allow for an interpretation of Clarke's budget being, in reality, less than "impressive".

Predictions in the *Daily Mail* and the *Telegraph* also serve to construct a positive professional identity for Clarke as a shrewd accountant, by strongly committing to a positive version of the future that exists as a result of Clarke's budget. In (12) and (18), both newspapers do this. The *Daily Mail* uses the modal auxiliary "should" to indicate a strong sense of likelihood that the budget will be a success, while the Telegraph uses the epistemic modal "will" in order to make a very strong prediction as to Clarke's own personal positive future prospects. The use of the present tense of the full lexical verb "promises" in (15) also encodes a positive view of the future effects of Clarke's budget.

The *Daily Mail*, in (12) also constructs a version of reality in which Clarke, in producing the budget, has exceeded expectations, thus positively identifying him as a skilled accountant.

Finally, the *Telegraph* utilises a series of conditional sentences in (16), (17), (19), and (21). They all follow an "if…then" structure, in which the conditional version of events is positively constructed. In (17) and (21), a weaker commitment is made to the future through the use of the epistemic stance adverb "probably" and the modal auxiliary "could" to fall short of fully representing the future in positive terms, yet all four extracts foreground a possibility of Clarke's budget being a success. Even without committing fully to the notion of Clarke's budget being a success, through, for example, the use of categorical assertions or epistemic modal verbs, the *Telegraph* constructs positive possibilities for readers, which, in terms of social practices, serves to orient them towards viewing Clarke as a success.

Positive orientations towards specific policies

While the *Daily Mail* and the *Telegraph* directly construct a positive identity for Clarke through direct of him personally, the *Guardian* joins them in positively appraising specific policies announced. Positive appraisal of these policy decisions serves to indirectly construct a positive professional identity position for Clarke, and the *Guardian*'s decision to do this while not directly positively identifying Clarke personally, is indicative of trends discovered in previous periods. As a broadsheet newspaper, the *Guardian* takes a less partisan or polarised stance, falling well short of the wholly negative stance encoded within the *Mirror* editorial. Nevertheless, its approach still corresponds with the view that the newspapers' party political affiliations direct its editorials, rather than an overriding independent ideological position.

The question to be raised is, if many of Clarke's policies are worthy of positive appraisal, why does the *Guardian* not directly present Clarke as in positive terms and construct an explicit positive professional identity. The answer, it seems, is that its pro-Labour stance prevents it from doing so. Instead, while it presents a balanced argument (in that represents the budget as both positive and negative), when it does directly construct an identity for Clarke, it focuses on the policy decisions that it negatively appraises (see 5.5.5 below).

Daily Mail	Wisely, Mr Clarke has decided to add only a further £1.7 billion in tax increases. (22)
	Although radical, reforms on invalidity, sickness and unemployment benefit (should have positive effects) they are certain to provoke bitter controversy. Shrewdly, therefore, the Chancellor is counterbalancing them with a liberal and progressive measure… (23)
Telegraph	Mr Clarke was right to maintain Mr Lamont's commitment to impose VAT on heating… (24)

| | The freezing of income tax allowances and further reduction of mortgage tax relief represent the least painful means of increasing direct taxation. (25) |
| | The Chancellor earned his largest cheer from the Tory benches, of course, for his announcement that there would be no extension of the VAT base. It would ill-become the newspaper industry and our readers to grudge him a cheer for that. (26) |

All three newspapers encode a positive stance towards Clarke's policies in their lexico-grammatical choices. Some choices appraise a particular policy, while others more explicitly appraise Clarke as the person who has formulated the policy. For example, the use of the positive attitude adverbs "wisely" in (22) and ""shrewdly" in (23), shows how the *Daily Mail* positively constructs a professional identity for Clarke, encouraging readers to view him as actively involved in the decision making process. (23) also encodes, in the use of the copula with the adjective "certain" to construct a categorical assertion, a constructed authoritative identity position for the *Daily Mail*. The use of an assertion to make a prediction presents the *Daily Mail* to readers as a competent political commentator. Likewise, the fact that Clarke is positively constructed as professionally shrewd as a result of taking "Liberal and progressive measures", further indicates that the *Daily Mail* has a pro-Conservative identity position, not merely a "Right-wing" one.

The *Telegraph,* in making three prominent positive appraisals of specific budget policies, utilises three different lexico-grammatical ways of doing so. In (24) the use of the copula and adjective as subject predicative in "Mr Clarke was right" serves to commit strongly to the proposition that the policy is good, and highlights Clarke's role in its formulation. This again constructs a positive professional identity for Clarke and indicates the *Telegraph*'s alignment with him, not just the policy and its ideological implications.

The explicit representation of the increasing of taxation using the noun phrase "the least painful means" in (25) can be seen in the same terms, as reconstructing reality in such a way that orients readers positively towards Clarke, even when his actions are contrary to what would normally be seen as typical for a Conservative Government.

The use of the full lexical verb "earned" in (26) serves to represent Clarke as having been directly responsible for positive results (here represented using the noun phrase "loud cheers"). Within the same extract, the *Telegraph* again highlights its own role as part of a wider group (represented using the noun phrase "the newspaper industry") and also foregrounds its role as an opinion former for its readers, in explicitly representing itself as having the ability to "grudge" cheers or otherwise. From a social practice perspective, this functions to manipulate readers into sharing this view of the *Telegraph* as an opinion former and encourages them to look to the *Telegraph*'s stance as a guide.

Of the three newspapers to positively orient towards Clarke's specific policies, the most significant is the *Guardian*, in that while the *Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail* do so as part of a wider editorial that encodes a cautiously positive stance towards the budget and a positively constructed professional identity for Clarke, the *Guardian*'s positive appraisals form part of an overall more negative construction for Clarke.

Guardian	At the micro-economic level the new Chancellor reeled off a catalogue of impressive measures. (27)
	The VAT protection package was better than most lobby groups were expecting and ought to protect the poor and even the moderately better off pensioner. (28)
	The single parent child care allowance of £28 for people receiving family credit is an excellent, cost effective move. (29)

	Mr Clarke's decision to harmonise the retirement age for men and women at 65 is right and, since it doesn't take effect until 2020, must rank as the most unshort-termist measure ever announced by a Chancellor. (30)
	The intensified squeeze on the middle class welfare state (through reducing mortgage interest relief to 15p in the pound and taxing insurance premiums and air travel) is fair and politically brave, maybe even foolhardy, considering the Conservative wallets that will be bruised. (31)
	Small businesses will also thank this son of the Midlands for a raft of measures to improve their lot – though larger business will be smarting for having to bear the whole of sickness benefit (only partially compensated) and the absence of fresh stimulus for investment. (32)

The newspaper does positively evaluate five of Clarke's policies (in extracts 27-32), but does so in a wider context of elsewhere in the editorial constructing a negative professional identity for Clarke as a deluded, poor accountant (see 5.5.5, below).

So, while Clarke's measures (and therefore his decision to implement them) are positively represented using evaluative adjectives such as "impressive" (in 27), "right" (in 30), "fair and politically brave" (in 31) and "excellent" (in 29) among other positive appraisals, they must be seen within the overall context of the editorial.

Like the *Daily Mail* and the *Telegraph*, the *Guardian* also encodes a positive stance in the use of "copula plus adjective predicative" constructions (in 28, 29, 30, 31), which, as part of the epistemic system of modality, expresses a very high level of confidence in the their positive appraisal of Clarke's choices. The same can be said, the use of epistemic modal expressions, such as "ought to" in (28) to strongly commit to a positive representation of the future as a result of his actions.

The *Guardian*'s more Left-wing stance is also encoded in (31), through use of meronymy to reconstruct members of the Conservative party and Conservative

voters. The noun phrase "the Conservative wallets that will be bruised" is a metaphoric hybrid, in which the use of meronymy combines with a dead metaphor ("financial loss as physical pain") to highlight the difference between "Conservatives" and others. This functions as the drawing of group boundaries and helps to define the *Guardian*'s own group identity, by defining itself (and its readers) in terms of their difference from an outgroup, with the implication being that it will not be "Labour wallets" that will be negatively affected.

Finally, the *Guardian*'s only positive constructed identity for Clarke is a social identity featured in (32), where Clarke is identified via is regional identity in the noun phrase "son of the midlands". This serves to highlight to the *Guardian*'s readership that Clarke is different from the stereotypical Conservative politician and thereby constructs both a positive identity for Clarke as closer to the electorate, and reinforces the *Guardian*'s group identity as distant from the Conservative norm.

Negative orientations towards specific policies

While both the *Guardian* and, to a lesser extent, the *Telegraph* either construct Clarke negatively (5.5.5, below) or encode the possibility of Clarke being a bad accountant, the *Daily Mail* does not negatively construct explicitly. Instead, it merely negatively appraises two of his policies. So, in the same way that the *Guardian* implies a positive stance towards policies without explicitly praising Clarke personally, the *Daily Mail* does the opposite. It negatively appraises some policy decisions, encoding its Right-wing ideological stance, while never explicitly identifying Clarke as at fault.

Daily Mail	Even so, he has felt driven to devise two new taxes – on air travel and insurance premiums – which have to be two too many from any Tory Administration. (33)

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In (33) the use of the verb phrase "he has felt driven" serves to remove some agency from Clarke when formulating what the *Daily Mail* constructs as a poor decision to introduce more taxation. Nevertheless, readers are still negatively oriented towards the decision itself through use of the modal verb phrase "have to be", which, as part of the deontic system of modality, obliges readers to share this view. This reflects a more traditional Conservative or Right-wing stance than the *Telegraph*, who represented tax cuts as acceptable, if not desirable.

Daily Mail	In plain language: Lamont plus Clarke equals plenty of tax increases. But so far too few bureaucratic jobs have been put to the axe. (34)

Likewise, in (34), the declarative statement "so far too few bureaucratic jobs have been put to the axe", encodes a criticism of a Clarke decision, the degree adverb "too" as part of the adjective phrase "too few", implies that Clarke has not performed to the appropriate degree. The use of "axe" here refers back to the use of this metaphor in the headline to the *Daily Mail* text.

In critiquing decisions rather than negatively constructing an identity for Clarke himself, the *Daily Mail* reveals its pro-Conservative identity position.

5.5.5 Clarke as a bad accountant?

As discussed in 5.5.4 (above), the *Guardian* positively appraises some of Clarke's policies within his budget, orienting readers towards a positive view of his decisions, but not necessarily him or his capabilities. This is done however, while simultaneously constructing a more negative professional identity for Clarke, by constructing his accounting as flawed. This has the opposite result to *the Daily Mail discursive* tactic discussed above, in that it orients readers to a negative view of Clarke and the Conservative Party, while acknowledging the positive decisions made.

Guardian	It is when one tries to assess the macro-economic effects of this Budget that the problems arise. (35)
	On top of that Mr Clarke unexpectedly announced that public spending would be over £9 billion lower over the same two years than when the last expenditure plans were announced (and, remember, were greeted as the toughest the Conservatives had ever produced). (36)
	This is achieved by looking into a mirror which displays what Kenneth Clarke wants to see in it. (37)
	It presumes that Government departments will suddenly save almost £2 billion (mainly through the pay freeze), that "cyclical" social security will fall by £2.7 billion, that local authorities can be squeezed further and that the contingency reserve (usually set aside in case anything unexpected happens a few years hence) can be raided in advance (by £10.5 billion over three years). (38)
	That's all very well if the future is completely different from the past. But the harsh experience from the last decade is that public spending (which has been rising by 3 per cent a year in real terms) always turns out higher than expected. (39)
	In Mr Clarke's panglossian world everything will come out miraculously right. (40)
	This is only possible if, again counter to experience, public sector pay can be squeezed year in and year out harder than in the private sector - and if inflation is so low it reduces the cost of spending plans. (41)
	So where is the sustained growth to come from? (42)
	Mr Clarke must be privately on his knees, praying for a chance to slash interest rates: and hoping that the economy will be rescued by a surge in world trade - as it was when taxes were raised sharply a decade ago. (43)

Extract (35) serves as a turning point in the discursive structure of the *Guardian* editorial, in that having positively appraised aspects of Clarke's budget, it marks a change in stance, and begins the construction of a negative professional identity for Clarke, as a poor accountant, while in (40), a negative personal identity is co-constructed.

The use of the discursive practice of intertextuality in (36) begins to orient readers away from Clarke. They are directly addressed in the single-word imperative

"remember", which, as ever, serves to reinforce a sense of mutual engagement between reader and newspaper and thereby maintain a group identity. Readers, in any case, do not need to do as instructed, because the *Guardian* intertextually refers to the memory of how previous public spending plans were "greeted" as the "toughest (plans) ever produced". This intertextual representation of public response, in featuring the superlative "toughest", suggests to readers that Clarke's current budget is unlikely to be able to exceed the previous announcement in terms of "toughness". This therefore implies to readers that Clarke's accounting is unlikely to be correct.

In (38), (39) and (41) feature a series of propositions in which the *Guardian* foregrounds its own self-identity as a knowledgeable financial commentator, in order to construct Clarke as having miscalculated his budget. This is achieved through the use of vocabulary from the semantic field of economics (such as various numbers and costs, "contingency reserve", "public sector pay", "public spending"). In utilising the verb "presume" in (38) the *Guardian* negatively constructs the budget itself as based on presumption, as opposed to careful research and realistic predictions. Meanwhile, the way in which the first sentence in (39) is structured encodes doubt in Clarke's accounting. The first part of the main clause utilises the copula to make a categorical assertion, which suggests that Clarke's accounting is sound, but the use of a conditional subordinate clause encodes the notion that the assertion is unlikely to be true. The use of the co-ordinating conjunction "but" then also forces readers to reconsider the potential positive stance towards Clarke's accounting, and introduces a categorical assertion that refutes Clarke's figures. This serves to negatively construct Clarke professionally as a poor accountant, as does the use of another conditional sentence in (41).

The use of a rhetorical question in (42), in asking where "sustained growth" is to come from, serves primarily to question Clarke's accounting, and to orient readers towards doubting the effectiveness of the budget. The implication encoded within the question is that Clarke himself does not know, thereby negatively constructing his capabilities as Chancellor.

In (37) and (40), the *Guardian* simultaneously constructs a negative personal and professional identity for Clarke as an unrealistic idealist. (37) features the use of a metaphor, which blends the discourse of politics with the discourse of fairy stories. In representing the process by which Clarke reaches his financial figures using the verb phrase "looking into a mirror which displays what Kenneth Clarke wants to see in it", the *Guardian* constructs Clarke as living in a fairy story, not in reality. Ideationally, Clarke's reality is represented as a fantasy world, and on an interpersonal level, readers are encouraged to share in this view.

This negative personal identity of a fantasist is also encoded within (40), as Clarke's reality is represented using the noun phrase "panglossian world". The adjective premodifier "panglossian" characterises Clarke as given to extreme optimism in the face of unrelieved adversity.

The *Guardian*, then, while positively appraising aspects of Clarke's budget, ultimately constructs a negative professional and personal identity for Clarke as a fantasist and incapable accountant. This contrasts with the Right-wing press, who positively construct Clarke as a "shrewd" and "formidable" operator. The final metaphorical representation in the *Guardian* (43) encapsulates the newspaper's stance towards the budget. Using the modal auxiliary "must" as part of the epistemic system of modality, within progressive verb phrases ("must

be…praying/hoping) it strongly commits to a predicted representation of Clarke as "on his knees, praying". This negatively constructs Clarke as actively aware of his own represented failings, and suggests to readers that he is unable to correct his mistakes, removing agency from Clarke and the Conservative Government, and onto external forces (the noun phrase "a surge in world trade").

| *Telegraph* | Yet if the fiscal aspects of the Budget can be readily understood, the public spending plans remain more opaque (44) |
| | But if the public sector pay figures go wrong, then the consequences for the Treasury's projections could prove severe indeed. (45) |

Compared to the *Guardian*, the *Telegraph* does not strongly commit to the constructed identity of Clarke as a bad accountant, although it is suggested to readers. In (44), Clarke's spending plans are negatively represented through the use of the adjective phrase "more opaque". This only weakly constructs the notion that Clarke's accounting is incorrect, merely hinting at the possibility. The comparative adjective "more" only suggests to readers that public spending plans are not readily understood in comparison with other aspects of Clarke's own budget, as opposed to it being generally or deliberately obscure.

The use of a conditional sentence in (45) and the modal auxiliary "could", to imply weak probability also only weakly implies negative results through poor accounting, and therefore a constructed professional identity of Clarke as bad accountant is only suggested as a possibility to readers of the *Telegraph*, rather than fully presented, as it is to *Guardian* readers.

5.5.6 The newspapers as economic experts

While all the newspapers, in their discussion of the budget, and the *Mirror* especially, in adopting an entirely negative stance, imply a level of financial expertise, the

Telegraph, the *Daily Mail* and the *Guardian* all encode self-identities as economic experts.

The *Telegraph*, encodes this identity the most through the use of consensual pronouns, rhetorical questions and modal auxiliaries used as part of both the epistemic and deontic systems of modality.

Telegraph	We were among those who urged that next year's PSBR must be cut, and that to achieve this the Government should accept the political pain involved in substantially increasing taxation… (46)
	We were among those who expressed scepticism about whether last year's public sector pay curbs could be made to stick; the Government proved us wrong. But can the line be held again? (47)
	…while announcing sufficient concessions to pensioners to defuse opposition to what always seemed to us a reasonable measure. (48)
	…the explosive growth in benefits must be checked. (49)

The use of the consensual pronouns "we" (in (46) and (47)) and "us" in (48) serves to construct a group identity for the *Telegraph* as an institution as part of a wider group of financial experts. Similarly the use of the rhetorical question asked in (47) both encodes doubt in the Government's future success and also softens the impact of having been "proved wrong". The modal auxiliaries "must" and "should" are used as part of the deontic system of modality in (46), and they serve to construct the *Telegraph* as an authoritative voice on economic matters by strongly committing to proposals for future actions (as does the use of "must" in (49). Similarly, the use of the adjective premodifier "reasonable" in (48) encodes in its positive stance an identity position of knowledgeable commentator.

Telegraph	This Budget…lays down a long term framework for tax increases and public spending cuts that should return the public finances to an acceptable balance over the next five years or so. (50)
	Much must also turn on the freeze on the Government's pay bill. (51)

	The introduction of a new Job Seekers' Allowance , which will be means tested after six months, and the replacement of Invalidity Benefit with a more rigorously monitored and taxable benefit, should do much to curb abuse and save public money. (52)

The *Telegraph* also uses modal auxiliaries to express strong confidence to predictions in (50), (51) and (52). This reinforces its identity position and highlights a key function of editorials: to guide readers' expectations.

The *Daily Mail* and the *Guardian* feature fewer examples, but also construct this identity position for themselves.

Daily Mail	But the future of the Government, as of the economy, must hinge on how far and how fast runaway state spending can be reined back. (53)
Guardian	It was one of those rare Budgets that left pundits lost for instant analysis. It will certainly look different 24 hours later. (54)
	The public sector isn't allowed to invest and the private sector doesn't yet feel able. Private industry didn't take advantage of Mr Lamont's temporary tax relief for investment (now expired) because it couldn't see the growth ahead to justify it. Will it now be any different when it views such large deflation in the pipeline for several years ahead? If consumption and investment won't act as the engines of revival, that leaves a desperately burden on exports. Yet forecasts show that Mr Lamont's 10.5 growth in export volume in 1994 (first half) is now 5.75 per cent for the whole year (with imports showing similar growth). (55)

The *Daily Mail* similarly uses an epistemic modal, in (53) to express confidence in an expressed prediction. The *Guardian* uses the modal auxiliary "will" in (54) to make a firm prediction, the use of the noun "pundits" associating the newspaper within a wider group of financial commentators. Finally, a rhetorical question embedded within technical lexis from the financial semantic field (percentages, forecasts, investment) serves to foreground the *Guardian*'s position within political commentary as an authoritative voice on the economy.

The strong commitment to propositions and the use of predictions and speculation to suggest awareness of facts are used to construct the newspapers as sources of knowledge, to which readers can turn for orientation towards events. This can be linked directly to the profit motive of the newspapers – constructing themselves as indispensable sources of advice.

Summary of 5.5

Analysis of the editorials from this period has reinforced the view that the tabloid newspapers adopt a more polarised stance towards politics, which is reflected in the identities constructed for the politicians of whom they write. In this period, this is reflected in the fact that while the *Mirror* constructs an entirely negative professional and personal identity for Clarke, the *Telegraph* and the *Guardian* both construct both positive and negative identities, albeit in such a way that foregrounds one over the other. The *Daily Mail*, too, constructs an almost entirely positive identity for Clarke. Similarly, in constructing these identities, the newspapers highlight their affiliation with the respective political parties rather than political ideologies per se.

5.6 Tony Blair, Gordon Brown and William Hague

As the selection of texts in this study was made as a result of random sampling, it was not possible to find editorials from this period across all four newspapers that dealt with exactly the same political leader or one particular political issue. Nonetheless, the editorials sampled from the 1998-99 period did feature political editorials in the newspapers that commented on three different political figures of the day, albeit in discussing slightly different issues. While this means that the facility to directly compare how the newspapers discuss the same issue is lost, the texts from the final period of this study do allow for a final examination of how the newspapers construct identities for both Government and Opposition politicians, based upon party political affiliations.

By 1998, the Labour Party had regained power after a long period in Opposition, and Tony Blair was Prime Minister, with Gordon Brown as Chancellor of the Exchequer. In Opposition, a younger politician, William Hague led the Conservative Party, who had suffered a humiliating election defeat the year before. Labour, therefore, had won a landslide majority in Parliament.

The random nature of the sampling resulted in the collection of slightly shorter texts for this period (the *Guardian* aside), yet they do cover three distinct issues. The *Guardian* text examines William Hague's activities as Leader of the Conservative Party and discusses his performance at its Party Conference. The *Daily Mail*'s editorial features a discussion of Gordon Brown's performance as Chancellor and his handling of the economy, by discussing comments made to journalists while on a visit to the USA. Meanwhile the *Telegraph* and the *Mirror* both discuss the decision taken by Tony Blair to appoint Michael Heseltine, a prominent Conservative politician, to a non-Governmental body whose task it was to encourage good trade

relations between Britain and China. This means that while it is difficult to compare across all four texts synchronically, diachronically there are key areas of overlap between this and other periods.

Each text constructs clearly recognisable identity positions for the politicians discussed, with each functioning to highlight the identity position of the newspaper and to orient the readers towards adopting that same position.

5.6.1 *Headlines*

Daily Mail	*Guardian*	*Telegraph*	*Mirror*
Now Brown admits the grim truth	Voting for oblivion: Into the Tory Wilderness	Chinese puzzle	Tony's talent show is right for the nation

As discussed above, unlike in previous periods, the texts sampled from the newspapers do not feature discussion of the same issue or individual. In terms of discursive practices, this introduces the issue of differing news values (Bell, 1991) and processes of story selection in each different newspaper. This study takes a qualitative approach, and therefore the relatively small number of texts collected means that it is impossible to assess how frequently over time the newspapers featured editorials on the same issue on the same day. However, it is clear from examining the subjects of the editorials on this day (October 7th, 1998), that the newspapers have differing news values and political agendas when selecting the subject of their editorials.

In the case of the *Guardian*, the *Telegraph* and the *Mirror*, the editorials selected for analysis are not the only editorials published on the day – although in each case they are the only editorial that features discussion of Westminster politics.

The contrasting choices made of which issue within national politics to focus upon, and in which way the issue is presented, reflects the established political ideologies of the newspapers concerned, and, importantly in the context of this study, their close affiliation with political parties. Both the *Guardian* and the *Daily Mail* focus upon a member of the "opposing" political party – the *Guardian* on the Conservative William Hague and the *Daily Mail* on a Labour politician, Gordon Brown. In selecting these individuals, both of these newspapers choose to construct negative professional and personal identities for their subjects. In terms of social identity theory, this indicates that the newspapers' own identity position is created as much through the negative constructions of identities for members of outgroups as it is through the positive representation of ingroup members. The choice of writing about "opposing" politicians better facilitates the construction of a wider group identity that includes readers, through the foregrounding of the "otherness" of such politicians.

The headlines in the *Daily Mail* and the *Guardian* reflect this, and encode the stance taken towards Brown and Hague respectively within the editorials. The *Daily Mail* actually represents Brown in its headline, the verb "to admit" encoding the notion that he has had something he wishes to keep hidden. The adverb "now" implies that he has been reluctant to share his secret. That Britain's economic well-being (for this is the subject of the editorial) is represented through the use of the noun phrase "grim truth" foregrounds the news value of negativity that has been considered when writing the editorial and this constructed version of Brown's comments to journalists serves to orient readers away from him.

The stance that the *Guardian* takes towards Hague and the Conservative Party in its headline is equally explicit. The editorial is ostensibly about the Conservative Party's decision to vote against introducing the European Single

Currency in any of the next two parliaments (conditional upon them returning to power), but focuses mainly on William Hague's role in the vote, and his prospects as leader. The use of the non-finite verb form in "Voting for oblivion" in the headline constructs the Conservative Party as actively contributing to what the *Guardian* constructs as their own downfall (through the use of the prepositional phrase "for oblivion"), and formulates it as an ongoing process. The additional prepositional phrase "into the Tory wilderness", serves to further construct them as actively at fault for their own movement further and further away from power as a result of their vote, through the use of the dead metaphor - "no access to power is wilderness". Ideationally, this conceptualises the process of voting as an act of stupidity by the Conservatives, and therefore foregrounds this prospect to readers. This is an initial indication of the *Guardian*'s overall strategy of ridiculing Hague and his Party by constructing a group identity for them as self-destructive.

The *Telegraph* and the *Mirror* devote editorial space to the same subject, Tony Blair's decision to appoint a Conservative, Michael Heseltine, to a trade post. Predictably, given the analysis of editorials in previous sections, the decision is presented and appraised in contrasting ways by the two newspapers. While the *Mirror* takes a simplistic, polarised stance in positively appraising it and constructing a positive professional identity for Blair for doing so, the *Telegraph* takes a negative stance. Crucially, the *Telegraph*, like the broadsheets in previous periods, is less explicit in its negative stance.

The *Mirror*'s headline directly represents Blair himself, using his first name only. Ide et al (1992) have argued that use of a person's first name only encodes familiarity. The *Mirror* here, then, construct a synthetic close relationship with Blair, marking him out as a member of its ingroup. Readers are therefore oriented

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towards embracing Blair's decision and viewing him positively. The use of the copula and the adjective predicative in "is right", highlights the fact that the *Mirror* commits strongly to its positive stance towards Blair, while it is the metaphoric construction of Blair's policy of filling vacancies as a "talent show" that truly marks the *Mirror*'s positive constructed identity for Blair. The source of the metaphor is clearly a talent show. The fact that talent shows habitually contain wide ranges of differing acts, each with differing strengths and weaknesses, all merging to make one form of entertainment, is mapped onto the target, Blair's way of formulating a team of individuals to fill jobs both inside and outside of the Government. This metaphor serves to conceptualise Blair's decision to appoint Heseltine in wholly positive terms for readers, as they are forced into viewing the decision as part of Blair's wider success. The prepositional phrase "for the nation" highlights the *Mirror*'s nationalist ideology, prevalent within all newspapers over all periods, and serves to construct a sense of a national community of practice. This is achieved by foregrounding a sense of shared goals, with Blair, as leader, as fulfilling them.

In contrast, the *Telegraph*'s headline is much more cryptic. It too uses a metaphor to conceptualise Blair's decision, by using the noun "puzzle". The headline is a play on words, the premodifier "Chinese" referring to both a type of puzzle as well as the nation concerned in the story. The headline maps the qualities of a puzzle – difficult to understand, deliberately misleading – onto the target, Heseltine's appointment, and Blair's role in it. On an interpersonal level, this helps build a relationship with readers through the creative use of the pun, while at the same time conceptualising Blair's decision as deliberately misleading and odd, which begins to orient readers away from him.

5.6.2 Tony Blair as a visionary leader, William Hague as a closed-minded failure

The *Mirror* wholly endorses Blair's decision to appoint Heseltine. Its wider goal however, goes beyond merely positively appraising a particular decision by Blair, as it seeks to construct a wholly negative professional and personal identity for William Hague, the Leader of the Conservatives. The link between Blair's decision to appoint Heseltine, and Hague's activities as leader of the Conservatives is tenuous at best, and the editorial can therefore be seen as functioning to construct a negative identity for Hague, in order to maintain a close relationship with its Labour supporting ideal readers. In revelling in Hague's and the Conservatives' failures, the *Mirror* helps to strengthen its own sense of group identity for itself and its reader through comparing a member of its own ingroup, Blair, with Hague, of the outgroup (Benwell and Stokoe (2006:25). Identities are therefore simultaneously constructed for both.

Mirror	The way to get the best out of any organisation is to make the most out of all the talents available. (1)
	The way to run something hopelessly is to keep out anyone except your own chums. (2)

The *Mirror* starts then, in (1) and (2), by making some categorical assertions that are opinions presented as general truths. Both are declaratives and use the present tense of the copula in order to present propositions as facts. (1) asserts good practice, proposing that the best way to lead "**is** to make the most out of all the talents available", while (2) asserts bad practice, suggesting that that "**is** to keep out anyone except your own chums". There is a difference in register between (1) and (2), with (2) being markedly less formal, with the noun "chums" used. This reinforces a negative conceptualisation of the proposition in (2),which is already negative through the use of the adverb "hopelessly". In terms of discursive practices, both (1) and (2) serve to prime readers to see Blair's actions as correlating with the first assertion and Hague's as correlating with the second. This already

begins to construct a positive professional identity for Blair as a strong, capable

leader, and negative professional identity for Hague as the complete opposite.

Mirror	Tony Blair understands that. William Hague (he is the Tory leader, in case you had not heard of him) does not. (3)

Another pair of binary propositions are featured in (3), as Blair is categorically

asserted as fulfilling the *Mirror*'s constructed criteria for a good leader, through the

use of the present tense of the verb "to understand", while Hague is similarly

asserted as "not" understanding. This serves to simultaneously positively construct

Blair and negatively construct Hague – with the comparison of the two enhancing

each constructed identity. Hague is further negatively identified as part of a direct

address to readers, through the use of an adverbial clause element ("he is the Tory

leader, in case you had not heard of him"). This serves to simultaneously construct

Hague professionally as an anonymous failure, identifies readers as not being

members of the Conservative Party, and forms an example of synthetic mutual

engagement, to construct a shared group identity for the *Mirror* and its readers.

Mirror	Mr Blair runs a Labour Government but is willing to use the talents of anyone who will be good for the country. (4)
	The Prime Minister will not ignore talented people just because of their political label. If they can do a job for Britain then he will offer them work. (5)

Blair is referred to directly in both (4) and (5) and both extracts serve to

construct a wholly positive professional identity for him. By referring to him as "the

Prime Minister", the *Mirror* foregrounds Blair's status and level of success in

comparison to Hague, who is not even afforded the level of politeness that the use of

his title would encode in (6) (below) (Ide et al, 1992). Similarly, in (4), the use of

the conjunction "but" and the verb phrase "is willing" serves to construct the notion

that Blair, despite what one would expect, is actively open minded in using the "talents" of anyone.

Likewise, the modal auxiliary "will" is used three times in (4) and (5) to refer to future time and to make predictions, each suggesting that Blair will behave in a way that is beneficial to Britain. This again constructs the national group identity and constructs Blair as an effective leader. The noun phrase "talented people" by implication refers to Heseltine. It is interesting to note that purely as a result of being selected for a job by a Labour Prime Minister, Heseltine is positively represented. Whether he would be so warmly constructed otherwise is open to conjecture.

Mirror	Compare that with William Hague. He rejects anyone who does not agree with his far-out anti-European views. (6)

Readers have been oriented towards comparing Blair's actions with those of Hague throughout the editorial, but in (6) they are explicitly asked to do so in an imperative "Compare that with Hague". This feeds into the notion that the Mirror is constructing a group identity formed, in part, through opposing Hague and the Conservatives. The declarative "he rejects anyone who does not agree with his far-out ant-European views" serves to highlight the *Mirror*'s strong commitment to its constructed negative identity for Hague, through the use of the simple present tense, while the adjective premodifiers "far-out anti-European" construct a simultaneous negative professional and personal identity for him. This represents Hague to readers as personally and professionally deviant.

Mirror	Part of Tony Blair's blueprint for the future is to create a new Britain without the old, destructive barriers that hindered progress and excluded talented people. (7)
	Mr Hague's plan is to shrink the Tory Party until it finally vanishes up its own rump. (8)

Extracts (7) and (8) again form a pair of propositions in which readers are implicitly invited to draw unflattering (for Hague) comparisons between the two leaders. In (7), Blair's future plans are metaphorically constructed as "blueprints", which serves to map the qualities of precision and care from the source, an architect, onto Blair, conceptualising his leadership as visionary. The *Mirror* also commits fully to its representation of what these plans are ("a new Britain" without "old" destructive barriers"), which construct Blair's leadership positively, but by implication suggest that Hague's leadership is not. This implication is made explicit in (8), as Hague's plan is categorically represented in derogatory terms. This serves to enhance the constructed identity for Blair, as well as to negatively construct Hague, presenting him as wilfully destroying his own party.

Mirror	That is why Mr Blair will be in power for a very long time and William Hague will achieve nothing. (9)

The *Mirror*'s final line features the modal auxiliary "will" to predict future events, foregrounding a positive prediction for Blair, and a negative prediction for Hague.

The stance taken towards Blair, a Labour leader, in this editorial, is very similar to the stance taken towards Harold Wilson in the *Mirror*'s editorial in 5.1, when despite making potentially controversial decisions, the *Mirror* constructed a positive identity for Wilson as a result of his decisions. This highlights the consistency in which the *Mirror*'s Left-wing, but specifically pro-Labour identity position is adopted. The difference between the two texts, is that in the 1998 editorial, Hague is used to enhance the positive constructed identity for the Labour

leader, and to enhance the construction of a group identity for the *Mirror* and its readers.

5.6.3 Tony Blair as unethical

The role of Hague in the *Mirror* editorial as a device with which to better construct a group identity is highlighted by the fact that the *Telegraph*, which includes an editorial on the same topic, makes absolutely no mention of William Hague, indicating that his mention was not necessary for the *Mirror* to fully comment upon the basic story.

The *Telegraph* does, however, use the editorial to similarly construct a negative professional identity for a member of an opposing political party, in this case, Tony Blair. The *Telegraph*'s decision to take a negative stance towards Blair can also be viewed, in terms of social practices, to construct its own group identity, along similar, but opposite lines to the *Mirror*.

Telegraph	The Prime Minister's appointment of Michael Heseltine as head of a new body to promote Anglo-Chinese relations confirms suspicions about the two men. (10)

The *Telegraph* constructs a negative professional and personal identity for Blair as an unethical man (with a disregard for human rights) who places party politics above ethical leadership. The use of the verb phrase "confirms suspicions" in (10) presupposes the existence of suspicions about both Blair and Heseltine, which immediately begins to construct both as flawed.

Telegraph	They are that the former Conservative minister is on the side of the powerful against the free, and that Tony Blair has a greater interest in embarrassing the Tories than in ethical foreign policy. (11)

These suspicions are made explicit in (11), with the use of the simple present tense categorically asserting that the *Telegraph*'s constructed representation of Blair and Heseltine's ideologies and motives are absolutely true, with Heseltine categorically asserted as being "on the side of the powerful against the free" and Blair represented as having "a greater interest in embarrassing the Tories than in ethical foreign policy". The use of categorical assertions to represent the *Telegraph*'s own interpretation as fact serves to manipulate readers into sharing in the constructed view of Blair. The negatively constructed personal identity for Heseltine is also an interesting tactic. One would expect a positive stance from the *Telegraph* towards Heseltine, as a former Conservative Minister, and likewise a Right-wing newspaper would also ordinarily be in favour of exploiting potential new markets for trade. "Human rights" are also Left-wing concerns. One interpretation of the *Telegraphs*' untypical stance is that in constructing a negative identity for Heseltine, the newspaper enhances its negative identity for Blair. The same can be said of the *Telegraph*'s stance towards China. This tactic is the same one used by the *Daily Mail* and the *Telegraph* in the editorials analysed in section 5.1, in which negative identities were constructed for members of Harold Wilson's cabinet in order to negatively evaluate Wilson himself.

Telegraph	In may, Mr Heseltine, then deputy prime minister, led a trade mission to China. It was clear that he regarded Mr Patten's reforms as an unfortunate obstacle to exploiting the potential of the Chinese market. (12)

This negative representation of Heseltine is featured in the *Telegraph*, in (12). The use of the adjective "clear" ("it was clear") constructs and commits to the notion that the *Telegraph*'s interpretation of Heseltine's attitude is obvious, and that it therefore should be shared by readers. The attitude itself is represented using the noun phrase "unfortunate obstacle" within the subordinate clause "he regarded Mr

Patten's reforms (to improve human rights) as an unfortunate obstacle to exploiting the potential of the Chinese market". In representing Heseltine as ethically ambivalent, the *Telegraph* implies that Blair, for choosing him, should be similarly identified.

Telegraph	By nominating "a friend of China" as chairman of the UK China forum, Mr Blair demonstrates that human rights will be subordinated to trade. (13)
	He speaks of "a modern relationship", but plays down the most important ingredient of modernity: democracy. (14)

This implication is made explicit in (13) through the use of the adverbial "by nominating "a friend of China…" and the full lexical verb "demonstrates". The verb choice orients readers towards viewing Blair's actions as representing the *Telegraph*'s interpretation, which is only one of any number of interpretations of Blair's actions. Heseltine being identified as "a friend of China" is intended to negatively construct him as complicit in China's human rights abuse, and further negatively construct Blair's own identity. Extract (14) also does this, by reconstructing Blair's actions as deliberately devious, through the use of the co-ordaining conjunction "but". The first clause, "he speaks of a modern relationship", constructs the idea of Blair having a "public" attitude. The conjunction invites readers to reflect on that view and reassess in favour of the proposition encoded in the second clause, which, through the present tense of the verb "to play down", is that Blair is wilfully guiding observers away from the lack of democracy in China.

The whole editorial serves to propose one interpretation of Blair's decision to appoint Heseltine (that it highlights Blair's unethical leadership) and doses so by strongly committing to that interpretation through a series of categorical assertions and reconstructed versions of reality. Blair's decision is therefore reconstructed as

something entirely different through a specific ideologically driven interpretation represented as categorical.

5.6.4 William Hague as a political failure

The *Mirror* and *Telegraph* editorials from this period share similarities with the editorials from 1973 that were featured in section 5.1, in that they discuss and appraise a decision to appoint a politician and use the appraisals to construct an identity for the political leader who made that decision, and thereby construct a self-identity for the newspaper. The *Guardian* editorial however, more closely resembles the editorials from 1983, when Michael Foot's capabilities as leader of the opposition were appraised and examined. In that editorial, the *Guardian* constructed a positive personal identity for Foot that went some way towards negating a less flattering professional identity. Similarly, as a Labour leader, the *Guardian* constructed a more positive professional identity for Foot, as rebel politician.

Just as the editorials from 1983 examined the performance of the Leader of the Opposition at his first Party conference since electoral humiliation, the editorial in the *Guardian* from 1998 discusses William Hague's first Conservative Party conference since defeat the previous year. The key difference is the *Guardian*'s constructed identity for its subject. A positive identity for Michael Foot encoded a pro-Labour identity position for the *Guardian*. In this editorial, it is a constructed negative identity for Hague that identifies the *Guardian* as pro-Labour and, at the same time, anti-Conservative. Again, in negatively constructing an identity for a member of a political outgroup, the *Guardian* serves to maintain its own group identity with its readers through shared opposition to the subject.

In addition to the other editorials that form the cotext of this text, is a banner at the top of the page, a direct quotation that serves as an advertisement for the Letters section of the newspaper. It reads "'It is with great regret that I write to the Guardian. I am a life-long Conservative.' Roger Dyson, Letters." While it is unlikely that any reader of the *Guardian* would be unaware of its Left-wing ideological stance, the fact that, in terms of discursive practices, the sub-editors choose this particular piece of manifest intertextuality to entice readers to read the letters section indicates that, on this particular day in 1998 at least, the *Guardian* revels in its reputation and identity as ant-Conservative. The intertextual banner serves to remind readers of this fact and thereby helps to construct and maintain the self-identity. The editorial about the Conservatives can also be viewed as performing this social function.

Guardian	It is not often that the overwhelming emotion provoked by a Conservative leader on the eve of his party conference is pity, but such is the plight of William Jefferson Hague. (15)

The *Guardian*'s ideological stance and self-identity as anti-Conservative is made explicit in the very first line of the editorial, here reproduced in (15). Hague is directly represented in this first line, using a formal address form that includes his first name, middle name and last name. Compared to the editorials from the 1970s and early 1980s, in which the use of titles plus first and last name marked deference and politeness this is a less formal register. However, the use of his middle name, appearing inside the postmodifying prepositional phrase within the noun phrase "the plight of William Jefferson Hague", denotes an interdiscursive blend of literary and political genres. In representing Hague's experience as a "plight" and referring to his full name, it constructs Hague in much the same way as a literary character in a tragic novel might be represented. This encourages readers to view Hague's personal identity as that of a loser, destined for bad luck in life. Earlier in the sentence Hague is represented using the noun phrase "Conservative leader", which

therefore simultaneously constructs his professional identity in similar terms, as a political failure.

Also within (15), the verb "provoked", is used to construct Hague's leadership as having actively elicited "pity" from the *Guardian*, the negated adverb "not often" highlighting that such a circumstance is extremely unusual. This serves to both encode the *Guardian*'s own political self identity in an explicit way, while also representing Hague's leadership and political identity as so abject to demand attention. Through this first sentence then, the *Guardian*'s anti-Conservative stance is thereby made more explicit than in previous periods.

Guardian	One feels sorry for him. For he is locked in an appalling situation, unable to turn left or right – all the while ignored by the nation he seeks to govern. (16)

The self-identity of the *Guardian* is also foregrounded in (16), through the use of the pronoun "one" as the subject of the clause in "one feels sorry for him". This again constructs the newspaper as an active participant within politics, and in the use of the verb "feels" attributes a human emotion to the voice of the *Guardian* through the representation of a mental process (Simpson, 1993). The adjective "sorry" and the prepositional phrase "for him" again highlights Hague's constructed simultaneous professional and personal identity as someone to be pitied. This is reinforced through a categorical assertion in the following sentence, where the Guardian strongly commits to its constructed version of Hague's leadership which is represented through the noun phrase "an appalling situation" and the verb phrase "ignored by the nation he seeks to govern". This highlights how the *Guardian* is again idealising its readership within a nationalist group framework, and in the use of that verb phrase ("is ignored") categorically represents the thoughts of the nation in such a way as to manipulate readers into sharing that conception of reality. These

serve to maintain the personal/professional identity constructed for Hague as a failure.

| Guardian | The Tory leader starts today boasting what should have been an important success. (17) |
| | That was the theory…but one problem has simply been replaced by another. (18) |

The use of the modal auxiliary "should" as part of the past perfect verb phrase "should have been" in (17), indicates to readers that the "important success" achieved by Hague is no longer a likely to be viewed that way. Instead, in (18), the clause "that was the theory", in using the simple past tense, represents Hague's plans as not having come to fruition. This serves, in terms of social practice, to reiterate to readers that Hague's leadership is beset by problems, which reinforces the constructed identity the *Guardian* has for him.

| Guardian | What Hague has achieved is the Conservative equivalent of Michael Foot winning over Labour members to a policy of wholesale nationalisation: of course the faithful are on board – it's just the rest of the country who are out of step. (19) |

As the texts for this study were selected from a random sample, it is coincidence that the *Guardian* makes reference to, in (19), Michael Foot's leadership of the Labour Party in the 1980s. Through the use of the copula and the noun phrase and postmodifying prepositional phrase ("is the Conservative equivalent of Michael Foot…), the *Guardian* draws a comparison between Hague's and Foot's leadership and strongly commits to this representation of Hague.

| Guardian | That's precisely the sort of stubborn optimism that hobbled Labour throughout the 1980s. Far from avoiding the fate of Labour in its darkest days, Mr Hague seems set to repeat it. (20) |

In 1998, Hague had argued that the Conservative Party should agree consensus on its policy on the European Single Currency, and was pleased that the

party had voted to reject any notion of adopting it in the event that the Conservatives won back power. The *Guardian*, in drawing the comparison with Foot, represents this "achievement" using the noun phrase "stubborn optimism" in (20), and constructs Hague's professional identity as flawed. By using the adverbial "of course", the newspaper represents Hague's actions as so obviously mistaken, as to be viewed as poor leadership.

In mentioning Foot, the *Guardian* is also helping to maintain a group identity for itself and its readers, through the drawing upon shared cultural knowledge.

Guardian	And this is his larger problem. William Hague cannot put a foot right. Facing a 180 seat Labour majority, and with public disgust at the Major administration still a recent memory, there is almost no remedy he can prescribe. (21)
	Indeed, the very notion of Mr Hague as Prime Minister is so remote as to be absurd: fantasy politics. (22)
	He has been dealt an abysmal hand and nothing the Tories can do this week will change that. (23)

Finally, in (21), (22) and (23), the *Guardian* returns to directly constructing a negative identity for Hague himself and the Conservative Party. The use of the negated modal "cannot" in (21) serves to represent Hague as categorically unable to perform his duties properly, and, as part of the epistemic system of modality highlights the *Guardian*'s own strong commitment to that constructed version of reality. In terms of discursive practices, the *Guardian* also chooses to foreground Labour's "180 seat…majority" and though the noun phrase and postmodifying prepositional phrase "public disgust at the Major administration", the prior failings of the Conservative Party. The choice to provide this specific context to Hague and the current Conservative Party is a deliberate attempt to both construct Hague as a failure as an individual, but also to foreground the wider failings of his party to

readers. This serves to orient readers away from Hague and marks the *Guardian*'s own anti-Conservative stance.

A metaphorical blend is also used within (21) in the use of the negated noun "no remedy" and the verb "prescribe". This blends political media discourse with health discourse in the same way that *Mirror* did in the 1978 editorial analysed in section 5.2 of this study. The difference between the metaphorically constructed identity featured here and the one in that text is in the negation of "remedy". Whereas Jim Callaghan was constructed as a caring family doctor with unruly patients, but ultimately as someone whose advice could be heeded, Hague is constructed as a powerless doctor whose patients are beyond cure. This serves to negatively construct the Conservative Party as irreparably damaged. This constructs them as an unelectable proposition. This is in contrast to how Labour are constructed in the *Guardian* editorial featured in section 5.4.

The use of the copula and the adjective "remote" as the subject predicator in (22) again encodes the *Guardian*'s negative stance towards Hague, negatively representing Hague's future prospects as a leader, and appraising his prospects of becoming Prime Minister using the evaluative adjective "absurd" and the noun phrase "fantasy politics". This serves the same function as the health metaphor (above).

In (23), the focus of the *Guardian* shifts from Hague personally to the Conservative Party in general. Another hybrid metaphor is utilised, here blending the discourses of "card games" and politics. The verb phrase "dealt an abysmal hand" is used to metaphorically represent the Conservative Party, mapping the negative associations of a poor selection of cards with which to play a game onto the Party

that Hague has inherited as leader. Ideationally, this constructs the Conservatives as unleadable and as an unelectable proposition, and thereby constructs Hague's job as entirely pointless, in the sense that he is powerless to do anything. Readers are thereby encouraged to share this view of the Conservative Party.

The use of the modal auxiliary "will" is used to strongly predict a negative future for the Conservatives, which serves to orient readers away from them and to once more encode the *Guardian*'s own anti-Conservative, pro-Labour stance.

The *Daily Mail*, as one would expect, takes a differing stance towards Labour, however, in its editorial.

5.6.5 Gordon Brown as a reckless accountant

While the *Telegraph*, *Guardian* and *Mirror* feature editorials that bear similarities to the texts analysed from the 1970s and 1980s in 5.1 and 5.3, the *Daily Mail*'s editorial more closely resembles the texts from 1993, discussed in 5.5, in which the decisions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were appraised. Whereas in its editorial from that period the *Daily Mail* positively evaluated and identified Kenneth Clarke as a member of its ingroup, the editorial from 1998 features discussion of a member of the newspaper's political outgroup, Gordon Brown. Like the *Guardian* in 5.6.4 (above), the *Daily Mail* constructs a negative identity for its subject, which serves to encode the newspaper's own identity position as ant-Labour and pro-Conservative, and also helps to identify a figurehead towards whom its ingroup can form an opposition. Like the editorials from previous periods, the *Daily Mail* also constructs an identity position for itself as an authoritative source of information thorough its representation of events and use of modal auxiliaries.

Daily Mail	AT a stroke, the party conference season is reduced to a posturing sideshow. Like a spectre at a feast of soundbites, economic reality grimly materialises to command the stage. (24)

The first two sentences of the *Daily Mail* editorial (shown in 24) include a metaphor and a simile that are blended together in order to present to readers the newspaper's ideologically driven, constructed version of the economic situation in Britain. The editorial represents Britain's economy as being in a parlous state in order to attach blame for this to Gordon Brown, before proceeding to negatively construct a professional identity for him as a result of this.

The verb phrase "is reduced" and the noun phrase "posturing sideshow" are used to categorically assert and then metaphorically construct the *Daily Mail*'s proposition that the party conference season occurring in Britain is of secondary importance to "economic reality". The attributes of a "posturing sideshow" – something that is irrelevant to the "main event" are mapped onto the party conferences in order to foreground the *Daily Mail*'s concern for the economy. This concern is metaphorically constructed using the noun phrase "a spectre at a feast of soundbites" and is reinforced through the verb phrase "grimly materialises onto the stage". This metaphorical construction is a hybrid of two metaphors. The first is can be translated as "potentially troublesome issue is a ghost", while the second is "politics is theatre". Here, on an ideational level, the *Daily Mail* is constructing "economic reality" as an issue that is present but is being ignored by the Government, who are using "soundbites" to deflect the issue. Similarly, the second aspect of the blended metaphor constructs the notion that economic reality is about to become a key topic within political debate. On an interpersonal level, the *Daily Mail*'s anti-Labour stance is encoded in the metaphors, which are constructed in such

a way as to encourage readers to share in the negative representation of the economy and Labour's handling of it.

Daily Mail	From Washington, where world finance ministers are wrestling impotently with global recession, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has to admit that he must re-do the sums on which his give-away budgeting was based. (25)

Extract (25) features the first representation of Brown himself, in the use of his pseudo-title "the Chancellor of the Exchequer". This foregrounds Brown's role in economic matters and in the *Daily Mail*'s negative construction of reality, which is enhanced through the use of the verb phrase and prepositional phrase "wrestling impotently with global recession". This new metaphor, on an ideational level, maps the sense of struggle associated with wrestling onto the way in which governments around the world are challenged by economic matters, and, through the adverb "impotently" encodes the notion that this is a challenge that they, Brown included, are not meeting.

The use of the semi-modal expression "has to", part of the deontic system of modality, is designed to persuade readers that Brown has a strong duty to "admit" that his budget was wrong. This has the dual purpose of attempting to influence Brown himself into making the admission, and can be seen as the newspaper actively participating in public debate. The full lexical verb "admit" also encodes stance, in that it implies that not only was Brown's budgeting wrong, but that he is unwilling to reveal as much. This serves to construct a negative professional identity for Brown as a reckless accountant, something that the use of the adjective "give-away" in "give-away budgeting" also helps to construct. This encodes the notion, which readers are encouraged to share, that Brown's accounting is deliberately reckless, with his purpose being to win votes rather than govern effectively. This is also the

implication in the use of the premodifiers "spend, spend" in "spend, spend strategy" (26), and "over-optimistic" in (33) (below).

Daily Mail	Back in July, when Mr Brown proclaimed his spend, spend strategy, the Mail put it this way: 'The truth is that the Chancellor is taking a profoundly worrying gamble by boosting public expenditure just when private enterprise is finding it harder to deliver the goods.' (26)
	That could mean hundreds of firms, already only keeping afloat by their finger tips, going under. (27)
	So we must expect a juddering shock to job prospects, instead of the 'soft landing' for which Mr Brown and his bevy of Treasury co-optimists have all too blithely prepared us. (28)
	In theory, complete independence has been conferred by this Labour Chancellor on the nine members of the monetary policy committee of the Bank of England… (29)

As in the *Daily Mail* editorial analysed in section 5.2, the newspaper (in 26) intertextually refers to one of its previous editorials. In this case, the discursive practice of using manifest intertextuality is designed to further negatively construct the reality of Brown's accounting as the direct quotation includes the *Daily Mail'*s previously asserted interpretation of Brown's budget as a "worrying gamble". This quotation functions as a type of evidence presented to readers, justifying the *Daily Mail'*s stance in the current editorial and reinforcing the constructed identity for Brown.

However, the *Daily Mail*'s constructed version of events is still just opinion, which is marked by the use of modal auxiliaries and conditional sentences that highlight uncertain and weak commitment to predictions about future events. In (27), the modal auxiliary "could" is used in an epistemic sense to only express weak likelihood of "hundreds of firms…going under". It is also used in (33) as part of a conditional sentence to only weakly express likelihood of Brown's actions "(costing) this Government and Britain dear". (This also highlights the national group for whom

the *Daily Mail* writes). Even the use of a rhetorical question that foregrounds Brown's failings in (32) is constructed conditionally ("If the bankers have got it badly wrong, where does this leave the Chancellor?").

Daily Mail	For all our sakes, it had better get the message. And it would be well-advised to make the cut a half, not a quarter per cent (30)
	If the bankers have got it badly wrong, where does this leave the Chancellor? (31)
	The cheers from the New Labour claques came cheap. (32)
	But if Mr Brown does not now rein back his over-optimistic spending plans, it could cost Britain and this Government's reputation dear. (33)

However, in addition to the modal auxiliaries that indicate weak commitment, the editorial does also feature deontic modals that serve to reinforce the *Daily Mail*'s constructed version of events and its negative identity for Brown. This is the case in (28), as the modal auxiliary "must" is used as part of the deontic system of modality to oblige readers to "expect" job prospects to diminish. This serves to orient them towards adopting a negative stance towards Brown, while the pronoun "we" constructs a sense of consensus between readers and newspaper. Similarly, the modal expression "it had better" is also used deontically in order to strongly oblige the Bank of England to share the *Daily Mail*'s view of economic reality. This duty imposed on the bank is also encoded in the verb phrase "would be well advised", which is used to highlight the *Daily Mail*'s desirable outcome. Both these examples can be seen as the newspaper attempting to influence public policy, as well as interpersonally attempting to manipulate readers into viewing the *Daily Mail*'s opinions as fact. This creates a sense of expectation as to the course of future events and places even more pressure upon Brown and the Bank of England to follow the advice.

Finally, the editorial also encodes an explicitly anti-Labour stance. In (28) Brown and his colleagues are directly constructed as "Mr Brown and his bevy of co-optimists". The use of the noun "co-optimists" again reinforces Brown's negative constructed identity as financially reckless, while also including other Labour Party members. In (29), Brown is again given a pseudo-title, this time being referred to as "this Labour Chancellor". Having negatively constructed an identity for Brown, in explicitly identifying his membership of the Labour Party, the *Daily Mail* encodes its anti-Labour stance, while in (33), members of the party are represented using the noun phrase "New Labour claques". This represents Labour politicians as vacuous, applauding Brown unthinkingly and uncritically.

The *Daily Mail* editorial, then, encodes its anti-Labour stance through constructing a negative professional identity for Brown as a reckless economist. It does this, in part, by constructing a negative view of economic reality and then committing to this view. Even in using conditional sentences and modals that express weak likelihood, the newspaper foregrounds the notion of Brown's failings to readers, reinforcing that identity. Like the Mirror editorial (5.6.2, above), the tabloid again takes a much more polarised, partisan stance than the broadsheets covered in this study.

Summary of 5.6
This section, while not featuring four editorials that all discuss the same topic, nevertheless highlights the ways in which the newspapers continue to use the same discursive expressions of stance and linguistic constructors of identity as in the past when similar topics have been discussed. Likewise, the construction of group identities as synthetic communities of practice is continued, especially through a

method of using a political "other" as a means of creating a sense of consensus and a shared target for group members.

The six sections within Chapter 5 have revealed a number of insights into the ways in which stance is encoded within print newspaper editorials, and these are reviewed and discussed in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6
Discussion and Conclusions

The broad aim of this study, as outlined in chapter 4, was to examine how newspaper editorials encode newspapers' stance towards political leaders, placing particular focus upon the ways in which newspapers construct their own ideological stance through the construction of identities for politicians and political leaders. Chapter 5 featured analyses of the texts taken from a random sample of editorials published over a 35-year period prior to the advent of online media. This chapter features a brief summary of the key findings of the analysis and assumes that Chapter 5 has fulfilled the aims if the study and exemplified the results.

The ways in which professional, personal and social identities are constructed by the newspapers for their political subjects are outlined in section 6.1, while 6.2 features discussion of how identity positions are constructed for wider groups. 6.3.1 includes a discussion of how the newspapers also encode other, non-political identity positions within their editorials.

The purpose of the study was not to attempt to uncover the ideological stance of the newspapers analysed. The ideological orientations of the newspapers are well known (they are, for example, discussed in Bednarek, 2006). It was, however, necessary as part of the analysis to make explicit the ideological perspectives of the different newspapers in order to fulfil the main aim, which was to examine how these ideologies and identity positions are encoded through identity construction and other means of discursive expression.

The study found, as expected, that the Guardian and the Mirror encoded a Left-wing stance within their editorials, while the Telegraph and the Daily Mail

encoded a Right-wing stance. However, the analyses also showed that while these ideological positions were broadly the case, the newspapers' ideological stances, or identity positions, were better characterised in terms of their associations with specific political parties. This is discussed in section 6.3.2, (below).

Similarly, the analysis also showed key differences between how stance was adopted in the broadsheet newspapers (the Guardian and the Telegraph) and the tabloids (the Daily Mail and the Mirror), which is outlined in 6.3.3.

6.1 The construction of individual identities

Chapter 5 showed the key ways in which mostly professional identities are constructed for individual politicians within the editorials. The analyses examined, on a textual level, the way in which identities are constructed by the newspapers both in their lexico-grammatical choices, and their discursive practices. The ways in which these identities were constructed by each of the newspapers did not change over the course of the period under examination, suggesting that British newspaper discourse has a fixed set of discursive means of encoding their ideological stance.

6.1.1 *Lexcio-grammatical choices*

In every period of time studied the four editorials examined constructed differing identities for their political subjects. This was not the only way of encoding the newspapers' stance towards political issues and events, but, when the subject of the editorials was a political leader, it is, of course, given that language cannot be neutral (Fowler, 1991:1), necessary for the newspapers to represent that leader in some particular way.

Section 5.1 was unique within this study, in that the editorials featured constructed an identity for the leader in question, Harold Wilson, not through direct representation of him, but by constructing identities for the individuals that he had appointed to his cabinet. This, in turn constructed an identity for Wilson as either a good or poor decision-maker, and therefore helped to construct an identity position for the newspapers themselves.

The other sections all followed a similar pattern, in which the various politicians about whom the editorials were written were directly represented (or their actions were represented) and they therefore had identities constructed for them by the newspapers. Again, the type of identity constructed, be it professional, personal or social, and be it positive or negative, encoded the newspapers' own identity positions as either Left-wing or Right-wing, or, more pertinently, "pro" or "anti" the parties to which the politicians belonged.

The analysis has showed that there are a number of lexico-grammatical choices that are most frequently made by text producers when writing the editorials, that are key in the construction of professional, personal or social identities for the political leaders featured. These have been exemplified in Chapter 5, but the main lexico-grammatical markers of a constructed identity are summarised here.

Noun phrases and modality
On a textual, discourse immanent level of analysis, the most important means of constructing an identity for a politician is through the use of noun phrases, often alongside categorical assertions or other epistemic modals. Noun phrases are used in all periods in order to either directly refer to the politician or to otherwise represent reality (represented as a result of the politician's actions) in a negative or

positive way that is dictated by the ideological stance of the newspaper. While the head of the noun phrase contributes to the construction of the identity, the use of adjective premodifiers of proper nouns also helped construct pseudo-titles (Meyer, 2001).

The construction of identities through the use of noun phrases can be achieved either by the direct reconstruction of an individual via a relexicalisation of that person, through the use of pseudo titles, the use of adjectival descriptions, or through the representation of reality that is represented as being as a result of the individual's actions. These typically occur alongside categorical assertions, made through use of the copula or through other modals used as part of the epistemic system of modality.

The use of noun phrases, including adjective premodifiers, are therefore sued in order to construct individual identities, while this identity is reinforced through the expression of utmost confidence in the identity represented. Similarly, the use of the copula alongside adjectives as the subject predicative also serves to construct such identities.

Verb phrases

The simple past or present verb tense is often used in conjunction with noun phrases or adjectives as part of the epistemic system of modality, in order to categorically assert that the newspaper's constructed identity or representation is correct. An example of this is in the Mirror's 1998 editorial: "Mr Hague's plan is to shrink the Tory Party until it finally vanishes up its own rump." (Mirror, 1998), where a noun phrase represents reality, the copula categorically asserts it to be true, and a verb phrase constructs reality in such a way as to create a negative identity.

This serves not only to construct a particular identity for a politician, but to also encode the highest levels of confidence in that representation, which has, in terms of socio-diagnostic critique, the function of manipulating readers into viewing opinion as fact.

Just as noun phrases construct identity by representing politicians, full lexical verbs construct identities by representing the processes in which the politicians are involved, which further constructs their identity. Examples of this can be found in the Mirror's 1993 editorial: "With Norman Lamont's clobbering of taxpayers last March, it adds up to the biggest rip-off in budget history" and the Telegraph's 1998 text: "Mr Blair demonstrates that human rights will be subordinated to trade".

The use of perception verbs to indicate doubt in abilities or propositions made about politicians also perform this function.

Carter and McCarthy (2006) point to the use of adverbs as a marker of stance, and the analysis has highlighted how both epistemic and attitude stance adverbs are used in order to help construct positive and negative identities for politicians. Epistemic adverbs are used to express confidence or otherwise in the actions of individuals, which serves to highlight their positive or negative qualities.

6.1.2 Discursive practices

While the most important lexico-grammatical markers of identity construction are, as to be expected, noun phrases, adjectives and verb phrases, the discursive practices utilised by the editorials also contribute towards the construction of identity positions for the individual politicians.

The two key discursive practices that are utilised to help construct identities are the use of intertextuality and the use of metaphorical blends.

Intertextuality

The careful selection of manifest intertextuality, be it through direct quotation or through the reporting of speech is used by all newspapers in order to construct professional identities for their subjects. In the 1988 Mirror and Guardian editorials for example, in directly and extensively quoting Neil Kinnock's words, both newspapers allow a mediated version of Kinnock's own voice to reach readers, thereby endorsing his words and allowing him, in a small way, the opportunity to construct his own identity. The use of intertextuality here also foregrounds particular issues in the readers' minds.

By comparison, the choice by the Telegraph, in 1974, to directly quote Denis Healy, representing his words as a "soak the rich" approach, serves to construct a negative (in their eyes) professional identity, this through the careful selection of a specific quotation.

The *Telegraph*, in 1978, also directly quotes Jim Callaghan, utilising a transcribed form of his regional dialect, which served to construct a social identity for Callaghan. In this case, this was used to negatively portray Callaghan.

In intextually referring to Callaghan's speech in the same period, and also intertextually referring to its own previous editorials, the Daily Mail succeeds in constructing a negative professional identity for Callaghan as a reactionary politician.

Metaphor/interdiscursivity

The use of interdiscursive metaphorical blends within the editorials was the other important discursive practice that was utilised to help construct positive and negative identities for politicians, and therefore the newspapers. Koller (2004) has shown how, from a critical perspective, the choice of a metaphor can encode stance. While metaphors were used within the editorials in order to encode stance towards issues and events, they were also used in order to represent individuals.

The case of all four newspapers metaphorically constructing Kenneth Clarke as a magician in the 1993 editorials is a good example, in that each newspaper metaphorically constructs Clarke in this way, but each with a different reason for doing so. Other metaphorical constructions of identity include the use of the "life is a journey metaphor" in the 1988 Mirror and Daily Mail editorials to represent Kinnock as progressive or regressive, and the metaphorical construction of Jim Callaghan as a family doctor in the Mirror's 1978 editorial.

The *Guardian* also utilised a theatrical metaphor to positively construct Michael Foot in its 1983 editorial, while in the same period the Daily Mail uses a metaphor of sickness to negatively construct Foot.

Type of constructed identity

While by far the most frequent type of constructed identity is the professional identity, as one would expect from newspapers ostensibly appraising individuals who are performing professional roles, personal and social identities are also constructed. For example, the construction of a social identity for Jim Callaghan as a Scotsman is utilised by the Telegraph in it its 1978 editorial as a way of negatively portraying him to its readers.

Similarly, the construction of social identities of age was used by different newspapers to construct positive and negative identities for Michael Foot in the 1983 editorials. In the Daily Mail, his aged social identity was used in order to encode an ant-Labour/Foot stance, while the Guardian constructed him positively, as an elder statesman.

Likewise, the construction of personal identities were also used to encode contrasting stances. An example of this is the negative representation of Foot as a bitter individual in the Daily Mail of 1983.

6.2 The construction of group identities

While the main focus of the analysis and this study was on the construction by newspapers of individual identities, the analysis showed how the newspapers use the construction of group identities in order to construct a self-identity as well as to form a synthetic community of practice (Mullany, 2002), that, in terms of socio-diagnostic critique, is designed to encourage ideal readers to share the newspapers' ideological stance. This can also be linked to the profit motive of the newspapers, as the more readers that feel part of a social group the more that will continue to buy the newspaper.

The analysis showed that there were three main ways that the newspapers formed synthetic communities of practice. On a textual level, this was achieved by the use of consensual pronouns, such as "we", "our" and "us", and likewise through the explicit framing of the issues discussed as pertaining to "Britain", which constructed a nationalist group identity.

Similarly, in terms of social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979), the newspapers use the polticians and political parties featured within their editorials in order to define group boundaries. The construction of negative identities for individuals whose ideologies oppose those of the newspaper serves to allow the newspapers to define their group in opposition to that person and that person's political party. By comparing the newspapers' own constructed group (constructed through the use of pronouns, for example), with the group of the negatively constructed subject, the newspapers reinforce their own group boundaries. Examples of this can be found in section 5.6, for example, as all four newspapers utliise the negative construction of individual identiies in order to define and reinforce their own group boundaries. In the case of positively constructed identities for politicians, they are constructed (as in the case of the Mirror's constructed identity for Neil Kinnock in 1983) as part of the newspapers' own ingroup.

The analysis highlighted how the use of rhetorical questions was a commonly used discursive device within the editorials, and, while these are used partly to encode stance (see section 6.3, below), they are also used to help construct a group identity for the newspapers. Wenger (1998) points out that communities of practice are constructed through mutual engagement and joint negotiated enterprise. The use of rhetorical questions are the most obvious example of the dialogic nature of the editorials, and, while the dialogue, as with all written texts, is one sided, their use can be seen as a substitute for genuine mutual engagement. I would use the term "synthetic mutual engagement" to describe this phenomenon. Another example of synthetic mutual engagement is the use of epistemic modal auxiliaries, which, in implying a commitment to propositions, suggests that the commitment is being made to someone – the ideal reader.

Finally, all newspapers draw upon cultural knowledge in order to define their group boundaries. An example is the knowledge assumed of ideal readers in the 1974 editorials, when the Daily Mail refers to Labour politicians and their assumed ideological stances.

6.3 The newspapers' identity position

The two ways in which the newspapers' own identity positions can be examined are in terms of how they encode stance, and in terms of the type of ideological stance they hold or identity position they adopt. While the construction of both group and individual identities are key ways in which the newspapers' encode their own stance towards politics and politicians, the other lexico-grammatical markers of stance, discussed in Chapter 4 are also utilised, alongside a series of discursive strategies.

In terms of how they encode stance, in addition to identity construction, the key method of encoding stance is through the use of epistemic modals to encode degrees of confidence in propositions made. Similarly, the use of deontic modals also encodes point of view, in the sense that these auxiliaries express obligation – and it is the obligated act itself that marks the stance. For example, if a newspaper attaches a strong obligation on a Chancellor to cut taxes, this encodes a pro-Conservative stance.

In addition to the use of modal auxiliaries, the analysis highlighted a number of other ways in which stance is implicitly or explicitly expressed. As with the representation of reality to construct individual identities, the use of noun phrases and adjectival descriptions to represent the political world encodes the stance of the newspaper, alongside the use of categorical assertions to reinforce that conceptualisation.

Again, metaphoric language and the use of rhetorical questions encode stance, in much the same way as they are used to construct individual identities. For example, the use of a metaphorical interdiscursive blend in the Telegraph's 1978 editorial in order to represent Jim Callaghan's speech served to encode an anti-Labour stance, while rhetorical questions are used to foreground possibilities, be they positive or negative, to the ideal reader. An example of this is the Guardian headline to its 1978 editorial, which encoded doubt and uncertainty in Callaghan's actions.

Other, less frequently used discursive strategies that encode stance include the representation of agency and the use of intertextuality. In the Daily Mail editorial from 1988, manifest intertextuality is used by the newspaper in order to encode an anti-Labour stance. The insertion of quotations from the union leader Ron Todd's speech, as well as extracts from a speech by Roy Hattersley, served to reinforce a negative appraisal of the Labour Party. Similarly, the attribution of blame for the Labour Party's failings onto nameless party members by the Guardian in its 1983 editorial encoded a positive stance towards Foot as a person.

6.3.1 The newspaper as an active participant

While the analysis has shown how the newspapers, in terms of discursive strategies and lexico-grammatical choices adopt identity positions, the analysis also highlighted what type of identity positions the newspapers took. One of these, discussed throughout the analysis but especially within the sections headed "self-identities", was the position of "active participant" within the political process.

The analysis shows that through the use of predictions, categorical assertions, deontic modals and conditional sentences, all newspapers construct self-identities for

themselves as knowledgeable, authoritative political (and in the case of the editorials from 1993) and economic observers.

Through the use of predictions, deontic modals and conditional sentences, however, the newspapers attempt to actively participate in the political process by both strongly obliging politicians and ideal readers to act in particular ways, and by using the modal auxiliary "will", perception and copular verbs and conditional sentences to firmly predict the future. These predictions both construct an authoritative voice for the newspapers and also create a level expectation in readers that serve to put pressure on politicians to fulfil them.

6.3.2 Broadsheets and Tabloids

While the methods of identity construction and ways of encoding stance are common to both tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, the analysis did highlight one key difference between the two newspaper types.

While the broadsheets frequently adopted, if not dual stances, then two perspectives within their editorials, such as the Guardian positively and negatively appraising Clarke's budget in its 1993 editorial, the tabloids take a much more polarised, partisan view, offering only either a positive or negative stance (dependent upon the subject of the editorial). Similarly, the types of adjectives used to premodify nouns or used as adjectival descriptions are more evaluative in tabloid texts. This can be represented in terms of a "positivity continuum". Regardless of the political ideology or party political affiliation of a politician, the tabloids were at either end of the spectrum, in each case, while the broadsheets were more balanced in their approach. The continuum can be seen below.

Positivity Continuum

Positive/Negative   Positive/Negative

Mirror   Guardian   Telegraph   Daily Mail
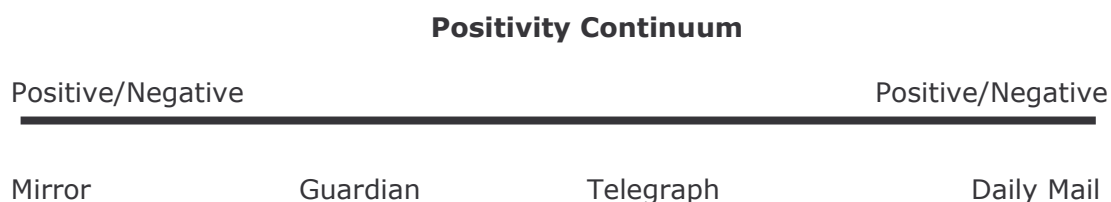
6.3.3 Left v Right

The analysis also highlighted another key finding in terms of the types of identity constructed within the editorials. While it is clear that the newspapers construct for themselves identity positions (in the ways discussed above) that correlate with the political spectrum of Left to Right politics, the analysis highlighted, by examining the content of the editorials alongside the identities constructed and stance adopted, that the newspapers were more likely to adopt a stance or ideological position that supported or opposed specific political parties and their members, rather than merely encoding a "Left-win" or "right-wing" stance.

This forms part of the construction of wider synthetic group identities or communities of practice (discussed above), and on a textual level can be seen in the use of the party names as noun phrase premodifiers (for example, the Daily Mail's use of "this Labour Chancellor, in 1998).

Evidence of this trend can also be found by examining the content of the editorials. In the 1974 editorials, there was a consensus in the editorials on the need for "moderation" and "moderate" politicians, which was in line with the policies of the parties at the time, yet the Left-wing press constructed a more positive identity for Michael Foot, for example, than the Right.

Another example is the identity position adopted by the Daily Mail, in 1978, towards Jim Callaghan. Callaghan had a negative identity constructed for him by the Daily Mail, ostensibly for following suggestions made in the Daily Mail's own editorials, which were considered "Conservative". This was negatively appraised because the Daily Mail has a fixed position towards the Labour Party. Similarly, in the 1988 editorials, the Mirror constructs a positive identity for Neil Kinnock, despite his stated aim of "modernising" his party and moving away from more traditional Left-wing policies. The Daily Mail in the same period constructed a negative identity for Kinnock, despite his policies being more Right-leaning.

The positivity continuum (see 6.3.2) is relevant here, in that it is in the tabloid press that this feature is most common, yet the broadsheets also adopt identity positions in relation to political parties as much as ideology. The Guardian, despite positively appraising some of his policies, does not positively construct and identity for Kenneth Clarke in its 1993 editorial, for example.

Newspapers in the 35 year period covered by this study therefore take a fixed position towards political parties, but do not necessarily have fixed (or extreme) political ideologies in the traditional sense.

6.4 Diachronic findings

The qualitative nature of the analytical framework in this study meant that the small number of texts analysed limits the ability to make generalisable claims about diachronic changes, which would be the aim of a quantitative study.

Nevertheless, even with the corpus of texts analysed, it is possible to uncover some more qualitative insights into the specific editorials examined over time. The

diachronic nature of the study highlighted how the identities constructed for particular individuals have changed over time. For example, Jim Callaghan and Michael Foot were both represented in section 5.1, and it was possible to see how their constructed identities changed over time. In the case of Foot, it was his social identity that changed most, with the 9-year period between editorials resulting in his age being part of his constructed identity in the latter period. Similarly Callaghan, constructed by the Daily Mail using the adjectives "wily and pragmatic" in 1974, had a much less positive professional identity constructed for him by the Right-wing press as a result of his leadership.

As with the same individuals being featured in different periods, events and topics mirrored each other over the periods covered by the study. The editorials examined different Labour leaders, Prime Ministers, Chancellors of the Exchequer, party conferences, the appointment of politicians to Government posts, and the issue of economic stability in different periods. The analysis showed that the stance of each newspaper and the discursive methods (including identity construction) of encoding that stance, did not change over time. For example, both the 1974 editorials and the Telegraph and the Mirror editorials from 1998 examined the appointment of politicians to jobs by the Prime Minister of the day. In both cases, identities were constructed for the Prime Minister (Blair and Wilson) through the positive or negative appraisal and representation of his decisions and the construction of positive or negative identities for the appointees.

The diachronic nature of the study also helped to identify prevailing attitudes of particular periods under investigation and highlights the preoccupation with "moderation" and "centrist" policies in the 1970s, for example.

6.5 Prognostic Critique

The decision to use a Critical Discourse Analysis framework for this study was as a result of the desire to uncover ways of encoding stance that were embedded and therefore needed to be "demystified" (Wodak, 2001). Similarly, another overall aim of the study was to highlight how the encoding of stance and the construction of identities for politicians serves to potentially manipulate and lead readers of the editorials.

The analysis, on a textual and discursive practice level, has shown how stance is encoded within the editorials analysed, and therefore how readers of newspapers in the period 1974-1998 might have been oriented towards or against particular politicians and political parties or manipulated into understanding political events in the ways in which they are presented by the editorials.

The utilisation of theories of identity within the CDA framework has allowed for a better understanding of how this process has worked in terms of the encoding of stance within the ways in which individuals are represented, and similarly how readers are co-opted into a group identity by the newspapers concerned.

Throughout the analysis, the ways in which readers are oriented have been foregrounded as part of a social practice level of analysis, with the textual and discursive construction of identities viewed in terms of their social function to manipulate readers.

However, it is important to reiterate the notion of the ideal reader and the theories of discourse discussed in Chapter 2. While it is possible to highlight the possibly manipulative or persuasive nature of texts, it is also important to consider

the notion that discourse is both reflective and constitutive of society (Fairclough, 1992), and that the process of newspaper editorials orienting readers is not simply "one way". That is to say that the newspapers, existing as they do (and did) in an competitive environment in which they are compelled to sell copies in order to survive, must be reflective of the views of their readers as well as functioning to formulate those views. It is a two-way process.

The newspapers are (and were) therefore subject to two simultaneous pressures: the need to lead opinion and the need to reflect opinion. The construction of identities and indeed the overall stance that the editorials take (and took), is therefore part of an overall process of the newspapers (including principals and editors), through their editorials, trying to maximise their fit with an ideal "Conservative" or "Labour" voting reader, while at the same time attempting to lead readers into adopting the stance that the newspaper sees as the one that will best serve that constituency (or the wider community of practice in which the newspaper places itself).

Wodak (2001) calls for a "prognostic critique" to be used within a Discourse Historical approach. This is the practical application of the findings of the analysis in order to make future textual practices more equitable. In the case of newspaper editorials, they are the one subgenre of newspaper discourse in which opinions and stance are to be expected and desired (van Dijk, 1998), so it is part of the generic conventions, the orders of discourse, that opinions are present. Nevertheless, the advent of online media and the interactivity associated with new media forms (Lister et al, 2003) means that since the period covered by this study, readers of media texts with the desire to read alternative opinions to those featured within the mainstream press, do have easier access to alternative media sources. Given the

unchanging nature of the means of encoding stance in the 34 year period between 1974 and 1998, it is reasonable to suggest that readers of print media are therefore still subject to the encoded identity positions present within the constructed identities featured in editorials.

6.6 Alternative analytical frameworks and directions for further research

The examination of stance within newspaper editorials has been the focus of this study. The main analytical framework has been a version of critical discourse analysis (comprising of both Fairclough's and Wodak's methods) combined with the sociolinguistic concepts of constructionist notions of identity and performativity. Within any form of critical discourse analysis, it is necessary to conduct close textual analysis, and the main analytical tool on this level has been modality.

The focus upon modality means however, that this thesis does not, include a full textual analysis of the data in the broadest sense of the term, and nor could it have. The analysis was necessarily close and detailed, but it was impossible, given space constraints, to utilise all of the methodological frameworks available or possible, or to examine all of the textual features that might have been relevant.

The encoding of point of view within the use of hybrid metaphors, dead metaphors and other use of figurative language has been partially examined in this study, and this has complemented the examination of modality. However, a future direction for research of this kind, and even research using this specific data set, would be to focus more fully on the role of metaphoric language in encoding ideology and stance.

At the stage of conception, the potential use of a corpus-driven approach was considered for this study. As a methodological approach, the building of a large-scale specialist corpus of editorial texts allied to the use of the analytical tools of corpus linguistics would have allowed for a wider variety of texts to be analysed simultaneously. Similarly, results and findings could have been generalised in such a way that the findings of this study, derived from a smaller data set and analysed more qualitatively, cannot. The creation of word frequency lists and concordance lines could highlight new, alternative directions for study and would also provide evidence of how particular linguistic items (such as particular modals, adverbs or noun phrases) are used within large numbers of newspaper editorials. The reason for the rejection of such a corpus-driven approach was simply pragmatic, in that the collection of the amount of data required to make such a study feasible was not possible for an individual researcher. Likewise, the time taken to convert such a data set into electronic format would be too great and would therefore be prohibitive for a study of this size. In this instance, there were simply insufficient amounts of data to make word frequency lists in any way meaningful. A corpus-driven approach does however, remain as a worthwhile direction for further study, especially if carried out as part of a longer-term larger scale investigation into media language.

Conversely, a further possibility for future research into the nature of political ideology and stance within newspaper editorial discourse involves the use of a smaller data set. Critical discourse analysis as a methodological approach involves an emphasis being placed upon the individual interpretation of the analyst. This necessarily results in degrees of speculation and hedging as far as the effects of the use of particular linguistic items are concerned. In this study, for example, it has had to suffice to argue that the use of a particular metaphor or categorical assertion might have the effect of orienting readers towards sharing a particular ideological

stance. One direction in which research of this nature might develop, is to examine fewer editorials but to also adopt a more inter-subjective mixed methodological approach that compares a critical discourse analysis by the researcher with the results of a more sociological method, such as a reader response survey. In such a study, fewer texts could be analysed (as participants would be unlikely to be able to read numerous texts with the necessary level of attentiveness) yet greater insight into the precise effects upon readers that particular propositions, clauses and sentences might have. Inter-rater scores would provide evidence as to where linguistic units and items have clear effects upon the orientation of most readers towards specific individuals or issues.

The main possibilities for future research using this data set or similar editorial texts then can be summarised as either analytical or methodological. In the first instance, the overall analytical framework could be retained but on the level of textual analysis an alternative analytical tool could be utilised, such as the closer examination of metaphor. This would have the benefit of giving greater understanding of how stance and ideology is encoded in a wider variety of types of linguistic unit. In the second instance, a change of methodological approach, such as the use of corpus linguistics or a reader response survey with inter-rater scores, would allow for greater generalisability of results and for greater certainty in terms of the effects that editorials have upon readers.

6.7 Summary of key findings

This thesis, as discussed in 6.6 (above), has utilised an innovative analytical approach to the examination of ideological stance in newspaper editorial discourse. The key aspect of this analytical framework is that which relates to incorporating the notion of identity into a critical discourse analytical framework. In highlighting the

role that the construction of identity by the text producers plays in the encoding of ideological stance within discourse, this thesis builds further upon the critical analytical approaches of Fairclough (1992a, 1995, 2003) and Wodak (2001).

Perhaps more importantly, this thesis has also provided new insights into the nature of how political ideologies have been encoded within newspaper editorials over the 25-year period covered by the data set, and therefore into the nature of newspaper discourse itself. There are three key findings within the thesis.

The first of the key findings is related to the analytical framework – that newspapers construct positive or negative identity positions for the subjects of their editorials that are the direct result of the political ideology held by the specific newspaper. In so doing, the newspapers are constructing identity positions for themselves along party-political, rather than purely ideological, lines.

The second, related, key finding, is that the identity positions are constructed for politicians and newspapers (and therefore the ideological stances of the newspapers) primarily through the use of rhetorical questions, epistemic and deontic modal auxiliaries, choice of manifest intertextuality (direct quotation) and categorical assertions.

The final key finding is that the newspaper editorials exist as sites of synthetic interaction between the newspaper and a set of ideal readers. This can be viewed as the social function of the editorials. This is achieved through the existence of what I have termed "synthetic mutual engagement" – primarily a constructed shared attitude towards particular politicians and political parties which is achieved through the inclusion of discursive features, such as questions and direct address, that create

a sense of dialogue between newspaper and reader. Within the editorials the constructed identities of politicians therefore serve to assist in the construction of shared group identities. These constructed groups in each newspaper comprise of ideal readers, the newspaper itself, and the positively appraised subjects of the editorials. Negatively appraised politicians function as part of an outgroup against which newspaper ingroups are formed (in accordance with group identity theory, see Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

This thesis, then, has positively contributed to the fields of sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis both by utilising a unique, modified version of CDA, and by offering new insights into the discursive practices and the discursive expression of stance in newspaper editorials.

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APPENDICES

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